A COMPANION TO

THE GLOBAL RENAISSANCE

ENGLISH LITERATURE AND CULTURE IN THE ERA OF EXPANSION

EDITED BY **JYOTSNA G. SINGH**

WILEY-BLACKWELL
A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publication

A Companion to the
Global Renaissance

Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture

This series offers comprehensive, newly written surveys of key periods and movements and certain major authors, in English literary culture and history. Extensive volumes provide new perspectives and positions on contexts and on canonical and post-canonical texts, orientating the beginning student in new fields of study and providing the experienced undergraduate and new graduate with current and new directions, as pioneered and developed by leading scholars in the field.

Published Recently

64. *A Companion to Twentieth-Century United States Fiction* — Edited by David Seed
65. *A Companion to Tudor Literature* — Edited by Kent Cartwright
66. *A Companion to Crime Fiction* — Edited by Charles Rzepka and Lee Horsley
67. *A Companion to Medieval Poetry* — Edited by Corinne Saunders
68. *A New Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture* — Edited by Michael Hattaway
69. *A Companion to the American Short Story* — Edited by Alfred Bendixen and James Nagel
70. *A Companion to American Literature and Culture* — Edited by Paul Lauter
71. *A Companion to African American Literature* — Edited by Gene Jarrett
72. *A Companion to Irish Literature* — Edited by Julia M. Wright
73. *A Companion to Romantic Poetry* — Edited by Charles Mahoney
74. *A Companion to the Literature and Culture of the American West* — Edited by Nicolas S. Witschi
75. *A Companion to Sensation Fiction* — Edited by Pamela K. Gilbert
76. *A Companion to Comparative Literature* — Edited by Ali Behdad and Dominic Thomas
77. *A Companion to Poetic Genre* — Edited by Erik Martiny
78. *A Companion to American Literary Studies* — Edited by Caroline F. Levander and Robert S. Levine
79. *A New Companion to the Gothic* — Edited by David Punter
80. *A Companion to the American Novel* — Edited by Alfred Bendixen
81. *A Companion to Literature, Film, and Adaptation* — Edited by Deborah Cartmell
82. *A Companion to George Eliot* — Edited by Amanda Anderson and Harry E. Shaw
83. *A Companion to Creative Writing* — Edited by Graeme Harper

A COMPANION TO

THE GLOBAL RENAISSANCE

ENGLISH LITERATURE AND CULTURE IN THE ERA OF EXPANSION

EDITED BY **JYOTSNA G. SINGH**

WILEY-BLACKWELL
A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publication

This paperback edition first published 2013

Edition History: Blackwell Publishing Ltd (hardback, 2009)

Blackwell Publishing was acquired by John Wiley & Sons in February 2007. Blackwell's publishing program has been merged with Wiley's global Scientific, Technical, and Medical business to form Wiley-Blackwell.

Registered Office
John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

Editorial Offices
350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA
9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK
The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

For details of our global editorial offices, for customer services, and for information about how to apply for permission to reuse the copyright material in this book please see our website at www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A companion to the global Renaissance : English literature and culture in the era of expansion / edited by Jyotsna Singh.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-4051-5476-5 (cloth)—978-1-118-43880-0 (pbk.)
1. Great Britain–Intellectual life–16th century. 2. Great Britain–Intellectual life–17th century. 3. Great Britain–Commerce–History–16th century. 4. Great Britain–Commerce–History–17th century. 5. English literature–Early modern, 1500–1700–History and criticism. 6. Globalization in literature. 7. Great Britain–Foreign relations. 8. Literature and society. 9. Renaissance–England. I. Singh, Jyotsna G., 1951–
DA320.C656 2009
909′.5–dc22
2008044501

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Cover image: Elizabeth I, Armada Portrait, attributed to George Gower, c. 1588. Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire / The Bridgeman Art Library

Cover design by Richard Boxall Design Associates

Set in 11 on 13 pt Garamond 3 by Toppan Best-set Premedia Limited

1 2013

Contents

List of Illustrations ix
Notes on Contributors x
Acknowledgments xvi

Introduction: The Global Renaissance 1
Jyotsna G. Singh

Part I: Mapping the Global 29

1 The New Globalism: Transcultural Commerce, Global Systems Theory, and Spenser's Mammon 31
Daniel Vitkus

2 "Travailing" Theory: Global Flows of Labor and the Enclosure of the Subject 50
Crystal Bartolovich

3 Islam and Tamburlaine's World-picture 67
John Michael Archer

4 Traveling Nowhere: Global Utopias in the Early Modern Period 82
Chloë Houston

Part II: "Contact Zones" 99

5 The Benefits of a Warm Study: The Resistance to Travel before Empire 101
Andrew Hadfield

6 "Apes of Imitation": Imitation and Identity in Sir Thomas Roe's Embassy to India 114
Nandini Das

7 A Multinational Corporation: Foreign Labor in the London East India Company 129
Richmond Barbour

8 Where was Iceland in 1600? 149
Mary C. Fuller

9 East by North-east: The English among the Russians, 1553–1603 163
Gerald MacLean

10 The Politics of Identity: William Adams, John Saris, and the English East India Company's Failure in Japan 178
Catherine Ryu

11 The Queer Moor: Bodies, Borders, and Barbary Inns 190
Ian Smith

Part III: Networks of Exchange: Traveling Objects 205

12 Guns and Gawds: Elizabethan England's Infidel Trade 207
Matthew Dimmock

13 Cassio, Cash, and the "Infidel 0": Arithmetic, Double-entry Bookkeeping, and *Othello*'s Unfaithful Accounts 223
Patricia Parker

14 Seeds of Sacrifice: Amaranth, the Gardens of Tenochtitlan and Spenser's *Faerie Queene* 242
Edward M. Test

15 "So Pale, So Lame, So Lean, So Ruinous": The Circulation of Foreign Coins in Early Modern England 262
Stephen Deng

16 Canary, Bristoles, Londres, Ingleses: English Traders in the Canaries in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries 279
Barbara Sebek

17 "The Whole Globe of the Earth": Almanacs and Their Readers 294
Adam Smyth

18 Cesare Vecellio, Venetian Writer and Art-book Cosmopolitan 305
Ann Rosalind Jones

Part IV: The Globe Staged 323

19 Bettrice's Monkey: Staging Exotica in Early Modern London Comedy 325
Jean E. Howard

20 The Maltese Factor: The Poetics of Place in *The Jew of Malta* and *The Knight of Malta* 340
Virginia Mason Vaughan

21 Local/Global *Pericles*: International Storytelling, Domestic Social Relations, Capitalism 355
David Morrow

Index 378

For my parents

Illustrations

0.1	*Jahangir's Dream*, *c.*1618, royal painter, Abu'l Hasan	3
6.1	*Jahangir Preferring a Sufi Shaikh to Kings* by Bichitr, *c.*1615–18	124
7.1	*The Great Market at Bantam*, from Willem Lodewijckszoon, *Historie van Indien* (Amsterdam, 1598)	135
7.2	*Ships Trading in the East*, Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom (1614)	138
8.1	*Map of Islandia*, from Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (London, *c.*1607)	158
10.1	*Will Adams* – photograph from *The Needle-watcher: The Will Adams Story, British Samurai,* by Richard Blacker	181
14.1	Mexican Sacrifice based on José de Acosta's descriptions; Theodore De Bry, *Americae, Pars Dvodecima* (Frankfurt, 1624)	253
15.1	A clipped French crown and a counterfeit portague.	267
18.1	Vecellio, *Merchant in Constantinople*	309
18.2	Vecellio, *Prussian Merchant*	310
18.3	Vecellio, *Merchant Noblewoman of Genoa*	311
18.4	Vecellio, *Woman Merchant of Silesia*	312
18.5	Vecellio, *Sultan Amurhat*	316
18.6	Vecellio, *Janissary Soldier*	317
18.7	Vecellio, *Turk in the Rain*	318
18.8	Vecellio, *A Turkish Woman*	319
19.1	Richard Brathwaite's *The Honest Ghost or a Voice From the Vault*	330
21.1	Pieter Breugel's engraving, *Big Fishes Eat the Little Fishes*	365

Notes on Contributors

John Michael Archer is Professor of English at New York University. He received his BA and MA from the University of Toronto in 1982 and 1983, and his PhD from Princeton University in 1988. He has taught courses in Early Modern English Literature and Culture, Renaissance Drama, and Literary and Cultural Theory at Columbia University, the University of British Columbia, and the University of New Hampshire, as well as at NYU. Archer's first book, *Sovereignty and Intelligence: Spying and Court Culture in the English Renaissance* (Stanford University Press, 1993), discusses the portrayal of political surveillance in the works of Montaigne, Marlowe, Bacon, and other authors. *Old Worlds: Egypt, Southwest Asia, India, and Russia in Early Modern English Writing* (Stanford University Press, 2001) extends his interest in knowledge-gathering to the later seventeenth century, by analyzing European travel writings along with literary works by Shakespeare, Milton, and Dryden. In addition, he has co-edited an anthology of critical essays entitled *Enclosure Acts* (1994), on depictions of sexuality and property during the period. His most recent book is entitled *Citizen Shakespeare: Freemen and Aliens in the Language of the Plays* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). It combines recent historiography with the close reading of playtexts to show how the London citizen and the immigrant city-dweller figure in the action and verbal texture of Shakespeare's drama.

Richmond Barbour is Professor of English at Oregon State University. He is the author of *Before Orientalism. London's Theatre of the East, 1576–1626* (Cambridge University Press, 2003) and several essays published in *PMLA, JEGP, Criticism, Clio,* and the *Huntington Library Quarterly*. His current research involves early modern London's theatrical and maritime industries, giving particular attention to the first generation of the East India Company and the emergence of corporate power. He has produced a scholarly edition of the unpublished papers of the company's third voyage (1607–10), England's first to reach India entitled, *The Third Voyage Journals: Writing and Performance in the London East India Company*, 1607–10 (Palgrave, 2009).

Crystal Bartolovich is an Associate Professor of Early Modern Literature and Culture at Syracuse University. She has published in a wide range of edited collections and in diverse venues such as *Cultural Critique*, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, *Interventions*, *Renaissance Drama*, and *New Formations*. She also co-edits the electronic journal *Early Modern Culture*. Her current research project – of which this essay is a part – concerns the history, theory practice, and figuration of "the common(s)."

Nandini Das is lecturer in Renaissance Literature at the School of English, University of Liverpool. She studied at the Universities of Jadavpur (India) and Oxford (Rhodes Scholar) and was awarded her PhD from the University of Cambridge. She specializes in Renaissance prose fiction and early travel writing and is currently working on a project that explores the many versions of Renaissance travel, from European educational trips to exotic Eastern voyages. Other research interests include Elizabethan romance (texts and performance), women's pseudo-autobiographies from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century and the development of early eighteenth-century Orientalism. She has published essays both on Renaissance romance and travel, and her edition of Robert Greene's *Planetomachia* (1585), a complex combination of humanist astronomical discourse and sensational Italianate tales, was published in 2007 (Ashgate) and has been nominated for the MLA Distinguished Edition prize.

Stephen Deng is an Assistant Professor of English at Michigan State University. He has edited with Barbara Sebek a book collection of essays entitled *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550–1700* (Palgrave, 2008). His essay "'Global Oeconomy': Ben Jonson's *The Staple of News* and the Ethics of Mercantilism" is included in the collection. He also has an essay on money and mystical kingship in *Macbeth: New Critical Essays* (Routledge, 2008). He is currently completing a book manuscript on the uses and representations of money and coinage in relation to early modern English state formation and is beginning a second project on cultural impacts of early modern business technologies such as accounting practices, the adoption of the concept of zero, and the development of insurance and credit.

Matthew Dimmock is Senior Lecturer in English Literature and Co-Director of the Centre for Early Modern Studies at the University of Sussex. After completing his PhD at Royal Holloway, University of London, he was Visiting Scholar at the University of Leiden and the Centre for Editing Lives and Letters at Queen Mary, University of London, before arriving at Sussex in 2003. His work has focused on cultural interaction and notions of "otherness" in the early modern period, with particular emphasis upon Christian perceptions of Islam and the Ottomans. His publications include *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Ashgate, 2005) and *William Percy's* Mahomet and His Heaven: *A Critical Edition* (Ashgate, 2006). He is co-editor (with Matthew Birchwood) of *Cultural Encounters*

Between East and West, 1453–1699 (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2005) and (with Andrew Hadfield) of *The Religions of the Book: Christian Perceptions, 1400–1660* (Palgrave, 2008). He is currently completing a monograph considering early modern English constructions of the Prophet Muhammad, titled *Fabricating Muhammad: English Imaginings, 1400–1750*, and is working towards a project that will consider wider aspects of "otherness" in this period, provisionally titled *The Company of Strangers: Articulating Difference in Early Modern England*.

Mary C. Fuller is Associate Professor of Literature at MIT, with interests in travel writing, memory, and the history of the book. Her research focuses on the printed records of English travel, exploration, colonization, and trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She has published numerous articles and chapters on accounts of English contacts with Guiana, Virginia, Newfoundland, West Africa, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire, as well as on the records of early English circumnavigations. Her publications also include two monographs – *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America 1576–1624* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), and *Remembering the Early Modern Voyage: English Narratives in the Age of European Expansion* (Palgrave, 2008). Currently, she is at work on a study of Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1598–1600), and looks forward to visiting Greenland (for the second time) in 2009.

Andrew Hadfield is Professor of English at the University of Sussex. He is the author of a number of works on Renaissance literature and culture, including Spenser's *Irish Experience: Wilde Fruyt and Salvage Soyl* (Oxford University Press, 1997), *Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1540–1625* (Oxford University Press, 1998, paperback, 2007), and *Shakespeare and Republicanism* (Cambridge University Press, 2005, paperback, 2008), which was awarded the 2006 Sixteenth-Century Society Conference Roland H. Bainton Prize for Literature. He is also the editor of *Amazons, Savages and Machiavels: An Anthology of Travel and Colonial Writing, 1550–1650* (Oxford University Press, 2001), and, with Raymond Gillespie, *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, Vol. III: The Irish Book in English, 1550–1800* (Oxford University Press, 2006). He is the editor of *Renaissance Studies*.

Dr Chloë Houston is a Lecturer in the School of English and American Literature at the University of Reading. Her research interests concentrate on early modern literature and intellectual history, and in particular utopian literature and travel writing. She is the editor of the forthcoming collection of essays on representations of utopias and new worlds from 1500 to 1800, *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, to be published by Ashgate in 2009. Recent publications include articles in *The Seventeenth Century*, *Literature Compass*, and *Utopian Studies.*

Jean E. Howard is George Delacorte Professor in the Humanities at Columbia University where she is also Chair of the English Department. Her books include *Shakespeare's Art of Orchestration: Stage Technique and Audience Response* (University of

Illinois Press, 1984), *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England* (Routledge, 1993), *Engendering a Nation: A Feminist Approach to Shakespeare's English Histories* (with Phyllis Rackin) (Routledge, 1997), and *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). It won the Barnard Hewitt Prize for Outstanding Book of Theater History, 2008. A co-editor of *The Norton Shakespeare*, General Editor of the Bedford Textual Editions of Shakespeare, and past President of the Shakespeare Association of America, she is currently writing a book on the contemporary dramatist Caryl Churchill, and completing an edition of *As You Like It.*

Ann Rosalind Jones, Esther Cloudman Dunn Professor of Comparative Literature and Director of the Comparative Literature Program at Smith College, is the author of *The Currency of Eros: Women's Love Lyric in Europe, 1540–160* (Indiana University Press, 1990); editor and translator, with Margaret Rosenthal, of *The Poems and Selected Letters of Veronica Franco* (University of Chicago Press, 1994); and, with Peter Stallybrass, author of *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge University Press, 2000). With Margaret Rosenthal, she recently completed an illustrated translation of Cesare Vecellio's *Habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* published by Thames and Hudson, London, in autumn 2008. Her current research project, on the interplay between words and images in early modern printed texts, is a study of sixteenth-century costume books in Italy, France, Germany, and the Netherlands.

Gerald MacLean, FRAS (Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society), FRHistS (Fellow of the Royal Historical Society), is Professor in English at the University of Exeter. His recent books include *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Travellers to the Ottoman Empire, 1580–1720* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004; Turkish translation, 2006), *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East* (ed., Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), *Writing Turkey: Explorations in Turkish History, Politics and Cultural Identity* (ed., Middlesex University Press, 2006). *Britain and the Muslim World, 1558–1727*, co-authored with Nabil Matar, is in progress for Oxford University Press.

David Morrow is an Assistant Professor of English at the College of St. Rose. His scholarship has been largely concerned with early modern social struggle, within the context of capitalism and from the perspectives of ideology and form. His essay on Thomas Deloney was published in *Textual Practice* in 2006; another on early seventeenth-century monopolistic merchants appeared in *Global Traffic* (Palgrave, 2008), edited by Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng. Morrow works to promote small-scale food production and local (as against global) food networks. He is a member of a farming collective near Albany, New York.

Patricia Parker is Margery Bailey Professor in English and Comparative Literature at Stanford University, author of *Inescapable Romance* (Princeton University Press,

1979), *Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property* (Routledge, 1987), and *Shakespeare from the Margins* (University of Chicago Press, 1996), and co-editor (with Margo Hendricks) of *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period* (Routledge, 1994). General Editor of a forthcoming multi-volume *Shakespeare Encyclopedia*, she is also preparing a new Arden edition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and is at work on three new books on race, sound, and the arts of calculation.

Catherine Ryu is Associate Professor of Japanese Language and Literature at Michigan State University. Her specialization is Classical Japanese Literature (Heian narratives), and her research and teaching interests also encompass Korean-Japanese Women's Literature, Visual Culture, and Global Studies. Her publications include "Remembering Deadly Emotions: The Filial and the Colonial in Kim Chŏng-han's *Surado* (1969)," in *Taking it to Heart: Emotion, Modernity, Asia*, Special Issue, *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, guest ed. Haiyan Lee (August 2008); "Beyond Language: Embracing the Figure of the Other in Yi Yang-ji's *Yuhi*," in *Representing the Other in Modern Japanese Literature: A Critical Approach*, ed. Rachel Hutchinson and Mark Williams (Routledge, 2006, 312–31); "Power Play: Reconstructing Muromachi Politics through the Nō Play *Sōshi arai Komachi*," *Japanese Language and Literature* 40 (2006): 137–75; and "Peter H. Lee: Envisioning the Future of Korean Literature in the Global Context," *The Review of Korean Studies* 6/2 (December 2003): 121–49.

Barbara Sebek is Associate Professor of English at Colorado State University where she teaches courses in Early Modern Literature and Culture, Shakespeare, Women Writers, and Critical Theory. She is co-editor with Stephen Deng of *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700* (Palgrave, 2008). She has written about trans-global trade, drama, women, gift and commodity exchange, and competing forms of valuation in *Shakespeare Studies* (2007), *The Tempest: Critical* Essays (New York: Routledge, 2001), ed. Patrick Murphy, *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in Renaissance Drama* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998) ed. John Gillies and V. Vaughan, *Journal X*, and *Early Modern Culture: An Electronic Seminar*. An essay on conflicts between merchants and factors in overseas trade is forthcoming in *Mediating Worlds: Early Modern Emissaries in Literature, 1550–1700* ed. B. Charry and G. Shahani (Ashgate).

Adam Smyth teaches English at the University of Reading in England. He has published a monograph, *Profit and Delight: Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640–1682* (Wayne State University Press, 2004), and has edited a collection, *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England* (Boydell and Brewer, 2004). He is currently finishing a book on neglected forms of early modern autobiographical writing, entitled: *Life Writing in Early Modern England*.

Ian Smith is an Associate Professor of English at Lafayette College and has published on early modern drama as well as postcolonial literature; his work has appeared in

Shakespeare Quarterly, Renaissance Drama, Shakespeare Studies, and *Callaloo*. He is currently preparing a book on early modern English blackface theater.

Edward M. Test is an Assistant Professor of English at Boise State University. His current scholarship explores the material and mythic influences of New World culture on English Renaissance literature. He is author of the book chapter "*The Tempest* and the Newfoundland Cod Fishery," published in the collection *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700* (ed. Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng, Palgrave, 2008). In addition to academic pursuits, he is also a writer and translator of poetry. He has translated poems by the Chilean poet, Raúl Zurita, Cuban poet Orlando Gonález Esteva, and Spanish poet LuisAlberto de Cuenca Poetry. He has published poetry in literary journals such as *Parque Nandino* (Mexico), *Poetry London* (UK), *Poetry Wales* (UK), *Quadrant* (Australia), *Utne Reader* (USA), and *Southern Poetry Review* (USA). A book of his poetry, *Fata Morgana*, was published in a bilingual edition with *El Tucan de Virginia* (Mexico, 2004).

Virginia Mason Vaughan is former Chair of the English Department at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, where she teaches courses in Shakespeare and Early Modern English Drama. She is the author of two monographs, *Othello: A Contextual History* (Cambridge University Press, 1994) and *Performing Blackness on English Stages, 1500–1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2005). She also authored *Caliban: A Cultural History* (Cambridge University Press, 1992) and edited *The Tempest* for the Third Arden Series (Arden Shakespeare, 1999; rev. ed. 2011), both with historian Alden T. Vaughan. With Margaret Lael Mikesell, she compiled *Othello: An Annotated Bibliography* (Garland, 1990). She has co-edited three anthologies, *Othello: New Perspectives*, with Kent Cartwright (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1991), *The Tempest: Critical Essays*, with Alden T. Vaughan (Twayne Publishers, 1998), and *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama,* with John Gillies (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998). Her most recent monograph is *"The Tempest": Shakespeare in Performance* (Manchester University Press, 2011).

Daniel Vitkus is Associate Professor of English at Florida State University. He specializes in cross-cultural texts, travel literature, Renaissance drama, and the cultural history of early modern England. Vitkus taught at the American University in Cairo, Egypt, before moving to Florida. He is the editor of *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England* (Columbia University Press, 2000) and *Piracy, Slavery and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England* (Columbia University Press, 2001), and he is the author of *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630* (Palgrave, 2003). He is currently co-editing the Bedford Texts and Contexts edition of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* and working on a study titled *Islam and the English Renaissance* (contract with Routledge).

Acknowledgments

Putting together this anthology was a rich and rewarding experience, like having a "conversation" with different and diverse voices as the essays evolved. For their useful comments and suggestions on drafts of various essays, I want to thank Richmond Barbour, Stephen Clucas, Matthew Dimmock, Jean Howard, Bernhard Klein, Miles Ogborn, Mihoko Suzuki, and Daniel Vitkus.

Emma Bennett, the commissioning editor at Blackwell, offered important input and encouragement at every stage of this project, for which I owe her my heartfelt thanks!

In this project and in my other intellectual endeavors, I especially owe my gratitude to Crystal Bartolovich for her input, and particularly for her unflinching and rigorous critique, which I think, is somewhat rare in an academic world often given to social expediency.

And Nandini Das, a true "saheli," deserves my thanks for our rich conversations about this anthology and other intellectual and frivolous topics – as well as for her generous hospitality in England.

My appreciation is also due to Randy McLeod for his encouragement of my work – always – and for sharing with me his joyous enthusiasm for archival explorations.

The initial idea and the proposal for *The Global Renaissance* evolved during various stints at the Folger Shakespeare Library and my special gratitude goes to all the library staff for their help and encouragement over the years. I completed major work on this anthology while staying on the beautiful East London campus – and in an intellectually stimulating environment – of Queen Mary, University of London, during a generous distinguished visiting faculty fellowship in 2008, for which I am grateful indeed!

In Michigan State, my thanks to my colleague (and Director of Global Studies), Sandra Logan, for giving me summer funding to complete work on this book. And I also greatly value the work done by Inna Volkova and especially Amrita Sen, both research assistants at MSU, who helped me in the final stages of editing the essays.

Ajay and Aanchal Gujral's technology support and hospitality were greatly appreciated.

Last, but not least, this book is for Aman, whose admiration is gratifying, even though he wonders why I don't write "best-sellers," and whose constant intellectual sparring keeps me on my toes. For Amar for his quieter appreciation. And for Shreya, with her joyous spirit of discovery, which makes her a perfect citizen of our brave new global world.

The editor and publishers wish to thank the following for permission to reproduce illustrations in this book.

Figure 0.1, Introduction: *Jahangir's Dream c.*1618, royal painter, Abu'l Hasan. Reproduced by Permission of Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Purchase, F1945.9a.

Figure 6.1, Chapter 6: *Jahangir Preferring a Sufi Shaikh to Kings* by Bichitr; India, Mughal period, *c.*1615–18; opaque watercolor, gold, and ink on paper. Reproduced by permission of Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Purchase, F1942.15a.

Figure 7.1, Chapter 7: *The Great Market at Bantam*, from Willem Lodewijckszoon, *Historie van Indien* (Amsterdam, 1598) © British Library Board. All Rights Reserved, shelfmark 1486gg18. Reproduced by permission.

Figure 7.2, Chapter 7: *Ships Trading in the East*, Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom (1614). © National Maritime Museum. Reproduced by permission.

Figure 8.1, Chapter 8: *Map of Islandia* (p. 13), from Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (London, *c.*1607). By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Figure 10.1, Chapter 10: *Will Adams* – photograph from *The Needle-watcher: The Will Adams Story, British Samurai,* by Richard Blacker. Reproduced by permission of Tuttle Publishing, member of the Periplus Publishing Group, Clarendon, Vermont.

Figure 14.1, Chapter 14: Mexican Sacrifice based on José de Acosta's descriptions. Theodore De Bry, *Americae, Pars Dvodecima* (Frankfurt, 1624); © Huntington Library.

Figure 15.1, Chapter 15: A clipped French crown (left) and a counterfeit portague (right). Reproduced by permission of the British Museum.

Figures 18.1–8, Chapter 18: Woodcuts, Cesare Vecellio, *Degli Habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590).

Figure 19.1, Chapter 19: Richard Brathwaite's *The Honest Ghost or a Voice From the Vault.* Reproduced by permission of The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Shelfmark: 8° S. 350 Art.

Figure 21.1, Chapter 21: Pieter Breugel's engraving, *Big Fishes Eat the Little Fishes*, Inv. 7875. Reproduced by permission of Albertina Museum.

Introduction: The Global Renaissance

Jyotsna G. Singh

I Globes

Queen Elizabeth claims the world in the allegorical Armada portrait on the cover of this book. Her right hand rests on a globe, her fingers "covering the Americas, indicating England's dominion of the seas and plans for imperialist expansion of the New World."[1] Dated *c.*1588, this painting commemorates the defeat of the Armada, part of an "outpouring of the eulogistic material" that marked this event, but the date of the portrait has also been anecdotally linked to the birth of the first English child in the Virginia colony.[2] The viewer's gaze is particularly drawn to the terrestrial globe under her hand – seemingly innocuous in terms of its dimensions – but a familiar object of the period, represented in print and paintings, and that functioned as a "socially affective object" signaling a "transitional moment in the history of modernity" (Brotton 1999, 72). History and geography intersect in the allegorical image of the globe, marking recognizable territorial boundaries of the new world, while observing a triumphal moment in Elizabeth's reign in which England defeats Spain, a Catholic power and its rival, with one instance of its rivalry being the colonization of the Americas. Here, it is apparent that placed in the luxurious setting of this painting, the globe would appeal to the emotions and imagination of the viewers, while signaling the development of an emergent geography in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. Showing the ways in which the terrestrial globe figured in promoting "an affective global awareness," Brotton explains its history as follows:

> By the end of the first decade of the sixteenth century, geographers and diplomats began to question the effectiveness of the flat, rectangular map for encompassing the growing dimensions of the terrestrial world. In 1512 the Nuremburg scholar Johannes Cochlaeus reflected a sense

My thanks to Nandini Das, Matthew Dimmock, Crystal Bartolovich, Frederike Hahn and Barbara Sebek for their comments on drafts of this introduction.

> that classical geographical perceptions were no longer adequate in describing and representing the proliferation and expansion of newly discovered territories . . . [One] response of a range of geographers and cosmographers was to intensify their interest in projecting the earth's surface on a sphere, rather than on a plane surface. (1999, 78)

Interestingly, however, these terrestrial globes not only figured in the development of global geography in early modern Europe, but were also ideologically deployed by rulers in drawing their claims to territorial possessions in newly discovered, distant territories, and generally invested with geographical and political power by men of authority and knowledge at the time.[3] Not surprisingly, then, images of terrestrial globes proliferate in Renaissance cultural artifacts, as symbols and markers of a new global consciousness, evident in Holbein's famous portrait of the Ambassadors, which depicts French claims to Brazil, in Francis Drake's coat of arms on which a sailing ship sits atop a globe, in Queen Elizabeth's Armada portrait mentioned earlier, and in the Ditchley portrait by Marcus Gheeraerts the younger which depicts the Queen standing on a map of England on a globe, among numerous others. A preoccupation with the image of the globe vividly evokes an awareness of an expanding world, which Europeans began to recognize through their experiences of travel, exploration, discovery, commerce, and competitive conquest and colonization of new lands.

As the terrestrial globes symbolized growing territorial power, they were also reminders that European nations – despite their bitter religious and political schisms and rivalries – shared a proximity of history and geography, even as they were often rivals in the commerce and conquest. But did they realize that some powerful, non-European, Islamic rulers, for instance, also claimed the globe in their own terms – in which Europeans were often inconsequential and insignificant? Not only in Europe and England, as in Elizabeth's portraits, was the terrestrial globe deployed as a symbol of power, but it also functioned as a "socially affective object" in non-European, Islamic imperial representations of the global imaginary, as in Mughal court paintings. A remarkable example is an allegorical portrait (figure O.1) of the Mughal emperor, Jahangir, embracing the Persian, Safavid monarch, Shah Abbas, both standing on a globe, which seems geographically accurate, and "based on European allegories and probably on English models introduced at court by [the English Ambassador], Sir Thomas Roe" (Okada, 55).

This painting also employs "the traditional imperial iconography such as the lion and the lamb lying side by side . . . [and although] it shows the Great Mughal giving his Persian rival a protective embrace, Shah Abbas is depicted in a docile submissive pose, with his feet on the lamb, whereas Jahangir's feet are on the lion" (Okada, 55). This imperial embrace within the allegorical "dream" was far from historical reality and, instead, reflected Jahangir's anxieties about actual Persian incursions into the western border of the Mughal territory (Okada, 54–5). Yet, nonetheless, with the two rulers standing on a swathe of territory stretching (it seems) from the edge of Europe over the land mass of India, this painting evokes a range of associations about the

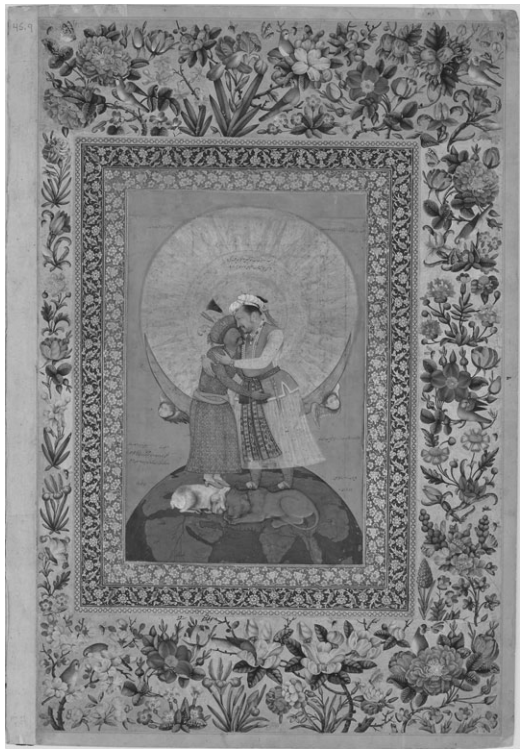

Figure 0.1 *Jahangir's Dream c.*1618, royal painter, Abu'l Hasan. Reproduced by permission of Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Purchase, F1945.9a

close relationships and rivalries in the Islamic world, which included the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals, while implicitly excluding Europe.

I invoke the portraits of the two early modern rulers, Elizabeth and Jahangir, not quite contemporaries, here facing each other, symbolically, if not literally, in order to show how their claims of world domination (though with a differing sense of the frontier) were ideologically inscribed via the globes represented in these paintings. Like Elizabeth I claiming the globe after the defeat of Spain in the Armada portrait, or towering over the globe with her feet firmly planted on the map of England in the subsequent Ditchley portrait, this image of Jahangir by his court painter Abu'l Hasan represents the power politics of his region, authorizing a view in which the Safavid ruler is shrunk in the Mughal's dominant embrace, although they both seem to be claiming the same global territory. And the name Jahangir itself, which literally means "World-Seizer" – a name chosen by the emperor on his accession to the Mughal throne – signals a self-aggrandizement that was befitting the large Mughal empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though their "notions of a frontier of expansion largely seem to have been southwards and eastwards" to the "ancestral

homelands" of their ancestor Timur [Tamburlaine], and Europe held little interest for them (Subrahmanyam 2006, 72). Jahangir was not alone in projecting an image of himself as a " 'World-Seizer' and successive Mughal emperors in India used similar titles . . . Shahjahan (World-Emperor) and Alamgir (World Seizer)" (Subrahmanyam 2005, 29).

Similar to Renaissance representations, and evidently influenced by Western iconography and art forms, Mughal paintings frequently deployed the image of the globe or an orb denoting the world or "Jahan," which the particular ruler grasped, or held under his feet. The socially affective power of the image of the globe in the two cultures suggests, perhaps in an uncanny way, that they were a part of a gradually emerging "global cultural economy."[4] Here the implied presence of European artistic conventions behind the representation of Jahangir and the looming presence of England's tussle with Spain over the Americas in Elizabeth's image both implicitly gesture at this widening of the horizons. And it is also noteworthy to recall, for instance, that in the period between the Armada portrait of Elizabeth (1588) and the allegorical image of "Jahangir's Dream" (1618), England expanded its influence and trade in East India, as evidenced, among other sources, in letters exchanged between the Mughal rulers and Elizabeth and James, before and after the formation of the East India Company in 1600. Elizabeth's formal letter to the Mughal ruler, Akbar (Jehangir's father), in 1583, describes how her English subjects have "great affection to visit the most distant places of the world" and calls the king to allow "mutual and friendly trafique of marchandize on both sides" (Hakluyt, V: 450). And the reply received by her successor King James I from the Emperor Jahangir (1618) to his "letter of friendship" assures access to English trade: "I doe command that to all the English marchants in all my Dominions there be given freedome and residence" (Foster, 559). These exchanges offer one instance of the mid-seventeenth-century globalizing trends, whereby the European imagination was undoubtedly being stimulated by increasing trade and cross-cultural interactions across the globe. Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1589, 1599–1600, I–XII), for example, offers ample testimony of England's increasing engagement with different parts of the globe: the Americas, Africa, East Asia, and even the North seas. Yet, in the literary history, the world picture of the Renaissance often seems to be firmly ensconced within the boundaries of European aesthetic traditions drawn from antiquity. What are the parameters of this dominant literary history of the European Renaissance in English studies? And what is its continuing validity?

II The Global Renaissance

Traditionally, the term "Renaissance" has been deployed to denote a revival of classical antiquity, and to valorize this revival in European art and culture of fifteenth-century Italy – of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Michelangelo, for instance – as the birthplace of the "Renaissance Man" (Burckhardt, 303–52). He was labeled the precursor

of the "modern man," a term whereby the white, European man served as a universal embodiment of superior civilization and culture, coming out of the nineteenth-century colonial world-view.[5] Furthermore, if on the one hand humanists of the period (exemplars of the "Renaissance man") were typically represented as practitioners of the liberal arts and the study of classical antiquity, via *imitatio*, the humanist project of education more broadly viewed included not only logic, rhetoric, and grammar, but also opened the way to an interest in new disciplines like geometry, algebra, and mathematics, so crucial to understanding and mastering networks of money and goods in an increasingly global economy.[6] Interestingly, these new commercial practices within European trade were in turn shaped by Arabic economic structures, derived from earlier Arabic knowledge of algebra and mathematics. My point here is that while European humanists had a strong interest in recovering their intellectual roots in classical antiquity, academic subjects such as mathematics also intersected with commercial practices based on Arabic, non-Western technologies and modes of learning in various fields.[7] In effect, the expanding commercial world enlarged the intellectual, cultural, and linguistic boundaries of Europe.

In this context, while the terms "Renaissance" and "global" traditionally would be considered anachronistic if yoked together, recent globally oriented scholarship of the past decade has led the way in creating a more expansive, shifting Renaissance world-picture.[8] Thus, the "Renaissance" that emerges in this perspective – and as reflected in this collection of essays – is more multidimensional and culturally fluid than the one traditionally centered in Italy. Following this logic, the "Renaissance man" is not a singular, heroic figure embodying the spirit of a culture, but is relocated within the historical phenomenon of an expanding global world, one which includes the discovery of America to the West, growing interactions and encounters with the East ranging from the Ottoman empire on Europe's borders to the far East, forays into North and sub-Saharan Africa, and even explorations to the North Seas.

Drawing on and developing the discourse of the "global," this volume emphasizes the historical transition of an era of European expansion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, recognizing the paradigm shifts in the production of knowledge and belief about various aspects of human experience, such as geography, economics, history, religion, and nature, among others. While following these modes of inquiry about Europe in general, it is *England* that is the predominant subject of most of these essays, though inevitably in shifting relationships with other kingdoms, cultures, and peoples. Overall, this volume tells a story of England's emerging role in the complex networks of travel and traffic in diverse regions and nations, ranging from the Americas, North Africa, East India, Russia, Iceland, Mexico, the Canaries, and Japan, and in commercial and competitive relations with European imperial powers such as Spain, Portugal, and City States like Venice, and with non-European Islamic rulers such the Ottoman Turks and the Mughals in India. In doing so, it explores both the formation of English conceptions of the "global" and the impact of global economic, cultural, religious, and political developments on English society and culture during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

What becomes evident is that cross-cultural encounters generated not only material exchanges within varying and uneven power relations, but also a rich and complex cross-pollination of art, culture, belief systems, and technologies between England and its "others," both within and outside Europe. And English literature and culture of the period – poetry, drama, prose writings, including the vast travel archive – are clearly imbricated within the larger imaginings of the "worlds elsewhere," which were brought home via a new cosmopolitanism. Dislodging the Spaniards in some areas in the Americas, and developing new routes to the Eastern Mediterranean and the East Indies, England emerged in the seventeenth century as a power on the rise. According to Alison Games, "Cosmopolitanism and Cosmopolitans facilitated this shift" (25). She goes on to chart this process as follows:

> These cosmopolitans were most evident in the world of commerce. Tangibly centered around the circulation of goods, commerce first required the circulation of people who traveled abroad, inserted themselves in foreign communities, and brought back their treasures. Everywhere the appearance of cultural understanding was crucial to successful trade. (25)

Cosmopolitanism was clearly an offshoot of the imperatives of trade and profit, and one aspect of this outside exposure could be viewed in positive terms, namely that in their travels on commercial ventures, cosmopolitans "demonstrated their interest in and sympathy for foreign mores, worked with and for foreigners, sometimes immersed themselves in foreign worlds, and gradually dislodged themselves from unthinking attachments to a single nation" (Games, 25). English merchants in this era, for instance, who "were first of their nation to open new markets, to assess new commodities, to persuade foreign merchants that they wanted to buy English goods . . . had to rely on their social acuity to establish trade" (Games, 25). If the era of expansion produced such cosmopolitan modes of interaction with the foreigners, it was also permeated by uneven strains of xenophobia, which in some instances, were tied to relations of power and emerging colonization.[9] Complicated discursive operations involved in negotiating these opposing drives and tendencies are apparent, for instance, in England's ambivalent relations with Islamic powers and Muslim peoples during the period of global exploration.

Images of Muslims proliferated in a variety of literary and cultural representations of the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods: on the Renaissance stage, in travel narratives, in accounts about pirates and renegades, and in popular polemical texts on Islam and the Prophet Mohammed. The question then arises: were these images of Islam and the Muslims accurate representations of the Ottoman Turks and North African Moors, the two Islamic communities with whom the English had many contacts? Frequently, some critics argue, the English, like their European counterparts, revealed a tendency to invoke an all-encompassing non-Christian "Other."[10] Nabil Matar, for instance, suggests that in English plays, pageants, and other cultural forms the "Turk was cruel, tyrannical, deviant and deceiving; the 'Moor' was sexually overdriven and emotionally uncontrollable, vengeful, and religiously superstitious. The Muslim was

all that an Englishman and a Christian was not" (13). Yet popular religious and cultural works, he demonstrates, belie the actual encounter with the Muslims in the Levant and North Africa, where there was "interaction and familiarity, along with communication and cohabitation" (Matar, 14). Other accounts such as government documents and commercial evidence also do not reveal a similar stereotyping (Matar, 13–14). Matthew Dimmock acknowledges the usefulness of Matar's analysis of actual historical encounters and materials, but offers another perspective, arguing that the images of Turks and Muslims in early modern English literary and cultural texts do not depict Turks so clearly falling between "polarizing stereotypes of 'Muslim Otherness' and English Christian" (10). Rather, they show how "English encounters with Muslims, both imagined and 'actual' multiplied and complicated notions of the 'turke' that had been contested from their very inception" (10). Travelers who had actual contacts with the Turks and Moors, such as George Sandys, Henry Blount, Thomas Roe, and Nicolas Nicolay, also "offered accounts which combined grudging admiration and awe with some measure of demonization" (Singh, 88).

Furthermore, commercial and political relations with other Muslim powers such as the Safavids of Iran and Mughals of India were also developing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but at least in terms of the English, did not involve extended personal interactions between peoples, as with the Turks and Moors; yet English travel accounts to those empires also express mixed feelings, suggesting an attraction to the promise of trade and the grandeur of these courts, but also an investment in a Christian – in this case, Protestant – ideology of demonizing religious and cultural "others." It is on the nexus of such complexities and ambivalences that one must consider England's (and by inference some European) relations with the non-Western Islamic world.

Several essays in this volume offer us insights into the intricacies of these relations, as they emerged in actual interactions, in trade, diplomacy, piracy, conversions, as well as in literary and cultural representations of stereotypes of Muslims and Islam in drama and poetry. If one trajectory of England's global expansion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries led to the Eastern, Islamic empires which at this time were beyond the reach of England's colonial ambitions, the story was different in the Americas, where powerful men like Sir Walter Raleigh – quite a cosmopolitan figure of his time – were proponents of settlement and colonization in Guiana and Virginia, and in sub-Saharan Africa, where Sir John Hawkins represented England in belatedly attempting to muscle in on Spanish and Portuguese slaving activities. The first English slaving voyages were led by Hawkins in 1562, 1564, and 1567–8, for which he had royal endorsement, taking him to the Guinea coast and the Spanish West Indies, the location for the sale of slaves. And accounts of these voyages were printed in both editions of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, framed by the compiler in terms of nationalistic pride and competition with Spain and Portugal in the slave trade. Overtly, cosmopolitanism – resulting from trade and contacts with foreign mores and exotic products – produced cultural diversity, but its dark side lay in the emerging sub-Saharan African slave trade and the seeds of empire being sown in the Americas.

Given these varied geopolitical arrangements, and returning to my earlier point about the opposing tendencies of cosmopolitanism and xenophobia in early modern English attitudes toward foreigners both home and abroad, we have to consider a wide range of possible responses to alterity within England's globalizing drives. And a dazzling array of these understandings and productions of difference – cultural, religious, sexual, social, and political – is the subject of many English literary and cultural offerings. Thus, in reconsidering the "Renaissance" both as a literary movement, which captured "the spirit of the age," and as a historical period, it is important to recognize that its range was temporal – going back to antiquity – as well as spatial and geographical, stretching across the globe.

III Mapping the Global

The title of this anthology, *The Global Renaissance*, not only calls for a reconsideration of the scope and meaning of the term, "Renaissance" as I have discussed. It also encourages us to "think globally" at the intersections of *contemporary* global capitalism and its cultural networks *and* the *early modern* flow and exchange of commodities, persons, ideas, technologies, and aesthetic objects in relation to England's role within European colonial expansion. Such an epistemology helps us to confront globalization today, which many consider the central crisis of our times. Immanuel Wallerstein historicizes the "discourse of globalization" in similar terms when he states: "we are told by virtually everyone that we are now living, and for the first time, in an era of globalization . . . [but] the processes that are usually meant when we speak of globalization are not in fact new at all. They have existed for some 500 years" (249). Wallerstein's historical formulation of a global system is a useful way of understanding the systemic nature of globalization through different periods. And many of the themes and issues within the essays in this collection resonate with contemporary relevance: flows of capital and labor power; rampant consumerism and material culture; race and gender struggles within the new global cultural economy; East–West economic power struggles and relations with Islam, among several others. While it is important to observe anticipations and echoes between the two different historical moments, and especially in terms of the emergence of capitalism and its links with colonialism, as Wallerstein suggests, it is also necessary, following Foucault's reading of history, to avoid a "totalization of past and present" (Poster, 76). As a result, by disrupting any sense of a seamless continuity between the global drives in the different periods we can retrospectively question the *inevitability* of supposedly inexorable forces of globalization, which are sometimes evoked in terms of a stereotypical "march of history" (my emphasis).[11]

The broad range of essays in this volume offers us a rich, pluralistic perspective on the early modern global world. One way of understanding the ways in which early modern discourses and practices of globalization may conform to or diverge from contemporary global trends and events is via a broad power/knowledge axis: approach-

ing any economic or cultural process as a multiplicity in order to explore each discourse and/or practice separately, unpacking its layers, decoding its meanings, and understanding its development both in its own terms and in relation to larger, cumulative effects of change.[12] This collection of 21 essays engages with the "global" precisely thus: as a multiplicity, encompassing the intersections of global and domestic discourses and practices, in some instances, evoking our contemporary global crises, reminding us that the processes of exploration, travel, trade, cross-cultural and religious interactions, and labor exploitation, among others, have continuing relevance today. And finally, and perhaps crucially, we learn that globalization is not simply an economic or political movement, but equally, as the essays reveal, a product of the ideological work done by literature, art and visual culture, travel writing, and other cultural forms.

The chapters of *The Global Renaissance* are organized into four sections: Mapping the Global; "Contact Zones"; Networks of Exchange: Traveling Objects; and The Globe Staged. These titles do not imply rigid divisions, but rather denote some broad categorizations within which all the essays share common themes and concerns. The essays in this first section all engage with globalization and the global in terms of larger historical and conceptual paradigms.

Daniel Vitkus's opening essay, entitled "The New Globalism: Trans-cultural Commerce, Global Systems Theory, and Spenser's Mammon" (chapter 1), examines the usefulness of applying "global systems theory" to early modern English literature and culture in the context of two critical trends shaping studies of the period: a "micro-material historicism," drawn from de Certeau and Foucault, in terms of "an archeology of local knowledge that traces the private life of objects and everyday lives of people in the past." And a "new globalism" that focuses on England's role in the era of expansion and on how its "culture changed through interaction with other peoples in both the New and Old Worlds." Material historicism, according to Vitkus, has produced some interesting studies in print history, archival investigations into the early modern "book," and a history of reading. But, cautioning against a nostalgia – and fetishization – of the printed book, he promotes recent globalist approaches that weave into their scholarship, capitalism's rise to global dominance and its role in shaping cultural production, including the production of literary texts in early modern England. Global systems theories proposed by Wallerstein and others, Vitkus suggests, enable scholars to connect the most domestic-seeming texts to broader transcultural and global elements.

One such canonical work, Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* – perhaps among the more nationalistic English texts – is also a work that "is restlessly global," Vitkus argues. Beginning with the proem to the second book of *The Faerie Queene*, with its allusions to Peru, the Amazon, Virginia, and to "unknowne lands," which suggests linkages with global networks, the essay focuses on the poem's treatment of Mammon, "both a devil and a false god, and as a personification of wealth and worldly goods." While Guyon's trial in the cave of Mammon (Book II, Canto seven), namely his resistance to the temptation of gold, is often described in theological terms, this essay places

that narrative within a global context, namely that Mammon's attempts to seduce Guyon associate gold not only with the Spanish colonies, but rather with a global phenomenon that includes both Spain and England in its worldwide sweep. Thus, ultimately, Spenser's epic, with all its hearkening back to the Crusades and Middle Ages, is also an important site for unresolved tensions between "a residual code of honor that rejects money as corruptive and a desire to obtain wealth and power . . . under an emergent capitalist economy."

Crystal Bartolovich's essay, "'Travailing' Theory: Global Flows of Labor and the Enclosure of the Subject" (chapter 2), maps the emergence of capitalism by following "both local and global flows of labor-power – and resistance to its privatization," while arguing that both were "implicated in the formation of early modern subjects at the dawn of capitalist accumulation." Exploring both the labor and laborer in a trajectory that moves from the domestic enclosure acts which led to a growing landless population, often labeled "vagrant," in England to narratives of travel and colonization, such as *The Journal of Richard Norwood* (1590–1675), the colonial surveyor of Bermuda, Bartolovich demonstrates how the common labor in domestic and foreign locations did not result in the creation of a global community: but rather "[it led] to securing its opposite: the estrangement and atomization of laborers."

Richard Norwood is known today mainly as the first cartographer of Bermuda. The famous shipwreck of 1609, recounted in William Strachey's narrative (a part of the Bermuda sources of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*) produced conditions of social egalitarianism without any claims of private property, so that the "common people" did not want to leave Bermuda for Virginia. When their demands were quashed and a year later Bermuda was officially colonized, Norwood (also a Puritan) became the surveyor of this Edenic island, imposing private property relations on it for potential investors. Showing the formation of his growing individualist self-consciousness, Bartolovich makes a clear connection between capitalism and individualism as she shows us how "Norwood's Bermuda writings entirely suppress the early Edenic moment of the shipwrecked community," which implies that "the compensation for giving up Eden was individualism, improvement, and order." To sum up, as a Puritan as well as a surveyor, Norwood marks a site in which religious self-consciousness and technological "improvement" worked together to produce the "individual" that is now often, paradoxically, taken for granted as the fundamental unit of "modern" society.

John Michael Archer engages with globalism via an analysis of map-making, representation, and Islam in the Renaissance world-picture as contexts for Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* plays in his essay, "Islam and Tamburlaine's World-picture" (chapter 3). Approaching Marlowe's play as an epic on a global scale, this essay examines Marlowe's "world-picture" – as Heidegger defines it: "not a picture of the world but the world conceived and grasped as a picture." Archer begins with a consideration of how contemporary map-making projects influence the play's epic sweep of geographical locations; and, second, he questions the extent to which Islam was represented within "the human geography of the world pictured on the early modern stage." Muslim strictures on the image and the Qu'ran's cosmography figure in the play,

though representations of Islam remain distorted. But we are nonetheless reminded that representation itself was at stake in the relations between Islam and Christianity in the early modern global world (as it is today).

Marlowe's play is very much preoccupied with mapping the globe and problems of representation; with medieval and Ptolemaic maps, terrestrial globes, and Ortelius' orbicular, round three-dimensional volume on a flat surface. Both the medieval and Ptolemaic maps cancel each other out in Tamburlaine's initial dreams of conquest, and, by the end of Part II, even when a world map quite similar to that of Ortelius appears on stage, Tamburlaine can only enumerate "unconquered regions," accepting the failure of his global imagination of conquest. Archer's larger point here is to show that while the Qu'ran (or *Alcoran*) and the world map both appear on stage, the authority of both "image-objects" is flaunted and then forgotten, as Tamburlaine burns the Qu'ran. Ultimately, not only Islam itself but religion in general "produces an effect antagonistic to representation." Archer's claims serve as a reminder of the intractable religious divisions even in the face of cross-cultural exchanges.

As we have seen in the case of Spenser's epic poem, Norwood's biography, Marlowe's play, and in maps and terrestrial globes, the English (and the Europeans) responded to the global currents by producing cultural forms for mapping, interpreting, and imaginatively and cognitively grappling with this changing world. Chloë Houston further explores this engagement via the genre of utopian literature, rooted in classical and Christian modes of thinking about an ideal way of life, but popularized following the invention of the word "Utopia," and the revival of the utopian mode by Thomas More's *Utopia* of 1516. Entitled "Traveling Nowhere: Global Utopias in the Early Modern Period" (chapter 4), this essay approaches utopias in a global context, demonstrating how they constitute a discourse preoccupied with physical and imaginative experiences of travel beyond European borders, imagining new societies where people may live better lives. Utopian literature, Houston argues, is closely aligned to travel writing and since both forms are concerned with "journeys, discovery . . . cultural exchange and development of networks, and with the recording of these phenomena, [they] have something to do with the process of globalization, and can be understood to be producing and productive of a 'global Renaissance.' "

First examining Lucian's *Vera Historia* as a classical source for the satiric and ironic aspects of early modern utopianism, Houston draws on three texts for her analysis of the status of utopias: Thomas More's *Utopia* set somewhere in the Americas; Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* in the Pacific; and Johann Valentine Andreae's *Christianopolis* in an unknown "Academic" ocean. While the latter two seem to describe somewhat ideal societies, all three were simultaneously enthusiastic about useful possibilities of travel, yet also implied that the ideal society must be kept separate from the rest of the world. Thus the Renaissance utopia's concern with borders and boundaries reflects and even prefigures an interaction with "contemporary processes of globalization," in which the discovery of new lands by English (and European) travelers would become "spaces where territorial claims, and borders and boundaries were redrawn."

IV "Contact Zones"

In considering the Renaissance in "global" terms and understanding how the English (and the Europeans) developed a geographical imagination, it is also useful to examine the historical spaces of "contact zones" as a way of invoking what Mary Louise Pratt defines as "the spatial and temporal co-presence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect" (7). Pratt focuses on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European travelers in Africa and South America, viewing their interactions with the "natives" of these lands in terms of "colonial encounters," but nonetheless wishes to "foreground the interactive, improvisational dimensions of [these] encounters so easily ignored or suppressed by . . . accounts of conquest and domination" (7). The English (and European) exploration and trading activities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not yet a part of a full-fledged colonial global economy that Pratt locates in the eighteenth century, but the early English "colonial encounters" nonetheless offer a complex and nuanced perspective on England's growing expansionist role, as evident in the seven essays in this section, which examine English travel writings, and accompanying cartographic materials. Mapping different "contact zones" in a wide range of geographical locations, these essays involve many different actors: merchants, factors, mariners, ambassadors, captives, soldiers, and free agents seeking wealth and fame, among others.

One arena in which one can see England's increasingly expansionist global ambitions is in the large archive of travel narratives that were produced and disseminated in this period. Hakluyt's monumental editions of *Principal Navigations* testify to this link between travel writing and England's emergent commercial and imperial ambitions. Travelers provided useful knowledge that could be used to promote trading activities. Furthermore, the commercial imperatives of the new print culture gave a strong impetus to travelers to write about the new worlds, thus making "travel and travel writing mutually generative" (Fuller, 2). And it is on the sites of these "contact zones" that the political, commercial, cultural, religious, social, and aesthetic effects of England's global forays are most evident.

While the rewards of travel are widely touted, especially in terms of commercial profits and national progress, England's early modern global exposure also produced attendant anxieties about "leaving home," as elaborated in the opening essay in this section, Andrew Hadfield's "The Benefits of a Warm Study: The Resistance to Travel before Empire" (chapter 5). Elizabethans were not as "globally inclined" as we imagine them to be, he argues, and the attraction for commodities, gold, and a desire for adventure and power were countered by fears about the "dangers and costs of imperial expansion." The source of these anxieties went deeper in the ambivalence – and often hostility – to travel itself per se, which some saw as a threat to the morals, religious values, and the character of the nation, and as somehow unnecessary in the acquisition of true learning that comes from books. Citing dominant intellectual and cultural figures of the period, such as Roger Ascham, Montaigne, Thomas Nashe, and Edmund

Spenser, Hadfield addresses their various responses to questions about the problematic relation between representation and reality in terms of the purported value of travel: "What can actually be learned by travel?" "How was knowledge to be acquired?"

Considering Ascham's views in some depth, Hadfield recapitulates the former's critique of "the sexual habits and beliefs of Italianised Englishmen" and of the English authorities for allowing unrestricted travel, whereby they could destroy the "religious and social fabric" of the nation. The preservation of the post-Reformation Protestant nation was obviously at stake. Montaigne more eclectically calls for unlearned travelers like his servant who can more accurately represent the "raw material of experience," and wonders if travel can provide any real knowledge. The centerpiece of Hadfield's essay, however, is Thomas Nashe's provocative *The Unfortunate Traveler* (1594), which depicts Jack Wilton's adventures and travels in violent scenarios in France, Germany, and Italy, which in turn refigures Ascham's complaint about the corrupting effects of an education via foreign travel. Ending with a reflection on the proem to Book II of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene,* Hadfield argues that while many in the Renaissance considered travel knowledge problematic in its truth claims, they also preferred reading "the accounts of travelers rather than traveling themselves." Despite their anxieties, they could not escape the worlds "elsewhere."

In her essay "'Apes of Imitation': Imitation and Identity in Sir Thomas Roe's Embassy to India" (chapter 6), Nandini Das takes us to an intriguing "contact zone" following the interactions between the Emperor Jehangir and King James's Ambassador (and a representative of the East India Company), Sir Thomas Roe in Mughal India. She begins with the varying accounts of the wager between Roe and Jahangir about whether Roe could correctly identify a copy of an English miniature made by the Mughal court painter. Differing accounts of this episode agree on one thing, namely, that the imitative skills of the Indian artist were exemplary. The responses of Roe and his chaplain, Edward Terry, combining admiration with a certain degree of both conscious and unconscious resistance to Muslim socio-cultural negotiations, highlight three issues, according to Das: one is that given the power of the Mughal empire and the English agents' roles as supplicants, how they negotiated these encounters often led them to consider, via a "self-reflexive turn," issues of identity and difference between the two cultures, which in turn gives us some idea about "the interactions between the home and the world, the familiar and the foreign, through which both the travelers' experiences and their resulting texts took shape." These cross-cultural encounters were inflected in terms of Roe's frequently inadequate responses to Muslim social, linguistic, and cultural codes and rituals that shaped the Mughal court. Second, the large body of travel advice literature frequently reminds us that the subject of imitation was at the center of Renaissance England's debate about travel, and that imitation posed a moral threat to the gullible traveler, as evident in Ascham's writings (also mentioned by Hadfield) and in William Rankins's tract "The English Ape." Finally, Das's analysis of the anxieties about travelers intersects with the literary concept of *imitatio*, with its emphasis on distinctions between desirable and undesirable imitation. With the extended focus of this essay on Thomas

Roe's struggle between feelings of admiration and contention, and between identity and difference while he is at the Mughal court, she illuminates "the fragile correspondences and seminal convergences of systems of meaning between the two nations" in a contact zone which invokes "co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings, and practices" (Pratt, 7).

Richmond Barbour also takes us to the East Indies in his essay, "A Multinational Corporation: Foreign Labor in the London East India Company" (chapter 7). Not unlike Bartolovich, he follows the trajectory of laborers employed by the East India Company: mariners on ships and workers hired both domestically and on foreign locations. Here he postulates that in order to have workers hazard the dangers of these lucrative voyages without access to profits beyond their regular wages, "London merchants instituted divisions of finance and function, and generated vocabularies of race and station which, being yoked to praxis, inflected the emergence of nascent capitalism." Most mariners wagered no money into these ventures, but rather, literally put their lives on the line, given the large numbers of fatalities on these voyages, as is evident in the accounts of accidents and disease.

Typical English strategies of negotiating the differences of station and race, while maintaining a labor supply in their foreign factories (trading posts) is vividly delineated by Barbour in his account of the "*English* Nation at *Bantam*," a factory compound in Java, as recapitulated by Edmund Scott, the chief factor there. A thriving, cosmopolitan port city, Bantam offered many challenges to the English factors, getting the support of the Javanese ruler, striking deals with their Dutch rivals, and negotiating regional differences – among the Javanese, Indians, and Chinese – who, given the limited number of English personnel, provided them with labor in the factories, and sometimes on the ships back home. Thus, Bantam functions as a local, micro setting for England's global trade – a "contact zone" – invoking English relations of contention and exploitation with the native workers, while mimicking local customs in paying homage to the Javanese ruler. Examining the "local" dimensions of the East India Company's global vision, shaped by emergent racist ideologies and the commercial imperatives of the Company's directors in London, Barbour demonstrates a clearer cause-and-effect relation between economic policy and labor exploitation in the period.

While, typically, we think of the age of discovery in terms of English (and European) expansion to the West (the New World) and the East (the Old World), the next two essays map the trajectory of England's commercial and political interests directed to the North Seas and beyond. Mary C. Fuller's essay, "Where was Iceland in 1600" (chapter 8), examines the shifting perceptions of Iceland found in accounts published in England in the early modern period. While focusing on *The Commentary of Island* (or *Brevis commentaries de Islandia*) by Arngrimur Jónsson, published in both English and Latin, in Hakluyt's multi-volume *Principal Navigations* (1598–1600), Fuller places this narrative within a network of discourses and practices: commercial, historical/mythical, religious, cultural, and cartographic. Iceland was "known" to the English, both in terms of multiple histories, often converging popular opinion and

learned discourse, as is evident in Hakluyt's medieval materials, which made Iceland part of a "legendary, archipelagic greater Britain first subject to King Arthur," linked it to Icelandic sagas, and identified it as a dependency of first Norway and then Denmark. Besides these discursive historical connections, in practical terms of global long-distance trade, Iceland was the site of a productive English fishery, and "a part of a network of commercial fishing links between Bristol in England, Iceland, Greenland, and Labrador/Newfoundland."

Jónsson's *Commentary of Island*, as suggested by Fuller, performs a distinct function from other accounts; he sets out to debunk the theories of cosmographers and geographers about Iceland's geography and culture – as a land of natural and supernatural marvels and of uncultured peoples – and to foreground Iceland as a Protestant (Lutheran) land with a distinctly spartan Christian culture. Exposing the gap between accurate representation and hearsay, and often xenophobic myths, Jónsson's *Commentary* educates its Renaissance readers about Iceland, so they see it not as a remote and barbarous place, as "other," but closely linked to England as a Protestant nation.

English explorations of sea routes to the north are also the subject of Gerald MacLean's essay, "East by Northeast: The English among the Russians, 1553–1603" (chapter 9). Discovery of new lands and routes to lucrative trade was the key factor that shaped the power alignments among European powers in the global Renaissance, and one such endeavor by the English was to find a north-east passage to Cathay and China. In 1553, a group of merchants, later to form the Muscovy Company, sponsored such an expedition by Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor, during which the former died at sea and the latter famously sailed into the White Sea, discovering the route to Russia. According to MacLean, their voyage and other attempts to discover a north-east passage to China were ultimately given up as being impractical, but they buttressed the "emerging mythology of England's providential destiny and global importance as an imperial maritime nation" and they had the unintended consequence of opening commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia and Persia.

The reports that came out from later travelers to Russia, several published in Hakluyt, according to MacLean, fascinated readers at home and gradually constellated into an English mythology about the relative backwardness of Russians, which further made it "possible for the English to imagine themselves living amidst greater wealth and civility." Accounts by Adam Clements, who went on the 1555 expedition, Anthony Jenkinson, who made four voyages to Russia between 1557 and 1572, which were both published by Hakluyt, and other separate books, like Giles Fletcher's *Of the Russe Common Wealth* (1591), illustrate how "commercial relations generate imperial fantasy." These visions, as the author notes, developed in terms of cultural comparisons. Both Ottomans and Russians provided models of existing empires – adjacent Eastern realms governed by Muslim despots and Christian tyrants – but they also confirmed Protestant England's "god-given right to a global maritime empire."

Catherine Ryu's essay, "The Politics of Identity: William Adams, John Saris, and the English East India Company's Failure in Japan" (chapter 10), considers the global

Renaissance from the perspective of seventeenth-century Japan. The East India Company's venture in Hirado, Japan (1613–23) ended in failure and insolvency, despite the initial hopes and expectations of the company, and in contrast to its success in India and elsewhere. In an attempt to articulate the reasons for this failure, Ryu analyzes (in the context of seventeenth-century Japan) the anxiety-ridden relationship between two key actors in this scenario, both Englishmen: John Saris, the first director of the English factory at Hirado, and William Adams (*c.*1564–1620), the first Englishman, a pilot, and informal adviser to the Japanese shogun, Tokugaza Ieyasu, in the context of the identity politics of the period. Ryu views Adam's network of complex social, commercial, political, and sexual relationships as a lens through which to understand the forces behind his long and prosperous life in Japan, in contrast to the brief existence of the English factory.

In particular, Ryu illuminates the significance of the fiasco of the factory in Hirado, together with England's subsequent failure to establish trade in Nagasaki, within the intensified identity politics during what is called the end "of the Christian century," immediately followed by a period of *sakoku* (closed country) until the mid-nineteenth century. But Japan continued to remain connected to the vibrant China-centered economic system of the period, which some historians consider "as the veritable engine behind the world economy from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century." In looking beyond the context of England's nationalistic self-aggrandizement, – some of which is apparent in Saris's attitudes and cross-cultural interactions – this essay reveals how the English xenophobia and ill-conceived mercantile venture left the company members with little flexibility to maneuver. More importantly, in terms of a larger historical perspective, Ryu challenges the "epistemological framework that supported the 'Rise of the West' as a meta-narrative for the history of all human civilization." Instead, she describes a fraught "contact zone" – a site that remains beyond the emerging European colonial frontier.

If "contact zones" invoke a sense of a colonial frontier, the final essay in this section theorizes the image of an inn or a hotel as a frontier of trans-national encounter in the early modern period. Ian Smith's essay, "The Queer Moor: Bodies, Borders, and Barbary Inns" (chapter 11), begins with the reference in Shakespeare's *Othello* to the "Sagittary Inn," where Othello, early modern traveler *par excellence*, is lodged. The emblematic name evoked by the figure of "Sagittarius," the centaur, the half-man, half-horse famous in classical literature, intersects with the title "The Queer Moor" – a term not only referencing Shakespeare's "peripatetic African," but also identifying, Smith argues, "the persistent construction of the North African, Muslim, or Turk as sodomite in order to examine the ideological value of such an inscription in European dramatic and travel literature."

Linking images of the Sagittary inn as a place of boundary crossings – sexual, human, bestial, religious, political, cultural – with Leo Africanus's evocation of Barbary inns in terms of a culture of transvestism, and of the Turkish seraglio, functioning as a trans-national dwelling and site of cultural and sexual reorientations, Smith inflects cross-cultural exchange with racial and gender ideologies in the early

modern period. More specifically, he suggests, via the premises of "Queer" theory, that the English (and European) obsession with sodomy among the "infidels" takes "the form of the symbolic construction of the masculine, patriarchal European self under siege by the representative forces of Islam, who have, in a manner recalling Iago's own anxiety, leaped into the driver's seat." Global networks of exchange in the Renaissance not only implied commercial and economic transactions, but also, as Smith illuminates, refigured European systems of signification, in this instance sodomy, in grappling with new and variable categories of difference evoked by the "others" they encountered.

V Networks of Exchange: Traveling Objects

In charting the travels of Englishmen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (belatedly following the Spaniards and Portuguese) in the last section, it is apparent that the travelers were often drawn by the imperatives of trade, commerce, and profit, as much as by curiosity, personal ambition, or national pride. Six essays in this section draw our attention to the material culture of the global Renaissance, exploring the attributes and trajectories of disparate inanimate and organic objects: gun metal, coins, wines, books, and the amaranth flower and seeds – and one essay delineates the cross-cultural appropriation of accounting systems, crucial to tracking the numerical aspects of trade.

The movement, demand, and consumption of commodities in the early modern period cannot be separated from the historical, social, and cultural milieus within which the objects circulated, whether in domestic markets or in the frontiers of the "contact zones," such as the Canary islands, Ottoman and North African kingdoms, and Mesoamerica, among others. In fact, following Arjun Appadurai's premise, these essays demonstrate (in varying degrees and forms) that all "commodities like persons have social lives" (1986, 1) which become apparent while "exploring the conditions under which economic objects circulate in different *regimes of value* in space and time" (1986, 4). Thus, as these essays demonstrate, the value and meaning of any economic object is determined by varying contexts of their spatial and temporal movements.

Matthew Dimmock opens this section with a discussion of the export of valuable English gun metal and arms and the import of decorative "trifles" in his essay, "Guns and Gawds: Elizabethan England's Infidel Trade" (chapter 12). He examines the often xenophobic anxieties surrounding foreign trade via the famous "Dutch Church Libel" of 1593 – a pamphlet attached to the door of a London Protestant church – that attacks foreigners, specifically Northern Europeans, as parasites who facilitate the export of valuable English goods, "our Lead, our Vittaile, our Ordenance," and import of "Pedlers" trifles made from English commodities originally and sold in England. This attack on foreigners and foreign trade is set against a backdrop of economic crises in the 1590s coupled with England's shrinking trade in European markets. Such

mercantile pressures and realignments, Dimmock argues, are clearly demonstrated, on the one hand by the sale of decorative trifles on English streets, and on the other hand by England's growing exports to the "infidel" Ottomans, especially tin from Cornwall and the scrap, bell metal from the old monasteries.

Defying an edict of the Pope against the sale of weaponry and metals, though downplaying the extent of its trading relationship with the Ottomans, England continued to sell bell metal and guns to the Ottomans (and others), as a part of its arms trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Discursively, Dimmock argues, as the centerpiece of his essay, "in the schism of the ongoing Reformation the Protestant English had become the 'infidels' of Christendom, increasingly bound together in polemical, mercantile, and symbolic terms with the Muslim 'infidels' of North Africa and the Ottoman Empire." Yet, while the English were accused by some of exchanging the "Bible for the Alcoran," the bells confiscated from monasteries also became the symbols of "Protestant iconoclasm," reaffirming Elizabeth's status as a "Protestant idol destroyer." In sum, objects such as metal and guns acquired an "infidel" character, associated with the enemies of Christendom, yet in a different "regime of value" they enhanced Elizabeth's power and status.

The context of global commerce (and the importance to it of both arithmetic and accounting) – along with the demonization of Islam as an "Infidel" religion – in early modern Europe is taken up in the next essay by Patricia Parker (chapter 13), entitled "Cassio, Cash, and the 'Infidel O': Arithmetic, Double-entry Bookkeeping, and *Othello*'s Unfaithful Accounts." Beginning with Iago's reference to Cassio as an "arithmetician in Shakespeare's *Othello*," Parker traces the network of signification in early modern literary, cultural, commercial, and scientific discourses concerning the arrival of arithmetic into Europe via early contacts with the Muslim world, which included its dissemination by "Moorish universities in Spain and elsewhere and through the Saracens in Sicily." Despite enabling easier calculations across global networks of commerce and credit, Parker argues, the new arithmetic provoked a strong resistance among Europeans, especially to its "infidel" symbols, including the zero or 0, both because of its "infidel origins" and because as "a sign for what was *not,* it risked identification with blasphemy or heresy."

Since arithmetic, as Parker demonstrates, was simultaneously associated with different kinds of traffic and trade, specific objections also emerged with regard to the fidelity of double-entry bookkeeping (Cassio is also a "counter-caster," an accountant), which grew out of algebra; double-entry helped keep track of commerce and credit, to control factors, agents, and "lieutenants," in early modern Europe, but it was also bound up with issues of honesty – evoking, of course, associations with lack of "credit" (including that to be given to "infidels"). Thus, the intermingling of moral, sexual, and commercial language in *Othello*, signals connections between "credit," true and false accounts, and reputation, which, in turn, coalesce not only around the issue of female fidelity, but also around the figure of the "Moor."

Edward M. Test follows the physical journey of a plant, amaranth, from Mesoamerica to Renaissance gardens throughout Europe, in his essay "Seeds of

Sacrifice: Amaranth, the Gardens of Tenochtitlan and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*" (chapter 14). And, in doing so, he also charts the two systems of signification in which the amaranth accrues differing meanings. For the Mesoamerican Mexica (the pre-Columbian name for the Aztec) the amaranth was integral to their diet, ecosystem, and most importantly (in terms of this essay) to the rituals of human sacrifice. An enormous interest in alien flora – brought by the explorers and merchants who crossed the seas – underpinned the great age of Renaissance gardens and herbal literature in which an interest in botany implied a new scientific curiosity. But, according to Test, these new gardens created also had religious associations with Paradise and Spenser's "Garden of Adonis" in *The Faerie Queene*, drawing on both contexts: of early modern gardeners planting, grafting, mixing foreign and native seeds, and evoking the Genesis where God provides "every herb bearing seed."

Spenser's term "sad Amaranthus" suggests that he knew of the plant's association with Mexica ritual sacrifice but here, as Test argues, "the sacred plant of extreme religious devotion in ancient Mexico is transformed into a symbol of devotional love in England." While pointing to the cross-cultural transference of a range of associations, Test also adds a twist, in order to reverse the Eurocentric template: while the Mexica used their sacrifice rituals "for ritual and regeneration" of the earth, the Europeans used brutal public torture as rituals of imposing order. Second, the gardens of Mesoamerica "propelled the study of botany in Europe," and the supposedly "primitive" New World aided in "the development of the early modern world."

English xenophobia regarding foreign trade, foreigners, and specific commodities, discussed in some of the earlier essays, also figures prominently in Stephen Deng's essay, "'So Pale, So Lame, So Lean, So Ruinous:' The Circulation of Foreign Coins in Early Modern England" (chapter 15). Deng argues that what appears to be a xenophobic response common among all English people actually presents a more complex dynamic when class differences and relations between state and subjects are taken into consideration. In particular, foreign coins, which tended to be gold and higher-valued silver coins, circulated primarily among aristocrats and wealthy merchants, in contrast to the hardworking domestic pennies with which commoners would have been more familiar. Such distinctions between coins are evident in Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, which, Deng argues, maintains clear class distinctions in knowledge and experience of foreign coins despite appearing to offer a fantasy of social mobility. Critique of foreign coins, such as their associations with disease, could be indicative of internal class tensions in addition to a general xenophobia.

Moreover, a suspicion of foreign coins even among the elite could signal anxiety about *English* coins circulating abroad, especially following the disastrous experience of debasement under Henry VIII. Prior to the "Great Debasement," English coins had maintained considerable prestige abroad. But even after Elizabeth's restoration of the coinage, England suffered an inferiority complex about its coins that often inspired ridicule of foreign coins. Ultimately, Deng argues, "English critique of foreign coins should be considered not only as a xenophobic expression of English nationalism, but also as representative of domestic concerns about social relations and a history of

economic exploitation by the state." The social lives of coins, therefore, offer insight into the social lives of English people.

The ways in which a domestic demand for new commodities stimulated traffic and trade to far-flung regions on the globe, such as the Canary islands in this case, and created new social and cultural communities of merchants and factors, is the subject of Barbara Sebek's essay, "Canary, Bristoles, Londres, Ingleses: English Traders in the Canaries in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (chapter 16). Noting the popularity of sack or canary wine (with its familiar associations with Falstaff), Sebek quotes one trader: "there is more Canary brought into England than all the world besides." However, her aim is not to follow the trajectory of the wine's consumption, but to study the Canary trade at its source, "the islands which came to serve as an entrepot linking Mediterranean, northern Europe, north African, Caribbean, and American markets."

Sebek's analysis focuses on the specificities of a locale as rich as the Canaries and on the narrated experiences of two Englishmen who lived there, the factor Thomas Nichols, who arrived in 1556 and stayed several years, and the merchant Marmaduke Rawdon, who lived there twice between 1631 and 1655. The Canaries were the center of a thriving commercial community: "In 1555, the English factory – or trading post – in Gran Canaria hosted a thriving market of English textiles for Canary sugar, wine, and drugs" with huge profits for the English trading companies. Overall, the polyglot island community afforded an easy cosmopolitanism: "a window into the expanding geographies, competing temporalities, and shifting identities in the early modern moment." An interesting fact: given the Inquisition was active on the islands, the traders avoided religious antagonisms, one among many reasons for a fluid and non-homogenous community. Thus, the establishment of the Inquisition on the islands was both a response to and a record of the diverse religious and national groups who settled and thrived there.

A convergence of the possibilities of profit and the printing press in early modern England (and Europe) brought about the "triumph of the book" which "revolutionalized the transmission of knowledge" (Jardine, 177). Adam Smyth's essay, "'The Whole Globe of the Earth': Almanacs and Their Readers" (chapter 17), explores the popularity of a seemingly innocuous kind of book: printed almanacs, perhaps the "most popular printed book in England," which sold in incredible numbers during the seventeenth century, such as "43,000 copies of Vincent Wing's almanac" and "print runs of 18,000, 15,000, 12,000, and 10,000" for other almanacs. The popularity of these miniature books, Smyth argues, reflected the early modern imagination's attraction to small forms which "had a capacity to hold large subjects." In this context, almanacs were quite striking; sold in the last months of the year, providing knowledge of the year to come, they included information ranging from monthly calendars, local fairs, and husbandry advice to lists of dozens of international cities with notes on their location, mediating the local and globe "through sudden shifts of scale."

Almanacs offered considerable global information about foreign lands, generally deploying a "rhetoric of practical application," but Smyth suggests that it is difficult

to know how readers may have used this global information, or whether almanacs were useful to long-distance travel. What almanacs did do, however, was to encourage readers to think about the relationship between the very local and the national, global, and even the astrological. The annotations that readers added to their almanacs, an early form of life-writing, suggest a conception of life mediated through these shifts in scale. Perhaps, in straddling these different dimensions and worlds, the almanacs offer a unique perspective on the era of expansion from such a narrow, yet richly detailed, lens.

The history, contents, and cultural significance of a cosmopolitan costume book, *Habiti antichi et moderno di tutto il Mondo* (1598) – full of prints and descriptions of clothing worn throughout the world, in Europe, in Asia, and Africa – is the subject of the final essay in this section by Ann Rosalind Jones: "Cesare Vecellio, Venetian Writer and Art-book Cosmopolitan" (chapter 18). This essay takes us beyond England's frontier to sixteenth-century Venice, the rival to London as a great mercantile and cultural center at the intersection of East and West, focusing on the cosmopolitan vision of Cesare Vecellio, the compiler of *Habiti antichi et moderno di tutto il Mondo* (1598), and a great admirer of the Turkish Ottomans. Notably, Jones observes, "this Venetian merchant of images and texts looks at the world through the lens of pragmatic curiosity: he is always ready to be favorably impressed." How does the work of this sixteenth-century Venetian artist contribute to a more nuanced understand of the globalizing trends in the Renaissance?

Vecellio, Jones suggests, reflected the spirit of Renaissance Venice, a veritable bazaar of luxury goods and skillfully crafted objects that circulated between Italy and western Asia from the fourteenth century onwards. And both Vecellio and Venice worked outside the "one-way colonizing and missionary takeovers and violent global investments of the Northern and Western Europeans." Instead, Vecellio's openness to a non-European material culture and peoples shows how the circulation of goods and cultures need not depend on coercion, but can be based on "pragmatic adaptation and mutual recognition."

VI The Globe Staged

It would be a critical commonplace to suggest that the very name of Renaissance London's Globe Theatre evoked the drama's engagement with England's role in the expanding world of exploration and trade. And the metaphor of "the world as stage" evokes life as reminiscent of a stage and the stage encompassing and bringing to it the larger world beyond. London's thriving trading communities and cosmopolitan atmosphere provided large audiences for both the public and private theaters; while the presence of penny-paying apprentices and others in the pit was often invoked by the players, new infusions of money also made the theaters a part of the new consumerist culture, as one theater historian notes: "Drake's bullion ships indirectly helped the players because the more that wealth came to the hand in the readily exchangeable

form of money, the more the idle gallants, hangers-on at Court, and Inns-of-Court lawyers were created to seek the entertainment the players were selling" (Gurr, 13). English drama of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was strongly nationalistic in many of its historical and cultural themes and characters, and not surprisingly so, given the aristocratic patronage system as well the royal censorship. Yet, equally striking is the drama's engagement with England's expanding geographical, cultural, religious, and commercial horizons. Cosmopolitan London in the Renaissance is frequently described as a place with large numbers of foreigners and foreign commodities omnipresent in the city streets (Howard 2007, 19–23). Several earlier essays in this volume draw on plays such as Shakespeare's *Othello*, Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* plays, and Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, among others, in order to show how they incorporated and engaged with global perspectives and processes: in terms of commerce, geography, cross-cultural encounters with foreigners, especially with Moors, Turks, and other Muslims, and involving complex race, gender, class, and sexual politics. The three essays in this section are reminiscent of these earlier essays, but they focus more exclusively on Renaissance English drama – both in terms of text and performance – demonstrating that globalization was not simply an economic movement, but as much a product of the cultural and ideological work done by the popular institution of the theater.

The public theater's engagement with "the circulation of fashionable and exotic objects and people, an engagement which was part of its allure" is the subject of the opening essay of this section by Jean E. Howard: "Bettrice's Monkey: Staging Exotica in Early Modern London Comedy" (chapter 19). She begins with a scene in the middle of the first act in a London city comedy, *Eastward Ho*, in which stage directions indicate that Bettrice, a maid in the home of the goldsmith, Touchstone, enters "leading a monkey after her." Who or what is this monkey? Is it a prop and if not, where did the live monkey come from? Addressing these questions, Howard examines their symbolic associations and performative skills, as well as the novelty of acquiring and flaunting a real monkey, which came "among the un-itemized curiosities and trifles offloaded with more serious cargo of spices, cloth, and precious metals brought from the long voyages." They came from regions as far away as India, Africa, and South America, supporting a trend of the domestication of the exotic into "English regimes of representation and pleasure."

Suggesting that the play probably used a real monkey on stage, in a drive for "novelty," Howard also explains how it would also have strengthened the play's imbrications within the geography of the East and West, "situating the theater in a geographical frame much larger than that of London proper." Typically, London comedy may be considered a localized genre, since its subject matter focuses on the locales and mores of the city, but, as Howard demonstrates, "this most localized of genres is also a cosmopolitan and decidedly global genre." Clearly, then, the seemingly innocuous, though attention-grabbing presence of the monkey on the stage in *Eastward Ho* brought home to domestic audiences a reminder of England's global trade and proto-colonial explorations as well as reinforcing in them a taste for novelties that buttressed that very trade.

A number of themes and issues that thread through this volume re-emerge in the next essay (chapter 20) by Virginia Mason Vaughan, entitled "The Maltese Factor: The Poetics of Place in *The Jew of Malta* and *The Knight of Malta*." These include England's increasing geographical awareness; the role of Venice and its geopolitics in the English imagination; English relations with the Ottoman Turks and the Catholic Spaniards; and the complex and often fraught cross-cultural interactions in "contact zones" on the borders of Europe, in this case the island of Malta in the Mediterranean. The English stage, Vaughan demonstrates, functions as a site for re-enactments of these global issues and geopolitics in two plays, Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* (*c.*1589–92), and *The Knight of Malta*, crafted by John Fletcher, Nathan Field, and Philip Massinger for the King's Company in 1619. According to Vaughan, both plays draw their themes and characters from the historical episode of the siege of Malta in 1565, when the last order of crusading knights in Europe miraculously defeated the Turks: Marlowe's play depicts Malta "as a site of commercial transactions among Jews, Christians, and Ottoman Turks," and *The Knight of Malta* "uses the island's famous knights as the backdrop for complex negotiations between rival suitors for Oriana, the chaste heroine."

Malta, as Vaughan reminds us, was regarded as "a liminal space, where a broad cross-section of cultures, religions, and nationalities mingled and struggled for domination" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In his representation of Jews in Malta, for instance, Marlowe draws on both negative and positive associations, as collaborators with the Turkish enemy and as defenders of Europeans in his portrayal of Barabas. And in *The Knight of Malta* it is the black woman, Abdella, who "can never be integrated into Maltese society because she lacks whiteness, a sign of sexual purity." Ironically, even while dealing with the threat posed by the Ottoman Turks, "infidels," both plays ultimately mark not the Turk as enemy, but "the alien within who must be expunged." Whether depicting tragic scapegoats or comic butts for jokes, English Renaissance drama frequently deployed figures of "otherness" – outsiders – who evoked social, cultural, and religious anxieties in an expanding world. Not surprisingly, such figures were often foreigners.

The concluding essay (chapter 21) by David Morrow frames its argument in the general questions about globalization and capitalism with which the volume began (as in Vitkus and Bartolovich). Entitled "Local/Global *Pericles*: International Storytelling, Domestic Social Relations, Capitalism," this essay provides a counterpoint to others in the collection in offering a "domestic" reading of a "global" play. It revisits the long-standing debate about the origin of capitalism by working within the narrative of social transformation developed by Ellen Wood.

Morrow focuses on how Shakespeare's play raises and resolves issues around the transformation of the social relations of domestic production, arguing that *Pericles* "everywhere appeals to the reciprocal rights and obligations of communal ideology," as instantiated in Shakespeare's insistence on the play's links with ritual; in the banter of the fishermen; in the benevolent rule of Cerimon; and in the representations of the travailing bodies of Pericles, Marina, and the prostitutes. Yet Morrow asserts that because they were enacted within the capitalist playhouse such residual appeals

generate and reveal contradictions that are inextricably part of the social transformations that Shakespeare examines. Morrow maintains that attention to the process that Marx termed "primitive accumulation" offers a fruitful (and neglected) means for literary commentators to suggest links between key social struggles of early modern England with the deprivations created by the so-called globalization of our present day.

Ultimately, global drama in Renaissance England – like other literary forms and cultural texts of the period – demonstrates a configuration of cultural forms and material practice. If the promise of commercial profit and future colonization propelled many globalizing drives in early modern England, these in turn were fueled by a global imagination, which shaped the endeavors of England's differing classes, from the monarch, aristocrats, merchants, ambassadors, and commoners, though in different forms and with varying interests and investments. Whether it was the English monarchs who wrote missives to their counterparts in the East, mariners who wagered their lives for future possibilities, merchants and factors who negotiated with foreigners and wrote about their experiences, or poets and playwrights who brought to life worlds "elsewhere," often drawn from the accounts of the travelers, England's era of expansion was conceived imaginatively as much as it was given practical form via mercantile and financial ventures. This imagination could transform a "brazen world" into a "golden" one, dangers and trials notwithstanding, by evoking what was possible and *could be* discovered behind frontiers unknown. It could also function as a colonizing imagination, trying to "establish authority through a demarcation of identity and difference" (Spurr, 7). The "global Renaissance" took shape at the confluence of these differing drives and imaginings. The essays that follow elaborate on this story.

As *A Companion to the Global Renaissance* re-circulates in paperback in 2013, perhaps this is a moment to reflect on the global drives shaping our contemporary world. Some familiar issues of early modern globalization have continuing relevance; for instance, the Apple Inc. factories in Shenzhen, China serve as a "micro setting" for the current global economy just as the factory at Bantam did for the East India Company in the seventeenth century (see Barbour in this volume). And the small electronic tablets produced at Shenzhen are as emblematic of the transmission of knowledge in our own times, as the printed book (including the almanacs) was in the Renaissance. While, in both instances, the commercial and cultural economies intersect, we can nonetheless ask whether the cultural imaginings of globalization are increasingly harnessed to consumerist goals. I raise this question to consider if there are ways to disrupt the vocabularies of free markets – of both material and cultural commodities – and instead, evoke the global via affective histories and shared memories of cultures, peoples, and nations. For example, the West's complex encounters with Muslim societies – in the early modern period, as well as today – can be better understood in the context of intra-Islamic affective imaginings of geography and history. Recently, I visited a remote area of Iraqi Kurdistan, close to the border with Turkey. Global capital and its cultural products have barely entered this region, but local discourse about the larger world evokes a palimpsest of distinctly global histories and memories: of America's attack on Saddam Hussein's Iraq, of Kurdish political and cultural struggles

with Turks, Arabs, and Iranians, and of historical memories of Ottoman rule in the Middle East. Globalization driven by oil companies, western financial institutions, and cultural commodities is at the doorstep of the Iraqi Kurds – but their untold stories offer us an alternative way of reading our globalizing world.

Notes

1 The Armada portrait is frequently ascribed to George Gower, the Queen's Sergeant–Painter, but Karen Hearn questions this certainty: "Apart from the portrait miniatures of the Queen, principally by Nicholas Hilliard, it is almost impossible to identify the actual artists who painted the portraits that have survived. A draft patent drawn up in 1584 would have given Gower a monopoly of her image in every format in large . . . Yet no extant portraits can with certainty be ascribed to Gower himself" (77). For a fuller account of Elizabethan portraits, see Karen Hearn, *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England*, *1530–1630* (77–116). Leah Marcus, like several other critics, accepts the attribution to George Gower in *Puzzling Shakespeares: Local Reading and its Discontents* (279).

2 See Hearn (88). Also, given that there are different dates ascribed to the portrait, general references to the English child in Virginia being born "just before this portrait was created" do not indicate a specific date. For a popular view, see the following website: <http://renaissanceart.suite101.com/article.cfm/the_armada_portrait_of_elizabeth_i>; last viewed September 27, 2008.

3 Jerry Brotton, "Terrestrial Globalism: Mapping the Globe in Early Modern Europe," in Denis Cosgrove, ed., *Mappings* (71). Also see Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, "How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy" (*Past and Present* 129: 30–78). Brotton, in "Terrestrial Globalism" (87), citing the above article, observes that terrestrial globes were not "simply regarded with the passive curiosity that characterizes connoisseurship . . . [t]hey were rather, in the words of Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, 'studied for action' by scholars, princes, diplomats who invested so much political power and authority in them."

4 I loosely adapt this term taken from Arjun Appadurai's formulation of a contemporary global cultural economy that consists of "imagined worlds" within a "complex, overlapping, disjunctive order, which cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing center-periphery models," in *Modernity at Large*: *Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (32–3). He is countering the colonial and neocolonial paradigms of margin and center at the height of empire and later; the early modern global networks, I believe, are also complex and shifting in an age of cross–cultural discoveries and emergent power struggles.

5 For a description of the ideological underpinnings of Burckhardt's idea of the "Renaissance Man," also see Brotton, *The Renaissance Bazaar: From the Silk Road to Michelangelo* (22–7).

6 For a full discussion of Renaissance *Imitatio*, see Greene's definition in *The Light in Troy*: "*Imitatio* was a literary technique that was also a pedagogic method . . . it contained implications for the theory of style, the philosophy of history, and for conceptions of the self" (2). Also see Brotton, for the ways in which a humanist education became useful in "understanding the economics of a progressively global Renaissance world picture," in *The Renaissance Bazaar: From the Silk Road to Michelangelo* (11).

7 For a fuller account of Arabic learning in the field of mathematics and its influence on Western modes of knowledge and commercial practices, see Patricia Parker's essay (chapter 13) in this volume, "Cassio, Cash, and the 'Infidel O': Double-entry Bookkeeping and *Othello*'s unfaithful Accounts." Also see Brotton, *Renaissance Bazaar* (9, 40–6).

8 This trend toward an increasingly cross-cultural, global perspective on Renaissance Europe – with varying emphases on trade, mercantilism, cross-cultural exchange, and religious and ideological struggles – is exemplified by wide-ranging scholarship. Some notable works are as follows: Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama*; Jerry Brotton, *The Renaissance Bazaar: From the Silk Road to Michelangelo*; Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early*

Modern England; Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance;* Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh, eds., *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period;* Gerald MacLean, ed., *Re-Orienting the Renaissance*; Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*; Jonathan Gil Harris, *Sick Economies*: *Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England*; Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng, eds., *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700;* and Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean*, among several others.

9 For an insightful analysis of the complex dynamic between cosmopolitanism and xenophobia in early modern England, see Barbara Sebek, "Morose's Turban" (*Shakespeare Studies* 35: 32–35). Also see Jean Howard, "Introduction: English Cosmopolitanism and the Early Modern Moment" (*Shakespeare Studies* 35: 19–23).

10 Nabil Matar offers a detailed account of these issues in *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (1–42). Also see Jyotsna G. Singh, "Islam in the European Imagination in the Early Modern Period," in Vincent P. Carey, ed., *Voices of Tolerance in an Age of Persecution* (84–92).

11 For this formulation, I am indebted to Mark Poster, *Foucault, Marxism, and History* (70–94).

12 Also see Mark Poster, *Foucault, Marxism, and History* (70–94).

References and Further Reading

Appadurai, Arjun. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," *Theory, Culture, and Society* 7 (1990): 295–310.

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Appadurai, Arjun, ed. *The Social Life of Things*: *Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. II, trans. Sian Reynolds. London: Collins, 1973.

Brotton, Jerry. "Terrestrial Globalism: Mapping the Globe in Early Modern Europe," in *Mappings*. Ed. Denis Cosgrove New York: Reaktion Books, 1999, 71–89.

Brotton, Jerry. *The Renaissance Bazaar*: *From the Silk Road to Michelangelo*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, Vol. II, trans. S. C. G. Middlemore. Introduction, Benjamin Nelson and Charles Trinkaus. New York: Harper, 1958.

Burton, Jonathan. *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579–1624*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005.

Dimmock, Matthew. *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England*. Aldershot, Hampshire and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Press, 2005.

Foster, William, ed. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615–1619*, vol. II. London: Hakluyt Society, 1899.

Fuller, Mary. *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576–1624.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Games, Alison. "England's Global Transition and the Cosmopolitans who made it Possible," *Shakespeare Studies* 35 (2007): 24–31.

Grafton, Antony and Lisa Jardine. "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy," *Past and Present* 129 (1990): 30–78.

Greene, Thomas M. *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.

Gurr, Andrew. *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574–1642*, 3rd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Hakluyt, Richard. *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, vols. I–XII. Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1904.

Harris, Jonathan Gil. *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Hearn, Karen, ed. *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England, 1530–1630*. London: Tate Publishing, 1995.

Howard, Jean E. "Introduction. Forum: English Cosmopolitanism and the Early Modern Moment," *Shakespeare Studies* 35 (2007): 19–23.

Howard, Jean E. *Theatre of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598–1642.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.

Jardine, Lisa. *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance*. New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1996.

Kamps, Ivo and Jyotsna G. Singh, eds. *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

MacLean, Gerald, ed. *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Marcus, Leah. *Puzzling Shakespeares: Local Reading and its Discontents*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Matar, Nabil. *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Okada, Amina. *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court*, trans. Deke Dusinberre. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1992.

Poster, Mark. *Foucault, Marxism, and History: Mode of Production versus Mode of Information*. Cambridge: Polity, 1984.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Sebek, Barbara and Stephen Deng, eds. *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700*. New York: Palgrave, 2008.

Sebek, Barbara. "Morose's Turban," *Shakespeare Studies* 35 (2007): 32–8.

Sidney, Philip. *Sir Philip Sidney: The Major Works*. Ed. Katherine Duncan Jones. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Singh, Jyotsna G. "Islam in the European Imagination in the Early Modern Period," in *Voices of Tolerance in an Age of Persecution*. Ed. Vincent P. Carey, Washington, DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 2004, 84–92.

Spurr, David. *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. "A Tale of Three Empires: Mughals, Ottomans, and Hapsburgs in a Comparative Context," *Common Knowledge* 12/1 (2006): 66–92.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. "On World Historians in the Sixteenth Century," *Representations* 91 (summer 2005): 26–57.

Vitkus, Daniel. *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean*. New York: Palgrave, 2003.

Vitkus, Daniel, ed. *Three Turk Plays From Early Modern England*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. "Globalization or the Age of Transition?; A Long-Term View of the Trajectory of the World System," *International Sociology* 15/2 (June 2000): 249–65.

PART I

Mapping the Global

1

The New Globalism: Transcultural Commerce, Global Systems Theory, and Spenser's Mammon

Daniel Vitkus

Why global systems theory? Why apply it to the study of early modern literature? Why now? To answer these questions, it will help to consider, briefly, what is happening in the world and what is happening in early modern studies. Neo-liberal militarism and transnational neo-imperialism have precipitated a postmodern crisis that has forced intellectuals and scholars, in the wake of September 11, to consider more closely the ways that capitalism both links and divides the world. We have become more attuned to the harmful effects of global capitalism in its postmodern form, and we have been encouraged to think about various global systems of exchange, including immigration, air travel, international trade, and the Internet. It is harder, after the World Trade Center has fallen, to ignore world trade and its consequences.[1]

In the post-9/11 context, with a right-wing politics of alarmism prevailing in the United States, fear has been deployed to mask and justify a corporate-conservative political agenda. A profit-seeking militarism abroad has gone hand-in-hand with increased surveillance and security in the "homeland." Distracted by both a religious fervor and an excessive consumerism, twenty-first-century America has drifted away from the progressive ideals and goals that depend upon a shared, participatory program of civic activism and governmental action intended to alleviate or minimize the social injustice produced by the capitalist class system. The idea that we are participating in an open-ended and unfulfilled struggle to achieve real, universal, human progress has faded from mainstream historical consciousness. But even as the larger historical narratives are forgotten (or reduced to a simplistic and misconceived tale of American triumphalism), an awareness of contemporary global issues and linkages (environmental, diasporic, digital) has intensified everywhere. To employ a concrete example, the hand-held digital device works to both seal off the individual from his or her surroundings, producing an alienating cocoon-effect, and at the same time it offers a sense of connectedness to a matrix of information that stretches invisibly across the planet. This paradox of both trans-national connectedness and localized isolation has

informed, sometimes in subtle or unconscious ways, the attitude of scholars in the humanities.

At the risk of oversimplification, I want to focus here on two intellectual trends that have emerged in early modern studies at this historical juncture – one tendency is local, the other global. On the one hand, there has been a critical movement toward greater textual and cultural particularity: de-emphasizing larger historical narratives or frameworks, many scholars have taken refuge in particular things. This trend goes under a variety of names and subheadings: "thing theory," "the archival turn," materialities of the book, histories of the book, of the object, of the everyday, and even "the new boredom."[2] Descending from Foucault and de Certeau has come a micro-historicism, an archaeology of local knowledge that traces the private life of objects and the everyday lives of people in the past. This kind of work can be extremely productive, opening new lines of research within the field of English cultural history.[3] But there is also a danger: pulling one's head inside the hard, protective shell of "material culture" can become a means of employing historicist procedures in a way that avoids the big problems attending on large-scale questions of politics and ideology. In pursuing an analysis of material culture, one has to be careful not to dodge the issue of so-called "totalizing" narratives that have become unfashionable from a post-poststructuralist point of view.[4] In other words, "micro-materialism" risks becoming "microscopic" without being "microcosmic." At best, this kind of materialist criticism does succeed in placing micro-material histories within a larger critique of ideology that engages with "big picture" historical narratives about class, gender, and race. But the risk is that it may dwindle into a petty antiquarianism, a flight from history writ large, and the end of politics. We peer down through a micro-historical lens to get a better look at the strange and fascinating creatures that crawl in the carpet, but in doing so, we sometimes miss the larger design, the overarching historical process.

Of all the early modern "things" or "objects" that have been lovingly recovered through the new "material" historicism, "the book" has been the most intensively fetishized of all. Obviously, there is an important place for scholarship that examines the physical forms and marks of the printing process and those left by the activities of readers (watermarks, bindings, marginalia, etc.). These archival investigations have real historical and political value. The evidentiary record of print serves to clarify and demystify the past, and, in many cases, archivists of the book have worked to refine our understanding of print history and the history of reading in ways that speak to long-term social and cultural processes. These historical reconstructions force us to awaken from the "dream of the master text" and to understand more fully the workings of "the author function." Some scholars of book history have even deployed their findings in order to expose and debunk right-wing distortions and interpretations of texts like the US Constitution. While it often enables historical knowledge of one kind or another, the current vogue for history of the book scholarship may also be the sign of a powerful nostalgia for the modern, printed book in a postmodern age of virtuality and digitization.[5] The history of the book trend feeds off and encourages

the notion of a Benjaminian "aura" surrounding the enarchived early modern "rare book," even as electronic databases like Early English Books On-Line render the first-hand examination of such books dispensable for scholars who are not engaged in projects that require the physical handling of early printed books.[6]

At the same time that the history of the book and other forms of micro-material historicism have flourished, there has been a very different (one might say opposing) tendency in post-9/11 early modern studies. Since the new century began, we have seen a growing initiative emerge within the field, a new globalism that reaches out beyond the borders of English culture to find connections with other cultures and to tell the story of how English culture changed and developed through interaction with other peoples in both the New and Old Worlds.[7] There has been a resurgence of interest in English representations of other cultures, of cross-cultural exchange. These globalist scholars tend to frame their investigations and arguments within larger historical narratives about class, colonialism, and gender. I am thinking here of studies like John Archer's *Old Worlds*, Valerie Forman's *Tragicomic Redemptions*, Barbara Fuchs's *Mimesis and Empire*, Ania Loomba's *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism*, Shannon Miller's *Invested with Meaning*, Mark Netzloff's *Internal Empires*, and Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh's collection *Travel Knowledge*, to name a few. Critics such as these are interested in the way that English culture changed as capitalism emerged, and they see English capitalism's emergence as a phenomenon that is both domestic and global, part of a "global system" that connects England (and Britain) to the rest of the world. This kind of work is valid and important for a variety of reasons, including the present need to tell the tale of capitalism's rise to global dominance in an age when the power and pressure of global capitalism is pushing us ever closer to crisis. The work of cultural historians today can help to communicate, among specialists in our field and to a wider audience, the story of how the global economy developed, and how a culture of capitalism emerged to support and redirect commercial energies. If capitalism is the engine that drives history, then perhaps we should not ignore its shaping role in relation to cultural production, including the production of literary texts.

Beginning with its founder, Immanuel Wallerstein, global systems theory has developed an empowering conceptualization of economic history that can be used to inform the narrative of British cultural history. Global systems theory has changed and developed over the years and is by no means a homogenous school of thought. Theorists like Wallerstein, Andre Gunder Frank, Kenneth Pomeranz, Samir Amin, and others have debated and disagreed with each other vigorously, but their debates, taken as a whole, offer a useful frame of reference for understanding the rise of capitalism, the beginnings of European colonialism in the New World, and the cultural changes that accompanied these developments.[8] They also help us to see how early modern Europe was connected to other parts of the world. After reading global systems theory, we begin to see "English literature," not only within a Eurocentric, humanist tradition, but within a much broader matrix of global flow and exchange – of goods, texts, people, and ideas. Obviously, this approach will be of much greater interest to scholars who want to connect specific texts to broader cultural

transformations or channels of dissemination, but once we begin to think globally, even the most domestic-seeming texts and local issues are found to have transcultural elements. After all, no culture is sealed off, pure or static, and if we look at early modern England, we find a textile-exporting and luxury-importing island with a rapidly developing maritime culture. London, the site of so much literary and theatrical activity, was a commercial port directly connected by the Thames River estuary to the open sea and thus to the world.

The last third of the sixteenth century witnessed an astounding outward thrust of the English economy, one that wrought profound changes in English culture, including a much higher level of cross-cultural contact. London became more cosmopolitan and its population of "strangers" and immigrants increased. The ideological conditions of the time were profoundly affected by these economic changes, and cultural production, in turn, had a shaping influence on economic behavior. Global systems theory makes clear that the tremendous commercial expansion of the late sixteenth century did not come about because of some "natural" Anglo-Saxon capitalist essence that was waiting to be actuated. England, Britain, and Western Europe did not comprise national or regional units of economic activity that could autonomously initiate or generate such an expansion; rather they participated in a dynamical system or assemblage to which they were linked through a global web of supply and demand. And it was the organization of flow and exchange within that system as a whole that allowed for England's changing economic circumstances.[9]

The middle of the sixteenth century was a time of relative commercial isolation for England, in part because overseas trade was hampered by the internal struggle between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. This economic seclusion began to change, however, during the second half of the sixteenth century, and, by the early seventeenth century, the English had "exchanged their passive, dependent role in Europe's trading system for an active, independent role in the world" (Andrews, 8). The enduring tendency for silver to be valued more highly in Asia than in Europe shaped the commercial world of the late sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and this economic activity helped to stimulate the rise of European capitalism.[10] In China, for instance, there was a strong demand for gold and silver. The tug of this "bi-metallic flow" allowed for spices and luxury goods to travel west to Europe, while New World gold and silver were brought from the mines in the Americas to Europe and then moved on to Asia. According to the economic historian Jan de Vries:

> The fifteenth-century introduction [in China] of a silver currency and the imposition in the 1570s of the "single-whip" tax system (transforming various payments in kind to a single tax payable in silver) established the basis for China's seemingly insatiable demand for silver. The silver required to monetize the economy was enormous, and it became a moving target as population growth accelerated. (96)

Recent work in global systems theory has focused on China's important role in the world economy. There has been a welcome effort by Andre Gunder Frank, Kenneth

Pomeranz, and others to counter a Eurocentric tendency in Wallerstein's work, and to stress the notion that the "great divergence" between the European economy and the rest of the world should be understood in terms of a worldwide, holistic system. These developments comprise a new global approach to history writing that differs from earlier forms of "world history" that were Eurocentric or even "comparative." Insofar as scholars working on early modern texts continue to do historicist work that appeals to a broad vision of embeddedness in historical processes, this new global approach to history becomes an important framework for making sense of cultural history.

As I said earlier, many scholars working on early modern literature and culture have been demonstrating the ways in which English culture was going global in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This transformation has been revealed from many different angles. Lesley B. Cormack, in her study of what she calls "the English geographical community" (50), argues that "Geography provided a key to an imperialism that stressed the superiority of the English people and customs and the knowability, controllability, and inferiority of the wider world" (11). Scholars like Jonathan Gil Harris and Jean E. Howard point out the contradiction between xenophobia and cosmopolitanism that intensified during this period, as London adapted to a new position in the changing matrix of global commerce.[11] Walter Cohen and Crystal Bartolovich have written about how London was becoming a "world city," and how that worlding was expressed on the London stage.[12] At a number of linked sites of textual production and consumption, from the English universities to the theaters and wharves of London, to the trade networks and diasporas that connected London to overseas markets, we see the beginnings of what we now call "globalization." If I choose to make English culture the primary object of analysis here, this choice does not imply that England or Britain or Europe (whatever "Europe" might have been in 1600) are causally more significant in bringing about a new world order than other participants in the global system, like China or India or Persia.[13] My analysis acknowledges the participation of London in an economic and transcultural system of catalytic dependencies and dynamical changes. Before the 1570s, English society was far less mobile and outgoing, but as English merchants, sailors, pirates, colonists, travelers, and diplomats began to circulate in unprecedented ways beyond the shores of the British Isles, literary production became more globally oriented as well. This global turn is seen in prose narrative, in the theater, in epic poetry, and in other genres. Early modern authors were stimulated by the new cross-cultural contact: from More's *Utopia* to Shakespeare's *Tempest* we can see clearly that many authors were inspired by this experience. I will try to demonstrate my point with reference to a single text, but one that is restlessly global – Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.

Spenser's romance epic hearkens back to the era of the Crusades and the literature produced at that time, when English knights traveled to the Middle East and participated in its economy. The European romance tradition of the Middle Ages, with its orientation toward the Holy Land, represented Christian–Muslim conflict as a struggle between Christian knights and their "saracen" or "paynim" foes. Spenser and other

English authors of the late sixteenth century took up the thread of that tradition and refashioned it to weave new versions of romance narrative, and new trans-national, imperial epic poems.

In *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser's imaginative geography encompasses Ireland, Europe, the East Indies, and the West Indies. Spenser's epic is oriented not only toward the English court, but also toward the known world, the colonial contact zone, and beyond. His patrons, including Raleigh and the Queen, were interested – and, literally, invested – in England's connections with the global system of the day. Spenser's allegorical heroes pursue their quests through Fairyland, and the exhausting labor that they undertake is compared to the poet's long-distance labor – both the heroic quest and the poet's task are figured as a journey by sea.

Perhaps the connection between poetic inspiration and global vision is most explicit in the proem to the second book of *The Faerie Queene*, which begins with these cantos:

> Right well I wote most mighty Soveraine,
> That all this famous antique history,
> Of some th'aboundance of an idle braine
> Will judged be, and painted forgery,
> Rather then matter of just memory,
> Sith none, that breatheth living aire, does know,
> Where is that happy land of Faery,
> Which I so much do vaunt, yet no where show,
> But vouch antiquities, which no body can know.
>
> But let that man with better sence advize,
> That of the world least part to us is red:
> And dayly how through hardy enterprize,
> Many great Regions are discovered,
> Which to late age were never mentioned.
> Who ever heard of th'Indian Peru?
> Or who in venturous vessell measured
> The Amazon huge river now found trew?
> Or fruitfullest Virginia who did ever vew?
>
> Yet all these were, when no man did them know;
> Yet have from wisest ages hidden beene:
> And later times things more unknowne shall show.
> Why then should witlesse man so much misweene
> That nothing is, but that which he hath seene?
> What if within the Moones faire shining spheare?
> What if in every other starre unseene
> Of other worldes he happily should heare?
> He wonder would much more: yet such to some appeare.
> (Book 2, proem, 1–3)[14]

The three-part "world" (composed of Europe, Africa, and Asia) that was thought, since ancient times, to make up all of earthly creation was now to be understood as part of a much larger global system. "Hardy enterprize" (i.e., risky investment in long-distance voyages) was bringing new worlds into connection with the old ones.

In Book One, Spenser had already compared his epic narrative to "the long voyage" (1.12.42) of a sailing vessel, but the proem of Book Two goes further, asserting an analogy between imaginative capacity, textual production, and global "enterprize" or exploration. Fairyland, claims the poet, is just as real, perhaps more real, than "other worldes" that are yet "unknowne." In part, this is merely a playful, ironic defense of fiction, poetry, and the imaginative arts; but these cantos also refer to a very real spatial, textual, and epistemological reorientation for Spenser and his audience when the poet declares, "of the world least part to us is red." By the time that Spenser wrote, English readers had been exposed to an outpouring of new discovery narratives describing previously "unknowne" lands, peoples, cultures, customs, commodities, and artifacts. As this data proliferated, it was redistributed and reorganized in various textual forms. These texts circulated and came to inform English culture, and they brought into play a powerful new outlook or world-view. The experience of coming to know what had until that time been unknown about the rest of the world was suddenly an open-ended, continual process, one that could not rely on received wisdom. Spenser's proem refers to the manner in which the new data was consumed as it was conveyed by the textual and oral reports from those who were engaged in the global enterprise of "discovering" and measuring those things "Which to late age were never mentioned." Spenser suggests that any stubborn reliance on the old Euro-centrism, based in the geographic writings of the ancients (those of the "wisest ages"), is likened to the over-skeptical folly of a "witlesse" bumpkin who will only believe in "that which he hath seene."

The proem's allusions to Peru, the Amazon, Virginia, and to "unknowne" lands also indicate Spenser's very real linkages to the global network through the patronage system of his day. Sir Walter Raleigh, who was himself the author of globally oriented texts like *The Discoverie of Guiana* (1595) and *The History of the World* (1614), was a participant in the "endlesse work" of discovery, and Spenser's close ties to him are apparent in many sections of *The Faerie Queene*. As Spenser traveled together with Raleigh between Ireland and London in 1589, he read portions of *The Faerie Queene* to Raleigh, and the famous "Letter of the Authours" addressed to Raleigh indicates the role of Spenser's patron as a privileged reader of the epic. As a member of Raleigh's circle of clients, and as the leader of a short-lived colonial settlement in Munster, where Spenser's holdings were adjacent to land owned by Raleigh, Spenser was a co-participant with Raleigh in the English effort to strengthen and expand their colonies in Ireland.[15] William Oram has argued that Spenser's involvement in Ireland was an experience of alienation: "To give up England while continuing to write her national epic must have involved some sacrifice and uncertainty" (342), writes Oram. And while there is certainly some truth to this, we might also say that Spenser and his epic were not limited to the English national imagination, but were shaped in part

by a global, trans-national vision. Stephen Greenblatt's chapter on Book Two of *The Faerie Queene* in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* makes clear the connection between Guyon's quest, the Irish colonial context, and the experience of English Protestant settlers in the New World. Spenser also participated together with Raleigh in the Elizabethan Protestant resistance to Roman Catholic power, and in his epic that struggle is represented as a global conflict. And Raleigh himself once declared, "Whosoever commands the sea, commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself" (cited in Sherman, 93).

In Book Two of *The Faerie Queene*, Guyon and Arthur confront three exotic foes – Mammon, Maleager, and Acrasia – who represent the temptations and obstacles faced by those who venture forth from England to seek wealth and land amongst the "salvage" or "paynim" peoples of the earth. Temperance must contend, not only with domestic enticements, but also with the erotic pleasures offered by other cultures, and with the temptation of gold, the holy grail sought by Raleigh in Guiana and found by the Spanish in Peru. Guyon's greatest trial takes place in canto seven of Book Two, in the Cave of Mammon. Here, Guyon is not tested in knightly combat, and though Mammon is annoyed that Guyon resists temptation, Mammon himself is never in danger of defeat. It is this episode that I would like to examine more closely, in terms of the global system and the circulation of precious metal that was such an important force in the worldwide movement of goods and peoples in the early modern period. Though silver was actually more important to the global economy, the more valuable metal, gold, was the most sought after by the British adventurers and privateers of Spenser's day, and gold serves as a fetishized symbol for the extractive riches obtained and controlled by Spain through her overseas empire.

According to Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana*, Spanish gold "indaungereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe, it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into Councels, and setteth bound loyalty at libertie, in the greatest Monarchies of Europe" (127–8). Despite this warning, in the same text Raleigh promises, "Where there is store of gold, it is in effect nedeles to remember other commodities for trade" (195). Gold becomes a primal signifier, the sign both of a profound corruption that knows no boundaries and, at the same time, of a transcendent value that can buy anything and everything. Just as Spain is both the enemy and the model for ambitious English subjects like Raleigh, gold is both the source of a tyrannical, ungodly power *and* the ultimate object of noble aspiration. For the virtuous adventurer, gold is merely a means to an end, and to love or desire gold for its own sake is sinful and irrational, but the overdetermined significance of gold in the Cave of Mammon also refers to the allure of profit that motivates all sorts of economic activity.

In his discussion of "Guyon, Mammon's Cave, and the New World Treasure," David T. Read looks at the Cave of Mammon episode through the lens of English perspectives on the Spanish "hunger of gold." Read points to early modern accounts of Spanish exploration that described the conquistadors' desire for gold as something that "prevents or frustrates men from fulfilling their bodily needs" (217). Read quotes

from Peter Martyr's narrative, translated in Hakluyt: "the hunger of golde, dyd noo lesse encorage owr men to adventure these perels and labours then dyd the possessynge of the landes" (cited in Read 1990, 217). According to Read, this perverse tendency to put a figurative "hunger" for gold before the natural hunger of the body accounts for the physical collapse experienced by Guyon after he escapes the cave. At the same time, Read suggests that "the Cave of Mammon allegorizes the emerging mercantilism of a financially pressed nobility in the late sixteenth century" (Read, 212n). The colonial forms of conquest and overlordship that would presumably establish new limbs of the Spanish body politic were supplemented, and sometimes superseded, by a desire for gold that made the possession of land, and the expropriation of native labor, a mere means to control a supply of precious metal.

But to limit our analysis of gold in the Cave of Mammon to the events of Raleigh's journey to Guiana, or to a contextualizing exploration of early modern goldmining, refining, and coining practices, would be to follow the pattern of the "new materialism" that focuses on the object without placing that object in relation to larger historical processes or ideological movements. Instead, I want to point out that Mammon's power is described by Spenser in global terms. Mammon's attempts to seduce Guyon suggest that gold is associated, not only with the Spanish colonies, but with a global phenomenon, one which includes both Spain and England in its worldwide scope.

The figure of Mammon signified, in early modern economic and religious discourse, as both a devil and a false god, and as a personification of wealth and worldly goods. The name "Mammon" is a Syriac word that appears twice in the Gospel, in Luke 16: 9–13 and Matthew 6: 24. The latter passage from the Sermon on the Mount is translated in the Geneva Bible as follows:

> No man can serve two masters: for either he shall hate the one, and love the other, or else he shall leane to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and riches.

A marginal gloss to "riches" says, "This word is a Syrian word, and signifieth all things that belong to money." "Riches" is a translation of the Syriac "mamonas," and in the King James version, the word appears not as "riches," but as "Mammon." The *OED* cites John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (1563): "Thys wycked Mammon, the goodes of thys worlde, whyche is their God." When Thomas Becon defines the enemies of humankind–the devil, the flesh, and the world – in his *Catechisme* (included in his 1564 *Worckes*), he identifies "the world" with Mammon:

> All folowe the worlde, which both with his pleasures and richesse doothe so entangle menne in thys oure age, that he seemeth to raygne alone lyke a God. All folowe the worlde, even from the higheste to the lowest, from the kyynge to the subiecte . . . They are all Mammonistes and worldlinges. (Becon, 415)

Spenser's Mammon introduces himself as "God of the worlde and worldlings . . . / Great Mammon, greatest god below the skye" (2.7.8), a reference to this homiletic

tradition; but Spenser's allegory also allows for an understanding of Mammon as the spirit of the global transmission of wealth.

John Dee, in his *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* (1577), also refers to Mammon as a personification of economic misbehavior. In that text, Dee lays out a program for global navigation, expansion, and trade to be based on the nationwide sponsorship of a royal navy that would maintain a secure environment for commercial expansion and venturing. According to Dee, such a national project would circulate and bring home wealth by means of foreign trade and the opening of new markets. Dee contrasts his project with an opposing form of economic behavior that he says is harming and holding back "the weal-Publik of England" (33). Because they do not engage in beneficial exchange, those who bring dearth to the commonwealth by their hoarding of wealth and speculation in commodities are called "Mammon's dearlings" (33). Dee describes the "Carefull freend, and doting louer, of wicked Mammon" whose wealth and goods are "only, for his most Priuate Gaynes sake, to be Bagged, or Chested vp, for his Idoll, to behold or Delight in, As in his strength, and furniture: ready to mainteyn hym, in other wicked purposes" (33). Dee's Mammon is the god worshipped by the hoarder, the encloser, the monopolist, and the primitive accumulator; and so is Spenser's Mammon, but Spenser supplements the traditional meaning of Mammon used by Dee. The Mammon of Spenser's allegory embodies a paradox that links the local hoard or domestic accumulation to a global circulation system.

The opening stanzas of Book Two, Canto seven, associate Guyon's knightly quest with new world exploration: first Guyon is compared to a navigating pilot making his way across the sea, and then to a European explorer arriving the New World, "he traveild through wide wastfull ground,/That nought but desert wildernesse shewed all around" (2.7.2). There, in a "gloomy glade," the knight of Temperance encounters "An uncouth, salvage, and uncivile wight" whose "face with smoke was tand" (2.7.3). Mammon is "Of grisly hew, and fowle ill favour'd sight" (2.7.3), and he wears a rusty "yron coate . . . enveloped with gold." This coat appears "to have beene of old/A worke of rich entayle, and curious mould,/Woven with antickes and wild Imagery" (2.7.4). One possible reading of the figure of Mammon might interpret him as an Amerindian living in the forest and adorned in the ornate garb of a chieftain or shaman. He is counting a "masse of coyne" when Guyon stumbles upon him,

> And round about him lay on every side
> Great heapes of gold, that never could be spent:
> Of which some were rude owre, not purifide
> Of Mulcibers devouring element;
> Some others were new driven, and distent
> Into great Ingoes, and to wedges square;
> Some in round plates withouten moniment;
> But most were stampt, and in their metal bare
> The antique shapes of kings and kesars straunge and rare.
> (2.7.5)

Mammon's gold is an inexhaustible resource: it "never could be spent" both in the sense that it is seemingly limitless in quantity, and that it is being hoarded and kept out of circulation. It also takes many shapes and forms, its "bare" metal bearing the mark of the many different rulers who have tried to put it to use as both a symbol and a resource to enhance their worldly power. These royally minted coins form a kind of ruin, a nasty pile heaped in a foul dark place, a hoard that attests to the efforts of "kings and kesars" to stamp their identities on the world of matter. In a lifeless heap, these coins figure the wealth employed by the rulers of kingdoms and empires throughout the world, and their minting of a royal coinage that would assert identity and nation, now indiscriminately mingled together to form an international "masse."

Guyon cannot imagine where Mammon can "safely hold/So huge a masse, and hide from heaven's eye" (2.7.20), and he questions Mammon: "What art thou . . . /That here in desert hast thine habitaunce,/And these rich heapes of wealth doest hide apart/From the world's eye, and from her right usaunce?" (2.7.7). Guyon's desire to "see" and "know" the "secret place" that is the source of Mammon's gold is what initially draws him into the cave. Guyon does not desire to possess the gold, but he wants knowledge of its origin, its production, and most importantly – its global circulation.

> They forward passe, ne Guyon yet spoke word,
> Till that they came unto an yron dore,
> Which to them opened of his owne accord,
> And shewd of richesse such exceeding store,
> As eye of man did never see before;
> Ne ever could within one place be found,
> Though all the wealth, which is, or was of yore,
> Could gathered be through all the world around,
> And that above were added to that under ground.
>
> The charge thereof unto a covetous Spright
> Commaunded was, who thereby did attend,
> And warily awaited day and night,
> From other covetous feends it to defend,
> Who it to rob and ransacke did intend.
> Then Mammon turning to that warriour, said;
> Loe here the worldes blis, loe here the end,
> To which all men do ayme, rich to be made:
> Such grace now to be happy, is before thee laid.
> (2.7.31–2)

The so-called Cave of Mammon is only "Lyke an huge caue" – it is really a vast mine, "hewne out of rocky clifte" (2.7.28). The gold in Mammon's mine is the hellish equivalent of El Dorado, of what Raleigh called "El madre del oro (as the Spaniards term them) which is the mother of gold" – it is the great source of precious metal

that Raleigh hoped to find in the hidden empire of Manoa, a hoard bigger than the Peruvian motherlode.

When offered these riches, Guyon refuses, declaring that he would rather "be Lord of those, that riches have,/Then them to have my selfe, and be their servile sclave" (2.7.33). Through Guyon's rejection of the mother lode fantasy, Spenser suggests that there is a higher power that is capable of commanding those who have wealth, a power that could operate without being tainted by desiring or possessing metal or coins in a direct way. Guyon's refusal of Mammon's gold invokes this fantasy of a feudal power that could function by means of mutual obligation rather than by participation in the marketplace and its values.[16] But this social order was already passing away in Spenser's day. Cicero's aphorism, that "A limitless supply of money forms the sinews of war," was increasingly valid, and money was also needed to sustain a military and commercial capability that would be definitive of the modern state. Empire, colonies, military might, monarchical power itself – all these needed much more than what Quilligan calls "a feudal gift economy of service" in order to be viable (Quilligan 1983, 56). Already by the early sixteenth century, rulers like the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I were kept in thrall to bankers like the Fuggers.[17] Guyon can refuse the offer of wealth and the hand of ambition, but Europe's early modern rulers could not.

Mammon's snappy answers to Guyon's stupid questions refer to a systemic economic power – the ability to control markets and the circulation of commodities and money. Mammon himself is the spirit of primitive accumulation, the maker and breaker of kings, but he is at the same time the spirit of the global economy, generating and regulating the flow of precious metal:

> God of the world and worldlings I me call,
> Great Mammon, greatest god below the skye,
> That of my plenty poure out unto all,
> And unto none my graces do envye:
> Riches, renowme, and principality,
> Honour, estate, and all this worldes good,
> For which men swinck and sweat incessantly,
> Fro me do flow into an ample flood,
> And in the hollow earth have their eternall brood.
> (2.7.7)

This stanza hints at the older myth about gold as something essential and sacred, a divine element with healing powers – the gold that was the goal of the alchemists' holy experiments, a sign of plenty and divine bounty, given to those whom God favors. But the Cave of Mammon also represents gold as something unnatural. This is the other myth about obtaining gold, a metal that was said to generate in the womb of Mother Earth until miners extract it by violating and raping the earth.[18] As Guyon puts it, "then gan a cursed hand the quiet wombe/Of his great Grandmother with steele to wound,/And the hid treasures in her sacred tombe,/with Sacriledge to dig"

(2.7.17). When gold or other metals are not only mined, but coined and imprinted with the images of kings and queens, those sacred objects, stolen from the earth's "sacred tombe," are then made available to be worshipped as idols. Coining thus allows for mass idolatry, and makes an idol of the monarch. Mammon's gold is both "natural" commodity and social money, essential thing and arbitrary holder of value, feudal lucre and fungible capital. The positive signification of gold is no longer viable in Mammon's money factory, and yet the new economic system will not allow the old aristocratic patronage system and its cultural codes to go on functioning. Thus arises Guyon's dilemma: he cannot accept the corruptive gift of gold, but to see and know, and yet refrain, is to remain outside of the new global system of exchange that is so irresistibly attractive to courtiers, merchants and monarchs alike.

It is not merely *curiositas*, or even a conquistador-like colonial desire for gold that seems to motivate Guyon's descent into the cave. Instead, it is a need to know how it is possible that such a hoard of gold can exist in one place, defying the forces of economic desire and exchange. Once Guyon descends into the cave, he observes but succeeds in resisting the temptation to touch or remove any of Mammon's wealth. Having refused to accept any gold, Guyon returns to the surface of the earth and immediately collapses. This physical collapse suggests that the noble effort to remain free of Mammon's taint will render the venturing hero powerless – or, at least, will leave him exhausted and dependent on the aid of others. Participation in the global economy is necessary in order to sustain heroic vigor and movement, and it is only the arbitrary arrival of Guyon's guardian angel that saves him.

It is ironic that at the end of Canto seven the knight of Temperance can find no moderate course of action in the cave. He simply refuses to partake: he cannot adapt temperately to an unnatural existence in the underworld, where dead matter is worshipped, and as a result he faints away, loses consciousness. It takes the guardian angel, the Palmer, and Arthur together to protect Guyon until he revives. The rest of Book Two deals with the body and its senses, which must be ruled by reason. The threats and temptations faced by Guyon later, in the Bower of Bliss, have to do with physical pleasure and desire, and the violent repression of those temptations comes much easier to him – his refusal of temptation in the bower empowers his violent force, rather than sapping it. Guyon succeeds in destroying the Bower of Bliss, and his victory there over the sorceress Acrasia is complete. By contrast, after Guyon leaves the cave, Mammon remains unmolested to carry on his global reign.

In the Cave of Mammon episode, Spenser struggles to contain contradictory meanings. Why should Guyon's virtuous, successful resistance of temptation lead to an allegorical "fall" – to his collapse and paralysis? In order to understand the allegorical significance of this mixed message, we might turn, not to the theological explanations offered by earlier commentators like Paul Alpers, Frank Kermode and Harry Berger, but to the opposing concepts of local thing and global system that I have been discussing in this essay. Insofar as Guyon's temptation in Canto seven involves the presentation of a series of things or objects (including the objectified Philotime), he passes the test admirably and serves as a model of temperate abstinence. During his

three-day tour of the cave, Guyon rejects each offered gift, including the hand of Philotime, and refuses to become one of "Mammon's dearlings." And yet his stuttered refusal – "Me list not (said the Elfin knight) receave/Thing offred, till I know it well be got" (2.7.19) – is highly problematic because the "vain shewes" that Guyon scorns cannot be so easily separated from the "emprise" that he pursues. Guyon understands and articulates the traditional, proverbial and theological grounds for the rejection of Mammon worship: money is the root of all evil; the desire to accumulate worldly goods is sinful; in the Golden Age there was a pre-monetary society, later corrupted by the mining of golden coins; and so on. As Berger observes, "He should, with this knowledge, want nothing to do with Mammon" (19). And as Berger argues, Guyon's curiosity and his willingness to let Mammon be his guide indicate the dangers of exceeding one's "human finitude" (29). According to Berger, Spenser's allegory of the cave shows how even a temperate Christian may fall prey to "concupiscence of the eyes," and thus be "tempted to make trial of his excellence by adhering to unnatural conditions, tempted to pleasure his soul by bruising his body" (27). What Berger and the others do not discuss is the unresolved tension between the condemnation of a hunger for gold and an English desire for golden colonies; between a residual feudal code of honor that rejects money as corruptive, and a desire to obtain the wealth and power generated by international trade under an emergent capitalist economy; and finally, between a system of aristocratic patronage and the new capitalist system based on credit, debt, and bills of exchange – a system that had no direct need for gold but relied instead upon invisible agreements.

Maureen Quilligan has argued, following Fredric Jameson and Richard Halpern, that Spenser's romance-epic exhibits a formal, generic hybridity, one that is symptomatic of the overlapping of residual feudalism with emergent capitalism.[19] And, in the Mammon episode, she sees a representation of primitive accumulation, especially in Mammon's discussion of an economy that increasingly makes labor a commodity and money the measure of all things. Mammon chides Guyon,

> . . . doest thou not weet,
> That money can thy wantes at will supply?
> Sheilds, steeds, and armes, and all things for thee meet
> It can purvay in twinckling of an eye;
> And crownes and kingdoms to thee multiply.
> Doe not I kings create, and throw the crowne
> Sometimes to him, that low in dust doth ly?
> And him that raignd, into his rowme thrust downe,
> And whom I lust, do heape with glory and renowne?
> (2.7.11)

Guyon rebuts Mammon's claim by saying that when money makes kings and gains power, it does so in a "wrongfull" manner (2.7.13). Guyon then goes on to contrast the current era of money-lust with "The antique world" that he says existed before gold and silver were first mined and coveted. Mammon urges Guyon to leave this

past behind, and tells him, "Thou that doest live in later times, must wage/Thy workes for wealth, and life for gold engage" (2.7.18). Guyon never really succeeds in refuting Mammon's claims for the power and efficacy of riches, but the knight of temperance does refuse all of Mammon's offered gifts. Guyon is quite capable of resisting the physical temptations of food and sleep in the underworld, but he does not come away from Mammon's Cave unscathed. Guyon's debilitating "faint" is an indication that his decision to follow Mammon to the world below and his subsequent trial in the underworld did lead to a kind of fall from the comfortable sense of self-worth that Guyon had exhibited in the opening stanzas of Canto seven. And his collapse into unconsciousness is a serious problem at the beginning of the next canto when Cymocles and Pyrocles happen along and take him for dead as he lies helpless on the ground with only the unarmed Palmer to protect him until Arthur arrives. Mammon does not destroy Guyon, but the power of money, and the revelation of its secret sources, does take a toll on the hero of temperance. Guyon's curiosity, his desire to see and know the "secret place" (2.7.20) where wealth is produced, "the fountaine of the worldes good" (2.7.38), is a desire to see beyond the proffered golden gifts to an understanding of the global system through which wealth circulates. The secret of monetary production and circulation had already become, in Spenser's day, not a secret knowledge of the location of El Dorado, and not even a knowledge of how to mine and coin gold and silver – but rather, the secret of how a global system of merchant capital allows for shrewd speculators to grow rich while creating a restructured world-economy. What the allegory of Guyon demonstrates is that the refusal to participate in that global system of exchange, in the new economy of capital, may exhibit temperance, but to gaze upon the workings of Mammon and refuse to serve Mammon's mastery will bring on a crisis and a vulnerability that can only be averted by divine intervention. "[L]eaue have thou to refuse:/But thing refused, doe not afterward accuse" (2.7.18). Spenser cannot accommodate both God and Mammon, and so, confronted with two unacceptable choices, Spenser's narrative, like Guyon himself, simply faints away.

Notes

1 The connection between current events and the long history of global capitalism that I am making here is not to be confused with the "presentist" approach that has been put forward by scholars like Ewan Fernie or Terence Hawkes (see Fernie's article, "Shakespeare and the Prospect of Presentism," and Terence Hawkes's study, *Shakespeare in the Present*). That kind of presentism is one way that scholars have questioned or even abandoned new historicism's project of reconstructing the past as other. But such a presentism merely replaces historical difference with a good, old-fashioned trans-historical essentialism. Fernie's presentism, for example, resuscitates a humanist approach to the reading of Shakespeare (recasting the old notion of essential greatness, and using that notion to make a case for the continuing "relevance" of Shakespeare's work) in the hope that this re-essentializing of "great art" can position early modern studies in a way that speaks more directly and effectively to readers and audiences today.

2 On "thing theory," see the Fall 2001 special issue of *Critical Inquiry*, edited by Bill Brown, and Bill Brown, *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature* (2003). See also the essays in D. Miller, and, for a discussion of the "new materialism" in early modern studies, see Harris 2001, and the collection edited by Harris and Korda. The term "The New Boredom" was coined by David Scott Kastan in *Shakespeare After Theory* (18).

3 Materialist criticism, including work on the history of the book, does chart out new scholarly territory and findings, and there are recent studies that masterfully bridge the gap between print or manuscript history, on the one hand, and broader historical frameworks that are conducive to political and ideological critique, on the other. A terrific example of this kind of politicized history of the material book is Miles Ogborn's *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company*. This study is based in part on Ogborn's archival investigation of East India Company records, but Ogborn also examines non-Western texts, discusses "the ship as material space," and brings these elements together in a global argument that addresses the broad history of emergent capitalism and imperialism over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

4 The story of global capitalism can be narrated without recourse to rigid totalities or teleologies (whether Whiggish or traditional Marxist) and without reliance on oversimplifying essentialisms, but such a narration does require a willingness to make sense of history in terms of long historical processes that link past and present.

5 Witness the article on writing tablets by Stallybrass, Chartier, Mowery, and Wolfe; Lena Orlin on peepholes (177–89); or Gallagher and Greenblatt's communion wafer-munching mice (147). See also the essays in Fumerton and Hunt.

6 Cited in J. Hillis Miller, "Literary Study among the Ruins," on the crisis of relevancy.

7 I first noted this "new globalism" in my introduction to the 2002 special issue of the *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* on "Representations of Islam and the East."

8 For a key portion of that debate, see the three reviews, by Amin, Arrighi, and Wallerstein, of Frank's *ReOrient* in *Review* XXII/3 (1999). Other useful perspectives on world/global systems theory include Abu-Lughod, Amin, Blaut, and Polanyi.

9 See my article "'The Common Market of All the World,'" in *Global Traffic*, for further discussion of England's cultural and economic "outward thrust."

10 See Jan de Vries (94).

11 In her review of Harris's *Sick Economies*, Howard provides a concise description of the "insight" that she acknowledges in Harris's book: "even as early modern writers pathologized the foreign, they ratified the global, recognizing the necessity of foreign trade and the entanglement of England in an increasingly global economy. Economic cosmopolitanism and rhetorical (and often more than rhetorical) xenophobia were paradoxically parts of a single world view and helped to define the nation state as a bounded entity that nonetheless participated uneasily in international trade. Harris thus makes a complex contribution to ongoing discussions about England's transformation into a national entity and the role of both 'the foreign' and 'the global' in that transformation" (407).

12 See the articles by Cohen (128–58), and Bartolovich.

13 For a couple of good examples of how historians are redefining "the modern world" in terms of the new global history, see Marks and the collection edited by Parker and Bentley.

14 Quotations from *The Faerie Queene* are taken from the 1596 edition of the poem. Following the usual practice, I have kept original spelling except for the early modern print forms of "u" and "v," which I have silently modernized.

15 For more information on Spenser's relationship with Raleigh, see Herron, Bednarz, and the essays by Oram, Erickson, and Rudick in *Spenser Studies* 15 (2001).

16 See Shannon Miller on Raleigh's claims that the English could create a paternalistic empire in the West Indies that would be unlike Spain's coercive empire.

17 Jardine discusses in detail the negotiations between Jakob Fugger and the Habsburgs in chapter 6 of *Worldly Goods*.

18 See Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature* (26–41).

19 Maureen Quilligan observes that "what Spenser offers in the Mammon episode is the dark underside of money's world, the functions it performs that are usually hidden to the eye. Spenser's allegory takes as its province the usually hidden springs of human society, making manifest the latent contradictions of Elizabethan economic organization . . ." (Quilligan 1983, 55).

References and Further Reading

Abu-Lughod, Janet. *Before European Hegemony: The World System, A.D. 1250–1350*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Alpers, Paul. *The Poetry of "The Faerie Queene."* Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1982.

Amin, Samir. *Eurocentrism*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1992.

Amin, Samir. "History Conceived as an Eternal Cycle," *Review: Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations* XXII/3 (1999): 291–326.

Andrews, Kenneth. *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Archer, John Michael. *Old Worlds: Egypt, Southwest Asia, India, and Russia in Early Modern Writing.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.

Arrighi, Giovanni. "The World According to Andre Gunder Frank," *Review: Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations* XXII/3 (1999): 327–54.

Bartolovich, Crystal. "'Baseless Fabric': London as 'World City,'" in *"The Tempest" and Its Travels*. Ed. Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000, 13–26.

Becon, Thomas. *Worckes*. London, 1564.

Bednarz, James P. "Ralegh in Spenser's Historical Allegory," *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Poetry Annual* 4 (1983): 49–70.

Berger, Harry. *The Allegorical Temper: Vision and Reality in Book II of Spenser's "Faerie Queene*," New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.

Bible, Geneva. *The Annotated New Testament, 1602 Edition*. Ed. Gerald T. Sheppard. New York: Pilgrim Press, 1989.

Blaut, J. M. *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*. New York: Guilford Press, 1993.

Brown, Bill. *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Cohen, Walter. "The Undiscovered Country: Shakespeare and Mercantile Geography," in *Marxist Shakespeares*. Ed. Jean E. Howard and Scott Cutler Shershow. New York: Routledge, 2001, 128–58.

Cormack, Lesley B. *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities 1580–1620*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Dee, John. *General and rare Memorials pertaining to the Perfect Arte of Navigation*. London, 1577.

De Vries, Jan. "Connecting Europe and Asia: A Quantitative Analysis of the Cape-route Trade, 1497–1795," in *Global Connections and Monetary History, 1470–1800*. Ed. Dennis O. Flynn, Arturo Giraldez, and Richard von Glahn. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003. 35–106.

Erickson, Wayne. "Spenser Reads Ralegh's Poetry in(to) the 1590 *Faerie Queene*," *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Poetry Annual* 15 (2001): 175–84.

Fernie, Ewan. "Shakespeare and the Prospect of Presentism," *Shakespeare Survey* 58 (2005): 169–84.

Forman, Valerie. *Tragicomic Redemptions: Global Economics and the Early Modern Stage*. Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 2008.

Foxe, John. *Actes and Monuments*. London, 1563.

Frank, Andre Gunder. *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Fuchs, Barbara. *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Fuller, Mary C. "Ralegh's Fugitive Gold: Reference and Deferral in *The Discoverie of Guiana*," *Representations* 33 (winter 1991): 42–64.

Fumerton, Patricia and Simon Hunt, eds. *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

Gallagher, Catherine and Stephen Greenblatt. *Practicing New Historicism*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Halpern, Richard. *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.

Harris, Jonathan Gil. "Shakespeare's Hair: Staging the Object of Material Culture," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 52/4 (2001): 479–91.

Harris, Jonathan Gil. *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Harris, Jonathan Gil and Natasha Korda, eds. *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Hawkes, Terence. *Shakespeare in the Present*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Herron, Thomas, *Spenser's Irish Work: Poetry, Plantation, and Colonial Reformation*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

Howard, Jean E. Review of Jonathan Gil Harris, *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England*, in *Shakespeare Quarterly* 58/3 (2007): 406–9.

Jardine, Lisa. *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance*. New York: Doubleday, 1996.

Kamps, Ivo and Jyotsna Singh, eds. *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period*. New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2001.

Kastan, David Scott. *Shakespeare After Theory*. New York: Routledge, 1999.

Kermode, Frank. *Shakespeare, Spenser, Donne: Renaissance Essays*. London: Routledge, 1971.

Loomba, Ania. *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Marks, Robert B. *The Origins of the Modern World: A Global and Ecological Narrative from the Fifteenth to the Twenty-first Century*, 2nd edn. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.

Merchant, Carolyn. *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution*. New York: Harper & Row, 1980.

Miller, Daniel, ed. *Materiality*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005.

Miller, J. Hillis. "Literary Study Among the Ruins," *Diacritics* 31/3 (autumn 2001): 57–66.

Miller, Shannon. *Invested with Meaning: The Raleigh Circle in the New World*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.

Netzloff, Mark. *Internal Empires: Class, Capital, and the Literature of Early Modern English Colonialism*. New York: Palgrave, 2003.

Ogborn, Miles. *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Oram, William A. "Spenser's Raleghs," *Studies in Philology* 87/3 (summer 1990): 341–62.

Oram, William A. "What Did Spenser Really Think of Sir Walter Ralegh When He Published the First Installment of *The Faerie Queene?*," *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Poetry Annual* 15 (2001): 165–74.

Orlin, Lena Cowen. *Locating Privacy in Tudor London*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Parker, Charles H. and Jerry H. Bentley, eds. *Between the Middle Ages and Modernity: Individual and Community in the Early Modern World*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.

Polanyi, Karl. *The Great Transformation*. Boston: Beacon, 1957.

Pomeranz, Kenneth. *The Great Divergence: Europe, China, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Quilligan, Maureen. *Milton's Spenser: The Politics of Reading*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983.

Quilligan, Maureen. "On the Renaissance Epic: Spenser and Slavery," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 100/1 (winter 2001): 15–39.

Ralegh, Sir Walter. *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*. Ed. Neil L. Whitehead. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.

Read, David. "Guyon, Mammon's Cave, and the New World Treasure," *English Literary Renaissance* 20/2 (spring 1990): 209–32.

Read, David. *Temperate Conquests: Spenser and the Spanish New World*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000.

Retort, *Afflicted Powers: Capital and Spectacle in a New Age of War*. New York: Verso, 2005.

Rudick, Michael. "Three Views on Ralegh and Spenser: A Comment," *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Poetry Annual* 15 (2001): 197–203.

Shepherd, Simon. *Spenser: Harvester New Readings*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1989.

Sherman, William. "'Gold is strength, the sinnewes of the world': Thomas Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* and England's Golden Age," *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England* 6 (1993): 85–102.

Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene*. London, 1596.

Stallybrass, Peter, Roger Chartier, J. Franklin Mowery, and Heather Wolfe. "Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55/4 (2004): 379–419.

Swearingen, Roger G. "Guyon's Faint," *Studies in Philology* 74 (1977): 165–85.

Vitkus, Daniel. "Introduction: Toward a New Globalism in Early Modern Studies," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 2/1 (2002): v–viii.

Vitkus, Daniel. "'The Common Market of All the World': English Theater, the Global System, and the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern Period," in *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture* from 1550–1700. Ed. Stephen Deng and Barbara Sebek. New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2008, 22–37.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. *The Modern World-System*. New York: Academic Press, 1974.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. "Frank Proves the European Miracle," *Review: Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations* XXII/3 (1999): 355–71.

West, William N. "Gold on Credit: Martin Frobisher's and Walter Raleigh's Economies of Evidence," *Criticism* 39/3 (1997): 315–36.

2

"Travailing" Theory: Global Flows of Labor and the Enclosure of the Subject

Crystal Bartolovich

Although the "England first" position continues to have considerable purchase in debates about the emergence of capitalism, problems remain when we attempt to determine an absolute distinction (much less priority) of "domestic" over what we might call the "oceanic" – or global – aspects of this process.[1] Certainly "internal" and "external" forces were already imagined in the period as fluid and interconnected. Take, for example, the tantalizingly suggestive assertion – presented as a generic justification for travel writing – that "History without Geography wandreth as a Vagrant without a certain habitation."[2] As we shall see, this recognition of the dangers of "History" – and its association with *globally* uncontrolled "masterless" subjects, at a time in which vagrancy was a considerable *domestic* preoccupation in England – is by no means incidental. Just as early modern English vagrancy law and writing attempt to contain potentially dangerous – to elites – historical possibilities, colonialism, trade and "world writing" (geography), too, attempt to settle the uncertainties of "history" – and direct it toward hegemonic European interests. As this essay will argue, both local and global flows of labor power – and resistance to its privatization – were implicated in the formation of early modern subjects at the dawn of capitalist accumulation. The "common" had to be suppressed on a world scale for capitalism to emerge, since it holds out the possibility of an alternative way of living and being that unquestionably proved attractive to large numbers of ordinary people in the early modern period – both in Europe and beyond. Thus, domestic as well as colonial dispossession and enclosure – along with the incipiently global circulations of labor – are imbricated materially and ideologically; both concern themselves with the course of history and who will be (recognized as) making it. Ultimately, a certain enclosure, or limiting, of historical possibilities, along with spatial ones, prepares the way for the enclosure of modern subjects: it is the price "individualism" – and nationalism – exacts.

As the expanding market sets labor in motion on a grand scale – that is, divides it from subjects and circulates it in vast trade routes that increasingly elude the

tracking capacity of either the agents of the labor or its distant users – it creates historical and subjective crises that cannot be fully addressed – or even understood – in market terms alone. Georg Lukács explains that the alienation of labor power in the wage relation assumes the form of putatively "natural" laws that "confront [us] as invisible forces that generate their own power," until the entire world appears to exist in conformity with this – reifying – imperative in spite of the continuous movement and flux in which we may find ourselves individually (87). John Wheeler's *Treatise of Commerce* already describes (and mystifies) this market power in 1601, when he writes that "all the world choppeth and changeth, runneth and raveth, after Marts, Markets and Merchandising, so that all things come into Commerce, and passe into traffique (in a maner) in all times and in all places," including one man selling the products of "another mans labour," thus turning labor, too, into a commodity (6). By wrenching labor into a trade object from which its merchants profit at the expense of its agents, circulating it far beyond the knowledge of either, this commodification reciprocally transforms the "self" – the remainder after labor has been alienated – into the isolated proprietor of both labor and the self, making it seem "self"-evident that we are, in the end, implicated neither in the world, nor each other, except as indifferent actors in the market, because – our supposed compensation – we are "individuals."[3]

Such hermetic "individualism" is the primary "fictional direction," as Lacan helpfully puts it, in which modern – market – subjectivity moves (2). Georg Simmel has described this situation and its effects thus:

> The modern metropolis . . . is supplied almost entirely by *production for the market*, that is, *for entirely unknown purchasers who never personally enter the producer's actual field of vision*. Through this anonymity the interests of each party acquire an unmerciful matter-of-factness; and the intellectually calculating economic egoisms of both parties need not fear any deflection because of the imponderables of personal relationships. (Simmel, 411–12; emphasis added)

As the trajectories of their locally disembedded – vagrant – labors increasingly elude them, modern subjects are "freed" from a sense of mutual responsibility, despite their actual mutual dependency and the increased entanglement of their labors.[4] To theorize the emergence of capitalism and modern subjectivity, then, the circulation of labor-power – or in early modern parlance, *travail* – can be just as crucial as following the travels of thought about subjectivity, as Edward Said does in his "Traveling Theory," from which I borrow my title, with a pointed change in spelling. By insisting upon "following the *labor*" – as well as the labor*er* – I am also adding a novel perspective to the writing about vagrancy, even to the most recent studies that have, refreshingly, expanded their focus beyond the shores of England.[5]

Specifically, an examination in these terms of the work of the colonial surveyor Richard Norwood (1590–1675) – who produced the first maps, as well as a detailed description, of Bermuda in the second decade of the seventeenth century – allows us to track the emergent ideology and practice of *enclosure* arising to negotiate, and reinforce, this crisis of subjective as well as "historical" movement of labor, through the active suppression of certain "common" historical

possibilities on a global scale.[6] His father's estate being decayed, Norwood had to make his own way in the world, a path that included stints as a fishmonger's apprentice, a mercenary on the continent, a vagrant, a seaman, a self-taught mathematician, and, ultimately, a colonial schoolmaster as well as land – and slave – owner on Bermuda, where he also experiences a conversion to radical Protestantism, which he details in a spiritual autobiography. Because Norwood offers an example of personal upward mobility via a nationalist-imperialist agenda – "improvement" of both self and land (domestic as well as colonial) via mathematics and surveying, supplemented by radical antinomian religious conviction, his case is a particularly interesting site in which to think through the emergence of modern individualist ideology. In his fascinating autobiography, written as he approached 50 and started to worry about the ebbing of memory, Norwood assembled a textual constellation through which to construct a life narrative, and, thus, his – enclosed – "self," as an attempted antidote to a deep sense of what he repeatedly called "alienation." Though he self-consciously modeled his autobiography on Augustine's *Confessions*, the two texts are different in ways that have implications for the debates about the shift from "medieval" to "modern" subjectivity. Most strikingly, whereas Augustine tends to present particular details of his life history as instances of the universally human, Norwood's text draws attention to his singularity and isolation. Paradoxically, Norwood's strategy is indicative of a reification and abstraction of a "self," not Augustine's, whose conceptualization, on the face of it, seems to be the more abstract. To situate and understand Norwood's texts properly, however, we have to first see how the "self" was being substituted for the "common" at the heart of social life at the time in which he wrote. This situation alters subjective experience in ways that necessarily distinguish his world from Augustine's, such that when the *Confessions* travels into it, it becomes a very different text.

In the mid-seventeenth century, when Norwood was writing, everyone seemed to agree that, in the beginning, the world had belonged to all men in common, though there was considerable disagreement about what had altered this originary condition. For example, the Diggers, one of the dissident groups who emerged during the Civil War period in mid-century to assert a more general revolution than Cromwell and his comrades had in mind, used the image of an orginary radical commonality to agitate for a return to it. With their visceral understanding of exploitation, they complained, as Gerrard Winstanley writes, that "those that buy and sell land, and are landlords, have got it either by oppression or murder, or theft; . . . they have by their subtle imaginary and covetous wit got the plain-hearted poor, or younger brethren to work for them for small wages, and by their work have got a great increase . . ." (85). They thus assert that private property was not only *un*natural but was the *cause* –not the consequence, as elite rationalization of inequality would have it – of the Fall of man:

> [When] whole mankind walked in singleness and simplicity each to other, some bodies were more strong than others, as the elder brother was stronger than the younger, and the stronger did work

> for the weaker, and the whole earth was common to all without exception . . . [until the] elder brother, seeing the outward objects before him, thereupon imagines and saith, 'why should I that do all the work be such a servant to these that do least work, and be equal with them?' . . . This imagination is the serpent that deceives the man . . . and mankind falls from single simplicity to be full of divisions. (263–4)

The Fall here takes on a strikingly human and materialist dimension: the Devil *is* social division. Accordingly, for the Diggers, the Fall is reversible if people begin living according to Edenic – which is to say *radically* common – principles rather than against them. Long before Marx, Winstanley suggests that social relations should be guided by the imperative that Marx would later propose: "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" (*Gotha*, 10). Specifically, the Diggers assert that the traditional agrarian commons, with its hierarchies and the feudal divide between those who labored and those who merely – by this time – collected rents, had to be *radicalized* into communes of mutual labor and shared fruits, a condition that they assumed should be generalized to "the whole world" as the originary commons had been (Winstanley, 108). When they attempted to put this plan into effect, however, by squatting and collectively planting corn on "waste" [unused] land, the "powers" – as they referred to elites – saw to it that the Digger encampments and movement were utterly wiped out.

This suppression of the possibility of a radically common "whole world," and the alienation characteristic of the private property that emerges instead, I want to insist, is the most distinctive and widespread *subjective* feature of emergent capitalism. From the Digger's perspective, enclosure was the cultivation of Satan – a fantasy that Michael Taussig has also tracked in latter-day peasant communities when the market was thrust upon them.[7] And what this Satan drives out is the common. Joan Thirsk, in an uncharacteristically elegiac passage, comments on the social effects of enclosure thus:

> Common fields and pastures kept alive a vigorous co-operative spirit in the community; enclosures starved it. In champion country people had to work together amicably, to agree upon crop rotations, stints of common pasture, the upkeep and improvement of their grazings and meadows, the clearing of ditches, the fencing of fields, and they walked together from field to village, from farm to heath, morning, afternoon and evening. They all depended on common resources for their fuel, for bedding, and fodder for their stock, and by pooling so many of the necessities of livelihood they were disciplined from early youth to submit to the rules and customs of the community. After enclosures, when every man could fence his own piece of territory and warn his neighbors off, the discipline of sharing things fairly with one's neighbors was relaxed, and every household became an island unto itself. This was the great revolution in men's lives, greater than all the economic changes following enclosure. (1967, 255)

The commons that the Diggers advocated attempted to intensify the "vigorous cooperative spirit" at a moment in which even its traditional form was under attack. The implications of the suppression of a potentially global radical commons are even

more profound than the demise of the patriarchal and hierarchical English agrarian commons that Thirsk laments. Dispossessed, a growing landless population must sell its labor power to survive. Because they now must buy the means of subsistence, distinct market*places* are swept together by the generalized abstraction of a national-globalizing market as food, clothing, household goods, and tools, as well as luxuries big and small, are detached from any visible connection to localized labor. As Thirsk observes:

> new occupations in bewildering variety appeared in so many townships in the kingdom in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, [that they] . . . set the wheels of domestic trade turning faster, encouraging the making of yet more consumer goods, spinning an ever more elaborate web of inland commerce. (1978, 8)

Circulating in this "elaborate web," *labor power* becomes – *potentially* – what early modern elites called "vagrant" – that is, in the vocabulary of period legislation, *masterless*, detached from immediately and identifiably constraining social moorings (though labor*ers* were the accused).

To keep labor power from becoming *vagrant*, elites not only tried to control the movements of labor*ers* – to secure them in workhouses or in the places where they had been born and were known – but they also increased both the variety of commodities traded as well as the numbers of their partners, expanded empire, and diverted a larger proportion of the population into supporting these maritime activities.[8] In this way, the labor power that might have been collectivized in a global commons was diverted to elite purposes both "inside" and "outside" England in a new form and at an expanding scale. Struggles to set history down a different path were vigorously suppressed, and individualism – *self*-possession – offered instead as a justification *and* compensation. On the one hand, then, labor – instantiated in commodities – moves around ever more anonymously, profusely, and expansively, while, on the other, the "self" is encouraged to become ever more private and enclosed. And the "market" in which these novel selves and commodities were inserted did not stop at the ocean, but pushed across it – as did resistance to it.

Narratives of travel and colonization signal the global dispersion of labor in their virtually ubiquitous habit of list making. Not only do these texts circulate widely themselves, but also they record endless movements of labor in ships, settlers, books, letters, manufactured goods for home, farm and craft, weaponry, and a wide range of flora and fauna, though they tend to obliterate the activity of labor and focus their attention on its end products. Richard Norwood observes in his account of Bermuda, for example:

> [T]here hath been brought thither, as well from the Indies, as from other parts of the World, . . . Vines of severall kindes, Sugar-canes, Fig-trees, Apple-trees, Oranges, Lymons, Pomegranets, Plantaynes, Pines, Parsnips, Radishes, Artichokes, Potatoes, Cassdo, Indico, and many other: Insomuch that it is now become [a] . . . Nurcery of many pleasant and profitable things. (lxxxii)

The passive voice here is replicated in text after text. Early settlers were urged to carry myriad items with them from England, including food, clothing, sewing supplies, cooking utensils, bedding and other small consumer goods, as well as farming, carpentry and artisanal tools and materials, which, too, seemingly make themselves (Thirsk 1978, 49–50). Fresh water, fuel, and food for ships stopping en route to mainland and Caribbean colonies or going back to Europe, as well as tobacco, sugar, ambergris, and numerous other primary commodities, circulated off the island in turn. In every case, social labor circulates *in* these items, without which they would not exist, but as employers increasingly siphon labor, rendering it alien to its agents in the wage relation, it becomes more anonymous, disembedded and abstract; products confront their users as if they have a life of their own. Thus, the "common" labor they contain does not result in the creation of a global "commons," but, rather, works to secure its opposite: the estrangement and atomization of laborers. In Norwood's autobiography, we find a narrative of subjective response to such conditions of continuous circulation, displacement, and containment of labor rather than a detailed depiction of them; just the same, it indicates that the process of cartography and surveying that attempts to limit and control *historical* movement repeats itself at the level of the subject, albeit not without a struggle.

This struggle is hardly surprising, since we know that as an agrarian improvement project, enclosure did not proceed without resistance either in the England in which Norwood grew up. Thomas Tusser's monumental best-seller *Five Hundreth Points of Good Husbandry* (1573) has to *defend* the conversion of "common" to "severall" [private] fields that inhabitants of highly developed capitalist countries now take for granted, in order to help push labor into circulation in its capitalist form, while establishing the institutional and ideological conditions of possibility for its reification. He contrasts the poverty, drudgery, and inconvenience that he claims arise from the "common," with the wealth, ease, and comfort of enclosed – or "severall" – land: "Againe what a ioy is it knowen,/ When men may be bold of their owne" (fol. 60r). He suggests that the open fields discourage innovation while encouraging laziness and inefficiency; thus, he insists that "more profit is quieter found,/ (where pastures in severall bee)/ Of one silly acre of ground,/ then champion maketh of three" (fol. 59v). "Severall" property might displace tenants, but this is not a problem for him because enclosure provides "more work for the laboring man/ as well in the towne as the field" than do commons (fol. 59v). Laborers (and labor) can always travel where they are needed. So, while he acknowledges that "The poore, at enclosing do grutch,/ because of abuses that fall,/ Least some man should have but to much,/ and some againe nothing at all," he ends by proposing that there is a logic to even so unhappy-appearing a situation: "If order mought there in be founde:/ what were to the severall grounde?" (fol. 60v). "Order" *can* ultimately be found in enclosure, whatever the immediate painful consequences, his poem implies, though it also recognizes, in its citation of the complaints of the "poore," that this "order" is not yet fully accomplished – or, at least, appreciated.

By the middle of the next century, however, when Norwood was writing his autobiography, the ostensible benefits of enclosure are widely enough assumed for it to migrate metaphorically into Leveller discourse, that emphatically claims that men should be bold to enjoy their "owne" – not just in terms of land, but also of their *selves* alongside all other property that should be protected by laws and secured by the state. Richard Overton explains:

> To every individuall in nature is given an individuall property by nature, not to be invaded or usurped by any: for everyone as he is himselfe, so he hath a selfe propriety, else could he not be himself . . . Mine and thine cannot be, unless this be. (3)

Property in the self remains, even if it is one's sole possession. As Peter Stallybrass has pointed out, however, "the radical notion of the separate individual has its cost: the reduction of the political subject, language, the author to independent atoms which preceded all social relations" (610). Obscuring this cost, John Locke will underscore and advance this already well-established idiom when, at the end of the century, he simultaneously praises enclosure in terms that are familiar from Tusser and the other "improvers" alongside a discourse of self-property drawn from the radical individualism that we see asserted during the revolution by men like Overton. Thus, Locke's famous chapter on property concedes one of the commonplaces of the period – that "God gave the world to Adam and his posterity in common" (17), but dismisses it in favor of an individualist paradigm of property; those who make the most productive use of land – at home or in the colonies – deserve exclusive property in it, an imperative Locke models on the individual's possession of himself: "man, by being master of himself and proprietor of his own person and the actions or labor of it had still in himself the great foundation of property" (27). The catch here is that if you are a "proprietor" of your own person and labor, you can sell it, and then it belongs to its new "proprietor": "the grass my horse has bit, the turfs my servant has cut, and the ore I have digged . . . become my property" (18). Between the Diggers and Locke, then, we can see that two paths open up before incipiently modern subjects; the radically "individual" subject triumphed, while the radically "common" one was violently *suppressed*, with material consequences for the world that we still inhabit.

The writings of Richard Norwood help expose the mechanisms – and costs – of this suppression, which has a colonial as well as a domestic, a social as well as a subjective, front. He is known today, principally, as the first cartographer of Bermuda. Prior to the shipwreck of an English ship there in 1609, seamen of all nations had typically avoided it as haunted and dangerous, but life on the island proved so – unexpectedly – comfortable for the original group of English castaways who lived there for about nine months in their own version of a radical commons, that John Smith later observed: it "caused many of them utterly to forget or desire ever to returne from thence, they lived in such plenty, peace and ease" (349). The earliest writings on Bermuda, in fact, share a preoccupation with justifying the onward colonial enterprise

to Virginia of this original shipwrecked population, which manifestly did not willingly leave the well-provisioned, previously uninhabited, island, for hungry Virginia, with the challenges of its large native population.[9] Norwood's strategy is to write as if the Edenic moment never happened, and to characterize the island instead as "chaos" in need of "order."

It is worth examining closely what he obscures to take full account of the loss it entails. William Strachey's narrative reveals that the hurricane that delivered the 150 or so women and men – including himself – on the *Sea Venture* to the supposed "Devil's Islands" disrupted long-embedded social hierarchies by forcing every man – even "such as in all their lifetimes had never done hour's work before" – equally, without sleep or food, to labor to keep the ship from sinking (16, 12). Then, after landing on the island, abundance, the lack of established property relations, and the memory of the tempest-induced equality encouraged what we might call an *accidentally* radical commons. For some, the unexpected diversion of the expedition *permanently* unsettled the apparatus of authority that had previously governed the ship that was intended to deliver them to Virginia:

> . . . one Stephen Hopkins . . . – a fellow who had much knowledge in the Scriptures and could reason well therein . . . – alleged substantial arguments both civil and divine (the Scripture falsely quoted) that it was no breach of honesty, conscience, nor religion to decline from the obedience of the governor or refuse to go any further led by his authority (except it so pleased themselves), since the authority ceased when the wreck was committed, and with it, they were all then freed from the government of any man. (43–4)

Hopkins and other dissidents further insisted that since they had been directed by God to a place where plentiful food could be got with little labor, and where, therefore, each man could live equally freely and comfortably, their departure should not be forced, especially since in Virginia they would likely be subjected to great want, and furthermore "might be detained in that country by the authority of the commander thereof and their whole life to serve the turns of the adventurers with their travails and labors" (44). Such arguments even infiltrated the rank of some of those whom Strachey referred to as "the better sort," who had to be wooed back with reminders of the duty that they owed the King, their own class, and, not least, the voyage's investors, since "the meanest in the whole fleet stood the company in no less than £20 for his own personal transportation and things necessary to accompany him" (40, 52). This divide between the (minority) defenders of traditional order, who – reasserting privilege – insisted the Virginia Company should get the bodies it paid for, and the settlers who viewed the shipwreck as giving rise to an egalitarian social order worth preserving, made manifest the tenuousness of social inequality in the absence of its material basis in unequal property.[10]

Strachey himself recognizes the social implications of the lack of private property in the curious metaphor that he uses to describe the glee with which the abundant fruit of the palmetto was harvested by persons who, unused to plenty, suddenly found

themselves capable of having as much as they desired. He likens the trees – which are capped by fruit – to the members of the middle class (to which he belonged, precariously, himself):

> Many an ancient burgher was therefore heaved at and fell not only for his place but for his head. For our common people, whose bellies never had ears, made it no breach of charity in their hot bloods and tall stomachs to murder thousands of them (26).

This passage's expression of elite anxiety in the face of the unleashed appetites of the previously contained and repressed "common people," and their symbolic "murder" of authority and privilege that the lack of private property made possible, was clearly not lost on the "common people" themselves, who, as we have seen, mounted considerable resistance to losing their newfound equality. Strachey summarizes the situation thus:

> And sure it was happy for us, who had now run this fortune and were fallen into the bottom of this misery, that we both had our governor with us and one so solicitous and careful whose both example . . . and authority could lay shame and command upon our people. Else, I am persuaded, we had most of us finished our days there, so willing were the major part of the common sort (especially when they found such a plenty of victuals) to settle a foundation of ever inhabiting there; as well appeared by many practices of theirs (and perhaps of the better sort). . . . The angles wherewith chiefly they thus hooked in these disquieted pools were how that in Virginia nothing but wretchedness and labor must be expected . . . there being neither that fish, flesh, nor fowl which here (without wasting on the one part, or watching on theirs, or any threatening and art of authority) at ease and pleasure might be enjoyed. (40–1)

It is striking that the very conditions that Strachey calls the "bottom of this misery" are "pleasure" to the "common sort" – pleasure that derives from a completely different set of social relations than the "profitable" ones Norwood would later champion. Whereas the lack of unequal property had put the original castaways on an equal footing, Norwood helps the Bermuda Company stave off such historical irregularities ("chaos") by surveying the almost-Eden and imposing private property relations upon it in the name of investors to render it "profitable." Like Norwood, Strachey experiences only chaos ("devilish disquiets") where the majority of the shipwrecked voyagers found "ease." For him, the Bermudas turned out to be the "Devil's Islands" they were reputed to be, then, though not in the way that earlier mariners had proposed. Satan, apparently, is a very malleable sign. In any case, the very freedom and plenty, equality and ease, that for the "common sort" had previously belonged only to fantasies of heaven or Cockaigne, Eden or New World natives, had actually become *theirs*, and they were not keen to give them up, which put them at odds with the colonial companies and their agents who were determined to return the radical commons to the realm of fairy tale once again. The stakes were nothing less than who would control labor, resources, and history at a moment in which they threatened vagrancy – masterlessness – from the point of view of elites.

What combination of fear of future reprisals, anxiety about the unknown if they were abandoned, appeals to duty or patriotism, the terroristic executions of subversives, religious indoctrination, or concern for loved ones still in England – all of which surface in Strachey's narrative at some point as weighing heavily on the shipwrecked population – propelled the reluctant castaways on toward Virginia is unclear, but that almost all indeed did go on to suffer exactly the privation, authoritarian subjection, and constant labor that they had feared, *is* clear. It is also clear that when Bermuda was officially colonized a year later, it was organized along martial lines ("a Regiment" in Norwood's words), not as a radical commons. Norwood's Bermuda writings, which emerge in this second moment – entirely suppressing the early Edenic period – imply that the compensation for giving up Eden and commonality was individualism, improvement, and "order." In particular, Norwood explains the benefits of the official surveys he undertook in 1614–15 (to map the island as a whole) and 1616–17 (to allot specific plots to shareholders):

> And then began this, which was before as it were an unsettled and confused Chaos . . . to receive a convenient disposition, forme, and order, and to become indeede a Plantation; for though the countrey was small, yet they could not have beene conveniently disposed and well setled without a true description and survey made of it; and againe every man being setled where he might constantly abide, they knew their businesse, and fitted their household accordingly. They built for themselves and there families not Tents or Cabins but more substantiall houses . . . So that in short time after . . . the Country began to asprire and neerely to approach unto that happiness and prosperitie wherein now it flourisheth. (lxxvi–ii)

The Edenic possibilities offered by Bermuda in the earliest years are manifestly lost or forgotten, degraded in Norwood's account into a "chaos" that Norwood – as Locke would after – seeks to control with private property and possessive individualism rather than with an attempt to remake Eden or even a "brotherly" commonwealth as the earliest English settlement in Bermuda had been described in John Smith's account (351). After the survey, Norwood claims that landowners "knew their business" and "built for themselves and thir families." This suppression of the commons, repeated across numerous texts and instantiated in a variety of institutions, from land surveying to chancery court, ultimately has decisive effects for the emergence of not only private property and the nation, but also "modern" subjectivity.

Benedict Anderson has emphasized that the emergence of a national imaginary depends on the sort of forgetting/remembering that Norwood enacts in his description of the founding of Bermuda. Communities are formed in particular ways by the memories that they share, and the forms in which they are circulated. Norwood preserves and obliterates aspects of the settling of Bermuda such that enclosure triumphs over "common" use of resources. He engages in a related project in his spiritual autobiography, suggesting that the forgetting/remembering dynamic has a role to play in the emergence of "individuals" as well as nations, a supposition that is borne out by the ways in which his autobiography contrasts with that of his model, Augustine. While he draws heavily on the *Confessions* even to the point of "remembering" as part

of his own life story numerous episodes from Augustine's (stealing pears, resisting persistently strong sexual temptation, and suppressing a taste for stage plays, among numerous others) the two books are, in the end, more interesting in their differences than in their evident parallels. In his journal, Norwood "endeavoured to call to mind the whole course of [his] life past, and how the Lord had dealt with [him]" because he "perceived that some things began to grow out of memory, which [he] thought [he] should scarce ever have forgotten; and considering that as age came on, forgetfulness would increase upon [him], [he] determined to set them down in writing" (3). Writing is a prosthesis to his own mind, a reminder *to himself* of God's mercy as much as to any possible future reader. Though his writings also seem to assume a reader who will become privy to aspects of himself that he emphasizes he has never fully described to anyone, they were not published until the mid-twentieth century. Augustine much more expressly assumes a reader (and the *Confessions* did circulate widely):

> This then is the fruit of my confession . . . in that I confess not only before You . . . but also in the ears of the believing sons of men, companions of my joy and sharers of my mortality, my fellow citizens, fellow pilgrims: those who have gone before, and those who are to come after, and those who walk the way of life with me. (Sheed, trans., 175; O'Donnell, ed., 120–1)[11]

Augustine (unlike Norwood) addresses God directly in this way on almost every page, but he also announces that God already knows him better than he knows himself, so that his writing can, ultimately, only be for human readers, for whom he repeatedly interprets even the most singular aspects of his life as illustrating a particular instance of a human universal. Augustine can thus begin the account of his life before he has any personal memories of it because he knows from watching other infants what all infants are like (Sheed, 6; O'Donnell, 5). Conversely, Norwood's earliest recorded memory is intensely personalized: an account of falling into a pond and nearly drowning on his way to school on the first day he wore breeches. He makes no attempt to link this to "universal" tendencies or experience, but instead emphasizes his personal folly and frailty. Augustine's narrative is open and interconnecting, frequently deploying collective first-person pronouns, as when he explains his reasons for writing: "we are laying bare our love for you in confessing to you our wretchedness and your mercies toward us: that You may free us wholly as you have already freed us in part" (Sheed, 211; O'Donnell, 148). Norwood's autobiography only very rarely uses the first-person plural, or in any other way addresses or engages the reader directly.

Indeed, Norwood's text seems to fear an excess in himself that may well not be assimilable to any universal, and presents himself as *enclosed*, privately walled off from fellow human beings. These differences do *not* mean that the slave society in which Augustine writes is superior, or that his subjective solution is to be preferred, but it does historicize the subjective enclosure that modernity takes for granted. Furthermore, both texts insert their narrative of conversion within a wider biographical frame, which makes it easier to situate their different emphases and choices as part of a long

historical process. Responding to Augustine, Norwood ruminates continually on his "course of life" – which refers to both his career and his spiritual path. Because his father's estate is "much decayed," he cannot count on comfortable routes to his goals of travel and education. Often "destitute," his choices are severely constrained. Aspiring to knowledge and longing for challenging and satisfying work, he is, instead, "alienated." Of the "course" he follows before his first Bermuda voyage – from fishmonger's apprentice, to mercenary on the continent, to vagrant and then, finally, seaman – he observes: "every step I went, as it was further from my native country so it led me and *alienated* my heart farther from God, from religion and from a desire to return" (22, emphasis added). He is so "alienated" in fact that for a time he "could not endure that men should see me," and travels only at night. As he wanders alone, without either settled purpose or abode, he sleeps in barns, storehouses, or in the rough, stealing or begging food. He uses this period of vagrant wandering to figure his spiritual condition of doubt and loneliness, so it is striking that regular occupation, when he finally obtains it, whether on land or sea, does *not* cure his alienation. His sea adventures, as fervently as he had longed for them, ultimately prove unsatisfying, since he discovers that "for that calling I never much affected but only as it was a means whereby I might see the world and learn the art of navigation" (39). Having made a number of voyages as an apprentice seaman and begun his mathematical self-instruction (studying during his breaks and sleeping during his shifts), he recognizes that selling his labor, not simply physical travel and distance – underwrites his alienation – a sense of lack of control over his existence, as well as lack of secure social relations – and decides that "as a master or master's mate or as a purser or surgeon or otherwise as a passenger I would if occasion required, go to sea, but not as a sailor or *for my labour*" (40, emphasis mine). Gaining some attention for his mathematical studies fuels his hope of being freed from exploitation and abuse, but he does not resist them directly; instead he deploys the "weapons of the weak" (shirking, flight, and so on), while pursuing upward mobility: "I began to think that the good things that belonged unto others also belonged to me" (45).[12] Even this does not assuage his alienation. He eventually determines, thus, that "a man might have all these things and yet be a most miserable man," but unlike Augustine, who, upon coming to a similar conclusion, rejects rhetoric and his teaching career, Norwood in the end does not see any need to abandon mathematics or surveying, which, to the contrary, become the idiom in which he finds his saved self: enclosure (76).

Some of the differences in the two texts can be accounted for in the different training, habits, and talents of mind: the great, immensely learned philosopher versus the self-taught mathematician – but such contrasts do not fully account for the ways that Norwood transforms Augustine's *Confessions*. What distinguishes them, rather, is subjective privatization and enclosure, an enclosure that emerges with Norwood's sense of being, in the end, utterly alone in his struggles, especially a "very sensible annoyance of Satan" (93). While he was surveying the individual properties on Bermuda, he experiences the conversion that he describes in a figure familiar to him from his profession: "the Lord was pleased to . . . keep out Satan as it were with a pale

or hedge from making that common inroad into my heart as he had so long used to do" (85). This "pale or hedge" around his newly enclosed "Puritan" self, however, appears to leave him just as alienated as before, albeit in different terms. When he returns to London, he finds himself beset with agonizing spiritual doubts and isolation in the metropolis, and resolves "to acquaint some Christians with my condition, and to gain some Christian acquaintance . . . [since] my heart even thirsted as the parched ground or as one parched and singed by Satan's temptations, to have some near communion and familiarity with some that were the children of God" (98). This turns out to be difficult to accomplish, not only because locating and introducing himself to such a community is challenging in a vast and disorienting city, but, especially, because he feels unable to reveal the full extent of his misery even when he does find "acquaintance":

> I was very shy and sparing in declaring the worst things, supposing that never any true Christian was in that case. The fearful blasphemies and annoyances of Satan I did but lightly touch upon, concealing my greatest grievances and fears, supposing that if I should lay open all I should be rejected of Christians as a reprobate, a man forsaken of God and given over to Satan. (101)

The autobiography concludes, in fact, with a page-long prayer that calls attention to his isolation by using a collective pronoun only once. In contrast, Augustine concludes with: "Of you we must ask, in you we must seek, at you we must knock. Thus only shall we receive, thus shall we find, thus will it be opened to us" (Sheed, 286; O'Donnell, 205). The prayer that constitutes the entire latter part of the *Confessions* – several chapters – takes collective pronouns (e.g., "nos") and verb conjugations as the norm, only very occasionally displaced with an "ego" ("I") or a "meum" ("my").

If the pronouns and Norwood's meticulously documented "alienation" suggest a ambiguity in his own sense of belonging to a collective, "Satan" is identified as the agent of this isolation:

> Sometimes he seemed to lean on my back or arms or shoulder, sometimes hanging on my cloak or gown. Sometimes it seemed in my feeling as if he had stricken me in sundry places, sometimes as if he were handling my heart and working withal a wonderful hardness therein, accompanied with many strange passions, affections, lusts, and blasphemies. (93)

While this kind of thing is quite common in spiritual autobiographies in the seventeenth century, there is nothing at all like it in Augustine, who never imagines himself as engaged in a direct struggle with Satan. For Norwood, however, the fight with Satan is personal and *physical*: in bed, on the street, at any time or place – "almost continual" – he could be subjected thus. What is particularly striking about Norwood's narrative of these dramatic experiences – as with the others in the genre – is the highly refined "self" consciousness that they illustrate; Norwood's sense of the "social" when it emerges at all, seems comparatively remote, alien; he is hyper aware of his body, his anxieties, the peril of his soul. The self is assumed to be isolated,

pre-social, and, except for grace, ultimately alone in its fight with "Satan." Even Norwood's attempts at explicit social connection are impeded by a sense of threat and isolation: walking down the street "all things seemed in their kinds to be my enemies" (99). It is not, of course, that he never describes meetings with, or comforts of, family, friends, and ministers, but rather that these are always narrated at a remove from the immediate site of battle between his soul and "Satan."

"Satan" assaults Norwood, not only rendering his body a battleground, but also calling attention to its enclosure and his subjective alienation. However, "Satan," too, as we have already seen, is a battleground in the period, a cultural sign through which personal and interpersonal relations and change are being experienced and understood, though not always in the same way. Strachey, for his part, associated "devilish disquiets" with disruption of traditional social hierarchy. The Diggers, for their part, viewed "the serpent" as a *figure* for the "imagination" that gives rise to private property and exploitation, and such "division" as Norwood experiences: "the serpent that deceives the man [so that] mankind falls from single simplicity to be full of division." Norwood interprets Satan another way, as a threat to his individual self, revealing the costs of emergent capital even to someone becoming what Gramsci would later call its "organic intellectual" – an adept and theorist of one of its enabling practices. Later, in his chapters on "primitive accumulation," Marx calls this alienating "Satan" by its social name – capitalism – to free it from the constraints of the individualizing narrative into which Norwood helps insert it – a narrative through which inequality will be justified as an effect of an earlier historical moment when the "diligent, intelligent and above all frugal elite" were separated from the "lazy rascals spending their substance, and more, in riotous living." When this "nursery tale" becomes accepted as "history," exploitation, alienation, and the individual, all become normalized in it (873). The Diggers – with their insistence on the "common" – mounted a resistance to the conditions that later conjure up this tale, suggesting an alternative path to modernity, but they – and the radical commons – were defeated. In enclosing his "self" and land as emergent capitalism demanded, while obscuring other possibilities, Norwood helps to write the history of the victors in a global idiom, in which domestic and colonial practices are allied.

This global history insinuates itself as affirmative, or, at least, necessary, such that any ensuing symptoms at the level of the subject are assumed to be mere personal pathology. Indeed, it is easy enough to transcode Norwood's affliction from a religious to a psychological idiom, as, for example, Meredith Skura does, but in so doing she moves from one individual-normalizing narrative to another. Michael Taussig, alternatively, has read Devil tales as social: "a stunningly apt symbol of . . . alienation," in the Marxist sense of being detached from one's proper social being by the objectification of the market (xi). Understood in these terms, Norwood's affliction can be viewed as not only "personal" spiritual anguish, nor psychic dissonance alone, but as symptoms of the social cost extracted by the process of "individualization," and privitization of "nature," that the Michel Foucault of *Discipline and Punish* as much as the early Marx has seen as a site of abjection rather than the freedom with which it is associated

in the liberal tradition. To be sure, Norwood, who died a land – and slave – owner in Bermuda was not one of the great oppressed of history. My point is a different one: I am enumerating the cost to *everyone* in a world where the "common" has been suppressed, though not, of course, to everyone in just the same way.

In "Traveling Theory," Edward Said traced the consequences for the theorization of subjectivity in a movement from Lukács to Lucien Goldman through Raymond Williams and, finally, Foucault. His goal had been not only to demonstrate that theory "travels," which is, after all, pretty obvious, as he himself notes, but, rather to examine how it changes as it moves, and, especially, to warn that, once institutionalized, "a breakthrough can become a trap if it is used uncritically, repetitively, limitlessly" (239). In other words, the current global rapid transit of theories by no means prevents – it instead seems to encourage – a "hermeticism" that attenuates their power (237). The antidote to a theory that has "drawn a circle around itself," Said asserts, returning to Lukács, is "critical consciousness": "It is the critic's job," he insists, "to provide resistances to theory, to open it up toward historical reality, toward society, toward human needs and interests" (245, 242). His essay, thus, repeatedly associates the *movement* of theory with a paradoxical tendency toward its "enclosing," and offers critical consciousness as a corrective to direct us toward new social possibilities and a common world (230, 242). In Norwood's writings we can see similar processes at work at the level of the subject: circulation and enclosure; citation and conversion. Rewriting Augustine, he enacts his own enclosure, and transforms autobiography from an expression of identification with the generally human to an expression of alienation from it. At the heart of Norwood's subjective alienation, however, is not only the textual travel to which Said called our attention, but also *travail* – the increasing abstraction of labor and thus its growing anonymous circulation in everyday life at the expense of the common. In response to this alienation, Norwood transforms Augustine, but also the history of Bermuda, suppressing the common in it, as in his person. Through an exercise in "Travailing Theory" I have been attempting to reopen these texts, this history, "modern" subjectivity, to globally collective "human needs and interests," and interrupt habits of textual and historical enclosure.

Notes

1 See Wood for a good summary of the debate by a Marxist with an "England first" perspective. Linebaugh and Rediker, alternatively, have attempted to present what might be called an "oceanic" Marxist view of the emergence of capitalism (see note 8).

2 This description of the importance of "geography" appears at the opening of Smith's Bermuda chapter (Book V) in the *Generall History of Virginia*, 338–91, but he lifts it, as the bulk of the volume, from other period travel writing. See, for example, Purchas, 44.

3 See Bewes for a discussion of the continued relevance of "reification" as a concept of social analysis.

4 In the early modern period, the increasing alienation and dislocation imposed by the commodification of labor are complicated by the ties of personal *debt* that emerge in a cash-poor society such as England without credit cards or banks, but the implications of these ties are not the same, affectively or materially, as a "commons." On debt, see Muldrew.

5 The literature on vagrancy is rich – and expanding. See, for example, Beier, Dionne and Mentz, Fumerton, and Woodbridge.
6 On Norwood, see Bach (on colonial mapping), chapter 2, especially 99–106, and Skura (on spiritual autobiography), as well as the *Dictionary of National Biography*.
7 One must use care in comparing peoples in different times and places so as not to fall into the "Time and the Other" dilemma (Fabian). I am not suggesting that the "Devil" that emerges in the situations Taussig describes are the same as the Satan of primitive accumulation in England, but it is certainly worth seeing that the imposition of the market has the devil in it to many peoples confronted with it for the first time, since this is a useful corrective to the widespread assumption today that the market is simply "normal."
8 Linebaugh and Rediker track the emergence of an Atlantic economy in this way; even more expansively, Balasopoulos, 122–56, has imported the concept of the "oceanic" into early modern studies and usefully deployed it in a study of More's *Utopia*. I build on his insights here.
9 Linebaugh and Rediker, too, use the example of the wreck of the *Sea Venture* as the core of their first chapter, and I extend their excellent work here.
10 See Marx (1976, 931–40) for other illustrations of the ways that colonialism could teach ordinary Europeans how unequal property relations worked to their disadvantage (he does not take into account here, alas, the lessons it might offer to native peoples).
11 I have used the Sheed translation of Augustine because I like it, but also given page numbers for the Latin.
12 On "weapons of the weak," see Scott.

References and Further Reading

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edn. London and New York: Verso, 1991

Augustine. *Confessions*. Ed James J. O'Donnell. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Augustine. *Confessions*. Trans. F. J. Sheed. Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 1993.

Bach, Rebecca. *Colonial Transformations: The Cultural Production of the New Atlantic World*. New York: Palgrave, 2000.

Balasopoulos, Antonis. "'Suffer a Sea Change': Spatial Crisis, Maritime Modernity, and the Politics of Utopia," *Cultural Critique* 63 (2006): 122–56.

Beier, A. L., *Masterless Men: the Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560–1640*. London and New York: Methuen, 1985.

Bewes, Anthony. *Reification, or The Anxiety of Late Capitalism*. London and New York: Verso, 2002.

Dionne, Craig and Steve Mentz, eds. *Rogues and Early Modern English Culture*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Fabian, Johannas. *Time and the Other*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

Fumerton, Patricia. *Unsettled: the Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International Publishers, 1971.

Lacan, Jacques. *Ecrits: a Selection*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1977.

Linebaugh, Peter and Marcus Rediker. *Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2000.

Locke, John. *Second Treatise of Government*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1952.

Lukács, Georg. *History and Class Consciousness*. Trans. Rodney Livingstone Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971.

Marx, Karl. *Critique of the Gotha Program*. New York: International Publishers, 1966.

Marx, Karl. *Capital, volume 1*. Trans. Ben Fowkes. London and New York: Penguin Books, 1976.

Muldrew, Craig. *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England*. New York: Palgrave, Macmillan, 1998.

Norwood, Richard. *Journal of Richard Norwood*. Ed. Wesley Frank Craven. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1945.

Overton, Richard. *An Arrow Against All Tyrants*. London, 1646.

Purchas, Samuel. *Purchas his Pilgrimage*. London, 1613.

Said, Edward. *The World, the Text and the Critic*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983.

Scott, James. *Weapons of the Weak*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985.

Simmel, Georg. "Metropolis and Mental Life," in *Sociology of Georg Simmel*. New York: Free Press, 1950, 409–24.

Skura, Meredith. "Early Modern Subjectivity and the Place of Psychoanalysis in Cultural Analysis: The Case of Richard Norwood," in *Whose Freud?* Ed. Peter Brooks and Alex Woloch. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000, 211–20.

Smith, John. *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith, volume II*, *Generall History of Virginia.* Ed. Philip L. Barbour. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Stallybrass, Peter. "Shakespeare, the Individual and the Text," in *Cultural Studies*. Ed. Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler. New York and London: Routledge, 1992, 593–612.

Strachey, William. "True Repertory of the Wreck" in *A Voyage to Virginia in 1609*. Ed. Louis B. Wright. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1964, 62–72.

Taussig, Michael. *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Thirsk, Joan. *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, IV. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.

Thirsk, Joan. *Economic Policy and Projects: the Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.

Tusser, Thomas. *Five Hundreth Points of Good Husbandry*. London, 1573.

Wheeler, John. *Treatise of Commerce*, London, 1601.

Winstanley, Gerrard. *The Law of Freedom and Other Writings*. Ed. Christopher Hill Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Wood, Ellen Meiksins. *The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View*. London and New York: Verso, 2002.

Woodbridge, Linda. *Vagrancy, Homelessness and English Renaissance Literature* Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2001.

3

Islam and Tamburlaine's World-picture

John Michael Archer

The two parts of Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* form an epic of global, if not cosmic, scale. Tamburlaine's conquering journey from central Asia through Persia to Turkey implies in its ambition and the rhetoric that attends it an even grander circuit. Marlowe's language ranges from Northern Europe to the Antarctic and West to the Americas, and from the heavens to the elements of the human body and their dissolution in hellish images of combustion and darkness. Yet, as drama, the plays must also confront the impossibility of representing such an epic itinerary on stage within the largely visual medium of theater.[1] In a sense, they already embody the paradox of what Martin Heidegger named the "Age of the World Picture," a modernity which is at once visual and non-visual because it features not "a picture of the world but the world conceived and grasped as picture" (Heidegger, 129). A world-picture is an idea or conceptual framing of existence as an image in which the subject has become immersed. The paper that follows brings together two different approaches to Marlowe's world-picture and its limits. The first section reviews the overtly visual influence of contemporary projects to map the world on his epic drama; the second questions the extent to which Islam was represented within the human geography of the world pictured on the early modern English stage. As I shall show, Marlowe, surprisingly, cites Muslim strictures on the image while drawing on the Qu'ran itself for his cosmography, yet his view of Islam remains, perhaps inevitably, a distorted one. Islam's ultimate absence from the life-world of *Tamburlaine the Great* suggests that religious belief itself remains recalcitrant before the modern world-picture and its array of easily marked subjects or identities.

I The Orbicular Renaissance

The world-picture of the Tamburlainiad is first of all a product of mapping. Contemplating the destruction of Damascus in Part I, Tamburlaine proposes to make it "the

point / That shall begin the perpendicular" in a new division of the geographical field (Marlowe, *Tamburlaine* I: 4.4.83–4). It is necessary to quote once more a passage which has so often inaugurated discussions of Marlowe and cartography. Tamburlaine speaks:

> I will confute those blind geographers
> That make a triple region in the world,
> Excluding regions which I mean to trace,
> And with this pen reduce them to a map,
> Calling the provinces, cities, and towns
> After my name and thine, Zenocrate.
> (lines 76–82)

Damascus is the first place to be reduced and reinscribed by the conqueror's sword. As John Gillies argues, it will both usurp the role of Jerusalem as predetermined central "point" of the three-continent earth on a traditional T-in-O *mappamundi*, and mark the "perpendicular" or initial meridian of longitude on the detailed fifteenth-century world map derived from Ptolemy that replaced the medieval model. The contradiction between Damascus as new sacred center and as arbitrary point on a grid exposes the self-deluding violence of conquest (Gillies, 56–7). The palimpsest of two successive stages in world mapping that Tamburlaine's words suggest is moreover difficult to visualize beyond the screen of language. Earlier geographers were "blind," presumably for occluding namable features in their three-part schematic of the earth as well as for excluding Tamburlaine's anachronistic glimpse of undiscovered regions like the Americas. Tamburlaine, however, cannot propose a proper alignment among mapping, the visual, and the sacred – perhaps because such an alignment does not exist.

Before and after the Damascus moment, a third stage in the project of world mapping traces a covert way through the texts of *Tamburlaine* Parts I and II. The scholar Ethel Seaton and later editors have demonstrated that Marlowe wrote from a map, or rather, from what I will call a *world map book*, Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of 1570 (Seaton, "Marlowe's Map"). Ortelius's volume contains a world map and maps of world regions, like the map of Africa that lies behind the lengthy description by Techelles of his route of conquest on Tamburlaine's behalf (II: 1.3.186–205). Signs of Ortelius's visual influence on Marlowe's language are present from the start of Part I (e.g. I: 1.2.162–9, 103 and notes). Marlowe's misreading of labels in the world map book unknowingly creates an imaginary geography at times, condensing Romania and Rome, for instance, or taking Passera for Balsera and placing it in Turkey (II: 2.1.9, 3.3.3 and notes). Textual error is as arbitrary a tyrant as Tamburlaine, reducing and renaming territory on an invisible map, or collection of maps. It is only at the very end of the second play, when Tamburlaine enters, dying, in his chariot, that the map is made visible at his command, as a stage property. It appears indeed to be the world map included in Ortelius's collection, for Tamburlaine enu-

merates unconquered regions moving across the Atlantic from just west of the African coast at the Tropic of Cancer (II: 5.3.126–60). This watery no-place, and not Damascus, formed the meridian at degree zero in the new cartography he now anticipates.

The title of Ortelius's world map book lays down an itinerary through the visual realization of space that Marlowe also follows. *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*: the earth, *terra*, is displayed in, but also simply is, a "theater." It is conceived as a world-picture. Latin *theatrum* derives from a Greek verb for seeing. Here, the word denotes a space of dramatic representation as well as the general "Princes gallery or spacious Theater" for the mounting of large wall-maps that Ortelius imagines in his preface ("[T]o the courteous Reader," in Ortelius, n.p). But it is the term *orbis* that defines the sixteenth-century world-picture that Marlowe shared with Ortelius. The earth that is displayed is a "circle" or "disk," not a "flat earth" as such, but a *projection* of a round three-dimensional volume on a flat surface, or a series of such projections, region by region, in the world map book's pages. Ptolemy's accounts of projection had been rediscovered in the previous century with his influential world map, and long since applied by map-makers to continents, countries, and cities. Projection makes the earth visible, but at the expense of distortion; regional maps are accurate, but they depend on the exclusion of the earth in its totality from the visual field. Both types of visual deficiency are evident in Ortelius's world map book.

Map-makers also fashioned globes, avoiding distortion by reproducing the earth's features accurately on a spherical surface. But, as the cartographic theorist Christian Jacob points out, terrestrial globes entail visual problems of their own. If a globe is small, its geographical detail is hard to see and label; if large, "its giganticism exceeds the capacity of the synoptic gaze" (Jacob, 52). This is why the ideal geography lesson began with the globe but moved quickly to the manageable flat surfaces of charts and books. Jacob explains the advantage of Ortelius's cumulative approach over other totalizing projects like globes and world maps. It is "suited to a different kind of mastery of the world, one that is more intellectual and encyclopedic . . . [and the] multiplicity of maps turns it into an archive in which all the geographical knowledge of a period may be recorded" (Jacob, 67). The viewer will never see the totality of the world; one can only hope to imagine it instead through reasoning about partial or distorted visual clues, valuable only in the aggregate and by means of a process. What Jacob calls the "logic of accumulation" behind the early modern world-picture was in place before Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Italian printers had long gathered loose maps and bound them into ad hoc codices for individual customers, now often called "Lafreri maps" by collectors after Antonio Lafreri, the best-known entrepeneur. Ortelius's great advance was to render a collection relatively uniform and reproducible with his 1570 volume. Gerard Mercator went further. His *Atlas*, published in 1595, a year after his death (and two years after Marlowe's murder), was a single-authored work in its original conception, although others' maps were added to later editions (Jacob 67, 68–71). Like the African king Atlas who created the first celestial globe, Mercator, who cites this rationalization of the Atlas myth in his preface, lays claim as author to a form of perfect understanding through imperfect means, and implicitly

offers to help his audience navigate the faulty visual world as well ("Preface upon Atlas," in Mercator, n.p).

The more familiar image of Atlas carrying a globe on his shoulders has traditionally been assumed to have been the sign of Shakespeare's Globe Theater. I'd like to let this myth pass unquestioned, and to set up, for heuristic purposes, one of my own: as Shakespeare, like Mercator, authored a body of work with an illusory global vision, so Marlowe in the *Tamburlaine* plays alone offered a manifest projection of the world, an *orbis terrarum*, on the flat surface of his stage, with the distortions and omissions (fewer omissions than in Shakespeare) laid out for all to see. Atlas as global figure antedates both Mercator and Shakespeare. Lafreri famously printed a generic frontispiece depicting Atlas for one of his cartographic miscellanies contemporary with Ortelius's 1570 volume, long before Mercator's first edition appeared (Jacob, 68). But let it stand: Marlowe created an *orbicular* theater before Shakespeare fashioned a *global* one, just as Ortelius's *Theatrum* preceded Mercator's *Atlas*.

The orbicular theater of Ortelius and Marlowe has much in common with Heidegger's concept of the modern world-picture. Ancient and medieval world-pictures did not exist. In concluding a rumination on the human being's self-conscious assumption of a new, measuring position as subject, Heidegger remarks that "It is no wonder that humanism first arises where the world becomes picture" (133). Apparent claims about historical periodization by Heidegger are never simple. But on a certain level of argument, one could apply his comments to Tamburlaine's assertive novelty as well as Pico della Mirandola's oration on human dignity. Of course, the world-picture is "more than" a painting or image of the earth, although it may also be that; it is not "a picture of the world but the world conceived and grasped as picture" (129). The world is defined as "what is, in its entirety," and is set before the modern subject as a system to be understood by the subject, who thus, in the slang phrase, "gets the picture," or rather, gets in the picture, to follow Heidegger's idiom (129). Having bent Heidegger back towards the Renaissance, one might incline him in the other direction, toward our time, and say that globalization is precisely the conceiving and grasping of the world as a globe – or as a "flat earth" of systematic networking and exchange. Yet the return of the *orbis terrarum* in recent discourse about globalization also reminds us that such projections always distort according to the position of the map-maker.

And so, although we have come far from mapping, the world map and, more so, the encyclopedic system of the world map book bear a synecdochal relation to the world-picture as a manifestation of being in general under modernity, including early modernity. For instance, the impossibility of accurately representing the earth in its totality as either globe or projection, Christian Jacob's asynoptic giganticism, is echoed in Heidegger's concluding meditation on "the gigantic" in modern technology. The gigantic ultimately annihilates itself by shrinking the world by means of communication and through the infinite regress of the purely quantitative toward the increasingly small, as in "the numbers in atomic physics." When gigantic quantities thus undo themselves, they convert to quality, what Heidegger calls a certain kind

of greatness, and the calculable becomes incalculable, a shadow. "By means of this shadow," Heidegger writes, "the modern world extends itself into a space withdrawn from representation" (135–6). This remarkable passage also suggests a way-station between the Renaissance and Heidegger's modernity, in the mathematical sublime of Kant's *Critique of Judgement*. Sublimity proceeds from the subject's mind when it pictures the world, as the imagination attests to its own vital role as well as reason's power even as it fails to provide an adequate representation of a magnitude available only to reason (Kant, 106). It is hard to miss Heidegger's debt to Kant. The earlier philosopher comments on the relative nature of size with the help of the telescope and the microscope, the instruments of Enlightenment physics, and thus relates the sublime not to gigantic objects, like "the earth's diameter," but to our failed imagination of ever larger objects, like the solar system and systems of other systems still, "which go by the name of nebulae." By the time we reach, or fall short of, these shadowy realms, quantity has become quality (Kant, 97, 105, 108).

Kant serves as a mid-point between Marlowe and Heidegger in another manner, one that broaches the argument about representation and religion that follows. The failure to project or present the world or anything else, Kant asserts, creates a sublime "negative presentation" or gap in signification that is an end in itself and that also generates its own kind of sublimity when it is formalized:

> Perhaps there is no more sublime passage in the Jewish law than the commandment: Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven or on earth, or under the earth, &c. This commandment can alone explain the enthusiasm which the Jewish people, in their moral period, felt for their religion when comparing themselves with others, or the pride inspired by Mohammedanism. (127)

Kant truncates the biblical passage, for the burden of the second commandment lies in its injunction not to bow down and worship such images (Exodus 20:4). In his emphasis on the prohibition of representation itself, as we shall see, the philosopher actually assimilates Judaism to what Europeans knew of Islamic belief. Cast as an afterthought in this passage though it is, the image of Islam has played a key role in debates about imagination and its limits in the European theater. I have come to questions about representation much wider than those raised by map-making. They call for an examination of Marlowe's technique and its inaugural swerve from the biblical and classical traditions towards the greater global, or orbicular, scene of Islam. This is the movement of the *Tamburlaine* plays.

II Marlowe, Islam, and the Image

In turning toward Islam, I am also following a current movement in early modern literary studies away from geography or ethnicity and toward religion as the principal category through which Europeans represented themselves and others during the

period. Even as geo-ethnic categories of identity have begun to recede into the background, the methodology most associated with them, the study of images or representations of "the other," has remained front and center. Superb scholarship has already been done on the representation of Islam in the English Renaissance, from Nabil Matar's pathbreaking book *Islam in Britain* to Jonathan Burton's recent *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama*. So it is with some trepidation that I suggest Islam was not represented on the early modern English stage. Of course, as with studies of ethnicity, religious studies in the period take the failure of the image into account, especially in the case of the theater, for they are largely about misrepresentations in the sense of stereotypes and tendentious preconceptions, on and off stage. Islam may have been more profoundly misrepresented still, however, to the point of virtual absence despite the staging of putatively Muslim characters, beliefs, and rituals in a range of plays. How, in any case, can literature depict any religion as a category of identity? Is religion like ethnic or racial identity, or like the forms of belonging associated with realms, regions or countries?

The question of misrepresentation is rendered more complex still by the way in which representation itself was at stake between Christianity and Islam in the world at large. What the art historian Terry Allen has termed "*aniconism*, the nonuse of images" in Islamic culture was conditioned by theological beliefs (Allen, 20). Though dimly perceived and poorly understood by Christians, the avoidance of representation in Islam was, ironically, one of the few religious concepts to gain some measure of representation in non-dramatic European writings on Muslims and the East. Monotheism, to which aniconism is intimately tied, and the importance of prophecy, prayer, and pilgrimage are others. Only rarely are these elements referred to in the drama of the period when it stages what purports to be Muslim belief and practice. Yet in *Tamburlaine* Parts I and II we do find a series of scenes that may have sprung from an abortive encounter with some traces of Islamic thought in medieval and early modern European learning.

The origin of "Islamic aniconism" remains controversial. Aniconism is not a central belief or practice that defines Islam as a religion, although it is attested in Hadith, traditions about the sayings and actions of Muhammad. The attitude to representation that Western art historians call "aniconism" is complex. It is images of living beings that are banned, not of inanimate objects. Maps or world-images of any kind are not in question, and map-making thrived under Islam. Furthermore, the focus is on religious rather than secular art: according to Allen, "figural representation has always been a part of secular art in the Islamic world" (17). There is no question, of course, of attempting visually to represent the godhead in any context, religious or secular. Yet, unlike biblical aniconism and European iconoclasm, Islamic aniconism is not principally a way of avoiding the profanation of religious figures and ideas by means of visuality. Images of people and animals in general, not simply of the Prophet and religious figures, are forbidden, and in religious contexts above all. According to one tradition in Hadith, this is because the image-maker or painter tries to appropriate God's creative power in depicting living things. Muhammad once said that painters

would receive a harsher punishment than others on the Day of Judgement. Another saying holds that in Hell, the painter will be commanded to breathe life into the images he has made, and will fail (Arnold, 5). These traditions represent a hardening of earlier attitudes toward painting in Islam, and they run counter to the continual presence of figural art on secular themes in Turkey, Iran, and elsewhere up to the sixteenth century and beyond. Allen has influentially distinguished the secular and the religious in Islamic art, while insisting that secular practice subtends religious ideology. Nevertheless, the curious punishment of the painter and the theology behind it remain compelling.

As I am neither a theologian nor an art historian, the previous paragraphs are offered in all humility, and no doubt require some correction. In unearthing what Marlowe and other late-sixteenth-century Europeans knew, or thought they knew, about Islam, the image, and the world-picture in its widest sense, I felt it necessary to explore what Islamic aniconism, to call it that, was and is. And I admit that the fine distinctions I have described above would have been lost on many in Marlowe's audience, had they even known about them. Some Christians still maintained medieval notions of Muslims as idolatrous worshippers of Muhammad. The more sophisticated viewed Muslims through the lens of Christianity's own religious disputes, casting them as iconoclastic. Protestants in England often placed Islam in direct opposition to Catholicism, with its supposed veneration of images as idols that at once profaned and replaced the godhead. Philippus Lonicerus's *Chronicorum turcicorum*, a book Marlowe almost certainly knew, describes the Turks' destruction of "imagines, picturas & effigies" at Constantinople: only God is to be worshipped, they assert, not stone, wood, or base or precious metals (Volume I, Book 2, Second Part, 101). In the vernacular, a sermon by Meredith Hanmer, printed in popular black letter type, trumpeted the conversion of "Chinano" the Turk to Christianity upon his rescue by Drake from 25 years of Spanish captivity. Asked why he had not converted earlier, Chinano claimed two things held him back: the cruelty of the Spaniard, and "his Idolatry in the worshipping of Images." Hanmer dwells on Muslim anti-idolatry, playing upon a common English theme by assimilating Islam to Reformation Christianity because of its rejection of religious, and especially Catholic, images (Hanmer, E2 recto, E5 recto-verso; Matar, 126–9). Aniconism becomes Protestant iconoclasm. Yet in the *Tamburlaine* plays traces of a more subtle and perhaps somewhat less mistaken view of Islam and representation may be found, one that comprises theological ideas about God and creation, about human misrepresentations and their consequences in the afterlife, and about the very possibility of representing life itself in visual form at all. Spectacular dramatist and poet of ekphrasis though he was, Marlowe began his stage career with a dual challenge to his own strengths. He may have done so in part through a fragmentary knowledge of Islam, gained perhaps during his studies at Cambridge.[2]

There is only one direct reference to Islam and visual representation in Marlowe's works. Defeated and captive, the Turkish emperor Bajazeth bemoans his fate in *Tamburlaine*, Part I:

> Now will the Christian miscreants be glad,
> Ringing with joy their superstitious bells
> And making bonfires for my overthrow.
> But ere I die, those foul idolaters
> Shall make me bonfires with their filthy bones.
> (I: 3.3.236–40)

Unlike the Persian Cosroe, Bajazeth is defined from his earliest appearance in the action by frequent appeals to "Mahomet." And it is in this scene that Tamburlaine first refers to himself as the "scourge" of God and backhanded protector of the Christians (lines 44–50). These "miscreants" or misbelievers will rejoice for now at the Turk's defeat, then. Their misbelief consists in foul idolatry, which many in the audience knew was the usual charge of Muslims against the Christians.

Textual editors have been silent on the "superstitious bells" the Christians will ring. Superstition was so closely linked with idolatry that in 1678 Thomas Tenison wrote a substantial tract entitled *Of Idolatry: A Discourse, in which is endeavored A Declaration of, Its Distinction from Superstition*. In the first chapter, Tenison cites sources on the lengthy association of the two terms and explains that the superstitious veneration of demons or heroes is only one branch of idol-worship (Tenison, 2–11). Jonathan Burton has recently shown that the term "bell-metals" was regularly applied to the quantities of lead, tin and other metals exported to the Ottomans by the English Crown for use as canon and munitions. This trade in ordnance was much condemned in Catholic Europe, the more so as its raw materials were derived from the Tudor dissolution of the monasteries and the breaking of their furniture, statuary, and bells. But to English Protestants the bell-metal trade was a logical form of recycling, one that cemented Elizabeth's delicate negotiations with the Turkish Porte at the expense of its traditional French and Venetian commercial allies. Burton shows how Elizabeth's diplomatic correspondence with Murad III accentuated a unitarian tendency in Protestantism over against Catholic trinitarianism and the idolatry it was said to promote.[3] This strategy was not known only to the elite: in his sermon, Hanmer cites the Ottoman secretary's praise of Elizabeth for having the most sound religion among the Christians (E6 verso–E7 recto). Murad himself had commended the Lutherans of Flanders for banishing "the idols and portraits and 'bells' from churches" (quoted in Burton, 62). To Burton's research in the diplomatic realm I would add that Hadith often associates painting with bells and other noisemakers used to call Eastern Christians to prayer in their ornate places of worship (Arnold, 10). Marlowe's expression "superstitious bells" is a linguistic kernel that encodes a meeting of Tudor Protestantism and Islamic tradition over against Catholic visuality.

A key episode in Part II reflects upon religious self-representation and misrepresentation in the widest sense of the term. Sigismond, King of Hungary, swears an oath by Christ to abide by his peace treaty with Orcanes, now leader of the Turkish forces. Orcanes vows in turn:

By sacred Mahomet, the friend of God,
Whose holy Alcaron remains with us,
Whose glorious body, when he left the world
Closed in a coffin, mounted up the air
And hung on stately Mecca's temple roof,
I swear to keep this truce inviolable.
(II: 1.1.137–42)

The fanciful legend of Muhammad's iron coffin, suspended by lodestones as a false miracle, was cited by Hanmer; the supposedly anti-idolatrous Turks practice superstition in visiting such shrines, as Catholics do.[4] The "Alcaron," no less than the spectacle of the Prophet's tomb, is implicitly taken as a kind of idol in this passage. Yet Sigismond is the one who misrepresents himself in breaking his oath, causing the faithful Orcanes to offer theological arguments against idolatry. "Can there be such deceit in Christians," he asks, "Whose shape is figure of the highest God?" (II: 2.2.36,37). This looks forward to William Bedwell's *Mohammedis imposturae* of 1615, a dialogue published by one of the first Arabic scholars in England, which begins with "Sheich Sinan" citing the creation of man in the "forme and similitude" of God as a prelude to the rejection of idols and human images (B2 recto–B3 recto). Bedwell claims to have translated his tract from an original text by a Christian Arab. Mimar Sinan was the chief Ottoman architect of the sixteenth century, but the name Sinan sounds like Hanmer's "Chinano" as well. Perhaps some stock name for a Muslim is reflected in these texts, part of a lost English tradition of legendary converts and their cross-over beliefs.

The rest of Orcanes's speech uses terms that Sinan, and also of course most Christian thinkers, would understand. Tearing the treaty, he calls on Christ as his sign of victory, while imagining a God who cannot be reduced to spatial or visual form:

he that sits on high and never sleeps
Nor in one place is circumscriptible,
But everywhere fills every continent
With strange infusion of his sacred vigor.
(II: 2.2.49–52)

The godhead is like the world here, continental in range but uncircumscribed by any map or globe. It has long been recognized that Marlowe's episode is based on a mid-fifteenth-century clash of worlds, the Hungarian King Vladislaus's oath-breaking with Amurath II before the battle of Varna. The story is recounted in a Latin history of Hungary that Marlowe may also have seen in translation before it was published in 1603 by Richard Knolles in his *Generall Historie of the Turkes* ("Introduction," in Marlowe, 17). Here, Amurath, "beholding the picture of the Crucifix in the displaied ensignes of the voluntarie Christians," brandishes the treaty document and calls on Christ to revenge the Hungarians' deceit (Knolles, 297). In the source, both Christian and Turk remain idolaters of a sort. Marlowe suppresses the pictured

Crucifixes, and causes the Muslim to develop from idolater to iconoclast, or aniconist. Perhaps it is in this spirit, rather than simply an opportunistic one, that Orcanes claims either Christ or Muhammad as his friend, for each is the emissary of an invisible God (II: 2.3.11). As for Sigismond, his body will be left for birds to feed upon, "since this miscreant hath disgraced his faith / And died a traitor both to heaven and earth" (lines 36–7). Because Sigismond, the imperfect figure of the highest God, has committed perjury, his visible remains in the human body must be desecrated. With "miscreant" we are brought full circle back to the passage on the superstitious bells and foul idolatry of the Christians. The word appears just twice in Marlowe's writings.

In the same speeches, Orcanes also imagines Sigismond's fate in the afterlife:

> Now scalds his soul in the Tartarian streams
> And feeds upon the baneful tree of hell,
> That Zoacum, that fruit of bitterness,
> That in the midst of fire is engraft,
> Yet flourisheth as Flora in her pride,
> With apples like the heads of damned fiends.
> (II: 2.3.18–23)

The Zoacum, or *Zaqqum*, tree appears in the Qu'ran, principally in surah 37: "It grows in the nethermost part of Hell, bearing fruit like devils' heads: on it they [the damned] shall feed, and with it they shall cram their bellies, together with draughts of scalding water" (*The Koran*, 447; insertion mine). Do we have a remarkable instance of an early modern English playwright citing the Qu'ran? In my view, we do. In another classic article, Seaton argued instead that Marlowe found his fantastical tree in Lonicerus's *Chronicorum turcicorum*, where the spelling "Zoacum" appears (Seaton, "Fresh Sources," 385–7). The more usual Latin spelling is "ezecum," she attests, but she does not cite its probable source: a twelfth-century Latin translation of the Qu'ran by Robertus Retenensis (or Robert of Reading, now known as Robert of Chester), printed as *Machumetis Sarracenorum principis* (Basel: Joannes Oporinus, 1543).[5] The Parker Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has a copy of the second edition of 1550. Although it cannot be proved to have been present in the collection during the late sixteenth century, this translation of the Qu'ran is listed in the Parker Register of books bequeathed to Corpus Christi by Archbishop Matthew Parker in 1575.[6] Corpus Christi was Marlowe's college. Of course, as Park Honan has recently remarked in another context, even as an MA candidate Marlowe may not have had access to the prized books of the collection for one reason or another (Honan, 75–6). Yet it is worth noting that the detail of scalding water in descriptions of the tree, which appears in surah 37 and also in the other surahs where *Zaqqum* is explicitly mentioned (44, 56), is absent from Lonicerus but present in Marlowe's version.[7] Lonicerus begins the brief chapter where the tree appears by citing the "Curaam" on the treatment of the damned in general, and this rare word may designate the Qu'ran or some putative Turkish

digest of it in Europe's odd early modern Eastern lexicon.[8] If Marlowe consulted the Qu'ran in Latin, cued by Lonicerus, he might also have found surah 56, where the scalding tree is juxtaposed with the assertion of Allah's creative power (*The Koran*, 535). Sigismond is punished for misrepresenting himself in his oath by Christ; by doing so, he defies his creation in the image of God.

Against my speculations, the simple fact of Marlowe's not mentioning the Qu'ran in his Zoacum passage must be set. And Marlowe does notoriously mention it later in *Tamburlaine* II:

> Now, Casane, where's that Turkish Alcaron
> And all the heaps of superstitious books
> Found in the temples of that Mahomet
> Whom I have thought a god? They shall be burnt.
> . . . .
> There is a God full of revenging wrath,
> From whom the thunder and the lightening breaks,
> Whose scourge I am, and him I will obey.
> So Casane, fling them in the fire.
> (II: 5.1.172–5, 182–5)

It is worth revisiting these familiar lines. The "Alcaron" is now one of many "superstitious" or idolatrous books. In a manner Muslims and some Christians would find most strange, the very word of God is treated by Tamburlaine as if it was a visual thing, a physical icon. The conqueror believes in a speechless God who, if not quite Orcanes's placeless deity, also sits on high, above all mortal representation despite the meteorological imagery that Tamburlaine cannot leave behind. "Well, soldiers," he taunts, "Mahomet remains in hell" (line 197), in effect with the Zoacum tree of the Alcaron itself, whether or not Marlowe knew fully of its source.

Without getting into the reasons for Tamburlaine's sudden distemperment, I would relate his death to the limits of visual and to some extent verbal representation in both plays. He may die from a humoural imbalance, or because he has burnt the Babylonians themselves rather than their Qu'ran, but if Tamburlaine also dies from an act of hyper-iconoclasm he does so under a force that the text ultimately fails to render in iconic terms. The very confusion over his death, its overdetermination, makes it impossible to explain through narrative, which depends on cause and effect. His followers nevertheless strive to narrate and depict the coming event. In a passage that recalls Tamburlaine's own struggles at Zenocrate's passing, Theridamus tries to imagine spirit armies besieging Tamburlaine's heart, and yet "These cowards invisibly assail his soul" (II: 5.3.13): that is, the causes dooming his master cannot be pictured. Tamburlaine is more successful:

> See where my slave, the ugly monster Death,
> Shaking and quivering, pale and wan for fear,
> Stands aiming at me with his murdering dart

> Who flies away at every glance I give,
> And when I look away comes stealing on.
> (5.3.67–71)

Yet still more than Milton's Death, this apparition is un-seeable, certainly by those bidden to see it on stage and in the audience (Milton, *Paradise Lost* 2. 666–73). Even for Tamburlaine, Death, if Death it is, disappears precisely when he looks at it, albeit for fear of Tamburlaine, he claims. The Physician's dry disquisition on death as a process follows right away: it is Tamburlaine's urine *he* has viewed (line 82).

Finally, Tamburlaine attains a sort of reverse epiphany in the plays' most telling lines:

> Casane, no, the monarch of the earth
> And eyeless monster that torments my soul
> Cannot behold the tears ye shed for me,
> And therefore still augments his cruelty.
> (II: 5.3.216–19)

Techelles seemingly conjectures in the following speech that Death once more is meant, perhaps in a weak recollection of Tamburlaine's earlier image (lines 220–3). But it is not clear that death, at first a timid slave, is now the monarch of the earth (although this may also have been Milton's reading of the passage). It is also possible that it is Tamburlaine's, and perhaps Marlowe's, God who sits above that is the eyeless monster, unseeing and a *monstrum* itself, at once an ominous mystery and a marvel that one must try and fail to picture. That the eyeless monster cannot, not just will not, behold the followers' tears suggests that it is less than a god, of course, and furthermore that it may be nothing but a figure for the absence of the divine. It is a sublime negative presentation, in Kant's terms. We personify the blind augmentation of cruelty through a prosopopeia that Tamburlaine himself sought to embody in his violent career. Tamburlaine, simply, is dieing for no reason despite the many explanations the text offers, or for reasons closer to those of the Physician than anyone else. If I am right, then this is Marlowe's "atheism." The Tamburlainiad approaches a radical aniconism near its end, despite Marlowe's own ceaseless efforts to visualize power and desire. The plays' iconoclasm, their relentless destruction of their own images and idols, including Tamburlaine himself, is merely the active arm of a more profound visual Pyrrhonism. Marlowe could well have generated his fundamental critique of representation without reference to the few purported accounts of Islam that he knew. But a glancing encounter with Islamic thought may have marked his career at Cambridge – and the beginnings of his imaginary career in Tamburlaine's Persia as well.

In this paper, I have juxtaposed two instances of the breakdown of the image on a world-scale in *Tamburlaine* Parts I and II. Medieval and Ptolemaic maps cancel each other out in Tamburlaine's early vision of conquest. Ortelius's sophisticated system of book-length world mapping determines the scope of the plays' action, yet for the

most part invisibly, as if the maps' labeling rather than their iconic presentation was the key to the world-picture they assemble. The belated appearance of a world map, perhaps the world map book itself, on stage, occurs under the sign of global occlusion and disappointment: "Look here, my boys," Tamburlaine commands as he evidently points to the map,

> see what a world of ground
> Lies westward from the midst of Cancer's line
> Unto the rising of this earthly globe,
> Whereas the sun, declining from our sight,
> Begins the day with our Antipodes:
> And shall I die, and this unconquered?
> (II: 5.3.145–50)

There is something sublime, as later generations would say, about Tamburlaine's gigantic failure, as well as a sublimity in the unavoidable lack of adequation between word and picture when the image of the world is at stake.

The second section of my discussion begins with the proposal that Islam was not in any real sense represented on stage during the English Renaissance. The failure to represent part of the life-world matches the inadequate projection of the *orbis terrarum.* Even Marlowe, whose Orcanes glimpses a completely immaterial deity, ultimately casts Islam as little more than an idolatrous parody of Christianity: "In vain, I see, men worship Mohomet," Tamburlaine says as he burns the Qu'ran (II: 5.2.178). The "Alcaron" and the world map or map book successively occupy the same place on stage as the action draws to an end in the second play: the authority of both image-objects is simultaneously invoked and defied, and then inexplicably forgotten. That Islam itself resists representation, and in a manner that recalls differing antagonisms toward the image in Judaism, Christianity, and other "world religions," may be significant. It suggests that religion in general produces an effect antagonistic to representation, a sublime effect that, for all its mystifications, might usefully challenge the way identity is still often framed in critical discourse about what Orcanes calls "a world of people" (*Tamburlaine* II: 1.1.67).

Notes

1 Margreta de Grazia sees the "framing" of the proscenium stage as a seeming "materialization of this modern concept of visibility and knowability"(de Grazia, 19). Yet Heidegger would place knowability ahead of the visible; he is radically opposed to materialization (albeit to his and our cost) and thus evokes the visible but renders it remote. Early modern dramatists like Marlowe did not write for the proscenium stage, whose framing, in any case, is radically different from Heidegger's coinage *Gestell*, which is a setting-in-place or a system, and nothing like a picture-frame or proscenium arch (Heidegger, 127, 141).

2 For knowledge of Arabic and thus Islam on the part of two instructors in Hebrew at Cambridge, see Miller (264–6). He does not touch on aniconism.

3 Burton (58–62). When Burton cites the "superstitious bells" passage later in his reading of Part I as evidence of Tamburlaine's pro-Christian stance, he does not connect it to his discussion of bell-metals (77).
4 Hanmer (B3 verso, C6 verso); and see Lonicerus (117–18).
5 The New York Public Library possesses a copy. Bedwell cites this translation in his epistle to the reader, and uses it in his glossary entry on "Azzekom," his version of the word, citing Robertus's "Ezetius," "Ezecus," and finally "Ezzecum": *Mohammedis imposturae* (L4 verso).
6 My thanks to Ms. Gill Cannell of the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for this information.
7 Lonicerus (Volume I, Book 2, Second Part, 122). I've had access only to the 1584 edition of this text in the New York Public Library, with its different pagination from the 1578 edition Seaton consulted.
8 Lonicerus (121). On "Curaam," see Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in al ages and places discouered* (332). See also George Abbot, *An exposition upon the prophet Ionah* (8). There is no entry as yet in the *OED*. Compare Tamburlaine himself on "the Turkish Alcaron" as "the abstracts of thy foolish laws": *Tamburlaine II*, 5.1.172, 196.

References and Further Reading

Abbot, George. *An exposition upon the prophet Ionah*. London: Richard Field, 1600.

Allen, Terry. "Aniconism and Figural Representation in Islamic Art," in *Five Essays on Islamic Art*. No place of pub.: Solipsist Press, 1988, 17–37.

Arnold, Thomas W. *Painting in Islam: A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture*, 1928; rpt. New York: Dover, 1965.

Bedwell, William. *Mohammedis imposturae: that is, a discouery of the manifold forgeries, falshoods and horrible impieties of the blasphemous seducer Mohammed. . . . Whereunto is annexed the ARABIAN TRUDGMAN, interpreting certaine Arabicke termes used by Historians: Together with an INDEX of the Chapters of the Alkoran*. London: Richard Field, 1615.

Burton, Jonathan. *Traffic and Turning: Islam in English Drama, 1579–1642*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005.

De Grazia, Margreta. "World Pictures, Modern Periods, and the Early Stage," in *A New History of Early English Drama*. Ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997, 7–21.

Gillies, John. *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Hanmer, Meredith. *The baptizing of a Turke: A Sermon preached at the Hospitall of Saint Katherin . . . at the baptizing of one Chinano a Turke, borne at Nigropontus*. London: Robert Waldgrave, [1586].

Heidegger, Martin. "The Age of the World Picture," in Heidegger, *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, trans. William Lovitt. New York: Harper Perennial, 1977, 115–54.

Honan, Park. *Christopher Marlowe: Poet and Spy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Jacob, Christian. *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History*, trans. Tom Conley. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Kant, Immanuel. *The Critique of Judgement*, trans. James Creed Meredith. Oxford: Clarendon, 1952.

Knolles, Richard. *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*. London: Adam Islip, 1603.

The Koran. Trans. N. J. Dawood. London: Penguin, 2000.

Lonicerus, Philippus. *Chronicorum turcicorum, in quibus Turcorum origo, principes, imperatores, bella, praelia, caedes . . . & caetera huc pertinentia . . . exponentur; et mahometicae religionis instituta*. Frankfurt: I. Wechelus for S. Feyerabendij, 1584.

Marlowe, Christopher. *Tamburlaine the Great*. Ed. J. S. Cunningham. Manchester: Manchester University Press – The Revels Plays, 1981.

Matar, Nabil. *Islam in Britain, 1558–1685*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Mercator, Gerard. *Atlas, or a Geographicke Description of the World*, 1636. Trans. Henry Hexham; rpt., ed. R. A. Skelton. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1968.

Miller, Howard. "Tamburlaine: The Migration and Translation of Marlowe's Arabic Sources," in *Travel and Translation in the Early Modern Period*. Ed. Carmine G. Di Biase. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006, 255–66.

Milton, John. *Paradise Lost, in Complete Poems and Major Prose*. Ed. Merritt Y. Hughes. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957.

Ortelius, Abraham. *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 1570; rpt.. Ed. R. A. Skelton. Antwerp: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1964.

Purchas, Samuel. *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in al ages and places discouered*. London: William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1617.

Robertus Retenensis. *Machumetis Sarracenorum principis*. Basel: Joannes Oporinus, 1543.

Seaton, Ethel. "Marlowe's Map," *Essays and Studies* 10 (1924): 13–35.

Seaton, Ethel. "Fresh Sources for Marlowe," *Review of English Studies* 5 (1929): 385–401.

Tenison, Thomas. *Of Idolatry: A Discourse, in which is endeavored A Declaration of, Its Distinction from Superstition*. London: Francis Tyton, 1678.

4

Traveling Nowhere: Global Utopias in the Early Modern Period

Chloë Houston

I Introduction: The Global Context

The concept of globalization has been invented and popularized during the last four decades, with the first usage of the word "globalization" and its cognates dating from the 1960s (*OED*). By the end of the twentieth century globalization had become "an idea whose time has come," possibly even "the cliché of our times," and as such seems a definitively contemporary idea (Held et al., 1). Yet globalization is also a concept that has been applied to early modern culture, as a global approach to history becomes increasingly common, and interest in the "global arena" of Renaissance develops (Headley, 9–62). Recently, intellectual and cultural historians such as Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, among others, have shown the fruitfulness of an approach which pays attention to global interactions, and the importance of thinking about texts and objects within a global frame in the early modern period. Their attention to the "vigorously developing worldwide market in luxury commodities," the "exchange across geographical and ideological boundaries," and the "continually expanding horizons of overseas travel and territorial discovery" has demonstrated the significance of interactions beyond European borders for the development of Renaissance art, literature and culture (Jardine, 19; Jardine and Brotton, 7; Brotton, 21). Thus the global context cannot be ignored in accounts of how the Renaissance period developed and became characterized.

The utopia is a form of literature rooted in Classical and Christian modes of thinking about the ideal way of life. The sixteenth and especially the seventeenth centuries saw a proliferation of utopian writing, following the invention of the word and revivification of the utopian mode by Thomas More's *Utopia* of 1516. During this period, these alternative societies tended to be imagined as existing at a geographical distance from the author's own: More's Utopia is somewhere in the Americas; Bacon's New Atlantis in the Pacific; Andreae's Christianopolis in an unknown "Academic" ocean. This chapter seeks to explore the status of these utopias, which are dependent on the

concept of travel and engage with contemporary interests in worldwide trade and newly discovered communities, as texts that are global in nature. During this period, utopia exists at a distance; the development of the utopian mode of writing in the early modern period and the contemporaneous increase in European interaction with far-off and previously unknown communities are no coincidence. This chapter, considering utopias within a global context, will demonstrate the ways in which they constitute a form of global discourse, which arises from a concern with the physical processes and imaginative potential of travel beyond European borders, at a time when it was still possible to imagine the existence of unknown societies across the seas, where people might live better lives and, upon discovery, offer up the secrets of these lives. In doing so, utopias use the foreign space to reconfigure the domestic sphere, attempting to solve the ills of the world at home by considering the possibilities of the world far away. Before this chapter examines the development of a global utopia in the Renaissance, however, it will first briefly consider what is meant by globalization in this period. In doing so, a glance at the development of more contemporary notions of global history will help identify the usefulness or otherwise of "globalization" as a term for describing or understanding the processes of the early modern world.

To speak of globalization in the Renaissance, broadly speaking (and in the context of this anthology), the period dating from the late fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries, is clearly to risk anachronism, and the term certainly has its limits in historical discussion, being used in different ways by different historians (de Vries, 1). Contemporary discussions of globalization are rooted in the development of world or global history over the past 30 years. First published in 1974, the first volume of Immanuel Wallerstein's *The Modern World-System* suggested that the notion of world history before 1600 was not viable, on the basis that earlier systems were world empires rather than world economies; before the mid-seventeenth century, the world-system was "still only a European world-system" (Wallerstein, 10; Antunes, 2–3). Wallerstein's influential work has been the subject of considerable criticism, which has focused in particular on his notion of the inexistence of world economies before 1600, and his tendencies towards an implicit Eurocentricity. Janet Abu-Lughod, for example, in seeking to moderate Wallerstein's system, endorses the idea of a world economy before 1600. In *Before European Hegemony: The World System A. D. 1250–1350*, she argues that the world-system economy prior to the sixteenth century was just as extensive as that of the sixteenth century itself (excepting the New World), though organized differently (Abu-Lughod, 9, 38 n.2). Stuart Hall reminds us that discussions of globalization, even when considering its contemporary forms and impetuses, must recognise that globalization "is located within a much longer history" (Hall, 20). Fernand Braudel's work on early modern civilization and capitalism has also emphasized the historical presence of world economies and world empires, and has drawn attention to the role of trade and technology in developing these trans-national networks (Braudel, 24, 54, 66–8). Whilst the question of how a global economy or world-system in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries should be

understood or defined is still open to debate, the existence of global interactions during this period is evident, and thus the history of early modern global relations and networks has become an important field of early modern cultural studies.

For students of early modern literature and history, particularly if we consider that globalization studies and global history are themselves comparatively young disciplines, it seems unhelpful to rely upon too narrow or exclusive a definition of globalization (which would exclude its use in discussions of Renaissance culture), when helpfully broad definitions have been offered by various scholars (Clossey, 56). For example, if we think of globalization as referring to a "process or series of processes" which "reflect[s] the emergence of interregional networks and systems of interaction and exchange," as an influential study has suggested (Held et al., 27), then the presence of such a process during the early modern period seems evident. For many scholars, the early modern and medieval periods have been identified as a crucial stage in the development of globalization in a European context (Frank, 52; Bentley, 7). As Felicity Nussbaum has argued in her introduction to *The Global Eighteenth Century*, "global systems – if we confine the term to mean principally close and active economic and cultural linkages across the world rather than virtual networks of instantaneous communication and trade – is thoroughly embedded in history, beginning perhaps as early as 1492" (Nussbaum, 3). Even those who contend that full-fledged globalization began after the Renaissance recognize its significance in terms of its "Voyages of Discovery" and their "transfer of technology, plants, animals and diseases on an enormous scale, never seen before or since" (O'Rourke and Williamson, 45).

As Nussbaum also points out, globalization is a dynamic process, the defining elements of which were "not fully congealed even in Europe in the eighteenth century" (Nussbaum, 4). In this sense, the early modern era was a crucial period for the development of global networks and communities, constituting a time at which the processes of globalization were in a state of growth. The sixteenth century was a period during which the processes and networks of globalization were under development; it was also a period that was interested in recording and exploring that development. Both utopias and travel writings, as forms of literature concerned with journeys, discovery, connections with new peoples, cultural exchange, and the development of networks, and with the recording of these phenomena, have something to do with this process of globalization, and can be understood as both producing and productive of a "global Renaissance." This chapter will establish the importance of travel and travel writing as a global context for the roots of the utopia in the early modern period to show that one of the reasons why utopias may be understood as "global" texts is their interest in the context of travel beyond national English and European borders. It will begin to examine their response to this context through a reading of More's *Utopia* as a skeptical interrogation of the notion that travel is inherently valuable. It will then explore how attitudes to this global context changed in the early seventeenth century, as utopias responded enthusiastically to the concept of travel as a beneficial activity. Arguing that the utopia emerged as a form of travel writing which critiqued

travel itself, and to which travel and journeying are vital metaphors, it will trace the development of that activity from Thomas More's *Utopia* of 1516 to Francis Bacon's and Johann Valentin Andreae's utopias of the early seventeenth century.

II Utopian Contexts: Lucian and Travel

The Renaissance, from the late fifteenth century onwards, is widely identified as a period of "discovery" and exploration, in which the processes of globalization and trans-culturation that are still with us today have their roots (Kamps and Singh, 1). The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for instance, witnessed an increase in the numbers of Englishmen travelling abroad and consequently in the publication of books recording their tales and experiences. In the sixteenth century, journeys beyond Europe grew in number due to the expansion of trade as far as the Far East (Speake, 5). As a result, travel narratives were printed in growing numbers, so that by the later sixteenth century, in the words of one scholar, "Europe was deluged with materials on the overseas world" (Lach, 204). After 1550, travel collections, such as those of Richard Eden, Giovanni Battista Ramusio, Samuel Purchas and Richard Hakluyt, began to appear in the major cities of Western Europe, and especially London, Venice, and Frankfurt. Some such collections, such as Ramusio's *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (1554–9), which recorded Marco Polo's adventures and Columbus's discoveries, contained fantastical elements, recalling earlier fanciful travel literature, such as that recording the medieval travels of John Mandeville. Thus, from an early stage, Renaissance travel writing in Europe engaged with the fantastic and the imaginative. The volume of travel accounts, as studies of such writings have argued, attests not only to the popularity of travel writing but also to the ways in which the published account of a voyage was an integral part of the journey itself (Mitsi, 1). In recent years, studies of this kind of literature have, as Andrew Hadfield argued in his recent anthology of Renaissance travel writing, "moved from a virtually invisible periphery to the very centre of the humanities" (Hadfield, 1).

The increase in travel and travel writing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries does not of course mean that travel writing was a new phenomenon of the Renaissance. Renaissance authors in Europe and England had access to a wide variety of factual and fictionalized travel narratives, from the classical tales of Herodotus and Pausanias to the popular books of medieval travelers, such as Marco Polo and Mandeville, and in this period, as throughout the history of travel writing, authors borrowed material from their predecessors (Von Martels, xii). In considering the roots of the relationship between travel and utopian literature in the early modern period, we begin with a classical writer whose fictional travel narrative was amongst his most popular works in the early sixteenth century. Recognizing the roots of early modern utopianism in travel satire demonstrates that satire and ambiguity are dominant factors in the genesis of the relationship between utopia and travel writing, and in the development of the global utopia in the Renaissance. Whilst a comprehensive study of utopia as

travel literature has yet to be undertaken, it is hoped that this chapter will make a contribution to the development of that study.

The rhetorician and satirist Lucian, like many classical authors, benefited from the re-editing and transmission of classical texts in the early Renaissance and became popular during the sixteenth century, with about 270 printings of his works, or works attributed to him, before 1550 (Thompson, 3). Two of Lucian's translators during this period were Erasmus and More; indeed, during his own lifetime, More would have been better known as the translator of Lucian than as the author of *Utopia* (Branham, 23). One of Lucian's most popular works during this period was *Vera Historia*, usually translated as *True Story* or *True History* and widely available in Latin translation by 1500 (Thompson, 12). The general influence of Lucian on More has received some attention from Morean scholars; notably, Alistair Fox has concluded that More's "encounter with Lucian was absolutely crucial to the development of his mature vision and its literary and philosophical consequences were long lasting" (35). Several critics have made studies of the relationship between *Vera Historia* and *Utopia*, arguing that *Utopia* should be understood as a work of Lucianic irony, especially in its use of the dialogue form and satirical tone (Branham, 32; Dorsch, 349).

In terms of its similarity to *Utopia*, however, *Vera Historia* is significant beyond correspondences of tone and form. An important ironic function of Lucian's story, in which his narrator tells of a series of improbable experiences in a voice which is seemingly serious, is its satire of travel literature as a genre. It critiques both "genuine" travel narratives, such as those of Herodotus, and travel fictions, such as Homer's stories of Odysseus, which present fabulous occurrences as fact. The narrator's description of the battles between the sun and the moon and their resolution in a peace treaty, for example, mimic Thucydides' accounts of the Peloponnesian War, and his continual reference to the armies, their size and strength, poke fun at similar descriptions in Herodotus, while the portrayal of the two military forces recalls Homer's *Iliad* (Parrett 17–18). As well as accusing Odysseus of fabrication, Lucian mocks the "genuine" travel accounts of authors such as Iambulus and Ctesias, and fantastic narratives such as the *Alexander Romance* (Aerts, 35–8). Held in prison, the narrator observes that "the worst punishments of all were reserved for those who had written Untrue Histories, a category which included Ctesias of Cnidos and Herodotus," but ironically congratulates himself that "my conscience was absolutely clear in that respect" (Lucian, 286).

In this critique of travel literature Lucian both mocks the writers of unbelievable travel narratives (and their gullible readers), and emphasizes the significance of the question of narrative authority in travel writing. The preface to *Vera Historia* ends with a mocking warning to the credulous reader and an assertion of his difference from earlier travel writers:

> I shall be a more honest liar than my predecessors, for I am telling you frankly, here and now, that I have no intention whatever of telling the truth. [. . .] I am writing about things entirely

> outside my own experience or anyone else's, things that have no reality whatever and never could have. So mind you do not believe a word I say. (Lucian, 250)

Within the text itself, however, the narrator repeatedly affirms the veracity of what he saw based on the evidence of his own eyes: "that is what it was like on the Moon. If you do not believe me, go and see for yourself" (Lucian, 262). As David H. Larmour has pointed out, this splitting of the authorial persona results in a paradox in which "for the 'I' of the prologue, everything that follows is a lie; for the narrator of the story, however everything is true" (Larmour, 133; Parrett, 15). A crucial part of the experience of reading Lucian comes from the appreciation of this splitting of narrative identity or authority, and the reminder that travel books exist in which similar occurrences to those related in *Vera Historia* are presented as truth without evident satire or irony.

III *Utopia* and Travel

More's *Utopia* was written at a time when travel narratives were appearing in increasing numbers, and the voyages and "discoveries" of Vespucci and Columbus were recent events. These travel narratives, as well as presenting the most marvellous fictions as seeming fact, frequently portrayed the New World as another Eden, a feature which highlights an important overlap between the writing of travel and the writing of utopia. As Amerigo Vespucci wrote of America in 1503, "surely if the terrestrial paradise be in any part of this earth, I esteem that it is not far distant from those parts" (Vespucci, 9). This newfound land seemed to Vespucci both fertile and beautiful, its inhabitants living simply, gently and according to nature, just like the Utopians (Vespucci, 4, 6). The use of Eden, that most ideal of societies, in early modern encounters with the New World is well documented (Murilio de Carvalho, 1). As it was widely believed that the paradise described in Genesis had a geographical location, it seemed that these times of new technologies and new adventures might really transport mankind to its original ideal state, at least in physical terms (Giamatti, 4–5; Duncan, 171). So the development of utopian literature in the early modern period was closely related to that of travel writing; More's *Utopia* was clearly indebted to contemporary travel narratives and utopia had its foundations in the Renaissance "discovery" of the New World (Davis, 101). But *Utopia* casts aspersions on the idea that the ideal society might be physically attainable; Utopia is not paradise. Rather, the text "plays down the newness, and to some extent the virtue, of the New World. [. . .] [For More,] there were good things to be discovered in the old Europe and bad things to be found in the worlds newly discovered" (Davis, 103). The notion that the society of Utopia represents the best possible human society is destabilized by the text itself; hence the idea that Europe or England might benefit from emulating it is invalidated. Thus *Utopia* can be understood as a form of travel writing which critiques travel writing by pointing to the untruthfulness of travel literature

and by questioning its fundamental usefulness, a feature which it shares with its Lucianic forebear.

It is in its narrative split and its satirical critique of travel and travel writing that More's *Utopia* is most like Lucian's *Vera Historia*. Firstly, More's creation of a travel narrative within a dialogue form related by a narrator who has the same name as the author creates a series of narrative voices which are sometimes in conflict with each other. In Hythlodaeus, the sailor who relates his encounter with Utopia to More and his friend Peter Giles, More produced a narrator who would for decades divide critics on whether or not he should be taken seriously, and on whether or not his voice should be read as the equivalent of the "real" More's. To complicate things further, there is the inclusion of the character of Morus (or More), who comments critically on Hythlodaeus' narrative on occasion. Thus *Utopia* is one travel narrative (Hythlodaeus' description of the wonderful island of Utopia) within another (Morus' description of a conversation he had whilst in Antwerp). Not only does Morus criticize Hythlodaeus at times, notably at the end of his narrative where he states that many features of the Utopians' society seem absurd (More, 245), but he freely admits to being unable to remember certain important details concerning the island of Utopia with any accuracy, from the width of its river Anydrus ("waterless"), to the area of the New World in which it is located (41, 43). In his letter to Giles regarding the publication of *Utopia*, Morus argues that he has endeavored to be honest in his narration, but draws attention to the difficulty in achieving total honesty in a travel narrative, in which he is at times obliged to choose between telling an "objective falsehood" and "an intentional lie" (41). Thus More, like Lucian, is deliberately ambiguous about the question of narrative authority, highlighting a problem inherent in reading travel narratives, which are unable to prove the truth of events or stories for which they are the only witness.

Secondly, *Utopia* satirizes genuine travel writing and the concept of travel itself as a beneficial activity. *Utopia* is influenced by tales of voyages to the New World and, in the words of J. C. Davis, "clearly has links with those discoveries and the contrast they might imaginatively offer with a familiar and flawed society" (Davis, 101–3). The text mimics contemporary travel writings in its physical presentation, with its inclusion of introductory letters, maps, and even a Utopian alphabet and poem. This poem seemingly emphasises the advantages of narrating and reading travel literature, in that the reader may profit from what is read: "ungrudgingly," the "Utopia" of the poem states, "do I share my benefits with others" (19). To this end, like contemporary narratives of journeys abroad, Hythlodaeus' tale recounts the wonders he has seen, especially in Utopian society, with the purpose of showing its superiority over contemporary English society. For example, Hythlodaeus describes how the Utopians have developed a number of technological improvements, such as an incubator for hatching chickens and efficient irrigation systems relying on conduits made of baked clay, which enable them to live more efficiently (More, 115, 119). The social structures that the Utopians have instigated, including communal living and property, have resulted in "an abundance of all commodities" and a happy and long-lasting

community (More, 135, 245). Moreover, on being introduced to new technologies such as the manufacture of paper and the printing press by their European visitors, the Utopians slowly learn how to master them (183).

However, the narrator Morus implicitly questions the usefulness of such innovations, pointing out that even the most useful technological tools and innovations can prove dangerous in the wrong hands. He notes, for example, that whilst Hythlodaeus was on his travels, he introduced the magnetic compass to a society who had never before used it. The sailors of this society, unaccustomed to their new tool, eventually became imprudent and ventured out in inclement weather, so that "what was thought likely to be a great benefit to them may, through their imprudence, cause them great mischief" (More, 53). Thus whilst Hythlodaeus' narrative lauds the achievements of the Utopian society in finding the best way to live, having "laid the foundations of the commonwealth not only most happily, but to last forever" (More, 245), the character of Morus reminds the reader that innovations cannot always be transplanted from one culture to another without harm, implicitly questioning the usefulness of foreign wonders for the audience at home. At the end of Hythlodaeus' narrative, Morus seems largely unimpressed, commenting that "many things came to my mind which seemed very absurdly established in the customs and the laws of the people described" and "I cannot agree with all that he said" (More, 245). Furthermore, in critiquing travel narratives, *Utopia* serves as a reminder that travel writings of the time, as Stephen Greenblatt has pointed out, were not themselves truthful documents. Greenblatt notes that the objects of his study of travel narratives "were liars – few of them *steady* liars, as it were, like Mandeville, but frequent and cunning liars none the less, whose position virtually required the strategic manipulation and distortion and outright suppression of the truth" (Greenblatt, 7). *Utopia* establishes itself on one level as a travel narrative that claims to offer benefits to its readership, whilst calling into question the validity and the usefulness of such literature.

Whilst the society of Utopia seems superficially ideal through Hythlodaeus' narrative, it is simultaneously deeply flawed. Utopian society is presented as being in some ways better than the Tudor England with which it is contrasted, but in other ways unable to live up to a Christian humanist idea of what constitutes the ideal society. In Utopia, More offers not an ideal state but a type of an ideal state; an imagining of a society that is ideal by certain standards and criteria, which are shown to be inadequate. The Utopians' commitment to living rationally, for example, leads them to practice assisted suicide, to live for pleasure above all else, to believe that religious faith is a matter of free will, and to exhibit signs of spiritual complacency (More, 187, 167, 163, 237). Scholars including Quentin Skinner, Alistair Fox and Dominic Baker-Smith have highlighted the evident ambiguities of the text (Skinner, 123–4; Fox, 27; Baker-Smith, 217–18, 232); far from presenting the ideal solution to the world's problems, *Utopia* is ultimately skeptical about the prospect of an ideal human existence on earth. This skepticism is expressed in a Lucianic way, through a fictional travel tale in which the reality of the innovations and the potential benefits of travel being presented are thoroughly and consistently

undercut. *Utopia* is skeptical about the potential of global travel to solve the ills of society at home.

IV The Early Seventeenth Century: Bacon and Andreae

As we move into the seventeenth century, there is some difficulty in describing early modern travel writing as a literary genre, so diverse and wide-ranging were its forms of expression at this time (Sherman, 30). It has been argued that it was during the early seventeenth century that travel writing became professionalized in England, as travelers began going to the East specifically to write about it (MacLean, 405). During the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such writing proliferated, with printed records of journeys to Europe, the New World, and beyond rising in number; the increase of such narratives reflected a concomitant interest in the literature of colonialism and exploration:

> As travelers made contact with new regions and people, authors and editors put the world on paper for the new print marketplace at home: the number of new titles published (and old titles reprinted) during the early modern period suggests there was a significant audience for travel writing, eager to hear news of the wider world and to reflect on England's place within it. (Sherman, 19)

Travel writing and travel, as Mary C. Fuller has demonstrated, were mutually generative, and writings about travel became "an integral part of the activities they documented" (Fuller, 2). The turn of the century and the early 1600s thus witnessed a growth in the publication of popular compendia of travel writings, such as Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, which was enlarged into a three-volume edition from 1598 to 1600, and of the individual memoirs of travellers such as Thomas Coryat, Fynes Moryson, William Lithgow and George Sandys. The year 1625 saw the publication of Samuel Purchas's expanded collection, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, "the most frequently consulted source of information on travel and other cultures in the seventeenth century" (Hadfield, 9). By 1630, there was a significant audience for first-hand accounts of overseas journeys, reflecting the development of Britain's global relationships, such as the birth of its American empire, and trade with Asia and the East (Hadfield, 9–10).

Just as travel and writing about travel increased in the first half of the seventeenth century, so utopian literature burgeoned. During the same period there occurred what has been characterized as "a discourse of ideal politics [. . .] an outburst of political fantasy and speculation' which resulted in an explosion of utopian writings" (Appelbaum, 4, 5). The development of this discourse of ideal politics and the proliferation of utopian writings represent the legacy of More's text and its resonance in an expanding global world. Early seventeenth-century utopias, like their forebear *Utopia*, responded to a climate in which the notion of the ideal community was prevalent in

travel literature. As J. C. Davis has demonstrated, the relationship between utopian and travel writing in the century after *Utopia* was a close one, as, for example, attempts at colonization in the New World involved the schemes of "utopian projectors" who sought to develop new societies along the best possible lines (Davis, 116). Writings about the New World and about the ideal society continued to have much in common: "Like the New World, [utopia] challenged the political imagination to transcend time and place in new ways" (Davis, 117). In the early seventeenth century, both utopian and travel writing continued to respond to the question of what can be gained from increasing travel and the development of global networks. For Bacon and Andreae, the process of the journey to the utopian location served as a metaphor for the difficulties inherent in pursuing the ideal society. In demonstrating the ideal nature of the society their traveling narrators encountered, these early seventeenth-century utopias promoted the concept of travel as a means of achieving otherwise inaccessible benefits. One way of examining this response is to look at how utopias from this period negotiate the question of the journey or process of travel itself.

Francis Bacon's utopian fable *New Atlantis*, published posthumously with *Sylva Sylvarum* in 1627, begins, like a travel narrative, with a description of the narrator's experience of reaching New Atlantis: "We sailed from Peru [. . .], for China and Japan, by the South Sea" (Bacon, 457). The anonymous narrator tells us that he and his companions have prepared for a voyage of a year's duration; for the first five months all is well, until "there arose strong and great winds from the south" (457). The storm drives the sailors off-course, and, despite their care, their provisions run out. The narrator describes how he and his companions, considering themselves to be "in the midst of the greatest wilderness of waters in the world," pray for deliverance: "we did lift up our hearts and voices to God above, who "showeth his wonders in the deep," beseeching him of his mercy, that as in the beginning he discovered the face of the deep, and brought forth dry land, so he would now discover land to us, that we might not perish" (457). The biblical register of Bacon's narrative heightens the miraculous nature of the companions' discovery of New Atlantis, which seemingly reveals itself in response to their prayers. In conversation with his fellow travellers, the narrator develops the biblical analogy: "We are men cast on land, as Jonas was out of the whale's belly [. . .]. It is a kind of miracle hath brought us hither" (461). Consequently the utopian island is understood by the travelers as "a picture of our salvation in heaven" and "a land of angels" (463); the journey to utopia represents deliverance from harm and divine benediction.

A near-contemporary utopia is Johann Valentin Andreae's *Christianopolis*, published in Latin in 1619. Andreae's narrator also portrays the journey to utopia as dangerous and difficult, and the arrival in the utopian society as providential. Like the sailors in *New Atlantis*, he describes how he and his companions anticipated the worst when they encountered a storm at sea: "more by necessity than by fortitude of mind we were prepared to die" (Andreae, 155). Alone, the narrator lands upon a small island, an experience which he interprets in biblical terms, thanking God for his deliverance: "You would believe that heaven had married the earth here, and they were living

together in perpetual peace. The sun had come out again as though reborn. [. . .] [I]t is indeed as though I have met God Himself here" (156, 158). Thus in both texts the passage to the utopian location represents providential deliverance from harm. Utopia is a divine prize to be won after a difficult journey, in which the inconveniences undergone on the voyage represent the difficulties of accessing the ideal society. In both cases, the utopian location is not the destined aim of the journey; rather, it is happened upon by miracle, at a time of dire need. Thus we see how the journey to utopia is being used in as a metaphor, either for the difficulty of reaching an ideal place, or the need to earn redemption, or the elusiveness of the most rewarding goals. As is common with Renaissance utopias, *New Atlantis* and *Christianopolis* position the discovery of the utopian location as the result of displacement and of movement beyond the usual authority structures of the narrator's own environment. These later utopias' portrayals of the experience of reaching the ideal society reflects the degree of difference between the way in which they conceive the utopian location, and the way in which it is presented by More, in their demonstration of a different perspective on the value of travel.

Moreover, both *Christianoplis* and *New Atlantis* describe utopian locations that seem at least to some degree to be ideal societies. In Bensalem, the society Bacon's narrator encounters in *New Atlantis*, the focus of this ideal community is the idealised scientific community of Salomon's House. *New Atlantis* ends with a long speech from the Father of Salomon's House, who describes the vast range of possessions and powers of this state-administered research institute, the "very eye" and the "lanthorn" of the imaginary society (464, 471). Scholars have frequently read Salomon's House as representing the kind of scientific community which Bacon would have liked to see instituted in his own society (Kendrick, 1021). It is evident from Bacon's own writings that he wanted to reorganize and institutionalize natural knowledge and philosophy in a manner suggestive of Salomon's House, and, as has been well documented, much of Bacon's writing was geared towards establishing a new organizational structure of natural philosophy (Sargent, 146). *Christianopolis*, more emphatically than *New Atlantis*, describes an entire community, which its author seems to endorse as a truly ideal society. In the letter to the reader that precedes his text, Andreae describes the ills which beset his contemporary society and the "rotten state of affairs" that dominates, with corruption in the church, the city square, and the university (Andreae, 148–50). He argues that the solution to these ills can be found in the attempt to lead a Christian life rather than a worldly one. This is the "inner certainty of the Christian" which has been made manifest in Christianopolis (152), which is explicitly presented to the reader as an example of how an ideal and fully reformed society might function. At the close of the letter, Andreae insists that this society can be joined by anyone:

> [T]he surest thing of all would be if you and your companions who are eager for a more honest life [. . .] with Christ as your leader on the journey, board the ship that flies a banner bearing the sign of Cancer and yourself undertake the happy journey towards Christianopolis. (153–4)

Thus both Salomon's House and the society of Christianopolis to some degree represent an ideal, which the narrator offers as an example to his readership. Furthermore, Salomon's House and Christianopolis can each be read as a model for the real world to emulate, implicitly suggesting that it is possible for the real world to become more like the utopian location, and strengthening the notion of the journey as a means of gaining a benefit.

Unlike *Utopia*, the travelers in these two texts are the sole narrative voices, directly relating the fruits of their experience, and the purpose of each narrative is to spread knowledge of the utopian location, on the authority of its own government: in *New Atlantis*, the narrator is told by the Father of Salomon's House, "God bless this relation which I have made. I give thee leave to publish it for the good of other nations" (488), whilst *Christianopolis* ends with the narrator's avowal to return to Christianopolis with as many of his readers who are good enough to accompany him (283). Thus we see the development of the metaphorical representation of the physical journey as means of attaining knowledge and enlightenment, and the correlating representation of the utopian destination as a genuinely idealized society. In each of these utopias, sincerity about the ideal nature of the utopian environment and the possibility of human improvement are matched by sincerity about the potential of travel to play a role in that improvement.

Hence, in each of these utopias, there is evidence of an outward-looking perspective, and a sincere suggestion that there are wonders in new and undiscovered lands from which the Old World can benefit. Travel, like the technology that facilitates it, is a means of gaining knowledge and thus power. To this extent, these utopias are travel fantasies, excited about the prospects of travel and discovery. Travel is a necessary feature of utopia, in that the utopia must, by its very nature, be kept separate from the rest of the world. For this reason, despite their enthusiastic response to the opportunities offered by travel, early seventeenth-century utopias frequently display a concern with borders and boundaries, and are careful to restrict access to and from the ideal society. In *New Atlantis*, the ideal society of Salomon's House is kept at a distance from the wider community, just as New Atlantis is itself separated from the wider world. Salomon's House is both the "lanthorn" and the "very eye" of Bensalem (Bacon, 464, 471). As such it is a body that both gives out and takes in light, and, as the narrator is informed by one of its fellows, "God's first creature, which was *Light*" is a synonym for knowledge (472). The methods by which Salomon's House absorbs knowledge involve foreign travel, as described above. But the methods by which it disseminates its knowledge are more complex. The interest of Salomon's House as described by the Father is "the knowledge of Causes, and secret motions of things." When these secrets have been discovered, it is up to the Fathers to decide what knowledge should be kept public and what can be disseminated, to which end they "take all an oath of secrecy" (480, 487). The institution is shown to be secretive not only in its dealings with the rest of the world but with the society of which it is a part. Not only do the practitioners research "the secret motions of things," they are careful to keep the processes of their research secret. The Father explains that he and

his fellows tour the country publishing details of their findings, but only "such new profitable inventions as we think good" (488). A discovery must be considered both profitable, or beneficial, to the public, and suitable for public knowledge, before it is made known. Furthermore, the purpose of the Father with whom the narrator converses in returning to Bensalem is secret, and that only one of the travellers may hear his oration on Salomon's House in "private conference" (478, 479). Despite Bensalem's success in absorbing knowledge, it is careful to control the dissemination of that knowledge once it has been gained.

This cautious attitude is reflected in the controls placed over the movements of ordinary Bensalemites. Citizens of New Atlantis are themselves prevented from traveling abroad, and thus spreading information about their country; only certain Fellows of Salomon's House may journey to foreign lands (470). Even these Fellows, whose duty it is to collect knowledge on the House's behalf, travel in disguise, and the means by which they maintain their secrecy are themselves secret (470, 472). Similarly, strict controls are placed over incoming travelers. The group with whom the narrator travels are treated with considerable caution, being warned initially to keep away from New Atlantis until they have been cleared by its officials (459). On their arrival, they are met by another official who lodges them in the Strangers' House, where they are kept in quarantine for three days, and their travel is subsequently restricted (462). Yet travel from New Atlantis by strangers is similarly prevented. For 19 hundred years, any visitors to New Atlantis have been discouraged from leaving: only 13 appear to have done so during this time (470). Thus the society of New Atlantis is shown to be isolationist in the protection of its borders, and control of its own people and visitors. Travel clearly brings benefits in terms of knowledge acquisition, but it also has its dangers for society.

Christianopolis also reflects an isolationist stance. The society of Christianopolis is well defended from the outside world by physical protections including bastions, ramparts, a 50-foot moat, and a central citadel which is "almost impregnable" (162–3). On his arrival, the narrator is obliged to undergo a strenuous series of tests in order to establish his fitness for life in this new community, examined as to his occupation and character, his physical appearance, and his intellectual development. Obliged to reveal his "innermost conscience" (159), to maintain a calm soul, modest expression, steady gaze and deferential posture (160), and to recognize his total lack of useful knowledge (161), he is only allowed to enter Christianopolis once his worldly knowledge and self-regard have been obliterated: "You bring to us the cleanest of slates, as though purified by the sea itself" (161). Thus Andreae emphazises the spiritual distance between the ideal Christian community and the sinful world by which it is surrounded, and the process of cleansing and self-discipline which must be undertaken by those who wish to join it. The experience of entering Christianopolis is difficult but transformative; for the narrator, it leads to total identification with the utopian community: "Unless I am completely mistaken, it shall be with you that I shall find peace. [. . .] I shall have the same people and the same God as you" (282, 283). From his new position, it is the return journey to his own society which becomes

hazardous, as the Chancellor of Christianopolis recognizes, saying, "Be careful, my brother, that you do not fall under the spell of the world and become a stranger to us" (283). For the narrator, the return to his own society is nothing more than a temporary absence from Christianopolis, which has become his true home. Once again, we observe the potential danger of travel from the ideal society.

Thus each of these utopias emphasizes the distance of the ideal society from the wider community, and the protection that such a society receives against unsuitable incomers. Travel may be beneficial and educational, but utopia itself can only exist at a distance from the rest of the world.

V Travel and Utopia: Global Discourses

To sum up, this chapter has sought to examine the ways in which some early modern utopias present themselves as travel narratives and in particular how they engage with the concept of travel as a beneficial activity, as a means of exploring utopian fiction as a global mode of writing. What each of the utopias considered here has in common is that none of them presents travel as an uncomplicated activity. Each utopia uses the concept of the journey as a metaphor for the process by which the ideal society can be reached, or for what it may mean to achieve the ideal society. In *Utopia*, travel is portrayed as not being useful unless it offers solutions to the troubles of real life, and dangerous if it seems to offer access to an ideal society, which is neither truly ideal nor convincingly real. At the end of the text, Hythlodaeus is left unfit for his own society. He refuses to take on an active role in government, and, at the end of the narration, has disappeared into the ether, his whereabouts unknown; it is believed that he may have returned to Utopia (117). In the early seventeenth century, whether it is a metaphor for the difficult realization of a spiritual community, or for the distance of the possibility of achieving the ideal society, travel to utopia represents a distance which is a necessary part of the utopia itself.

Thus utopias are part of a global discourse, in that they display an interest in the processes and imaginative potential of global travel, and also because they were written at a time when it was possible to believe that the world held some undiscovered corners that might hold the secret to the ideal human way of life. Just as the notion of the ideal or Edenic society was crucial to early modern travel writing, so early modern writing about the ideal society engaged with a wider discourse about the prospect of a global society. Utopias were not exclusively enthusiastic or positive about travel; it was important for their wider purposes that travel should be difficult and that the ideal society should be kept distant from the rest of the world. The Renaissance utopia's concern with borders and boundaries, and the distance between real and imaginary worlds, reflects a deeper interaction with contemporary processes of globalization, which involved the "discovery" of lands by European travelers which were to become spaces in which territorial claims would be contested, and borders and boundaries redrawn and re-established. In many ways, early modern utopias were

crucially shaped by travel, travel writing, and the processes of globalization which were taking place around them, just as utopias and travel writing in turn contributed to the development of the global Renaissance.

References and Further Reading

Abu-Lughod, Janet L. *Before European Hegemony: The World System A. D. 1250–1350*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Aerts, W. J. "Alexander the Great and Ancient Travel Stories." *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing*. Ed. Zweder Von Martels. Leiden: Brill, 1994, 30–8.

Andreae, Johann Valentin. *Christianopolis*. Ed. Edward H. Thompson. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1999.

Antunes, Càtia. *Globalisation in the Early Modern Period: The Economic Relationship between Amsterdam and Lisbon, 1640–1705*. Amsterdam: Aksant, 2005.

Appelbaum, Robert, *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Bacon, Francis. *New Atlantis*. *Francis Bacon: The Major Works*. Ed. Brian Vickers. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996; revised 2002.

Baker-Smith, Dominic. *More's "Utopia."* London: HarperCollins, 1991.

Bentley, J. H. "Asia in World History," *Education About Asia* 4 (1999): 5–9.

Branham, R. Bracht. "Utopian Laughter: Lucian and Thomas More." *Moreana* 86 (1985): 23–43.

Braudel, Fernand. *The Perspective of the World*. Trans. Siân Reynolds. London: Collins, 1984.

Brotton, Jerry. *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World*. London: Reaktion, 1997.

Clossey, Luke. "Merchants, Migrants, Missionaries, and Globalization in the Early-Modern Pacific," *Journal of Global History* 1 (2006): 41–58.

Davis, J. C. "Utopia and the New World 1500–1700," in *Utopia: The Search for the Ideal Society in the Western World*. Ed. Ronald Schaer, Gregory Claeys, and Lyman Tower Sargent. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, 95–118.

Dorsch, T. S. "Sir Thomas More and Lucian: An Interpretation of *Utopia*," *Archiv* 203 (1966–7): 145–63.

Duncan, Joseph E. "Paradise as the Whole Earth," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 30/2 (1969): 171–86.

Fox, Alistair. *Thomas More: History and Providence*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1982.

Frank, A. G. *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Fuller, Mary C. *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576–1624*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Giamatti, A. Bartlett. *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.

Greenblatt, Stephen. *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Hadfield, Andrew, ed. *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels: Travel and Colonial Writing in English, 1550–1630: An Anthology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Hall, Stuart. "The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity," in *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representations of Identity*. Ed. Anthony D. King. London: Macmillan, 1991, 19–39.

Headley, John M. *The Europeanization of the World: On the Origins of Human Rights and Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Held, David, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt and Jonathan Perraton. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity, 1999.

Jardine, Lisa. *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance*. London: Macmillan, 1996.

Jardine, Lisa, and Jerry Brotton. *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West*. London: Reaktion, 2000.

Kamps, Ivo and Jyotsna Singh, eds. *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period*. London and New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Kendrick, Christopher. "The Imperial Laboratory: Discovering Forms in *The New Atlantis*," *English Literary History* 70/4 (2003): 1021–42.

Lach, Donald F. *Asia in the Making of Europe: Volume 1 – The Century of Discovery*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Larmour, David H. J. "Sex with Moonmen and Vinewomen: The Reader as Explorer in Lucian's *Vera Historia*," *Intertexts* 1/2 (1997): 131–46.

Lucian. *Lucian: Satirical Sketches*. Trans. Paul Turner. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961.

MacLean, Gerald M. *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580–1720*. London: Palgrave, 2004.

Mitsi, Evi. "'Nowhere is a Place': Travel Writing in Sixteenth-Century England," *Literature Compass* 2/1 (2005), <http://www.doi: 10.1111/j.1741-4113.2005.00135.x>.

More, Thomas. *Utopia*. Ed. Edward Surtz, SJ and J. H. Hexter. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1965.

Murilio de Carvalho, José. "The Edenic Motif in the Brazilian Social Imaginary." *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*. No.spe.1 (2000): 111–28.

Nussbaum, Felicity A., ed. *The Global Eighteenth Century.* Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003.

O'Rourke, Kevin H. and Jeffrey G. Williamson. "When Did Globalisation Begin?" *European Review of Economic History* 6 (2002): 23–50.

Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Parrett, Aaron. *The Translunar Narrative in the Western Tradition*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

Sargent, Rose-Mary. "Bacon as an Advocate for Cooperative Scientific Research," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bacon*. Ed. Markku Peltonen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 146–71.

Sherman, William H. "Stirrings and Searchings" (1500–1720), in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 17–36.

Skinner, Quentin. "Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* and the Language of Renaissance Humanism," in *The Languages of Political Theory in Early Modern Europe*. Ed. A. Pagden. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 123–57.

Speake, Jennifer, ed. *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*. London and New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003.

Thompson, C. R. *The Translations of Lucian by Erasmus and St. Thomas More*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1940.

Vespucci, Amerigo. *Mundus Novus: Letter to Lorenzo Pietro di Medici*. Trans. George Tyler Northrup. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1916.

Von Martels, Zweder, ed. *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing.* Leiden: Brill, 1994.

Vries, Jan de. "The Limits of Globalization in the Early Modern World." Paper prepared for the Conference on Globalization in Asia and the Pacific Before the Modern Era, 29 June–1 July [2007], Australian National University Canberra, <http://www.emlab.berkeley.edu/users/webfac/cromer/e211_sp08/devries.pdf>; accessed 27.7.08. *Economic History Review*, forthcoming, 2009.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century.* New York: Academic, 1974.

Part II

"Contact Zones"

5

The Benefits of a Warm Study: The Resistance to Travel before Empire

Andrew Hadfield

The Elizabethans were probably not as globally inclined as we often think they were. We are all familiar with popular images centered on Francis Drake and Walter Raleigh, which show the hardy seafarers voyaging to the Americas and bringing back the excitement of the New World to England, along with the potato and promises of Spanish gold. But the reality within England itself was often quite different. There was huge anxiety about the dangers and cost of imperial expansion, alongside the enthusiasm for an imperial enterprise and a curiosity about foreign lands and cultures. In the sixteenth century many writers and intellectuals argued that energy and time should be concentrated on defending the borders of England and the legacy of the Reformation rather than on squandering precious assets on futile and risky efforts at expansion or travel to distant places (Knapp, ch. 1).

It was easy enough to make a case against empire. Anyone who could read a book was acutely aware of the story of the decline of the Roman Empire, supposedly caused when it overstretched itself. In falling prey to excessive ambition, it absorbed too many new subjects uninterested in or hostile to the ideals of Rome, so promoting loose morals and undermining government, while military discipline overstretched its resources and surrendered too much political power to military leaders. England could easily suffer a similar fate if it took comparisons between the modern Protestant nation and the ancient empire too seriously (Armitage, 127–9). Moreover, Elizabeth was not keen to spend money on what seemed to her and many of her advisers to be potentially pointless expeditions that could waste resources and men at a time of acute threat from the Spanish (McCaffrey, 382–5). Indeed, what we often take to be signs of confident and assertive imperial propaganda were invariably desperate and defensive arguments about the need for an empire. Richard Hakluyt's mighty enterprise, the cause to which he dedicated his scholarly career, was an attempt to persuade the authorities that unless an empire was established, the Spanish would overwhelm the Protestant nation (Armitage, ch. 3; Hadfield, 1997). Only by expanding could the nation stay the same, a neat counter-argument to comparisons with the decline

of the Roman Empire. Even such ethnographically sophisticated works as Thomas Hariot's *A Brief and True Report of the Newfoundland of Virginia* (1588, 1590), have their origins in a need to persuade colonists to undertake the perilous voyage across the Atlantic (Sloan). The pictures of the friendly natives, which were subtly altered from John White's originals to make the Americans seem more European, were designed to assuage fears that any travelers would encounter hostile and dangerous inhabitants. For the same reason Hariot's text represents the New World as a place of natural balance and abundance, whereas the reality was that the harvests of the late 1580s had been disastrous (Appelbaum, 195–216).

There was also often hostility to travel per se. It is worth noting that there are only three major travel accounts published in Elizabethan and Jacobean times, all by eccentric individuals, who give their works a distinctive identity through an emphasis on themselves as observers. Fynes Moryson (1566–1630), who pioneered professional traveling, devoted his life to exploring Europe, North Africa, and the Levant, but had tremendous difficulties in publishing his voluminous account of his travels. He vented his considerable spleen against the world throughout the three volumes of his *Itinerary* (1617), and in its preface, where he describes his difficulties seeing his work into the public domain (Moryson, V: xix–xxi). Thomas Coryate's (*c.*1577–1617) account of his equally wide ranging travels, *Coryats Crudities* (1611), is an exercise in deliberately constructed eccentricity, containing a number of bizarre accounts of his encounters and an extensive collection of prefatory poems and recommendations (Coryate; Craik, ch. 5). William Lithgow (1582–*c.*1645) also gave his travel narrative a conspicuously unusual title, *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painfull Perigrinations of Long Nineteene Yeares Travayles* (1632), one which, like Moryson's, sees no reason to disguise the author's contempt for most of the peoples he encounters and which highlights the author's own eccentric behavior (Lithgow; Bosworth). The oddness of these three volumes emphasizes the strange nature of travel in this period and the need for travelers to construct themselves in unusual ways, drawing attention to the peculiar nature of their enterprise.

The reason is, one suspects, that for many readers, travel was seen as a profligate undertaking, wasteful and dangerous, and more likely to corrupt than educate the traveler, which is precisely why a provocative writer such as Coryate adopts such an unsettling persona, undoubtedly exaggerating the fears and prejudices of his detractors, and so forcing them to articulate their suspicions about traveling and travelers. The authorities, as is well attested, were suspicious of travel and did not like granting the necessary licenses to individuals (Howard, 86–7). Travel to hostile countries such as Spain was forbidden. Roger Ascham's famous attack on travelers to Italy probably spoke to many who were keen to control a potentially hostile people exposed to alien influences. Having thanked God that he spent only a little over a week in Italy, Ascham reverses a familiar defense of travel, that it broadens the mind, and enables the traveler to bring back knowledge from the country in question:

> Our Italians [Englishmen who have become Italianized] bring home with them other faultes from Italie, though not so great as this of Religion, yet a great deale greater, than many good men can

> well beare. For commonlie they cum home, common contemners of marriage and readie persuaders of all other to the same: not that they love virginitie, nor yet because they hate prettie yong virgins, but, being free in Italie, to go whither so ever lust will cary them, they do not like, that lawe and honestie should be soch a barre to their like libertie at home in England. (Hadfield, ed., 2001: 23)

Ascham's discussion of the sexual beliefs and habits of Italianized Englishmen is clearly designed to be read metonymically, not simply in terms of the ways in which imported vices infect the body politic, but also as a means of condemning travel in general. Rather than learning anything that is of benefit to their fellow countrymen, travelers to Italy bring back vices that undermine stability, having tasted excessive and damaging freedom abroad (Ascham is obviously hinting at what became much more obvious later on, that the advent of the Grand Tour was as much about sowing wild oats as admiring great art treasures and meeting important cultural and political contacts). In allowing young men to travel to Italy without adequate restriction, the English authorities run the risk of destabilizing the religious and social fabric of their own nation. Nothing good is brought back from Italy and no one learns anything other than sexual and religious license. Like Hakluyt, Ascham's aim is to protect the English Reformation. It is interesting to note, however, how divergent their assumptions are. For Hakluyt, this involves more expansion and the absorption of outside influences, even if that proves painful to many; for Ascham, the way to preserve Protestant England is to put up the shutters.

There is another side to Ascham's comments. What can actually be learned from travel? Has anyone really thought carefully enough about the transmission of knowledge from abroad to home? Should a nation be sending its brightest young men away to learn when they could spend their time more profitably at home? Ascham is skeptical about the value of any contact with Italy, but his comments suggest that it is not knowledge of things Italian that is the problem, but the experience of them; (advocates of travel placed great emphasis on the value of experience, as Francis Bacon did in his essay on travel, published in 1612: Hadfield, ed., 2001, 33–5). But, for Ascham, experience transforms Englishmen into Italian beasts.

For many other writers the problem was not what might be learned but how knowledge was to be acquired. In Montaigne's essay "Of the Canniballes," a clear division is established between the author at home in his castle in France, meditating on the meaning of life and the vicissitudes of fate and fortune, and the traveler whose duty is to report accurately and without embellishment. Montaigne considers his servant, who had spent 10 years in the New World, and reflects on his great value as a mediator between his observations and Montaigne's own reflections:

> This servant I had was a simple, rough-hewen fellow: a condition fit to yield a true testimonie. For, subtile people may indeede marke more curiously, and observe things more exactly, but they amplifie and glose them: and the better to perswade, and make their interpretations of more validitie, they cannot chuse but somewhat alter the storie. They never represent things truly, but fashion and maske them according to the visage they saw them in; and to purchase credit to their judgement, and draw you on to beleeve them, they commonly adorne, enlarge, yea, and

> Hyperbolise the matter. Wherein is required a most sincere Reporter, or a man so simple, that he may have no invention to builde-upon, and to give a true likelihood unto false devices, and be not wedded to his owne will. Such a one was my man. (Hadfield ed., 2001, 287).

For Montaigne, the more intellectually limited the traveler, the better. It is not the task of observers to understand the things they observe, but simply to record accurately what they see so that others can make sense of their observations and decide what can be learned from the encounter. A division is deliberately opened up between the raw material of experience and the more sophisticated process of reflection; the servant accumulates bits and pieces of information, and the writer then decides what they might mean. Montaigne is referring to the art of rhetoric, the ability to argue a case appropriately, indicating that if we only have data that has been embellished by those skilled in the rhetorical arts, then our knowledge is impoverished.

Of course, at one level this division of labor is a fantasy, something conspicuously constructed by the rhetorically manipulative author to make his point. This absolute division of intellectual labor is impossible, as no one can be quite as simple as Montaigne's servant, totally devoid of ideas and interpretative skills. And, given this impossibility, we should be wary of taking what Montaigne writes at face value, which is part of the game that he is playing with his readers. "Of the Canniballes" can be read in terms of his own famous maxim, *Que sais-je?*, teasing the reader to imagine that what the essay provides is real knowledge of the New World, when perhaps what we actually learn from the reported encounter is how we should think about ourselves and our life in Europe. What is also important is the more practical question the essay raises as to whether travel itself provides any real knowledge, or whether relatively lowly creatures should undertake the fieldwork for the others to use.

Montaigne was not alone in his skeptical reflections on the value and purpose of travel. It is worth noting that the two great compilers of travel narratives in English, Richard Hakluyt (1552–1616), and his sometime collaborator and successor, Samuel Purchas (*c.*1577–1626), were not travelers themselves but interested in the knowledge that travel provided, establishing a clear division of labor between the explorer and the writer. Indeed, there are times when Hakluyt draws attention to his own travels, pointing out that he had to ride 200 miles to obtain testimony from the last survivors of the disastrous voyage of Richard Hore to Newfoundland in 1536, about 50 years earlier. The spectacularly gruesome descriptions of the cannibalism undertaken by the crew when they were trapped in the ice, are the reward for Hakluyt's rare venture away from his study (Hakluyt, vol. 8, 3–7; Taylor).

The value of travel is debated in Thomas Nashe's provocative and confrontational prose fiction, *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), a work that, significantly enough, appeared before the great travel narratives were published, an example of fiction coming first (Hadfield 1998, 192–6). In itself, this chronological relationship, the opposite of the commonly assumed reflectionist model of literature, shows how central the issue of "travel knowledge" was in the Elizabethan imagination and how it played a crucial role in the structuring of knowledge (Kamps and Singh, eds., 2001).

Nashe's text follows the adventures of Jack Wilton, "a certain kind of an appendix or page, belonging or appertaining unto the confines of the English court," employed during Henry VIII's wars with the French in the 1510s, starting at the siege of Tournai (Nashe, 254). The vertiginous punning on the verbal relationship between words that denote a humble servant and parts of a book ("page," "appendix") show that Nashe's concerns will be to relate the process of travel to its representation as a textual artifact and to remind the reader that what is understood from the marks on the page may not correspond to an external reality, but may be as much fiction as truth. Jack is not a traveler by choice, hence his unfortunate status, but a figure who has to learn from his enforced wanderings to survive in a dangerous and hostile environment. He is a picaresque rogue, liberated from commonly understood structures of moral restraint. His travels through Europe will teach him – and the reader – many things about contemporary life, not all of which will be lessons that anyone wants to learn. A humanist-inspired educational program dictated that the child would learn from a controlled exposure to letters and life, gradually acquiring useful knowledge that could be applied to other situations. Jack's education in the killing fields and brutal urban centers of France, Germany, and Italy challenges a complacent understanding of what and how we learn: "What strategical acts and monuments do you think an ingenious infant of my years might enact? You will say, it were sufficient if he slur a die, pawn his master to the utmost penny, and minister the oath of the pantofle artificially" (255). The two sentences chart a disturbing growth and development, from infancy to matriculation at university, which was when the oath of the pantofle (an old shoe, or slipper) was performed to initiate a freshman. The "acts and monuments" that Jack learns, a phrase that refers with biting irony to John Foxe's *magnum opus*, *The Acts and Monument of the Christian Church* (1563, 1570), the most important work that defined the progress of England as a Protestant nation, are to cheat, extort money, and, most significantly, lie. In a sense, Nashe is refiguring Ascham's complaint about travel for Englishmen: the education that they will receive abroad corrupts them and they would be better off staying at home. Read another way, the reader is forced to wonder how Jack could possibly turn out otherwise, given his terrifying experiences of a world in which death is a frequently encountered occupational hazard, and whether this is, in fact, the education of many in England itself who do not have the benefits of a "proper" education. But, we must remember, the book is a fiction and nothing in it is actually true.

Jack begins the fiction performing two "jests," the first part of his education, duping the gullible cider-maker and then the "ugly mechanical captain," convincing the first that he is suspected of spying for the French and the second that he has been chosen to assassinate the French king. The former incident results in Jack being whipped; the second nearly leads to the death of the captain. Jack is learning fast, but not necessarily acquiring knowledge and skills that are of use to a larger community. He has become the untrustworthy and malign counselor whose loyalty is only to himself, a lesson he has acquired precisely because he has traveled abroad. Following his master, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, across Europe, Jack witnesses some of the

most violent aspects of sixteenth-century European life and warfare: most notably, the slaughter of the Anabaptists in Münster, and a series of poisonings and murders in Italy, culminating in the spectacular descriptions of the executions of the Jew Zadoch and the criminal Cutwolfe. After this final gory episode, Jack decides to return to England and mend his ways.

Earlier in the story, Jack, although innocent, is nearly executed for the rape and murder of Heraclide when discovered by her husband close to the scene of the crime, only escaping death when revealing the truth of the crime on the gallows with the noose round his neck. It is obvious to the reader that he ought to end his travels and return to England at this point, although it takes the final two executions to persuade him to do so. Present at Jack's aborted execution is "a banished English earl" (340) – why he has been banished is never disclosed – who tries to persuade Jack to return to England. He makes a long and impassioned speech, arguing that all travel is futile:

> Countryman, tell me, what is the occasion of thy straying so far out of England to visit this strange nation? If it be languages, thou may'st learn them at home; nought but lasciviousness is to be learned here. Perhaps, to be better accounted of than other of thy condition, thou ambitiously undertakest this voyage: these insolent fancies are but Icarus' feathers, whose wanton wax, melted against the sun, will betray thee into a sea of confusion. (341)

This first point is analogous to that made by Ascham: real learning takes place at home through proper study and there is simply no need for the educated man to travel. The earl continues, arguing that abroad the traveler only learns and acquires vices that undermine his wisdom and health and make him a less, not a more, useful citizen. The first traveler was Cain, and travelers are nomads who have no rooted sense of place and no means of establishing proper, settled communities. Travel does not lead to liberty and enlightenment but slavery, as the traveler has to flatter and fawn in order to ingratiate himself with foreigners. Even the lowliest of servants will look down on a traveler and think of him as an inferior being. Moreover, as previous events have established, Italians are insanely jealous and violent, carrying on feuds for decades after the event, making Italy no place for even the wary, streetwise traveler.

The earl provides Jack with a series of sketches of European nations, arguing that nothing can ever really be learned from actual contact with foreigners:

> What is there in France to be learned more than in England, but falsehood in fellowship, perfect slovenry, to love no man but for my pleasure, to swear *Ah par la mort Dieu* when a man's hams are scabbed? . . . Nought else have they [English travelers] profited by their travel, save learnt to distinguish of the true Bordeaux grape, and know a cup of neat Gascoign wine from wine of Orleance . . .
>
> From Spain what bringeth our traveller? A skull-crowned hat of the fashion of an old deep porringer, a diminuitive alderman's ruff with short strings like the droppings of a man's nose, a close-bellied doublet coming down like a peak behind as far as the crupper[. . .]

> Italy, the paradise of the earth and the epicure's heaven, how doth it form our young master? It makes him to kiss his hand like an ape, cringe his neck like a starveling, and play at hespass, repass come aloft [i.e., talk mumbo jumbo], when he salutes a man. From thence he brings the art of atheism, the art of epicurising, the art of whoring, the art of poisoning, the art of sodomitry. (344–5)

The traveler will simply learn about wine tasting from France, fashion from Spain and a host of vile habits from Italy, all of which seem derived at first or second hand from a work such as Ascham's. This is indeed the point. Nothing is learned by travel, real learning occurs principally through books. The earl considers the argument that travelers learn wit from their experiences, but promptly dismisses this claim:

> That wit which is thereby to be perfected or made staid is nothing but *Experienta longa malorum*, "the experience of many evils," the experience that such a young gallant consumed his substance on such a courtesan; these courses of revenge a merchant of Venice took against a merchant of Ferrara: and at this point of justice was showed by the duke upon the murtherer. What is here but we may read in books, and a great deal more too, without stirring our feet out of a warm study? (343)

The last rhetorical question is, of course, the key to the earl's argument and it is one that Jack realizes retrospectively that he should have heeded: "Certainly if I had bethought me like a rascal as I was, he should have had an Ave Maria of me for his cynic exhortation. God plagued me for deriding such a grave fatherly advertiser" (347). Jack has to witness more horrors before he comes to his senses. In the vile world of the European traveler, the best advice is that of the cynic who realizes that the most sensible course of action is to avoid the pain of experience and the experience of pain, and to retreat into a safe and distant world.

The earl's reflections are easily applied to what Jack has experienced in the text. His "jests" at the siege of Tournai strongly resemble those performed by the protagonists in picaresque novels written in Spain in this period, in particular *Lazarillo de Tormes*, translated into English in 1586, eight years before the publication of *The Unfortunate Traveller*, and popular enough to warrant two reprints in 1596 and 1624 (Hadfield, 2007). The description of the slaughter of the Anabaptists at Münster could easily have come from one of the many pamphlets of "atrocity literature" detailing the carnage of that event, or the Massacre of St Bartholomew's Day (August 24, 1572), or the sack of Antwerp, otherwise known as the Spanish Fury (November 4, 1576). Most significantly, the Italian tales of adultery, poisoning, and *crime passionel*, are precisely what they seem to be, and could have been taken from any number of collections of prose fiction, such as Thomas Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* (1566, 1567, 1575) or George Pettie's *A Petite Palace of Pettie His Pleasure* (1576) (Hadfield, 1998).

The earl's comments stand as the obvious moral of the story, one that Jack accepts when his experiences are over and he turns to writing. But they do not conclude the

story and can also be read as metafictional, forcing the reader to consider and debate the relationship between fiction and knowledge in the same way that Montaigne's construction of an observer with no ideas does. *The Unfortunate Traveller* is replete with fictional effects, always teasing the reader to refer what is stated within the fiction to an external reality and then drawing attention to the fictive nature of the text. The gory description of the execution of Zadoch is only the most spectacular example of this process:

> I'll make short work, for I am sure I have wearied all my readers. To the execution place was he brought, where first and foremost he was stripped: then on a sharp iron stake fastened in the ground he had his fundament pitched, which stake ran up along into the body like a spit. Under his armholes two of like sort. A great bonfire they made round about him, wherewith his flesh roasted, not burned; and ever as with the heat his skin blistered, the fire was drawn aside and the blasted him with a mixture of aqua fortis, alum water and mercury sublimatum, which smarted to very soul of him, and searched him to the marrow. Then did they scourge his back parts so blistered and blasted with burning whips of red-hot wire. His head they nointed over with pitch and tar and so inflamed it. To his privy members they tied streaming fireworks . . . His nails they half raised up, and then underpropped them with sharp pricks, like a tailor's shop window half-open on a holiday. (359)

The last sentence draws attention to the increasingly carnivalesque nature of this description as the reader starts to lose sight of what is actually being done to another human being. But are we actually witnessing a real description of an execution? Or a fiction? The Jew Zadoch meets his end in Rome. Nashe's description makes use of an anti-Catholic discourse – but no description of Catholic brutalities, not even those collected in the vast wealth of pamphlets recounting the barbarity of the Massacre of St Bartholomew's Day has anything remotely like this (and some of these contain descriptions that were clearly exaggerated and invented) (Kingdon). The description of the stake inserted into the anus would appear to rely on accounts of executions carried out in the Ottoman Empire not Europe (Knolles. 1118–19). When we have reached the details of the fireworks tied to the body and the fingernails raised up like tailor's shops, we know we are in the realms of fantasy.

Or are we? As soon as a reader veers toward a feeling of complacency, exactly the sort of comfort that a warm study would provide, we also have to remember that the Jews were persecuted in Europe and that vicious cruelty was invariably the norm, as it was at Münster. The point is the same as that made in Montaigne's essay, when the author reminds his European readers that they may look down on the savage flesh-eating cannibals recently discovered in the New World, but that their own cruelty exceeds this and they perpetrate infinitely worse crimes in their civil wars. *The Unfortunate Traveller* establishes a complex relationship to an extra-textual reality: on the one hand, we are aware that Jack's adventures are invented, that he never served the earl of Surrey, never saw the massacres at Münster, and certainly never witnessed the executions of Zadoch and Cutwolfe. On the other hand, some of what he experi-

enced and committed to print could have been true, and may communicate real knowledge to the reader.

The Unfortunate Traveller, for all its cynical literary pyrotechnics, should be read in terms of Sir Philip Sidney's observations on the value of literature and especially the judgment that literature provides a form of knowledge that is more useful and important than the merely factual. While the historian is limited in what he can say because of his need to be faithful to "old mouse-eaten records," the poet can represent the very essence of the object through the use of imaginative writing (Sidney, 105). The poet, according to Sidney, can deliver a "perfect picture" of an object that the philosopher can only describe using a "wordish description that doth neither strike, pierce, nor possess the sight of the soul so much as that other doth." Sidney's example would appear to have been drawn from the realm of travel writing:

> For as in outward things, to a man that had never seen an elephant or a rhinoceros, who should tell him most exquisitely all their shapes, colour, bigness, and particular marks; or of a gorgeous palace, the architecture, with declaring the full beauties might well make the hearer able to repeat, as it were by rote, all he had heard, yet should never satisfy his inward conceits with being witness to itself a true lively knowledge; but the same man, as soon as he might see those beasts well painted, or the house well in model, should straightways grow, without need of any description, to a judicial comprehending of them[.] (107)

The analogy with painting helps to explain the nature and purpose of *The Unfortunate Traveller*, with its vivid descriptions of particular scenes and incidents, reminiscent not just of other literary works, but also of the most striking purple passages in travel literature, which Sidney, as a traveler, would have had in mind when writing this passage (Duncan-Jones, ch. 4). Nashe's fiction works to teach and delight readers, using its rhetorical brilliance to impart truths that merely accurate description cannot possibly convey. But what exactly are they? What does the tale tell us? With such a slippery text it is, of course, hard to judge. The earl may well be right, and that it is better to read than to travel, an argument that is more than slightly convenient for Nashe as a writer, a fact that can hardly have escaped the notice of such a conspicuously self-conscious and self-aware author. However, the conclusion may well be less clear than this implies. The banished earl's speech concludes by drawing attention to his particular situation, one that explains his nostalgic desire to be in England and to leave his adopted home. The earl is an outlaw and depends on the charity of cardinals to survive (indicating that he must be a Catholic), his "liberal pension of the Pope" having run out. In a lyrical last paragraph he laments his unfortunate fate:

> The sea is the native soil to fishes; take fishes from the sea, they take no joy, nor thrive, but perish straight. So likewise the birds removed from the air, the abode whereto they were born, the beasts from the earth, and I from England. . . . Believe me, no air, no bread, no fire, no water doth a man any good out of his own country . . . Get thee home, my young lad; lay thy bones peaceably in the sepulchre of thy fathers; wax old in overlooking thy grounds; be at hand to close the eyes

> of thy kindred. The devil and I am desperate, he of being restored to heaven, I of being recalled home. (346–7)

Should we believe him? This vision of a life of permanent rootedness is probably as unappealing as a life of endless travel, each as restricting and limited as the other. It is also surely not the case that Nashe, a notoriously restless author and one who had traveled in France and Italy, is endorsing such a settled notion of life. The earl speaks as an exile and *The Unfortunate Traveller* undoubtedly describes how frightening travel could be, especially for those who had little choice in the matter. But this is not necessarily the case for everyone who feels the need to observe foreign lands, and, as Nashe was also aware, opportunities would have been limited for most of his readers. Nashe's fiction is more concerned to force readers to ask whether they really learn anything from observing at first hand, or whether, if travel writing does actually impart real knowledge, it is better to read it than to try and write it.

The complex and problematic relationship between fact and fiction that Nashe articulates in *The Unfortunate Traveller* resembles a much analyzed passage in the first edition of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590). In the proem to Book II, the Book of Temperance, Spenser's narrator worries that his poem will be thought a "painted forgery, / Rather than the matter of just memory," "th'aboundance of an idle braine," because fairyland is invented. He then develops an extended comparison between the poem and the knowledge it produces, and travelers' reports of the discovery of the Americas:

> But let that man with better sence advize,
> That of the world least part to us is red:
> And dayly how through hardy enterprise,
> Many great Regions are discovered,
> Which to late age were never mentioned.
> Who ever heard of th'Indian *Peru*?
> Or who in ventrous vessel measured
> The *Amazons* huge river now found trew?
> Or fruitfullest *Virginia* who did ever vew?
>
> Yet all these were, when no man did them know;
> Yet have from wisest ages hidden beene:
> And later times things more unknowne shall show.
> Why then should witlesse man so much misweene
> That nothing is, but that which he hath seene?
> What if within the Moones faire shining spheare?
> What if in every other starre unseene
> Of other worldes he happily should heare?
> He wonder would much more: yet such to some appeare.
>
> Of Faerie lond yet if he more inquire,
> By certaine signes here set in sundry place

He may it find: ne let him then admire,
But yield his sence to be too blunt and bace,
That no'te without an hound fine footing trace.
And thou, O fairest Princesse under sky,
In this faire mirrhour maist behold thy face,
And thine owne realms in lond of Faery,
And in this antique Image thy great auncestry
(Spenser II, proem, 1–4)

On one level this is a defense of Spenser's friend and ally at court, Sir Walter Raleigh, asserting the value of his interest in the Americas (Oakeshott, ch. 3). But on another level, it is a spirited defense of his poem. Readers in England have been skeptical of what has been observed in the Americas, wondering whether the reports of travelers were actually true, a key case being that of Virginia (Sloan). In the same way they wonder whether what is contained in *The Faerie Queene* is true as it is about fairyland. Spenser's claim is that his work is based on an external reality so that hostile readers are missing the point in imagining it to be simply a giant fantasy. On the contrary, just like Raleigh, he is telling the truth in producing an allegory of England for the queen to read. Of course, this, in itself, is part fiction, as it would be strange if the queen actually planned to sit down and read the poem. More likely, as Spenser would have known, it might have been read by those who had the chance to advise her directly or indirectly, and who had an interest in the form and substance of the monarchy. The queen as implied reader forms a link between the substance of the poem and her government over her dominions, some of which might have seemed fictional entities to many readers. The second edition of *The Faerie Queene*, written in the wake of Raleigh's voyage to Guyana and the establishment of Virginia as part of Elizabeth's territories, was dedicated to the queen as "Queene of England Fraunce and Ireland and of Virginia," the first such reference to the possession of territories in the Americas (Raleigh; Armitage, 53).

The most important dimension of the passage, however, is its exploration of the nature of fiction and its ability to produce knowledge truer than truth itself, in line with the comments of Sidney and, to a lesser extent, Montaigne. The lines that describe the possible worlds beneath the moon encourage speculation about what we actually can and do know. There are more worlds than can ever be adequately analyzed and catalogued by observation alone, indicating that for Spenser experience is clearly circumscribed. Real knowledge requires careful shaping and re-presenting, so that a poem that can encompass more information and provide more insight than a plainly stated account. The accounts of the New World might seem fictional but they are actually real. The description of fairyland in the poem might seem as fantastical as the stories of travelers to the most obscure parts of the globe but, in fact, what we witness in this imaginary world is a mirror that shows us how to read our own history, think about our society, and live our lives accordingly. If *The Faerie Queene* does contain stories that are as useful as those of observers of other cultures, then the comparison

raises two main issues. First, this suggests that other countries are perceived either in terms of how knowledge of them might help English men and women think about their own country (or, in a few cases, how they might be absorbed into expanding English territories). Second, and following on from this, if the point of thinking about other cultures is really a means of thinking about ourselves, then surely we are better off reading a poem like *The Faerie Queene* or the accounts of travelers, rather than traveling ourselves? In more ways than one, we are back where we started. But then, we probably ought to remember that Spenser, like Nashe's anonymous earl, was an exile.

References and Further Reading

Appelbaum, Robert. "Hunger in Early Virginia: Indians and English Facing Off over Excess, Want, and Need," in *Envisioning an English Empire: Jamestown and the Making of the North Atlantic World*. Ed. Robert Appelbaum and John Wood Sweet. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005, 195–216.

Armitage, David. *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Bosworth, Clifford Edmund. *An Intrepid Scot: William Lithgow of Lanark's Travels in the Ottoman Lands, North Africa and Central Europe, 1609–21*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

Coryate, Thomas. *Coryat's Crudities, Hastily gobled up in five Monthes travels* (1611), 2 vols. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1905.

Craik, Katherine. *Reading Sensations in Early Modern England*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007.

Duncan-Jones, Katherine. *Sir Philip Sidney, Courtier Poet*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991.

Hadfield, Andrew. "Rethinking the Black Legend: Sixteenth-Century English Identity and the Spanish Colonial Antichrist," *Reformation* (1997) 3: 303–22.

Hadfield, Andrew. *Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545–1625*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Hadfield, Andrew, ed. *Amazons, Savages and Machiavels: Travel and Colonial Writing in English, 1550–1630, An Anthology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Hadfield, Andrew. "What was the first English Novel and What does it tell us?" in *Remapping the Rise of the European Novel*. Ed. Jenny Mander. Oxford: Voltaire Society, 2007, 23–34.

Hakluyt, Richard. *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1904.

Howard, Clare. *English Travellers of the Renaissance*. London: John Lane, 1914.

Kamps, Ivo and Jyotsna G. Singh, eds. *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

Kingdon, Robert M. *Myths about the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacres, 157—1576*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Knapp, Jeffrey. *An Empire Nowhere: England, America and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Knolles, Richard. *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*. London, 1603.

Lithgow, William. *Totall Discourse*, 2 vols. Glasgow, 1632.

McCaffrey, Wallace T. *Elizabeth I*. London: Arnold, 1993.

Moryson, Fynes. *An Itinerary Containing his Ten Years Travel* (1617), 4 vols. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1907

Nashe, Thomas. *The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works*. Ed. J. B. Steane. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.

Oakeshott, Walter. *The Queen and the Poet*. London: Faber, 1960.

Ralegh, Walter. *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*. Ed. Neil Whitehead. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.

Sidney, Sir Philip. *An Apology for Poetry*. Ed. Geoffrey Shepherd. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973.

Sloan, Kim. *A New World: England's First View of America*. London: British Museum, 2007.

Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene*. Ed. A. C. Hamilton. Harlow: Longman, 2001.

Taylor, E. G. R. "Master Hore's Voyage of 1536," *The Geographical Journal* 77 (1931): 469–70.

6

"Apes of Imitation": Imitation and Identity in Sir Thomas Roe's Embassy to India

Nandini Das

In seventeenth-century Mughal India, when the first official English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, was summoned to the presence of the Emperor Jahangir to complete a wager the two had made a few days earlier, the interview resulted in a story that has been retold often by subsequent scholars. Roe's embassy had been plagued by his frustration and anxiety about the markedly unimpressive English presence at the Mughal court. "Here are nothing esteemed but of the best sorts: good cloth and fine, and rich pictures [. . .] soe that they laugh at us for such as wee bring," Roe noted in his first letter to the East India Company in November 1615 in some dismay. "I . . . shalbe ashamed to present in the Kyngs name (being really his embassador) things soe meane, yea, woorse then former messengers have had; the Mogull doubtlesse making judgement of what His Majestie is by what he sends" (77). A connection, nevertheless, was established between the "Mogull" and the English ambassador on the basis of their shared interest in painting. In August 1616, therefore, when Roe presented Jahangir with a miniature with the claim that "no man in *India* could equall yt," Jahangir predictably offered to prove him wrong. Jahangir's court artist would produce an exact copy of the miniature – perhaps more than one. Would the Englishman be willing to wager his own money on his ability to distinguish between the imitation and the original? (199).

The story of this wager underlines the central place that the issues of imitation and identity occupied in Renaissance encounters with the foreign and the unfamiliar. They influenced travelers as much as they affected the travel encounters themselves; they tend to crop up in unexpected nooks and crannies of that whole wide and intricate network of texts that form the body of English Renaissance writing about travel. Here it is the trope of imitation in the accounts of Roe's embassy to India that I hope we can begin to follow – its implicit appearance behind pivotal cross-cultural encounters, and its role in shaping the English nation's response to the subcontinent that it would soon attempt to control.

The two most detailed accounts of Roe's encounter with Jahangir differ in their description of what followed. Roe's own report begins with a confident wager of 10,000 rupees, which he quickly reduces to a token reward of 50 rupees for the painter. The account written some years after their return to England by Edward Terry, Roe's chaplain, suggests that Roe refused a "great Wager" of "a Leck [Lakh] of Roopees" but nevertheless agreed to "adventure his judgement" in identifying the copy from the original (136). Roe mentions the challenge of discerning the original among six copies; Terry, only two. Roe admits that the paintings were so alike "that I was by candle-light troubled to discerne which was which, I confesse, beyond all expectation" but "yet I shewed mine owne"; Terry suggests that "either out of Courtship to please the King, or else unable to make a difference 'twixt the pictures," Roe chose a copy instead of the original. On one thing, however, they agree. The imitative skills of the Indian artist "excelled my opinion of him," Roe admits, while Terry seizes the occasion to expand similarly on the capabilities of the Indian artisan: "The truth is that the Natives of that Monarchy are the best Apes of imitation in the world, so full of ingenuity that they will make any new thing by pattern, how hard soever it seem to be done" (136).

How are we to read these accounts? In recent years, two distinct strands of scholarship have drawn our attention to the inherent complexities of the position occupied by such encounters and their representations. The first of these have traced what Jonathan Sell has described as the "self-reflexive turn" (8) of Renaissance travel writing, attempting not only to express the strange or unfamiliar, but also gesturing back at the traveler's perception of issues at home. As Andrew Hadfield has pointed out, "[r]epresentations which provided images of other cultures and vital information about other lands [. . .] were also often quite conscious reflections on English or British politics" (266). Politics, of course, cannot be easily disentangled from issues of identity, especially nascent national identity in this period. Terry's emphasis on Indian imitation in his report thus later reveals its roots in long-standing, familiar anxieties about the impressionability of English travelers.

We shall return to this particular textual maneuver later. For the moment, however, it is important to acknowledge another strand of scholarship, one that has drawn our attention to the significantly anomalous position that "Eastern" encounters occupied within the context of global explorations in the period. As a powerful, independent, cultural and political entity, the seventeenth-century Mughal empire, comparable perhaps only to that other non-European force, the Ottomans, triggered a complex range of European responses. The "immense confidence in its own centrality" (9) that Stephen Greenblatt, for example, saw in European encounters with the New World, cannot easily be transferred to the pre-colonial transactions between Europe and Asia and the Middle East. At the same time, as numerous commentators have pointed out, neither can subsequent colonial responses of description and domination always be used to read these initial, tentative engagements.[1] While European culture could be inscribed more easily on the cartographical, political, and conceptual blankness surrounding the New World, the socio-political entities in Asia raised very different

problems, because they matched European structures both in complexity and in the details of their intricate nuances. For a figure like Thomas Roe, whose embassy to India was preceded by diplomatic visits to other major European courts, as well as an expedition to Guiana, such distinctions would have a special resonance.[2]

How, then, can we begin to trace the ways in which English agents – and the texts they produced – negotiated these encounters? What happened when the "self-reflexive turn" entrenched in English travel practices was directly juxtaposed with the highly developed political and cultural systems of the Mughal court? As a way into these complex and multivalent processes of negotiation in this essay, I examine a concept that not only occupies a central position within both Indian and European cultures, but also recurs continuously throughout the records of Roe's embassy to the Mughal court. Imitation, both desirable and undesirable, punctuates these texts. Caught up inextricably, as it is, in questions of representation and identity within both cultures, what can the prevalence and recurrence of this idea tell us about interactions between the home and the world, the familiar and the foreign, through which both the travelers' experience and their resulting texts took shape?

I

The subject of imitation was at the heart of the Renaissance English debate about travel. "Base and vulgar spirits houer still about home: those are more noble & divine, that imitate the Heauens, and ioy in motion," declared Robert Dallington's *Method for Trauell* in 1605 (sig. B1r). His claim would be familiar to readers of the large body of advice literature that circulated throughout the Renaissance, including books such as Sir John Stradling's *A Direction for Travailars taken out of Justus Lipsius* (1592), which similarly asserted that "heauenlie spirited men [. . .] are neuer well but when they imitate the heuens, which are in perpetuall motion" (sig. A2v). Others chose a different model, but the emphasis remained the same. As late as 1633, *Profitable instructions describing what speciall obseruations are to be taken by trauellers* would continue to circulate the old dicta of travel written by two Elizabethan heroes. Echoing the words of Homer's *Odyssey* ("qui multos hominum mores cognovit et urbes"), Sir Philip Sidney's 1579 letter to his brother Robert advises him to observe the customs of many men and their cities "with the eye of Vlysses" (81–7). And "when you see infinite variety of behauior and manners of men," adds a similar letter by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, "you must choose and imitate the best,"so that "in your trauell you shall haue great help to attaine to knowledge, which is . . . the very excellency of man" (46–8).

Travelers like Terry and Roe, however, would have known that such imitative ventures had their own dangers. For many critics, like the humanist scholar, Roger Ascham, the English love of travel was an ever-growing threat to the unique religious, political, and cultural integrity of post-Reformation England. Ascham's adoption of the continental proverb, *Inglese Italianato è un diabolo incarnato* ("an Englishman

Italianate is a devil incarnate") in *The Scholemaster* (1570) created an image that would soon become common cultural currency. The malcontent, Italianated Englishman, marked by his insatiable appetite for foreign travel and fashions, appears repeatedly in texts of the period, his representation oscillating between the Machiavellian and the comic. William Rankins, in *The English Ape, the Italian Imitation, the Foote-steppes of Fraunce* (1588), for example, describes the destructive potential of the "merchandize" gathered by the English traveler: "Thus (imitating the Ape) the Englishman killeth his owne with culling [. . .] He louingly bringeth his merchandize into his natiue Country, and there storeth with instruction the false affectors of this tedious trash" (2–3). In the hands of the irrepressible Thomas Nashe, on the other hand, the apish English traveler becomes a figure of fun, observed with puzzled fascination by the natives. "At my first coming to Rome," Nashe's page-boy hero, Jack Wilton reports in *The Unfortunate Traveler* (1594), "I, being a youth of the English cut, [. . .] imitated four or five sundry nations in my attire at once, which no sooner was noted, but I had all the boys of the city in a swarm wondering about me" (326). Later still, Thomas Dekker's *The Seven Deadly Sins of London* (1606), would present Apishness itself as a character, one who "feedes verie hungerly on scraps of songs" and delivers "con'd speeches stolne from others, whose voices and actions hee counterfeates" (30). Unlike Terry's Indian "Apes of imitation," Dekker's Apishness is an Englishman, whose "suite is like a traitors bodie that hath beene hanged, drawne, and quartered, and is set up in severall places: his Cod-peece is in Denmark, the coller of his Duble and the belly in France: the wing and narrow sleeve in Italy" (32). As Richard Halpern has noted, Dekker's rhetoric turns the body of the apish Englishman into the hanged, drawn, and quartered body of a traitor (40). It also serves to dismantle the idea of Englishness per se. The unified body politic is dissected into disparate material parts; the traitor's body and the body of the nation become equally fragmented.

Where does this anxiety-ridden image of simian imitation come from? The treatment of *imitatio* in the Renaissance is bewilderingly complex, powerful and pervasive, shaping much more than literary practice alone. At the heart of it is a distinction between desirable and undesirable imitation, and it is one that draws regularly on the contrasting imagery of bees and apes.[3] In Seneca's famous reference to the bees in Epistle 84, apian gathering of pollen for honey becomes an illustration of laudable imitation, which acknowledges the critical, transformative nature of such gathering:

> We also, I say, ought to copy these bees, and sift whatever we have gathered from a varied course of reading [. . .] then, by applying the supervising care with which our nature has endowed us, – in other words, our natural gifts, – we should so blend those several flavours into one delicious compound that, even though it betrays its origin, yet it nevertheless is clearly a different thing from that whence it came. (2: 279)

The emphasis here is on a form of self-realization. Renaissance texts such as Erasmus's *De Duplici Copia Verborum et Rerum* (1512) would promote such purposeful,

assimilative, apian imitation as the primary means of achieving the symbolic capital of rhetorical *copia* for the individual gatherer.

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, advice literature about travel continuously stresses the importance of adopting a similar attitude to travel. The keeping of "Observations," "Relations," and journals such as the one that Roe himself carefully maintained throughout his time in India, is almost universally recommended. Didactic literature like Albert Meier's *Method* (1587) provided tabulated lists of notable elements that the traveler needs to observe, digest, and employ, ranging from geographical and political information, to information about trade routes and merchandise. Travel, according to such dicta, was a useful means of service both to oneself and to one's country, but only when – like the bee gathering pollen for honey – the traveler transformed his gathered experience into useful knowledge, tractable information.

The ape, however, represents a failure of transformation in all contemporaneous discussions of *imitatio*. A creature whose very similarity to humans made it both a figure of anxiety and ridicule, it repeatedly functions as an image of the inept imitator's passive submission to the model and resulting loss of identity. Horace refers to "that ape of yours who knows nothing but how to imitate Calvus and Catullus" ("simius iste/ nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum," *Satires* 1.10.18–19). Among Renaissance scholars, Poliziano's well-known letter to Paolo Cortesi on the subject of imitation in the late fifteenth century similarly pokes good-natured fun at apish imitation:

> However there is one question of style on which I take issue with you. If I understand you, you approve only those who copy the features of Cicero. To me the form of a bull or a lion seems more respectable than that of an ape, even if an ape looks more like a man. (Qtd. in Greene, 150)

This trend, as we have already seen, is reflected in the English literature about travel, imitation and identity. Dekker's "Apishness," feeding on "scraps of songs" and "con'd speeches stolne from others," bears a strong resemblance to such imitators. His simian imitation fails to imprint his ownership on the collected material, underlining his servility to his models to the extent that his own identity is ultimately radically dismembered. It is in the context of such advice and caveats that the characterisation of Indian imitation in the accounts of Sir Thomas Roe and Edward Terry need to be read.

II

Roe's first journey abroad had been as a member of the Earl of Nottingham's famously flamboyant peace embassy to Spain in 1605. If he had expected anything similar on his own embassy to India, his reception at the port of Surat in September 1615 would have been something of a disappointment. When Captain William Keeling, the

commander of the English fleet, told the representatives of the Governor of Surat that "ther was an embassador sent by the King of England, that was the next morning to land," Roe records in his journal, "[. . .] they laughd one upon a nother; it beeing become ridiculous, so many having assumed that title, and not performed the offices" (30). A couple of months later, in the same letter to the East India Company in which he would complain about the poor quality of the English gifts sent for the emperor, Roe explained the situation:

> I landed at Suratt, where I was esteemed an imposture like my predecessors [. . .]; two before having taken the title of ambassador, Mr Hawkins and Mr Edwards, but so that they have almost made yt ridiculous to come under that qualetye. (78)

It seems that the first obstacle for Roe was not to be the resistance of the natives, but the legacy of the inherently "ridiculous," false *imitatio* of his fellow countrymen, which now threatened his own identity as ambassador.

Roe's comment indicates his frustration with the long stream of private merchants and East India Company factors who had assumed the authority of royal representatives before his arrival. The reference to William Hawkins is significant here, and gestures back at a crucial misunderstanding that had occurred when Hawkins arrived in India in 1608, bearing a letter requesting trade privileges from James I. Jahangir, who probably mistook him for the official English ambassador previously promised by another visiting merchant, John Mildenhall, sent out escorts to take him with "great state to the court, as an embassador of a king ought to be" (209). Hawkins did nothing to dispel the misunderstanding. The letter from James I and Hawkins's own ability to converse with Jahangir in Turkish managed to acquire for him a number of royal favors – the title and privileges of Mughal nobility, a generous allowance, an Armenian Christian wife, and perhaps most significantly, a new name. As Hawkins himself reported back to the company, "because my name was something hard for his pronuntiation, hee called me by the name of English Chan, that is to say, English Lord" (209). His success at imitating at once an English ambassador and a Mughal nobleman, however, was short-lived. Intrigues among the court factions and the Portuguese, as well as his own *faux pas* in appearing drunk before the emperor led to his unceremonious expulsion from the court in November 1611.

Figures like Hawkins served to confirm existing anxieties about the English traveler's apishness and appetite for foreign luxuries, and would no doubt remind contemporaries about similar stories of Englishmen "turning Turk" under comparable "Eastern" influence.[4] They certainly loom large behind the assertions of restraint and control within Roe's own retinue. Roe, for instance, steadfastly refused to learn Persian despite his numerous complaints about the unreliability of his Indian and Jesuit interpreters, and firmly resisted the adoption of native customs. Terry's subsequent recollection of the embassy describes the Indian habit of sitting cross-legged on the ground, and immediately hastens to add that the "Lord Ambassador observed not that uneasy way of sitting at his meat, but in his own house had *Tables* and *Chayres* &c.

served he was altogether in *Plate*" (211). Similarly, Terry notes approvingly how Roe refused to follow the practice of adopting native clothes better suited to the sweltering Indian climate: "For my Lord Ambassador, and his Company, we all kept to our English Habits, made as light and coole as possibly we could have them [. . .] the Colours and fashion of our garments were so different from theirs, that we needed not, wheresoever we were, to invite spectators to take notice of us" (218).

If visual distinction from the host nation helped Terry and his companions preserve their identity in India, the report written in England shows clearly the extent to which it is shaped also by those familiar anxieties surrounding the apish *imitatio* habitually ascribed to Englishmen. Immediately following the reference to the clothing of Roe's retinue, Terry strikingly juxtaposes the Indian "Constancy . . . in keeping to their old fashions in their habits" (218) against the changeability of fashion in England. What is the relationship between these two observations? To understand, we need to go back to the earlier episode of the wager between Roe and Jahangir, when Terry's description of Indian artisans as "the best Apes of imitation in the world" had specifically noted their expertise in replicating English clothes. The native workmen are "so full of ingenuity," he had reported, "that they will make any new thing by pattern, how hard soever it may seem to be done; and therefore it is no marvel if the natives there make shoes, boots, clothes, linen, band, and cuff in our English fashion, which are all of them very much different fro[m] their fashions and habits, and yet make them all exceedingly neat" (136). As the crescendo of denunciation directed towards English "lightnes, and wantonnes" now develops in Terry's writing, it becomes increasingly clear that the reference to the apish Indian cannot simply be read as an attempt to inscribe European (and Christian) superiority in contrast to a barbarous "other." Terry's characterization of Indian imitation certainly acts as a means of displacing anxiety from the expected "apishness" of the English traveler to the subject of his travels. At the same time, however, the native ape that refuses to ape foreign fashions, the Indian artisan who exercises a firm control in matters of imitation when it comes to fundamental issues of tradition and identity, begins to illustrate a corrective moral for Terry. The stability of the otherwise "apish" artisan's cultural identity becomes an exemplum, one imitated implicitly and inevitably by Roe's retinue in their very display of steadfast national identity in an alien environment.

While Terry's formulation thus negotiated an uneasy and unstable balance between identification and differentiation inflected by existing ideas of the traveler's *imitatio*, Roe's responses to the issue are further complicated by his position as the king's representative. As one who had served his diplomatic apprenticeship during the peace negotiations in Spain in 1605, Roe would have no doubt recognized that ambassadorial authority itself was firmly rooted in the idea of *imitatio*. In Renaissance commentaries on diplomacy, scholars and diplomats such as Ottaviano Maggi, Alberico Gentili, Jean Hotman de Villiers, and Don Juan Antonio de Vera repeatedly describe the ambassador as an authorized imitation of the sovereign power of his monarch and his nation. As Hotman notes in *The Ambassador* (1603), "an ambassage is as it were an abridgement of the principalest charges and offices that are exercised in the

common-wealth" (sig. B8v). Yet not only had predecessors like Hawkins substituted this authorized *imitatio* with their own apish "imposture," but the workings of the Mughal court itself also posed a challenge to the visiting envoy.

The response to foreign visitors at the Mughal court was habitually defined by absorption and assimilation, rather than diplomatic distance. Visiting ambassadors were expected to pay the same dues of salutation (*taslim* and *kurnish*) and material vows of obedience (*nazr*) as the rest of the courtiers. In return, they were incorporated within the rank and file of Mughal nobility.[5] This applied even to minor foreign envoys like Roe, who otherwise does not seem to have been considered significant enough to merit a mention in the royal memoir, the *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*. On August 17, 1616, barely a month after his wager with Jahangir, Roe himself went through this process of initiation when he was presented with an image of the emperor "sett in gould hanging at a wire gould Chaine" (215). Roe does not seem to have quite understood the significance of the ceremony at this stage. Three months later, however, his response when presented with a robe of honor (*saropa* or *khilat*) by Jahangir's son, Prince Khurram, shows his uncertainty about the process:

> By and by came out a cloth of gold cloake of his owne, once or twice worne, which hee caused to bee put on my back, and I made reverence, very unwillingly. When his ancestor Tamerlane was represented at the Theater the garment would well have become the actor: but it is heere reputed the highest favour to give a garment woorne by the Prince, or beeing new, once layd on his shoulder. (294)

For Bernard Cohn, Roe's response can be read in terms of a fundamental difference between pre-colonial European and Indian perceptions of the world. "The British in seventeenth-century India," Cohn suggests, 'operated on the idea that everything and everyone had a 'price'. [. . .] They never seemed to realize that certain kinds of cloth and clothes, jewels, arms, and animals had values that were not established in terms of a market-determined price, but were objects in a culturally constructed system by which authority and social relations were literally constituted and transmitted" (18). Roe's response then demonstrates the extent to which he "read the political world in which he found himself in terms of his own systems of meaning" (17). Cohn's reading is extended by Kate Teltscher, who suggests that "Roe's distrust of ostentation and the ceremonial gestures of the Mughal court transforms the genuine cloth of gold into a tawdry stage imitation" (21).

Despite innate and intrinsic disparities between Indian and English "systems of meaning" in this period, there is a danger that overemphasizing such differences alone can obscure and simplify the complex nuances of such encounters. As William Pinch and Richmond Barbour have pointed out, a decade of service at the courts of Elizabeth I and James I before his diplomatic appointment to India ensured that Roe himself was no stranger to the theatricality of royal courts. How would he have "read" the ceremony of the robe? In that formative embassy to Spain in the entourage of the Earl of Nottingham in 1605, Roe would have seen, first hand, the ways in which the

elaborate ceremonies and ostentatious displays of both the Spanish and the English implicitly mapped out crucial relationships of power. As a friend of Ben Jonson and that "great frequenter of plays," John Donne, he would have known also the usual practice by which the garments owned by English theater companies were usually passed onto them, second-hand, by members of the nobility.[6] Above all, however, Roe would have known the importance of livery, of clothing that worked as a particular kind of transactional token between master and servant, inscribing a relationship of submission and obligation on the very body of the individual.[7]

Roe's anxious awareness of the symbolic significance of such clothing is evident in his reference to William Hemsel, the English coachman sent by the East India Company to accompany their gift of a coach for the emperor. The reference to the coachman, absorbed predictably into the emperor's retinue and "clothd as rich as any player and more gaudy" in his new livery appears barely a week before Roe's description of his own investiture in the Mughal prince's cloak (Roe, 284). It reveals, I would suggest, Roe's awareness of the significance of such gifts of clothing as essentially assimilative gestures, which exacerbated the already fragile identity of the English traveler. Just as the English stage offered a transgressive space in which actors could circumvent the strictures of the Sumptuary Laws, the license of the Mughal court enables the coachman to turn into a "player." His "rich" and "gaudy" clothing publicly displays his new identity as Jahangir's man, as well as his dissociation from the English class system and from his erstwhile master, Roe. Within this context, it is not Prince Khurram's cloak that is exposed as a stage imitation. Neither does it affect Roe alone, the authorized *imitatio* of English sovereignty making an unwilling "reuerence" before the descendant of "all-conquering Tamburlaine." The assimilative Mughal ceremony more crucially threatens the very premise of European diplomatic *imitatio*, challenging the ambassador's identity as the symbolic reflection of the honor and dignity of his master, as Roe finds himself becoming another "imposture," an apish "English Chan" wrapped in the artifice of foreign regalia.

III

Such instances suggest that the habitual "self-reflexive turn" of Renaissance writing about travel is far more dynamically linked to the traveler's response in foreign environments than is usually acknowledged. As we have seen, self-reflection – the apian, transformative "gathering" of experience and its appropriative application within one's familiar milieu – was repeatedly presented as the end-result of one's "travails." Terry, for example, justifies the publication of his own report by asserting that "the onely way for a man to receive good" use from his traveling "is by reflecting things upon himself" (453). As a conceptual process, however, it influences much more than the textual products of the traveler's experience. The inculcated habit of juxtaposing home and abroad, seeing the familiar in the light of the unfamiliar, shapes the encounter itself. It illuminates not just differences, but resonances across cultures,

triggering both recognition and disassociation within the same complex encounter. In the process, it also shows how Pratt's idea of "contact zones," defined "not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices" (7) may have worked in practice within the specific context of England's pre-colonial encounters in the "East."

Take, for instance, the example with which we began: the role of *imitatio* in the art of the Mughal court. Mughal artists had come across European paintings long before Roe's arrival. Since the time of Emperor Akbar, Jahangir's father, engravings and books such as the illustrated *Acts of the Apostles* were brought to the court by merchants and Jesuit missionaries. They were prized as pattern books for Mughal manuscripts and murals, and European portraits of both secular and religious themes were prominently displayed in the royal galleries. Both Hindu and Muslim artists like Farrukh Beg and Kesavdas not only copied European paintings, but also assimilated European technique, coloring and style in their own work, producing works of striking complexity in their negotiation of the different artistic legacies. For the emperors Akbar and Jahangir, both knowledgeable connoisseurs of art in their own right, this adoption served a significant ideological purpose by demonstrably advertising the religious tolerance actively practiced by the Mughal regime. At the same time, the defense of religious imagery by the Jesuits, well schooled in such arguments in the wake of the Counter-Reformation and sharing much of the Neoplatonic concepts already familiar within Islamic Sufism, also helped the Mughals to justify their own interest in painting against the iconoclasm of orthodox Islam.[8]

While travelers like Roe may not have grasped the political and ideological imperatives behind the *imitatio* encouraged at the Mughal court, they would have found familiar resonances in Mughal imitation itself. Developed from Classical Arabic and Persian traditions, the Safavid-Mughal concept of imitation was as complex and multifarious as its European Renaissance counterpart. If *imitatio* within the European context, as George W. Pigman has shown, ranges from the passive to the transformative and the actively competitive (eristic), Safavid-Mughal theories of imitation also mark out a highly nuanced spectrum, from *sariqāt* and *taqlīd* (unthinking, passive submission to the model) to *istiqbāl* (both honoring and competing with the model through direct engagement with it in one's own work).[9] Ironically, given the present *topos* of travel, *istiqbāl* is a verbal noun that indicates the act of "seeking or demanding a friendly reception or greeting," whose central trope is of a host greeting visitors and welcoming them into his own domain. Paul Losensky has explained it as a "complex social ritual" that binds model and imitator in a significant relationship of reciprocity:

> In going forth, the host implicitly acknowledges the status of his visitor and takes on the duties of hospitality, but at the same time, obtains the host's prerogatives and places his visitor under obligation to him. *Istiqbāl* presents the act of imitation as a form of social exchange. The imitator takes the initiative, but acknowledges the power of the original in receiving it. Bringing it back to his own poetic world, the host takes charge. (112)

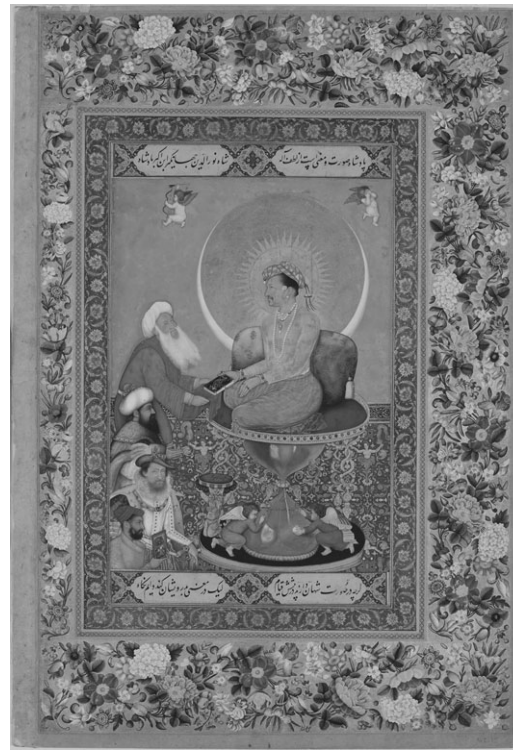

Figure 6.1 *Jahangir Preferring a Sufi Shaikh to Kings* by Bichitr; India, Mughal period, *c.* 1615–18; opaque watercolor, gold, and ink on paper. Reproduced by permission of Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC: Purchase, F1942.15a.

In Bichitr's well-known painting *Jahangir Preferring a Sufi Shaikh to Kings*, a copy of James I's portrait by John de Critz thus stares out belligerently at viewers among other visiting potentates.[10] Seated on an hourglass and surrounded by four European-style cupids or *putti*, the artist's royal patron, however, is shown turning away from these representatives of earthly power to accept a book from the Sufi mystic. Milo Beach has pointed out the crucial tension at the heart of this remarkable painting: "In many ways, the interest in portraiture and the identifiable European sources make this the most 'European' of all Jahangiri portraits. However, it is simultaneously more traditionally Indian than any earlier Mughal work" (104). Both artist and patron welcome the visitor within their own conceptual domain, yet the welcome itself provides a means of reworking the implicit balance of power between the host and the honored guest, the recipient and the donor.

One English object that triggered just such a "social ritual" during Roe's residence at the court is the English coach mentioned earlier. Jahangir receives it with interest, even though he expresses surprise that the King of England would use cheap crimson Chinese velvet for the lining, already "faded to a base tawny" (76). His response is

not only to employ his artisans to analyze and copy the coach, but also to so transform the original that it would serve as a more accurate reflection of Mughal courtly grandeur. Roe's report to the East India Company is illuminating:

> [S]uch is the pride that, although the coach for the forme and for a modell gave much content, yet the matter was scorned, and it was never used untill two other of rich stuff were made by it and that covered with cloth of gould, harnes and furniture, and all the tynn nayles headed with silver or hatched, so that it was nine months a repayring; when I saw it, I knewe it not. (306)

In reading such instances, Pratt's idea of "contact zones," and their interlocking understandings and practices" (7), become particularly important. Crucially, there is no easy denunciation of apish imitation here. Roe's comment acknowledges the eristic tension between admiration and contention in the Indian adoption of the "modell" and scorning of the "matter." At the same time, his frustration at his own failure to recognize, to "know" the original behind the appropriative imitation, marks his understanding of the challenge that such eristic ventures inevitably hold for the model and predecessor, the English object that is marked, assimilated, and transformed through this version of Mughal *istiqbāl*.

The wager episode, in its turn, shows Roe's attempts to avert such encounters. If *imitatio* in both cultures threaten identity, then Roe's repeated emphases on the uniqueness of the miniature, declaring that "non in Europe" and "no man in India" can copy it, attempts to place it beyond imitation (190, 199). Yet his reluctance to enter the wager agreement and subsequent efforts to reduce its scale, from 10,000 rupees to a token 50 rupees, suggests a sense of unease, which his report defuses through other textual maneuvers. The wager is presented as the whim of the stereotypical "Eastern" potentate, as Jahangir gets progressively drunk on imported European wine and falls asleep. Candles are blown out, and Roe is unceremoniously left to find his own way out: "So hee turnd to sleepe; the candles were poppd out, and I groppd my way out of doores" (190). Casting Jahangir and the Mughal court in the familiar image of exotic excess, Roe's implicit critique textually distances both from his own English restraint and self-sufficiency. The problem, however, is that this is inherently problematized by Roe's comment at the end of the wager, when he acknowledges the emperor's delight as Roe struggles to distinguish the English original from the Indian copies: "But for that at first sight I knew it not, hee was very merry and joyfull and craked like a Northern man" (199). The image is odd, especially given Roe's previous attempts at distancing "Englishness" from the appropriative Indian *locus* in which he found himself. To "crake," a sturdy East Anglian dialect term referring to boasting and talking briskly, is used often to denote a Scottish and "Northern" habit in the period, emerging in texts such as John Hardyng's *Chronicle* (1543), where he describes how the "Scottes will aye bee bostyng & crakyng."[11] In the report penned by Roe, heir to the fortunes of a prosperous Essex haberdasher and Norfolk landowner's daughter, trained in diplomacy at James I's Anglo-Scottish court,

it provides a striking example of that habitual "self-reflexive turn" of the English traveler, conflating recognition and disassociation within the same encounter.

The same habit, one might argue, can be discerned crucially shaping the English political view of Mughal India itself. As Roe struggles to retain both his deep-rooted sense of duty as ambassador and responsible traveler, and equally firm resistance to assimilation within the Mughal court, familiar Anglo-Spanish formulations frequently resurface in his journal and letters. Abdala Khan, a Mughal courtier, is described presenting himself at an audience at court "in apparell strange and antique, but in these parts *a la soldado* [a soldier]" (261). Jahangir is reported referring to his court artist as a *cavallero* [gentleman]. Describing the Mughal decision-making process, Roe refers to "the King and his *privadoes* [favorites]," using a term frequently employed to describe the pro-Spanish faction at the Jacobean court (199, 306). Such Iberian resonances illuminate further ways in which imitation within the Indian context functions as a double-edged sword, encouraging and breaking down existing distinctions and affiliations at the same time. Roe's increasing understanding of the Mughal court, coupled with his need to retain the authenticity of his own *imitatio* of English sovereignty within this eristic environment, demand that he should use the known socio-political structures of the traditional antagonist, the Spanish, as linguistic and conceptual frameworks that could be imposed on Mughal courtly configurations in order to decipher them. That interpretative venture, however, evokes familiar adversarial lines which now not only distinguish England from the rest of the Continent, but also challenge any easy distinction between the "East" and the "West," the "exotic" foreign and the "familiar" foreign left behind.

Attending to the self-reflection inherent in Renaissance travel literature, as we know, reveals the multifarious ways in which global encounters inflected English engagement with problems within the nation. Attending to the *imitatio* inherent within the travel experience itself, this study suggests, helps us to explore how that self-reflexive turn could have shaped the foreign encounter in the first place. Crucially, such processes may also illuminate the fragile correspondences and seminal convergences of "systems of meaning" between the two nations that would otherwise be subsumed by our existing practice of reading such encounters in terms of difference and misunderstanding. Between the apish Englishman and the Indian "apes of imitation," between the "Great Mogoll" and the English ambassador, a form of creative misprision occurs on both sides, one that demands our attention in its own right.

Notes

1 See, for instance, Matar, Jardine and Brotton, Barbour, Vitkus, Burton.
2 For details of Roe's diplomatic service, see Strachan and Mitchell.
3 Pigman offers an excellent overview of the typology of Classical and Renaissance *imitatio*; Greene's *Light in Troy* provides a more extended study of the topic.
4 Vitkus's work on this anxiety of English subjection to Islamic power is of particular relevance here. Also see Matar and MacLean.

5 See Gordon on the Mughal robe of honor as symbol of submission. English understanding of the compromise involved would no doubt also have been influenced by their knowledge of comparable customs among the Ottomans. In *Soliman and Perseda* (1590) attributed to Thomas Kyd, for instance, Erastus is warned that he would be "unwise" to reject the gifts of Soliman, the Turkish monarch: "the high sugerloafe hat,/ And the gilded gowne the Emperour gave you" (1405–6).
6 See Pinch and Barbour.
7 On livery as "marked clothing, which incorporated retainers and servants into the social body of their master or mistress," see Jones and Stallybrass (17).
8 For the role of European influences on Mughal art, see Beach, Koch, Srivastava, and Das.
9 For a useful review of Safavid-Mughal theories of imitation, see Losensky.
10 See figure 6.1, *Jahangir Preferring a Sufi Shaikh to Kings* by Bichitr, c.1615–18. The portrait is analyzed, among others, by Ettinghausen (99–110) and Beach (100–4).
11 My thanks to Michael Davies and Sarah Peverley for their advice on the etymology and regional significance of "crake." See OED and the *Middle English Dictionary* for further examples of usage.

References and Further Reading

Archer, John. *Old Worlds: Egypt, Southwest Asia, India and Russia in Early Modern English Writing*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.

Ascham, Roger. *The Scholemaster*, 1570. *The English Works of Roger Ascham*, ed. W. A. Wright, 1904. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Barbour, Richmond. *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East 1576–1626.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Beach, Milo. *Mughal and Rajput Painting*. *The New Cambridge History of India 1.3*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Burton, Jonathan. *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579–1624*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005.

Cohn, Bernard. *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Dallington, Robert. *A Method for Trauell*. London, 1605

Das, Asok. *Mughal Painting During Jahangir's Time*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1978.

Dekker, Thomas. *The Seven Deadly Sins of London*. London, 1606.

Ettinghausen, Richard. "The Emperor's Choice," in *De Artibus Qpuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*. Ed. Millard Meiss. New York: New York University Press, 1961, 98–120.

Gordon, Stewart. "Robes of Honour: A 'Transactional' Kingly Ceremony," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 33 (1996): 225–42.

Greenblatt, Steven. *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonders of the New World*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Greene, Thomas M. *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982.

Hadfield, Andrew. *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance 1545–1625*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Halpern, Richard. *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.

Hardyng, John. *The Chronicle of John Hardyng in metre*. London, 1543.

Hawkins, William. "Captaine William Hawkins his Relations," *Purchas his Pilgrimes*. Ed. Samuel Purchas, 4 vols. London, 1625, First part. Third book. Chapt VII. Section 2.

Hotman, Jean, Seigneur de Villers-Saint-Paul. *The Ambassador*. London, 1603.

Jardine, Lisa and Jerry Brotton. *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West*. London: Reaktion, 2000.

Jones, Ann Rosalind and Peter Stallybrass. *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Koch, Ebba. *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology: Collected Essays*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Losensky, Paul E. *Welcoming Fighānī: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid–Mughal Ghazal*. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 1998.

MacLean, Gerald, ed. *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005.

Matar, Nabil. *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Mattingly, Garrett. *Renaissance Diplomacy* (1955). New York: Dover Publications, 1988.

Meier, Albert. *Methodus describendi regimes, urbes et arces* (1587), trans. Philip Jones, *Certaine briefe and speciall instructions*. London, 1589.

Mitchell, Colin Paul. *Sir Thomas Roe and the Mughal Empire*. Karachi: Area Study Centre for Europe, 2000.

Nashe, Thomas. *The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works*. Ed. Paul Salzman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Pigman II, George W. "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980): 1–32.

Pinch, William. "Same Difference in India and Europe," *History and Theory* 38/3 (1999): 389–407.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.

Rankins, William. *The English Ape, the Italian Imitation, the Foote-steppes of Fraunce*. London, 1588.

Robert, Late Earl of Essex, Sir Philip Sidney, and Secretary Davison. *Profitable instructions describing what speciall obseruations are to be taken by trauellers.* London, 1633.

Roe, Sir Thomas. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615–1619*. Ed. William Foster. Revsd. edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926.

Sell, Jonathan. *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560–1613*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

Seneca, Lucius Annaeus. *Moral Epistles*, trans. Richard M. Gummere, 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917–25.

Singh, Jyotsna G. *Colonial Narratives/Cultural Dialogues: "Discoveries" of India in the Language of Colonialism*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.

Srivastava, Ashok Kumar. *Mughal Painting: An Interplay of Indigenous and Foreign Traditions.* New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2000.

Strachan, Michael. *Sir Thomas Roe 1581–1644: A Life*. Salisbury: Michael Russell, 1989.

Stradling, Sir John. *A Direction for Travailars taken out of Justus Lipsius*. London, 1592.

Teltscher, Kate. *India Inscribed: European and British Writing on India, 1600–1800.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Terry, Edward. *A Voyage to East India*. London, 1655.

Vitkus, Daniel. *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

7

A Multinational Corporation: Foreign Labor in the London East India Company

Richmond Barbour

Marlowe's Barabas and Shakespeare's Antonio are singular investors. The former grandly invokes, "Mine argosy from Alexandria," and Shylock reports of Antonio, "He hath an argosy bound to Tripolis, another to the Indies; . . . a third at Mexico, a fourth for England."[1] Though he initially pretends otherwise, Antonio's entire fortune is committed to these vessels. The lack of sharers thus exposes him, in Shylock's bond, to the same absolute risk his mariners face at sea. If the ships go down, so, alone among the Venetians, does he. "It is odd that Antonio does not insure his ships," Marc Shell has observed, noting that marine insurance was common in Venice and London in Shakespeare's day. It is equally odd that Antonio does not invest in another emergent financial system: joint stock. The play's actors and London's maritime traders did. The Elizabethan privateering system, with separate expeditions typically funded by small groups, modulated into the sustained enterprise of corporations financed by large aggregations of London's mercantile elite. Chartered in 1600, in emulation of Dutch fleets winning worrisome advantage over London's Levant Company by contesting Portugal's monopoly of the South African route to the Indian Ocean, the London East India Company took up economic and logistical challenges far beyond the reach of the single investor. Through the opening decade the company's profits, averaging 155 percent, were heady but slow to consolidate, complicated by the separate funding of each voyage, and investment remained sluggish. Profits lowered but held strong in the next decade, at 87 percent, and investment steadied as the company moved into ongoing joint-stock. The business nearly collapsed in the 1620s but strengthened again decisively in the 1630s.[2]

Labor proved to be a more tenacious problem than fund-raising. The structures of exploitation and opportunity inherent to the trade, articulated through great spans of time and distance, compromised London's designs. Trade with the Indies was labor-intensive, and it consumed many lives. Given the dangers, employees had strong incentive to enrich themselves privately, not hazarding death in the altruistic quest of shareholder profits. Striving to manage these contingencies and suppress private

trade, the London merchants instituted divisions of finance and function, and generated vocabularies of race and station which, being yoked to praxis, inflected the emergence of global capitalism. In their mistrust of East Asians, their own factors trafficking in "the East," and common seamen of any origin, the London merchants consolidated the divisions between shareholders and employees, favoring the former without altogether satisfying either group. The owners and their agents grasped the necessity to discriminate among social groups wherever they did business, cultivating the favor of elites and the services of other echelons. Their emergent ethnocentrism did not blind them to social hierarchies abroad, yet it attached to their frustrations with all such alien groups. Moreover, the need for non-English labor to consummate their designs underscored England's defining problem, its smallness, at the hour of its incipient imperial reach. Workers hired in the Indies necessarily joined those embarked from London, not only in ships and factories abroad, but also in England. Thus merged, they populated the anxieties of London's investors. The latter's regular meetings, a crucible of corporate mentality, evinced deep linkages between need and suspicion: overlapping discourses of mistrust attached to workers and aliens, the professional and racial "others" upon whom the investors depended, thus affiliating these groups.

I The Directors in London

A major appeal of joint stock was its tolerance for catastrophe: it turned shipwreck into a cost of doing business. Such trafficking fused risks categorically different in order and magnitude: each shareholder wagered an affordable sum, each mariner his life; and the latter was far likelier to lose his life than the former his or her investment. On the First Voyage, each seaman held two months' wages in the common stock and earned supplemental shares of any prizes taken. Subsequently, however, the rewards became as disproportionate as the risks: the investors stood to earn high returns; the seamen, forbidden to trade, were restricted to set wages and the contents of a solitary trunk. As the company distanced itself from the privateering model of its inception, it alienated personal profit from corporal risk. Thus the commission for the Sixth Voyage (1610) stipulates:

> that there be noe dealeinge by Excha*n*dge betwixt p*ar*ty & p*ar*ty neither money for money Comoditee for money, or Comodity for Comodity neither outwardes nor homewardes for such Exchandge giueth way for them [mariners] to bringe more then they should or take & purloyne of o*u*r goodes they ought not . . . And noe man to be admitted meanes to bring goodes aboard in any the Shipps more then their Chest appointed them will Containe.[3]

Monopolism curbs competition both intestine and external: the merchants forbade the seamen to emulate them as traders. Above all, shareholder profits derived from the return of sufficient cargos, not particular ships or personnel. Their collective

buoyancy thus insulated the investors from the total risks suffered by their employees. In *The Merchant of Venice*, Salarino, supposing Antonio's sadness caused by anxiety over his investments, rehearses this alienation. Envisioning shipwreck, preciously he fixates on the materials squandered:

> Should I go to church
> And see the holy edifice of stone
> And not bethink me straight of dangerous rocks,
> Which touching but my gentle vessel's side
> Would scatter all her spices on the stream,
> Enrobe the roaring waters with my silks,
> And in a word, but even now worth this,
> And now worth nothing?
> (1.1.29–36)

Salarino's beautified catastrophe is a spectacle of rarities wasted. Fetishizing the silks and spices, he neglects to mention the mariners.

To judge by the speech, to remind investors of the human toll of their traffic could be necessary. Edmund Scott, dedicating *An Exact Discourse of the Subtilties . . . of the East Indians* (London, 1606) to the East India Company's interim Governor Sir William Romney, the former chief factor at Bantam invokes "the great blessings of God, both in preserving the greatest quantitie of your goods and our lives which are come home out of that rude and dangerous region."[4] The dedication is gracious. Yet the syntactical parity of "your goods and our lives" objectifies the human component, and the possessive pronouns mark an ontological gap between owners and employees. The ambiguity of Scott's prepositional phrase – does "greatest quantity of" extend to "lives" or not? – dehumanizes either way. If so, then "our lives" reduce to items on a balance sheet. Numbering the mariners first among the furnishings of the expedition, the merchants commodify labor precisely thus in their commission for the Sixth Voyage (1610), noting their "great chardge & trouble [to] haue . . . furnished the same sufficientlie . . . wth men tackle victuals & all other needfull p*ro*uisions" (Birdwood, 328–9). Alternately, if Scott's "and" divides the "of" phrase from "our lives" – if it reads, "the greatest quantity of your goods and our *few* lives" – then the dedication reminds Romney that, while the factory (trading compound) in Bantam preserved most of the items in its trust, that mission cost most of his employees their lives. It did.

Scott drafted his treatise for a particular audience: the directors in London, who were suspicious of his efforts abroad and hesitant to compensate him as he knew he deserved. He had joined the First Voyage at his own expense and became a factor, not by London's choice, but by the overseas appointment of Sir James Lancaster, the expedition's commander. Disputes over Scott's payment persisted until 1609, when the company finally granted him 100 marks, "over and aboue his ordinarie sallarie of 30£ per annum, . . . by way of gratification in reguard of his extraordinary service at

Bantam."[5] Before its publication in a probable bid to promote the Eastern trade, *An Exact Discourse* made a more personal case for its author, underscoring the enormous challenges he confronted, the vigilant tenacity of his performance, and the inadequacy of his London-based resources in Java. Circulating and archiving manuscripts, the East India Company maintained a system of corporate discourse whose papers were not typically distributed in print. The London merchants turned to the press to defend their interests, not to disclose information that might undermine their monopoly.[6]

Vital components of the company's internal discourse, the commissions for each voyage name the principal objectives and, in relays of succession in the event of deaths, the persons charged to achieve them. Declaring the parties to the contract, these documents formally separate the shareholders from the voyagers. The commission for the Third Voyage (1607–10), for instance, drafted "by us the Gou^{r}no^{r}, Deputie, & Comitties of the m^{r}chauntes of London," addresses "o*u*r loveing ffreinds the Generall, Leiuetenaunte, and others the Captaines, m^{r}chaunts, m*aste*rs & Marriners in this our intended voyadge" (Birdwood, 114). With telling ambiguity, the last "our" conflates the two groups while asserting the writers' ownership of the venture. While each community is hierarchical, the authors subdivide their employees more extensively than themselves, for it is the latter's performance of prodigious duties that "we" would secure with the text-act in hand. The investors repose their "spetiall trust & Confidence" in General William Keeling, "not doubting but that he will soe behaue himselfe, as he may be both feared & loued, & that he will wth all his diligence & endevors prosecute o*u*r designes, and labor to bringe this our costlie voyadge to a happie end" (Birdwood, 115). However firm, their confidence is conditional and does not necessarily extend to the Generals' shipmates, as their echo of Machiavelli, in "feared & loued," implies: a newly installed prince, Keeling will require a deft, firm authority to govern potentially unruly subjects.

The floating commonwealth, they propose, shall institute daily offices of piety, wary supervision of seamen, and, at need, fines and corporal punishment. Expensive bonds, ranging from £200 to £500, monitor the good faith of the principal mariners and factors, each charged to work "for the sole & p*ro*pper use & benefitt of the Companie" (Birdwood, 141, 143). The compulsory worship, a bid for God's favor, also sharpens the discipline and surveillance of the crew:

> ITEM & for that religious Gouernm^{t} & exercyse doth best bynde men to p*er*forme their duties, yt is principallie to be cared for that prayers be said Morneing & euening in eu^{r}y shipp & the whole Companie called there unto, wth diligent Eies that none be wanting. (Birdwood, 116)

To gather knowledge and remind personnel that they answer to London, the owners demand that, "Continuall & true Iournalls . . . of eu^{r}y daies course & Nauigac*i*on during the wholle voyadge wth a true relac*i*on of eu^{r}y thinge that passeth," be composed and surrendered on return (Birdwood, 116). Fearing opportunism and negligence, they forbid "any private trade" (127), an acute temptation to the principals. Asserting solidarity of class, they advise, "trust not yor saffetie to the Carelesse

attendaunce of the Comon marriners, whoe will not losse their present pleasures, or ease, though the losse of their liues, o*ur* shipps & goods depend upon yt" (Birdwood, 132–3). The coy irony in these parallels – as "losse" turns from a verb to a noun and "their liues" weigh against "our shipps and goods" – scorns the supposedly feckless seamen who perish in the company's service. As likely threats to the voyage, moreover, in this same Item 47 of the commission, seamen and aliens merge in the merchants' fears:

> we Comend vnto you all an especiall care to haue yor Eyes open to all devises & practices wch may be wrought agaynst you, o*ur* shipps & goodes in eu^{r}y place where you come, keeping a Continuall watch, whereby you may be readie to prevent any mischeefe agaynst you, suspect all, how freindlie soeu^{r} they seeme. (Birdwood, 132)

The magnates understand, not only that their ships traverse dangerous worlds, but that voyaging necessarily perplexes their designs. Their language is the more emphatic for its impotence, lacking complicit deputies, to compel assent to its terms.

The deaths of their agents posed the most elemental threat to London's plans. For the English, the mortality of travel to and residence near the Indian Ocean was staggeringly high. Indigenous Americans succumbed catastrophically to European microbes, but, in the Indies, the English who survived their long journeys on crowded, unsanitary vessels lacked immunity to the tropical diseases – dysentery, malaria, cholera – to which they were exposed. The resultant losses of personnel exacerbated a fundamental demographic problem. As Linda Colley observes, Britain's population was much smaller than those of the continents it eventually presumed to colonize. Muscling belatedly into remote markets, the English found "their own, incurable limits" to be obvious from the start.[7] *A True and Large Discourse* (London, 1603), the narrative of the East India Company's First Voyage under Sir James Lancaster, which deposited Scott in Bantam, names the dead from each ship as they turned homeward from Achin, in Sumatra: 66 from the *Red Dragon*, 37 from the *Hector*, 38 from the *Ascension*, and 39 from the *Susan*. A subsequent letter lists several more lost between Achin and Bantam: in total, more than 180 men, probably over half the complement of the voyage. The final count is unknown. On the Second Voyage, the homeward bound *Susan* vanished in the Indian Ocean, and the *Hector* was found adrift by the *Ascension* off the Cape of Good Hope, "in lamentable distress" with only 14 survivors, four of them Chinese sailors hired in Bantam.[8] While many subsequent voyages did better, and Britain exercised ubiquity at sea, "after landfall," Colley observes, "things for the British were . . . usually far more difficult." They remained so. Between 1707 and 1775, "Of the 645 white male civilians who worked for the East India Company in Bengal . . . close to 60 percent are known to have died there, often in the early years of their appointment. Even at the end of the century, almost one in four British soldiers stationed in India perished every year." From the early days, the East India Company saw that, "if it was ever to control substantial tracts of India, the bulk of its manpower would have to be Indian" (Colley, 246, 251, 259).

II "The *English* Nation at *Bantam*"

Sir Thomas Roe, England's first bona fide ambassador to India (1615–19), cautioned against colonization there:

> It is the beggaring of the Portugall, notwithstanding his many rich residences and territoryes, that hee keepes souldiers that spendes it; . . . He neuer Profited by the Indyes, since hee defended them . . . Lett this bee receiued as a rule that if you will Profitt, seeke it at Sea, and in quiett trade.[9]

It was hard enough to maintain factories ashore, let alone garrisons. When Scott landed in Java in February 1602, he was one of 22 persons assigned to Bantam and Banda; the latter project failing, they all stayed in Bantam – a place, as Scott describes it, of "lowe ground [that] is verie unholesome and breedeth many diseases, especially unto strangers which come thether" (168) – inauspicious terrain for the company's first factory. Having taken command in June 1603 at the deaths of his two superiors, Scott noted in April 1604 that, "of seaven factors left there . . . we were now but two living;" in total, "wee were now ten living, and one boy" (xxxviii, 85, 111). The "*English* Nation at *Bantam*" (81), as named on Scott's title page, was a small, fearful, dwindling encampment. A miniscule epitome of England, the troupe was about the size of a playing company. To distinguish themselves in local eyes, they were reduced to the metonymic gesturing for which Shakespeare's Chorus apologizes in *Henry V*: "let us, ciphers to this great account, / On your imaginary forces work" (Pro. 17–18).[10]

The factory's survival demanded not only the occasional salvific fleet from London, but also local help: the blessing of Javan authorities, the intervention of brokers and translators, the assistance (storage, counsel, sometimes protection) of the rival Dutch community in Bantam, and, like the fleets that re-supplied the compound, the labor of regional people. Bantam was an established port city whose great market (figure 7.1) east of the city walls served traders from many lands, including the Arabian peninsula, Persia, Gujarat, Madras, Bengal, Malaya, and China.[11] Located west of the walls in the Chinese part of town, the English house was erected with the labor of slaves provided, and sometimes enigmatically withdrawn, by the Protector or *Pangeran*, the boy-king's regent uncle. The English had surfaced in a world destabilized by the struggle between the Dutch and Portuguese trading empires, and Java's politics were volatile. The factory's installation, explains Michael Neill, "further complicated already violent rivalries . . . between Chinese, Indian, and Javan merchants, while it also added to the tensions created by local power struggles, including ethnic, factional, and dynastic rivalries that the newcomers did not well understand" (Neill, 290, 479n). Dependent on groups whom they mistrusted, the English, skeptical recipients of guarded advice from the Dutch, tried to secure well-placed fixers, trusty servants, and obedient workers among the neighbors whose quarrels perplexed

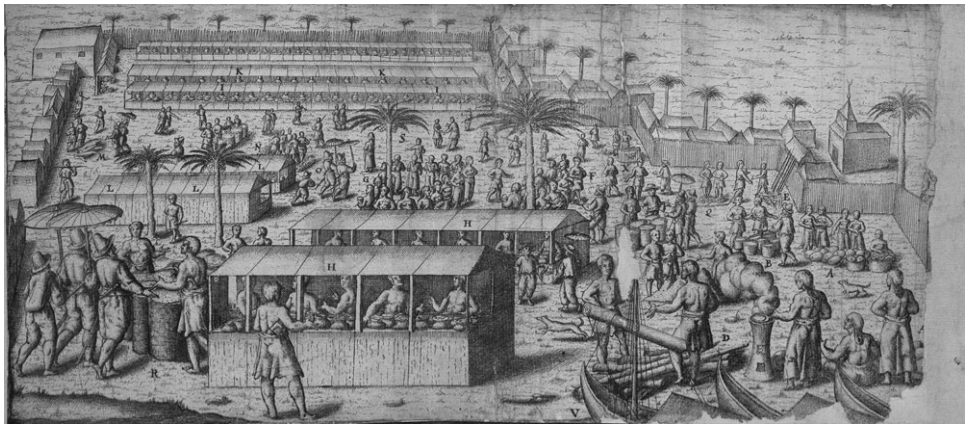

Figure 7.1 *The Great Market at Bantam*, from Willem Lodewijckszoon, *Historie van Indien* (Amsterdam, 1598) © British Library Board. All Rights Reserved, shelfmark 1486gg18. Reproduced by permission. *Dutch merchants with parasols are at the lower left.*

them. "Trust none of the Indians," Lancaster advised at his departure, "for their bodies and soules be whollie treason."[12] Living in perpetual and justified "feare of fier and theeves" (E. Scott, 91), they defended themselves with paranoid intensity. In August 1603, when stones were thrown at their windows as they sang a psalm at the change of a watch, they burst out in pursuit, broke down the door of a nearby house, and threatened its occupants with rapiers: "wee terrified those that dwelt about us so," boasts Scott, "that never after wee had that abuse offered again" (E. Scott, 93). Lancaster had negotiated their "authority to execute justice," not only "on theire owne men offending," but also "against injuries from the natives" (Foster 1940, 99). The little group was truculent.

With the facility in operation, "many more of our men were sicke and lame . . . by the heat of the pepper, in milling and shuting it," explains Scott, "So that ever after we were forced to hyre Chyneses to doe that worke, and our owne men to oversee them onely" (104). Toxic processes and their own low numbers necessarily made foremen of the English and laborers of the numerous Chinese. When their warehouse caught fire the following May, and they swiftly recruited 40 Chinese men to help remove the goods, Scott and Gabriel Towerson, "had worke enough to stand by with our swordes, to keepe them from throwing them [the packs] over the pales" (115) to thieving accomplices outside. When Scott paid off each man the next day with a piece of eight, the "exceeding greedie" workers "much scorned" the sum:

> I asked them if it were not enough for halfe an houres worke. They aunswered againe that, if they had not helped us, we had had our house burnt and so had lost all. I tolde them againe that it was not long since that, if I had not helped them, they had had their throats cut. When they could get no more, they took that. (116)

Bloodshed did ensue at the discovery that some of these men had set the fire. From the house next door, a grocery and arak brewery, a tunnel had been dug beneath the English warehouse; the ignition source was a candle set under the floorboards to open the way quietly. During the crisis Dutch merchants, "doubting the Chyneses would rise against us, came verie kindely with their weapons, and sware they would live and die in our quarrell" (117). Of those responsible, Scott executed three men, torturing two first, disturbingly matter-of-fact about the sadistic interrogation he details.[13] A crowd taunted the first victim:

> As he went out of our gates the Javans, who do much rejoyce when they see a Chynes goe to execution (as also the Chynese doe when they see a Javan goe to his death), reviled him. But hee would aunswere againe, saying the Englishmen were rich and the Chynes poore; therefore why should they not steale from the English, if they could? (E. Scott, 121)

Scott is gratified to tease out the hostilities preventing these groups from uniting against the English.

The declarative mood of his distinctions defends against Scott's uncertainties about Javan and Chinese people, who divide and merge variously in his fears. "For the Javans and Chynese, from the highest to the lowest," he writes, "are all villaines and have not one sparke of grace in them" (E. Scott, 124). The groups, though at enmity, merge in their infidel duplicity: their moral and religious otherness affiliates them in his imagination over origins and interests that divide them.[14] Individuals, moreover, can transgress national labels: of a defendant in the warehouse fire Scott remarks, ambivalently, "Hee was a Chynes borne, but now turned Javan; and withall a verie lustie proper man as one should see" (118). When categories of otherness prove interpermeable, self–other divisions tend to collapse as well. Describing the Javans as the dupes of foreigners, he likens the Chinese to Jews and implicitly, as Michael Neill remarks (296), to Englishmen:

> The Javans themselves are very dull and blockish to mannage any affaires of a commonwealth; whereby all strangers goe beyond them that come into their land . . . especially the Chyneses, who, like Jewes, live crooching under them, but robb them of their wealth and send it for Chyna. (E. Scott, 174)

Mercantilist economics postulated a comprehensive system in which some nations enriched themselves at the expense of others; to enlarge England's wealth was his company's aim as well. Given the fluidity of these associations, "a mulatto of Pegu" of their company (E. Scott, 105) could be an Englishman in Bantam. A servant in their house, drinking wine with a countryman arrived on a Dutch ship, grew enraged and mortally wounded his companion, the man's Flemish "provost," and a Javan. The Fleming declared:

> an Englishman had slaine him. . . Maister Towerson asked him whether it was a white man or a blacke. Because hee named still an Englishman, we were in some doubt. The Fleming, being also

> in drink, said a white man. Then presently hee said againe: it was darke, hee knew not well; and so gave up his life. (E. Scott, 106–7)

The dying man, Towerson, and his fellows share the same uncertainty: all accept the premise that, for forensic purposes, both blacks and whites are Englishmen.

In the presence of the King and the Protector, who "demaunded fifty ryalls of eight for the Javan" from Scott, the English and Dutch merchants clashed over the right to punish the murderer. The Protector, alarmed at the uproar, hustled the King away and abruptly closed the conference. "I dare say he was afraid wee would have cut his throat," Scott remarks, "for hee tooke us all to be bloody fellows" (109). Having asserted his rights, Scott hired an executioner: to subject the servant to English justice was one way to prove, and find wanting, the man's English identity. Scott's irony about European boorishness vanishes in his account of the execution:

> [W]ee leading him into the fields, the people of the towne, both Javans and Chynese, hearing that there was an Englishman to be executed, came flocking amaine. But when they came, . . . wee might heare them tell one another it was a black man. Wee told them he was just of their own colour and condition, and that an Englishman or white man would not doe such a bloody deed. (110–11)

Moving to stay the confusion about English identity, Scott fastens on the crowd's surprise at the convict's blackness: equating "colour and condition," he applies the former to the moral realm and to his audience. Racial parameters being ad hoc, multiple, and variously recombinant, he invokes them to Anglo-centric advantage: he locates now in skin color – significantly, the servant is no longer "mulatto" but "black" – the absolute behavioral difference between Englishmen and others that his own depiction of the thuggish "*English* nation at *Bantam*" proves unsustainable.[15]

The group's anxiety to distinguish itself was intensified by their association in local eyes with the Dutch, whose mariners' "rude behaviour" attached to the English: "as we passed along the street we might heare the people in the market rayling and exclaming on the Englishmen, although they meant the Hollanders" (99) (figure 7.2). On November 17, 1603, they took the occasion of Elizabeth's unknowingly posthumous "Coronation" or Accession Day to mitigate the confusion. With a banner of St George hung atop the house, a contingent of 14 men paraded about the compound in silk costumes, beating drums and firing guns to attract attention. Those who "came to . . . enquire the cause of our triumph" learned about Queen Elizabeth (100). As Neill remarks, "A certain pathos attaches to the fragile jingoism of this sadly undermanned pageant" (Neill, 302). Indulging the proto-orientalist fantasy that their technical prowess won Europeans, man for man, superiority over Asians – a conceit welcome to actors from a demographically challenged nation – Scott explains, "The multitude of people did admire to see so fewe of us deliver so much shott, for the Javans and Chyneses are no good shott" (Scott, 100). Like Shakespeare's Henry V at Agincourt – "We few, we happy few, we band of brothers" (4.3.61) – Scott wrings virtue from

Figure 7.2 *Ships Trading in the East*, Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom (1614). © National Maritime Museum. Reproduced by permission. The painting envisions peaceful competition among Europeans for access to Eastern markets. Of the three large central ships, that to the left flies Dutch, in the center English, and to the right Spanish, colors; two more ships enter the bay at the right. Elegantly dressed merchants whose servants hold parasols proceed along the jetty, where other traders in turbans negotiate over bales of merchandise.

the small size of his party. Then they took a "walke abroad," imagining themselves admired for their unfamiliar "redd and white scarves and hatbandes" (100).

In June 1605, obliged like other groups and magnates to present "the greatest show they are able to make" (153) at the festivities for the king's circumcision, the English mounted a more gracious show. The occasion bespoke their involvement in Bantamese society, not their singularity. They and the Dutch provided musketeers for the Protector's spectacle (153); and, since size mattered now, the English amplified their contribution with local talent. Adopting Javanese forms of ostentation, they produced a curiously decorated pomegranate tree laden with gifts. To escort it, lacking "women to carry these things,"

> we borrowed thirtie of the prettiest boys we could get, and also twoo proper tall Javans to beare pikes before them. Maister Towerson had a very pretty boye, a Chines sonne, whose father was a little before slaine by theives. This youth we attyred as gallant as the King; whom wee sent to present these thinges and to make a speach to him, signifying that, if our number had beene equall to our goodwils, we would have presented His Majesty with a farre better show than wee did. (157–8)

Having numbered the entourage, Scott dwells on its twin foci, the tree and the beautiful boy. As an English showman, he requires a minimalist esthetic and a winsome translator to impress the King. The pageant's mixture of pride and apology – the boy's outfit rivals the King's, yet their show, "Amongst all others . . . could not bee great, by reason of our smale number" (156) – aptly expressed their predicament in Bantam. Presumably good for business, their mimicry of local ostentation effaced their difference except in its relative size. An overmatched, fascinated impresario, Scott details the other spectacles. The King of Jakarta offered a procession of 300 soldiers, 300 women, a caged tiger and numerous other beasts real and artificial, a garden with a pond stocked with live and crafted fish, and "many maskers, vauters, tumblers" (161). Scott's dismissive aside – "All these inventions the Javans have bene taught in former times by the Chyneses, . . . for they themselves are but blockeheads" (156) – defends against the fact that the English invention, the tree with live birds chirping and "foure very furious serpents" made by Chinese craftsmen, was equally imitative and, unlike their surprising musketry on Accession Day, a lesser pageant in a magnificent parade.

III Reckoning with Workers and Aliens

Reviewing in March 1605 the deaths in the fleet with which he was to depart in October – "many . . . of their principall men, with a nomber of their ordinary saylers" – Scott remarked, "wee were not onely constrayned to hyre men to doe them all the ease we could there, but likewise to hyre so many as wee could gett of Goossaratts and Chyneses to helpe bring home our ships. All which hath beene to our exceeding great trouble, costs and charges" (E. Scott, 150). Like the Portuguese traders before them, the London Company could not achieve its ends without Indian Ocean workers and mariners.[16] Thus, along with exotic goods, the fleets imported Hindu and Muslim employees who had to be reckoned with in London. Commanded by Sir Henry Middleton, the Second Voyage reached the Thames in May 1606. As the Court of Committees made plans for the Third Voyage, and Scott petitioned his skeptical employers for compensation, the matter of these crewmen surfaced in the meetings. The merchants were uneasy about them. A 1612 letter to Governor Sir Thomas Smythe, observing, "Mr. Wilson hath been too often in the India voyages ever to be good," bespoke biases promiscuously applicable to the professional and ethnic groups perceived to undermine the business (Danvers, 1:203).

Minutes in the *Court Book of the East India Company* suggest that the surviving Indian Ocean crewmen preferred not to stay in England. Their employers, whose responsibility for their maintenance between voyages was a novel concern, were not disposed to object. Lacking a clear policy, the company treated them variously. At the February 10, 1606/7, meeting, tellingly they resolved to "buie for Marcus the Indian a gowne and some other necessaries for his prouisions to Sea, what . . . shal be fitt for such a desolute person as he is."[17] Probably they meant to equip him minimally,

not with ironic finery, but the support held a cynical, begrudging edge. Others were compensated more generously. On January 9, 1607, one Gujarati and two Chinese mariners earned a collective £10, "ouer aboue their ordinarie allowance . . . to be bestowed upon them at tymes before their dep*ar*ture hence," and an "Indian" named John Mendis, who "hath beene out of worke," requested that "his wages in the voyadge" be augmented. Charming boys, as apt learners and likely future brokers abroad, were easier to reward: the "Javan Boie" whom Middleton brought home was assigned to Sir Henry's brother David, the captain of the *Consent*, "as his Boie in this voyadge, who is to be decentlie app*a*relled at the Companies chardge before his dep*ar*ture" (January 30, 1607).[18] "John Taro the Indian" had incurred a debt of £5 to one Katherine Gibson, probably an innkeeper, who petitioned the company for payment; they agreed to pay her from his wages on the forthcoming voyage, "yf he liue soe longe, & doe his seruice for the same upon the retourne of the shipps" (February 19, 1607). Her compensation remained conditional, guarded. Another man suffered terribly. John Rodrigoe, who hoped to embark with the Third Voyage, was held "in suspense . . . till the ships be dep*ar*ted," and, in the meantime, detained "for auoidinge of inconueniences" (Feb 1607). With the fleet's departure delayed until mid-March in part by the flight of paid crewmen, the Court of Committees drafted a bill for Parliament, "against the evill demeano^r^ of Marriners & sailers in absenting themselues &c after they are hired to goe in any voyadge" (March 26, 1607). Needful of yet angered by seamen, they still kept Rodrigoe in London. He remained in prison on June 5, 1607, when he petitioned the company for his release and "some app*ar*ell;" he also owed money. Opting to pay the requisite £5, the Court asked Governor Romney to intervene and resolved to ship Rodrigo to "the Streites, or els where as shall be thought meete," far away. Two weeks later, they reminded themselves of this determination but took no action. With or without deportation, the detainee slipped from their minds. In July, Sir Thomas Smythe was elected Governor. On December 23, 1607, the Court minutes noted John Rodrigoe's death in prison.

Foreign mariners continued to staff East India Company vessels, and convicts were transported in them. Walter Peyton's journal of the 1615 voyage that took Sir Thomas Roe to India explains,

> We carryed with us in the Fleete eleven Japonezas brought into England by the Clove, divided proportionably amongst the shippes: likewise fourtenne Guzerats brought by the Dragon: also nineteene condemned persons out of Newgate, to be left for discoverie of unknowne places, the Company having obtayned the Kings Pardon for them to this purpose.[19]

As anomalous voyagers, the foreign seamen and the convicts hold suggestive proximity here. Peyton suggests, however, that the non-European passengers – the potential brokers if not the mere seamen – were treated amiably. In Soldania (South Africa), a man named Corey – "a Savage which had bin in England," notes Samuel Purchas – "came down and welcomed us, . . . showed some of our people his house, wife

and children" at an inland town, and he helped the mariners buy "cattell in great abundance." "Two or three [men] desired to goe for England," Peyton remarks, "seeing Corey had sped so well, and returned so rich with his Copper Sute, which he yet keepeth in his house very charily . . . Corey also determined to returne, and to carry one of his sonnes" (4:290–1).

Edward Terry's later narrative, scornful of Soldanians, offers a much bleaker account of Corey's English experience. Having sailed in the 1616 fleet to replace Roe's deceased chaplain in India, Terry published *A Voyage to East-India* in 1655. Reporting their stop in South Africa, his tale of "Coree" amplifies the author's disgust with its "barbarous" people by exemplifying the proverb, "the dog is return'd to his vomit, and the swine to his wallowing in the mire."[20] In this rendering, Coree was brought unwillingly to London, where he lodged with Governor Smythe, well outfitted but desperately homesick, entreating repeatedly, "Coree home go, Souldania go, home go." Upon reaching his native shore, he threw off his English clothes and "got his sheeps skins upon his back" and garland of guts around his neck (20–1). Thereafter, Terry avers, for fear of abduction the native people have avoided English ships within two days of a departure, and "we had never after such a free exchange of our brass and iron for their cattle" (22). Coree's grasp of their commonness in England, Terry suggests, lowered the metals' value in Soldania. It would have been wiser to leave the savage where he lived. Nostalgically, the anecdote recommends a logistical impossibility: the separation of exotic personnel from the goods they helped bring to England, a wishful erasure something like Salarino's effacement of mariners from his precious shipwreck.

Unlike Purchas's redaction, Peyton's manuscript of the 1615 voyage opens with a detailed roster of the persons on his ship, the *Expedition*. Of the initial 76 crewmen, 22 perished on the voyage, as did three of the additional 19 "Condemned menn" transported in the fleet. Nine convicts were left at the Cape of Good Hope, two at Bantam, two at Surat; two crewmen "condemned" post-embarkation were also deposited at the Cape. The *Expedition*'s two Japanese crewmen were transferred to the *Red Dragon*; the two Gujaratis, "Nozoe & Zacherie," were left in Surat.[21] There was considerable shuffling of personnel among the ships and the ports in the Indies. Of the additional 36 men who joined the *Expedition*, 27 came from other vessels in the fleet. Of the eight who came aboard from Surat, Bantam, and Tiku, six were Englishmen and two, from Bantam, "blacks" (f1v).

The *Expedition*, then, hired fewer alien mariners than the *Clove* and the *Dragon* before it; Peyton ran a healthy, lucky ship. As we have noted, however, others were death traps. The company's habit of departing with predominantly English crews and returning with cadres of non-Christians attracted notice. In *The Trades Increase* (1615), the pamphleteer "I. R.," otherwise identified as Robert Kayll, protested that the East India Company's ships should be seen,

> rather as coffins full of liue bodies, then otherwise as comfortable ships; for the rest that liue, they come home so crazed and broken, so maimed and vnmanned, that whereas they went out strong,

> they returne most feeble, and whereas they were carried forth with Christians, they are brought home with Heathen.[22]

Lamenting the nation's material and human losses to the Eastern trade, Kayll estimates that "in the aduenture of some three thousand that haue beene employed since that voyage beganne, wee haue lost many aboue two thousand" mariners. He assails the commerce:

> *David* refused to drinke of the Well of *Betheleme,* which the strong men had fetched, when he thirsted and longed, because it was the price of bloud. This Trade, their commodities are at a farre deerer rate, being bought with so many men liues. (27)

Reprinting and answering many of these charges on the angered company's behalf, Dudley Digges claims that the writer, "some unknown busie person," has multiplied the number of deaths: "a true examination of our bookes" discloses that only "three and twentie hundred, thirtie and three men of all conditions" shipped out in the first place. "There will not rest much likelihood of many aboue two thousand cast away," Digges concludes.[23]

His calculations are not so reassuring as the company's apologist might have wished. Digges concedes that the losses have been regrettably high. Bantam is indeed "unhealthie to our people," he admits:

> It is the Marchants griefe (and hee that knowes what hazard they doe runne, that haue their goods in Heathen Countries, in the hands of dying men, that must expect rich ships to come from places so remote, so weakly mand, thorow Seas of dangers, besides Pirates, will belleeue it is their griefe) vnspeakable, that hitherto they cannot absolutely cleare themselues from this (to them indeede great) mischiefe. (36)

The company, Digges insists, is saddened, charitable. Yet he grounds the merchants' sympathy in their anxiety over the storage and transport of their goods: the grief attaches equally to cargoes and personnel, and, with the latter, to fellow merchants before mariners. Most English deaths in the East, he insinuates, must be charged to the unfortunates concerned: men undone "through their owne abusing of themselues, with the hot drinkes and most infectious women of those Countries" (37). Such fellows might have saved themselves by Christian restraint. Whatever the risks, people keep choosing to take them: "For my part," opines Digges, "I meet few sorrowfull *East India* Clients, but such as are refused to goe the Voyage" (38). His reflections on the seamen of greater London are heartless:

> Besides, the commonwealth esteemes not of the life of any but good men, such as doe good, the rest are *Tacitus* his *Purgamenta Vrbium*, their death to her is nothing but an ease. Nay Mariners themselues . . . were better die in the *East-Indies*, then here at home at Tybourne, or at *Wapping*, for want of meanes to liue. (32–3)

Ordinary sailors are, by this account, refuse better carried off by sickness abroad than by the hangman in England for theft or piracy. The company does the state a service by removing them. Conceiving ships as mobile colonies of preventive detention, Digges erases Walter Peyton's distinction between the crews and the convicts they transported. While skin color proves to be, with Edmund Scott, a rhetorical index of moral disposition, Digges makes the equivalent leap into ethics from station or class. The interchangeability of these categories in the merchants' imagination – dark skin, low station, criminality – disadvantaged the sailors who suffered already in London's nascent capitalist economy and multiplied the pejorative discourses applicable to them.

IV The loss of the *Trades Increase*

Kayll's pamphlet took its ironic title from the largest merchant ship yet built in England, a vessel of some 1,200 tons constructed by the company's master shipwright William Burrell and named in a spirit of expansive confidence by King James. The Sixth Voyage "drew great expectation in all estates," observed its Lieutenant General, Nicholas Downton. The launching ceremony was suitably pompous. The company's minutes of December 29, 1609, rehearse plans to "interteyne his Highnes wth a banquett abourd the Shipp" on "Cheney dishes," with "Tapistrie," sumptuous chairs, and "wynne of such sortes and quantitie as shall be fittinge." At this "bountifull banket," reports John Chamberlain:

> the King graced Sir Thomas Smith the Governor with a chaine in manner of a collar better than 200*li*, with his picture hanging at yt, and put yt about his necke with his owne handes, naming the great ship Trades-increase, and the Prince a pinnesse of 250 tunne (built to wait upon her) Pepper-corne.[24]

The banquet proceeded handsomely. But, as Burrell's friend Phineas Pett, the royal shipwright then constructing the likewise enormous *Prince Royal*, noted anxiously, the launches failed:

> [T]he tide was so bad that the great ship could not be launched out of the dock, and the smaller, which was built upon the wharf, was so ill stroken upon the launching ways that she could by no means be put off, which did somewhat discontent his Majesty.[25]

High tide did not solve the problem. By a telling absence of foresight, the dockhead proved too narrow for the great ship to pass, Downton noted in his diary. It took two days of labor to free the *Peppercorn*, four days the *Trades Increase*.[26]

It was an apt start to a tragic expedition. Many months later in Bantam, the irony foreshadowed in the failed launch became terribly clear: in their bold designs to enlarge the Eastern trade and challenge other Europeans in the Indian Ocean, the

merchants had built a ship too massive to maintain. Its repair demanded greater manpower and infrastructure than the personnel of the Sixth Voyage, Sir Henry Middleton's last, could produce. The ship suffered a major leak after striking a rock off Sumatra, and the constant pumping had stressed the crew by the time it anchored in December 1612 at Pulo Panian near Bantam. Here Middleton determined that "shee must of necessitie bee new strengthened and careend, before shee could well returne home."[27] The *Peppercorn*, already repaired, was dispatched to England with a rich cargo while work began on the larger ship. To "careen" a wormeaten hull was to clean, caulk, and sheathe it "with thin boards, hair, and . . . tar (which [the worm] cannot abide)," explains Sir Henry Mainwaring; copper sheathing had not yet been devised. To accomplish this, "she must be hauled down on the side and righted again with tackles."[28] But even unladen, the *Trades Increase*, without dockside support, was too heavy and broad of beam to be rolled from one side to the other. Lacking a more durable means to protect wooden hulls from marine parasites in tropical seas, the design was fatally flawed. Ironically, moreover, it was probably the inordinate size of the beached ship that motivated its final destruction.

Various mariners reported the sad end of the great ship and its crew. Peter Floris wrote in 1613:

> the fayre and costely shipp, the *Trades Increase*, lyeth a grounde att Bantam, withoute maste, with 33 men, the greatest parte being sicke. The shippe is doubbled [*i.e.* sheathed] on the one syde butt not on the other. In the sayde shipped [*sic*] are deceased some 100 English men, and more Chinesians, which wrought for dayly wages, as also 8 Dutche, some plague or other mischievous sicknesse being come into the shippe. (83–4)

Thomas Best heard that the "Maine Mast . . . brake with forcing her downe to carine her" and that "three hundred Chineses dyed in working on her."[29] Before succumbing in May 1613 to the heartache and disease that wiped out his crew, Middleton hired local workers to complete repairs beyond the reach of the English. The vessel's ordnance, ironically, was sold to the Dutch. Meanwhile, local persons, figures from Edmund Scott's nightmares, kept setting fire to the hulk. A January 1615 letter to the company by John Jourdain, the current chief factor in Bantam, describes the final conflagration:

> [A]bout two months past she was fired by night suddenly from stem to stern that none could come near to quench it, which we suppose was done of purpose by the Javas, because formerly she had been set on fire twice and by great help we quenched it again, which now was impossible to do, because she was, as we suppose, laid all fore and aft with this country pitch, otherwise she could not have so suddenly taken fire, which we suspect was done by the better sort of Javas by the instigation of a renegado Spaniard which is turned Moor, putting them in the head that in time she might serve in lieu of a castle. She was burnt in one night close to the water.[30]

Jourdain's uncertainties about the identity, methods, and motives of the arsonists recall those of his predecessor Scott, likewise tormented by fire and confusion. The

mysterious Spaniard "turned Moor" epitomizes the ethnic fluidity vexing efforts to establish a stable "English" identity and distinguish allies from enemies here. Both the Chinese workers and the Javan authorities had strong cause to burn the hulk: it was a lethal site of infection for the former, and its extensive timbers constituted for the latter a possible threat to the regional balance of power between Europeans and Javans. An English factory was acceptable in Bantam. Unless mobile, an English fortress was not.[31]

Samuel Purchas, an apostle of Eurocentric globalization, envisioned "Honor and Gaine," by the agency of "the adventuring Soldier and Merchant, . . . breaking through all Obstacles, and opening all parts of the World to every part."[32] The formulation is ambitious yet naive: like Salarino's vision, it elides the workers who perform the "breaking through," without whom the "adventurer" or investor remains a fantasist, and it therefore misses the full mutuality of the process. As the weakened crew of the *Red Dragon* protested to General William Keeling on the Third Voyage, displaying their sick, entreating him put in at South Africa and save their lives, "wthout them hee could not p*er*forme his voyadge." The members of London's mercantile elite could not achieve their designs without the agency and the interruptive demands of economically disadvantaged, racially diverse groups from whom they preferred to divide themselves. The merchants' joint-stock investments, of course, endured the wreck of any given ship. Though they lost the *Trades Increase* and its crew, the Sixth Voyage earned a profit of 121 percent.[33] As Robert Kayll objected, catastrophes did not arrest, rather they multiplied with, the Eastern trade. London's industry, enclosures in the countryside, and global economic forces continued to generate in England the affluence and the squalor that drove the business: the appetites increasingly prone to luxury exotica and the desperation peopling the expendable crews who delivered the same. Exploiting the demographic pressures that swelled London's underclasses, cultivating remote markets of opportunity in emulation of Dutch and Portuguese traders, the London Company commodified labor at home and in the East, and the shareholders profited despite the terrible mortality among their agents and workers. The loss of their greatest ship on its inaugural voyage, however, indicated that labor and logistics remained intractable problems: that the grand designs of corporate imperialism were hubristic, that a business so wasteful of employees and equipment was inherently volatile. London changed with the goods and people it took in from the Indies. And in the great expanses and crowded markets of the Indian Ocean, where the limits and damages of Anglo-centric aspiration showed more starkly than in England, the scarcity of loyal personnel made resistance to London's designs the more likely.

Notes

1 I thank the Huntington, the British Academy, and Oregon State University for their support of research on this project. Christopher Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta*, ed. James R. Siemon (1.1.43; cf. l.73); William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice* (1.3.18–20), in Stephen Orgel and A. R. Braunmuller, ed., *William Shakespeare. The Complete Works* (257).

2 Marc Shell, *Money, Language, and Thought: Literary and Philosophical Economies from the Medieval to the Modern Era* (54n). On joint-stock companies, see William Robert Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish, and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720*; K. N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company. The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company, 1600–1640*; Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement. Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630*. Michael Neill notes the East India Company's early funding difficulties in *Putting History to the Question: Power, Politics, and Society in English Renaissance Drama* (300); Chaudhuri summarizes the company's early fortunes (22).

3 Sir George Birdwood, ed, *The First Letter Book of the East India Company, 1600–1619* (332). On the sharing of profits on the First Voyage, see Henry Stevens, ed., *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as Recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company 1599–1603* (70, 118).

4 Edmund Scott, *An Exact Discourse of the Subtilities . . . of the East Indians*, in Sir William Foster, ed., *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas 1604–1606* (83).

5 On Scott's appointment, see Foster, *Middleton* (xxxviii). *Court Book of the East India Company* (unpublished), December 31, 1606–January 26, 1610 (28 September 1609); W. Noel Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513–1616* (194; #460).

6 On the company's discursive practices, see Miles Ogborn, *Indian Ink. Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company*; Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism. London's theatre of the East, 1576–1626* (156–62).

7 Linda Colley, *Captives. Britain, Empire and the World 1600–1850* (258).

8 William Foster, ed., *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies 1591–1603* (1940, 142–3, 147–8); Foster, *Voyage of Middleton* (1943, xvi, 60–1).

9 Sir William Foster, ed., *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615–1619* (1967, 344).

10 Similarly likening Scott's band to the players of *Henry V*, Neill remarks, "at the extreme margin of English power, . . . the acuteness of the need to establish a sense of national difference is exactly proportionate to the constant threat of its erasure" (*Putting History to the Question*, 302).

11 Anthony Farrington, *Trading Places: The East India Company and Asia 1600–1834* (34, 39).

12 Foster, *Voyages of Lancaster* (1940, 161).

13 Neill, *History* (285–309); on the torture, see also Stephen Greenblatt, *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (11–15).

14 For a lucid reassessment of early modern racism, see the introduction to Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton, eds., *Race in Early Modern England: A Documentary Companion* (1–36). On racial intermingling, see George F. Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*; Joyce E. Chaplin, *Subject Matter. Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500–1676*.

15 On this incident, see Neill (279–81).

16 On the Asian and Indian communities that manned European vessels in the early modern period, see Kenneth McPherson, *The Indian Ocean. A History of People and the Sea* (187–98).

17 *Court Book*, f15. Digests appear in Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers* (148; #362).

18 Sainsbury mistakenly transcribes "Javan Boie" as "Japan boy" on 30 January (*Calendar of State Papers*, 148).

19 Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas His Pilgrimes* (4: 289).

20 Terry's departure noted in Birdwood, *First Letter Book* (xv). Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East-India* (20; quotations from 2nd edn.).

21 Walter Peyton's Second Voyage to the East Indies (1614, British Library, Add. Ms. 19276, f1.).

22 *The Trades Increase* (20). For discussion, see Louis B. Wright, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (453–7); Barbour, *Before Orientalism* (93–4); Ogborn, *Indian Ink* (107–20).

23 Dudley Digges, *The Defence of Trade* (1, 33).

24 Nicholas Downton, in Frederick Charles Danvers, ed., *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East* (1: 155); *Court Book* (December 29, 1609); Norman Egbert McClure, ed., *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (1: 294).

25 W. G. Perrin, ed., *The Autobiography of Phineas Pett* (75–6).
26 Nicholas Downton's *Diary* (January to mid-February, 1609/1610; British Library, Egerton MS 2100, f35).
27 Nicholas Downton, in Purchas, *Pilgrimes* (1905, 3: 299). In command of the ship at the time, Downton remarked, "the two pumpes employes at once twelve men, which labour indeed is so extreame, that it can but little while, without shifting of spells be continued; . . . I found it required more then ordinary meanes to appease their discontented clamours and murmurings" (3: 298).
28 *The Seaman's Dictionary*, in G. E. Manwaring and W. G. Perrin, eds., *The Life and Work of Sir Henry Mainwaring* (2: 222, 118).
29 Peter Floris in W. H. Moreland, ed., *Peter Floris His Voyage to the East Indies in the Globe 1611–1615* (83–4); cf. Purchas, *Pilgrimes* (1905, 3: 330); Thomas Best in Purchas, *Pilgrimes* (1905, 4: 143).
30 Mention of ordnance in Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers* (1:298; #737); Foster, ed., *Letters Received* (1897, 2: 279).
31 My thanks to Miles Ogborn for noting the reluctance of Javan authorities to permit European fortifications in the area as a likely motive for the arson.
32 Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (484).
33 "Journal of John Hearne and William Finch" (British Library, L/MAR/A/5, 17 December 1607); Scott, *Joint Stock Companies* (1: 124).

References and Further Reading

Andrews, Kenneth R. *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Barbour, Richmond. *Before Orientalism. London's Theatre of the East, 1576–1626.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Birdwood, Sir George, ed. *The First Letter Book of the East India Company, 1600–1619*. London: Quaritch, 1893.

Brooks, George F. *Eurafricans in Western Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003.

Chaplin, Joyce E. *Subject Matter. Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500–1676*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Chaudhuri, K. N. *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company, 1600–1640*. London: Kelley, 1965.

Colley, Linda. *Captives. Britain, Empire and the World 1600–1850*. London: Pimlico, 2003.

The Court Book of the East India Company, December 31, 1606–January 26, 1610, London: British Library, Asian and African Studies Collection, B/3 (India Office Record 573), f280, September 28, 1609.

Danvers, Frederick Charles and William Foster, eds. *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, 6 vols. London: Sampson Low, 1896– 1902; repr. Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1968.

Digges, Dudley. *The Defence of Trade*. London: William Stansby for John Barnes, 1615; repr. Amsterdam: Da Capo, 1968.

Downton, Nicholas. *Diary*. January to mid-February 1609/10. London: British Library, Egerton MS 2100.

Farrington, Anthony. *Trading Places: The East India Company and Asia 1600–1834*. London: British Library, 2002.

Foster, Sir William, ed. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615–1619*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1899; repr. Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1967.

Foster, Sir William, ed. *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies 1591–1603*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1940.

Foster, Sir William, ed. *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas 1604–1606*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1943.

Greenblatt, Stephen. *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture*. London: Routledge, 1990.

Hearne, John and William Finch. *The Journal of John Hearne and William Finch*. London: British Library, L/MAR/A/5.

[Kayll, Robert]. *The Trades Increase*. London: Nicholas Oakes for Walter Burre, 1615; ascribed author.

Loomba, Ania and Jonathan Burton, eds. *Race in Early Modern England: A Documentary Companion*. New York: Palgrave, 2007.

McClure, Norman Egbert, ed. *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, 2 vols. Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1939.

McPherson, Kenneth. *The Indian Ocean. A History of People and the Sea*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993, 187–98.

Manwaring, G. E. and W. G. Perrin, eds. *The Life and Work of Sir Henry Mainwaring*, 2 vols. London: Navy Records Society, 1922.

Marlowe, Christopher. *The Jew of Malta*. Ed. James R. Siemon. New York: Norton, 1994.

Moreland, W. H., ed. *Peter Floris His Voyage to the East Indies in the Globe 1611–1615*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1934.

Neill, Michael. *Putting History to the Question: Power, Politics, and Society in English Renaissance Drama*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Ogborn, Miles. *Indian Ink. Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Perrin, W. G., ed. *The Autobiography of Phineas Pett.* London: Navy Records Society, 1918.

Peyton, Walter. *Second Voyage to the East Indies, 1614*. London: British Library, Add. Ms. 19276.

Purchas, Samuel. *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols. Glasgow: MacLehose, 1905.

Purchas, Samuel. *Purchas His Pilgrimage.* London, 1626.

Sainsbury, W. Noel, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513–1616*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1862; repr. Vaduz: Kraus, 1964.

Scott, Edmund. *An Exact Discourse of the Subtilties . . . of the East Indians*, in Sir William Foster, *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas 1604–06*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1943, 81–176.

Scott, William Robert. *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish, and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720*, 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912.

Shakespeare, William. *The Merchant of Venice*. Ed. A. R. Braunmuller, in *William Shakespeare. The Complete Works*. Ed. Stephen Orgel and A. R. Braunmuller. New York: Penguin, 2002.

Shell, Marc. *Money, Language, and Thought: Literary and Philosophical Economies from the Medieval to the Modern Era.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

Stevens, Henry, ed. *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as Recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company 1599–1603*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1970; orig. pub. 1886.

Terry, Edward. *A Voyage to East-India*. London, 1655, 2nd edn. London, 1677.

Wright, Louis B. *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935, 453–7.

8

Where was Iceland in 1600?

Mary C. Fuller

"Of Islande to speke is little need".

The Libel of English Policie (*c.*fifteenth century)

Have you ever asked yourself where Iceland figured in the conceptual and practical geographies of Englishmen circa 1600? A particular reading experience provoked this question for me. In the early 1990s, I set out to read through Richard Hakluyt's great documentary collection, the *Principal Navigations of the English Nation* (1600), in the James Maclehose edition of 1903–5. In two different libraries, one long narrative had survived for almost a century unread, with pages still uncut. This narrative was the *Brevis commentarius de Islandia* by Arngrímur Jónsson, printed by Hakluyt in both English and the original Latin.

The *Commentary of Island* appeared toward the end of volume one in Hakluyt's expanded, three-volume work of 1598–1600. This opening volume was devoted to the North and North-east, but also to looking backwards in time. In broad strokes, its documents represent a medieval English history beginning with the conquests of King Arthur, a later maritime history focused on medieval exchange with Northern Europe ("monuments and testimonies of the ancient forren trades, and of the warrelike and other shipping of this realme of England in former ages"), and a contemporary history of trade, diplomacy, and exploration directed to the North-east, aimed at reaching China but documenting contacts with Muscovy and Persia ("the woorthy Discoueries & c. of the English toward the North and Northeast by sea"). However, the volume concludes with three anomalous texts, and here I quote again from the title page to the volume:

> Whereunto is annexed also a brief Commentarie of the true state of Island, and of the Northren Seas and lands situate that way. And lastly, the memorable defeate of the Spanish huge Armada, anno 1588, and the famous victorie atchieued at the citie of Cadiz, 1596.

I would like to thank Jyotsna Singh and Betsy Walsh, at the Folger, who located a copy of the Þorláksson map, and Anna Agnarsdóttir, whose eagle eye saved the essay from several mistakes.

Geographically anomalous as they are, the latter two documents of maritime warfare had some relevance in a volume dedicated to one of the more naval of Hakluyt's patrons, the Lord Admiral Charles Howard. As "memorable" and "famous" actions, they formed a contemporary counterpart to the "warrelike . . . shipping . . . of this realme of England in former ages." By contrast, Hakluyt's preface to the reader framed the commentary on Iceland as, even for him, considerably *less* memorable:

> here had I almost forgotten to put the Reader in mind of that learned and Philosophical treatise of the true state of Iseland, and so consequently of the Northren Seas & regions lying that way. (Hakluyt 1: lviii)

Hakluyt commented that the work would be of interest, first, because it corrected the errors into which even noted historiographers and cosmographers had fallen regarding Iceland, and second, "in that it commeth from that Northren climate which most men would suppose could not affourd any one so learned a Patrone for it selfe" (lix). The second of these remarks, in particular, will prove helpful once we turn to a more detailed consideration of the *Commentary*; for the present, however, Hakluyt's remarks suggest that Iceland was in some sense "known," both as the object of learned discourse and of popular opinion, but that this body of knowledge was faulty and mistaken. Demonstrating the latter was in fact the *Commentary*'s purpose.

Why did it matter, however, to have these mistakes corrected in or by *Principal Navigations*? The *substantive* importance of accurate information about Iceland remains inexplicit. The text's position in the anthology does not associate it with related materials (accounts of voyages, commerce, exploration, or conflict), which might provide a clarifying context. It bears no evident relation to the defeat of the Armada that follows it, and only the loosest relation to the documents of English endeavors in the North-east that precede it. Nor does it appear to document either the observations or the achievements of Englishmen, written as it was by an Icelander about Iceland.

At either the local level of the collection, or the more general level – the place of Iceland on the mental maps of Renaissance Englishmen – I raise here what may seem a peripheral topic. Yet coming to grips with narratives that aim or claim to represent the world and in particular physical and human geography requires an understanding not only of what *was* registered in writing but also of what was *not*. Beginning from the bibliographical question posed by the presence of Jónsson's text in volume one of *Principal Navigations*, I will use Hakluyt's scattered materials on Iceland as stepping stones toward an understanding of what Iceland meant to England.

Straddling the routes by which European fisheries would expand westwards, Iceland formed part of a poorly documented world of maritime circulation in the North Atlantic. At the same time, the Reformation in Iceland gave rise to a vigorous print culture, both in Latin and the vernacular, which formed the basis for new exchanges between the island and the European continent. The *Brevis commentarius*, as it appears in the context of Hakluyt's collection, recalls for us the contributions made by both

the learned and the unlettered to the expanding, global world of the European Renaissance.

I History

The first volume of *Principal Navigations* opened with a brief excerpt from Geoffrey of Monmouth, noting King Arthur's conquest of "Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke" (Hakluyt 1: 4). As framed by Geoffrey in his *Historia Regum Brittaniae* (*c.*1135), Iceland formed part of a legendary, archipelagic greater Britain, first subject to Arthur, and later recovered by his successor Malgo (in an excerpt also included by Hakluyt). Between these excerpts Hakluyt inserted a longer passage from the Tudor antiquary William Lambarde's *Archaionomia* (1568), extending the zone of Arthurian conquest Westward to Greenland, East to Russia, and North to the Pole.

Geoffrey's account of a historical King Arthur had already been the subject of considerable attention by Tudor intellectuals, attention provoked in part by the skeptical treatment of Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia* (1534). Despite a tradition of skepticism dating back to William of Newburgh in the twelfth century, Geoffrey also had his proponents, among them Hakluyt's associate John Dee. In *General and Rare Memorials* (1577), Dee cited Arthur's North Atlantic conquests in his argument for the *recovery* of a British Empire, a term he is "traditionally credited with coining" (Sherman, 148); elsewhere in *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt printed an excerpt from Dee's *Memorials* as evidence for the existence of a national navy under King Edgar, a "Saxonicall Alexander" rightly to be compared with "that triumphant British Arthur" (Hakluyt 1: 16–24).

Geoffrey's Arthur conquered Iceland after subjecting Ireland, before accepting homage from Gotland and Orkney and going on to conquer Norway, Denmark, and Gaul. These successes were celebrated at a "plenary court" attended by every prince "the side of Spain," including an apocryphal king of Iceland. The event drew a response from Rome, as Britain had not only now failed in tribute, but also withdrawn "Gaul and the islands of the sea" from the Roman Empire – newly assertive Britain, it seems, suddenly looked like an imperial rival (Geoffrey, 225–33). This was the dimension of the story seized upon by Dee, and through him by Edmund Spenser, not only in *The Faerie Queene* (1596) but, more practically, in *View of the Present State of Ireland* (*c.*1596), as part of an argument that Protestant English settlers there "were reviving the 'British' dominion in Ireland which had originally been established by King Arthur" (Armitage, 52).

Of course, Arthur's North Atlantic conquests as enumerated by Geoffrey would have been somewhat to the North of the Roman Empire's actual, historical boundaries; indeed, the ensemble of North Atlantic islands together with parts of Scandinavia might more accurately be identified with the Viking or Norse empire (if the term applies to such a decentralized phenomenon). From the late eighth century CE, raiders

and settlers of Scandinavian origin dominated the North Atlantic for several hundred years and controlled territories stretching, indeed, from Greenland into Russia (Arnold). The Norse did not feature in Geoffrey's account, in which the key occupying powers are (earlier) the Romans and (later) the Saxons. Yet they were not altogether absent from early modern memory: for example, they figured peripherally but crucially in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, written in compliment to James I.

In the play's second scene, news reaches the Scottish court that the traitorous Thane of Cawdor, supported by Irish or Hebridean allies along with a Norwegian army, has been decisively beaten by forces under Macbeth and James's legendary ancestor, Banquo. Macbeth gains his enemy's title by defeating and expelling the Norse and Norse-Gael antagonists from whom, at the scene's opening, the loyal Scots could not be told apart: the opposing sides are initially compared to "two spent swimmers that do cling together and choke their art" (*Macbeth* 1.2). The scene's violent imagery of bloody birth (Macbeth "carved out his passage") heralds the emergence of a new, discrete identity. In these opening scenes, Shakespeare's play appears to share with many of Hakluyt's documents a narrative of constructing identity through distinguishing oneself from and against cultural others – here, those others are the defeated Norse.

The battle between the Norse and a Scottish thane named Macbeth, which Shakespeare took from Holinshed's *Chronicle*, was recalled very differently in the *Orkneyinga Saga*, composed in Iceland *c.*1200–35. (Orkney was a Norse possession until 1468, when it was ceded to Scotland as part of a dowry; readers of Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* will recall the peculiar centrality of Orkney in that version of the Arthur story). According to the Icelandic account, which would have drawn on the information of Orcadian visitors around the time of its composition, Macbeth led a Scottish army to support one of two Norse claimants to the Orkney earldom against his brother, but the Scots fled in disarray, leaving their man to be killed. The victorious brother then defeated Macbeth a second time in Caithness, despite the numerical superiority of the Scots army to that of the Norse Orcadians (*Orkneyinga Saga*, 35–6). The *Orkneyinga Saga* troubles historical understanding in ways more interesting than a simple reversal of outcome, however, in recalling how tightly interwoven and indeed difficult to isolate from one another Norse and Scots interests, and lineages, had been in what is now northern Scotland. The second of two historical Macbeths (both conflated into a single character by Shakespeare) killed a king – Donnchad – whose uncle was Sigurd Hlodvirsson, a powerful Norse earl of the Orkneys married to the daughter of a previous Scottish king. (Sigurd's own uncle Ljot had defeated the earlier Macbeth). Sigurd's son (and thus Donnchad's cousin), Earl Thorfinn, was fostered at the Scottish court (see also Crawford, 63–71). At the present day, two of the Orkney inter-island ferries, the Earl Sigurd and Earl Thorfinn, commemorate these two figures.

The Norse linkages traced in this Icelandic saga can be glimpsed in Hakluyt's excerpt from Lambarde, who perhaps wishfully paid particular attention to Arthur's supposed conquest of Norway. According to Lambarde, Arthur not only subdued all of Norway and its associated territories but also converted them to Christianity. Having converted, the Norse nobles married British women, and thus "the Norses

say, that they are descended from the race and blood of this kingdome." Therefore, and *because* Norway had become a dependency of England:

> the Norses say, that they ought to dwell with us in this kingdome. . . . for which cause. . . . many cruell battles have been . . . fought between the Englishmen and the people of Norway, and . . . the Norse have possessed many lands and Islands of this Empire, which unto this day they do possess, neither could they ever afterwards be fully expelled. (Hakluyt 1: 7)

Arthur's fictional conquest of Scandinavia was thus called in to explain in nationally favorable terms an actual history of Norse and Danish conquest of England.

An excerpt from the *Chronicle of the Kings of Man*, borrowed by Hakluyt from William Camden's *Brittania*, suggests something of what this history of Norse influence looked like up close. In the year 1066, as the excerpt begins, Harald Godwinson had succeeded Edward as King of England, and defeated Harald Hardråde, King of Norway, at Stamford Bridge, "where the English . . . put all the Norwegians to flight" (Hakluyt 1: 25). (Camden's spelling of "Harald" for both kings reminds us that the Anglo-Saxon king was related to both the Danish and Norwegian royal families; he would of course soon lose his throne to Viking-descended William of Normandy, who was in turn related to the Anglo-Saxon royal house). From this battle a man named Godred Crovan, said by the *Chronicle* to be the son of an Icelander, fled to take refuge with the ruler of Man, Godred Sigtrygsson. On the death of Godred Sigtrygsson, Godred Crovan was able to seize Man, followed by Dublin (itself ruled by Norse Gaels until the late twelfth century). After his death, his sons falling out, the *Chronicle* records that the throne was held successively by a son of the king of Dublin and by a designate of the king of Norway. As this excerpt of an excerpt indicates, some regions of the British Isles were as much Norse as Saxon or British, nor was it easy to separate one from the other.

Another example of how strange questions of distance and boundaries could be in the late sixteenth-century North Atlantic can be seen in the islands north of Scotland, which would still have been in large part *culturally* Norse. Not only the Orkneys but also the more northerly Shetlands were considered by William Camden within the orbit of his *Brittania* (1587); they were officially Scottish, after all, and Geoffrey's history had also served the Tudors as grounds to claim English sovereignty over Scotland (Armitage, 36–47). Yet only 10 years earlier, a brief account of Orkney by Dionyse Settle found the islanders almost as fitting a subject for ethnographic description as the Inuit encountered by Frobisher's men later on the same voyage.

> The good man, wife, children, and other of their family eate and sleepe on the one side of the house, and the cattell on the other, very beastly and rudely, in respect of civility. They are destitute of wood . . . they take great quantity of fish, which they dry in the wind and Sunne. They dresse their meat very filthily, and eate it without salt. . . . The fisher men of England can better declare the dispositions of those people then I: wherefore I remit other their usages to their reports, as yeerely repairs thither, in their course to and from Island for fish. (Hakluyt 7: 213)

In part, what Settle registered in his accounts of both Orkney *and* Baffin Island was how strange the subsistence patterns of Northern and maritime cultures appeared, from a more Southerly point of view. This problem would be one of those addressed by Arngrímur Jónsson's *Commentary*.

The archipelagic history sketched by Hakluyt's medieval documents incorporated Iceland, Norway, Man, and other islands under the aegis of a primordial British Empire, but it also did something else. As the local history of the North Atlantic was dilated in Hakluyt's introductory volume, it might be said to render *less* certain who was British (or English), who was native, who was foreign, and where (or when) the boundaries of the domestic actually were. As late as 1807, when Denmark was allied with Napoleonic France, Sir Joseph Banks urged government to annex Iceland, noting "the evident propriety of Iceland being considered as a part of the Group of Islands called by the Ancients Brittanica." As he wrote to Lord Hawkesbury, Iceland – together with the British Isles and the Faroes – could once again form "an archipelago . . . eminently fitted for the establishment of a Naval Empire" (cited in Agnarsdóttir, 23). This suggestion may have been the closest England ever came to taking seriously Geoffrey's specific Arthurian claims to Iceland. In fact, Henry VIII had refused repeated offers from the Danish Crown either to buy the island or take it in pawn (Agnarsdóttir, 3). (As the following section will indicate, such an offer would not have been without advantages.) As we can see from the larger set of Hakluyt's medieval documents, however, the association of Iceland with Britain within a larger North Atlantic empire required forgetting who had, in fact, conquered whom.

II Practice

Practically speaking, many Englishmen knew perfectly well where Iceland was: it was the site of a productive fishery. The early modern English fishery at Iceland lasted from the early fifteenth to the late seventeenth century, when salt taxes erased its profits, although the number of ships involved varied considerably; during the years when Hakluyt was assembling his collection for the press, the Iceland fishery was growing, from about 55 ships in 1593 to about 125 in 1614 (Jones, 107). *The Libel of English Policie*, an anonymous early fifteenth-century poem on England's foreign trade which Hakluyt noticed with particular approval in his preface, itemized the principal imports from England's trading partners; of Iceland, the *Libel* commented that "Of Iceland to write is litle nede, Saue of Stock-fish" (Hakluyt 2: 136). To say that stockfish (dried cod) was the *only* export from Iceland was not to say that it was an unimportant one, however, in a world where cheap and durable protein sources were few. David Quinn has suggested that between 1500 and 1650, the calories provided to Europe by dried cod from Newfoundland and the gold and silver extracted from Mexico and Peru had roughly equivalent "effects on human life on Western Europe" (Quinn 1990, 301). Of course, calories were not the only consequence of the long-distance fishery, which combined aspects of "industry, agriculture [and] trans-

port" (Robinson, 9). The rigors and dangers of the Iceland fishery, most of it just below the Arctic Circle, made it an especially important training ground for English seamen (Jones, 108).

English fishing and commerce at Iceland were of considerable importance to both sides, particularly in the late Middle Ages (Jones, 110). Indeed, the fifteenth century has been known in Icelandic historiography as "the English century," primarily from the presence and influence of fisherman and traders on Icelandic shores (Karlsson, 118); during this period, three Englishmen were also appointed bishops of Icelandic sees, though only one – John Williamson Craxton, aka Jon Vilhjalmsson – actually served in place (at Hólar). Hakluyt's marginalia to a list of bishops included in the *Commentary of Island* notes, "An Englishman Bishop of Island" (Hakluyt 4: 155).

Jones writes that the Iceland fishery has been subject to "historical amnesia," and, indeed, it surfaced only rarely in Hakluyt's anthology. An early document in *Principal Navigations* found English fishermen from Blakeney excused from service to Edward III "in respect of their trade to Island"; a marginal annotation dates the exemption to the third, fourth, and thirty-first years of the reign, i.e. 1328/9, 1330/1, and 1357/8 (Hakluyt 1: 304; Taylor, 67). No details fill out this history any further, however, and this evidence of ties between Norfolk and Iceland created by the fishery appears to have been cited by Dee as distantly corroborating evidence connected with lost books and Arthurian colonists, rather than in any effort to document the trade itself (Hakluyt 1: 302–3; Taylor, 68).

Further evidence of English contacts with Iceland went mostly in disguise in Hakluyt's collection. For instance, an agreement between Henry IV and the Hanseatic League (*c.*1405) itemized complaints that Hanseatic ships had robbed numerous English merchants of their cargos, often including "salt fishes" (Hakluyt 2: 64–6). While the source of any given ship's cargo of salted fish was unknown, Iceland was a leading possibility, and Hanseatic merchants competed with England for access to Icelandic trade. Both this document and an excerpt from Albert Krantz's history of Norway describe the sack of Bergen ("Norbern") by Germans in 1393 and 1394, and the destruction of numerous English houses there (Marcus, 126; Hakluyt 2: 55–71). The English frequented Bergen to trade in Icelandic fish, among other goods, and many of the merchants harmed by this incident were from Lynn, a community with lasting Scandinavian connections. Hakluyt printed a letter from Edward II to Haakon of Norway (1313) complaining that merchants from Lynn had been arrested at Bergen, and Norwegian merchants sold Iceland fish ("piscibus de Islonde") at Lynn as early as 1307 (Hakluyt 1: 347; Karlsson, 106).

As G. J. Marcus comments, "a good deal of obscurity surrounds the first arrival of English mariners in Iceland," obscurity stemming in part from the conditions of Iceland's own history (Marcus, 125). Following the end of the Icelandic commonwealth in 1269, Iceland became a dependency first of the Norwegian and later of the Danish Crown; both imposed strict regulations on how, where, and by whom external trade with Iceland could be conducted. The goal was to channel Icelandic trade through staple towns in Norway – of which Bergen was one – through licensed merchants

(Danish, Hanseatic) and at controlled prices. (A statute of Henry VI enjoined Englishmen who wished to "get or have fish" in the "Realme of Norwey and other . . . Isles" to "apply and come to his Towne of Northberne, where the said king of Denmarke hath ordained and stablished his staple for the concourse . . . specially of Englishmen"; Hakluyt 2: 111–12). Travel to Iceland itself by foreigners was theoretically subject to varying degrees of restriction, and Copenhagen had on its side the ability to close the Baltic to ships from offending countries. Of course, the Danes could hardly keep tabs on surreptitious voyages to an island so far away, much less ships driven off course by accident (Marcus, 130–1). Jón Ólafsson, an Icelander who traveled to England and Denmark as a young man, first left the island on an English ship which came into Isafjord after losing its anchor off the Vestmannaeyjar Islands in 1615, a moment when English voyages to Iceland were forbidden (Ólafsson 1: 14). Persistent complaints, edicts, and treaties on the subject make clear how often the ban was violated.

Even as it figured in the history of England's long-distance fisheries, Iceland also bridged the way to English knowledge of the New World. Thomas Fuller's *Worthies of England* (1662) lauded Bristol's venturesome fishermen for their western discoveries, of which "some have been but merely casual, when going to fish for cod, they have found a country" (T. Fuller, Eee2r). During the 1480s, Bristol fishermen appear to have worked their way west along the arc of North Atlantic islands, in the wake of Norse colonists and perhaps of Irish monks (Quinn 1979, vol. 1; Marcus, 167–8). Weather in the North Atlantic, as well as the relative proximity, in turn, of Ireland, Iceland, Greenland, and maritime Canada to each other, made possible such "casual" discoveries, and new fishing grounds provided an incentive (Marcus, 157–8; Sacks, 34–5).

Iceland may have contributed more than geographical position to this reach westward, however. Kirsten Seaver argues that medieval Norse colonists in Greenland almost certainly *continued* to exploit resources of timber and fur across the Davis Strait long after abandoning their settlement in northern Newfoundland, which has been dated to *c.* 1000 CE; kinship and property ties kept some influential Icelanders well in contact with their Greenlandic cousins through at least 1410 (a wedding in Greenland provides the key date; Seaver, 151–7, and Marcus, 156–7). If Seaver is correct, the Englishmen found in great numbers fishing at Iceland in the following decades would have been well positioned to hear about lands and fishing grounds exploited by Norse Greenlanders further to the west; moreover, archaeological evidence confirms that the Norse Greenlanders had direct contacts with other Europeans through the late 1400s (Marcus, 159). Certainly, when Bishop Þorláksson of Hólar wrote to Hugh Branham, rector of Harwich, in the 1590s, he believed that Englishmen knew more about Greenland than Icelanders did. Þorláksson cited the testimony of Icelandic chronicles that "our owne countreymen in times past resorted thither for traffique . . . More than this we cannot avouch." It was now the English, he continued – "whom I may almost call the lordes of the Ocean sea" – that travelled annually to Greenland (Hakluyt 4: 195–7).

Around 1436, the *Libel of English Policie* mentioned Bristol in particular as newly involved with the Iceland fishery. Bristol's connections with Iceland included not only trade but immigration; in the late fifteenth century, some of the Bristol merchants most interested in long-distance trade had Icelandic apprentices or associates (Quinn 1973, 49–50). Among these merchants was Robert Thorne the younger, who claimed in 1527 that America had first been discovered by his father with another merchant, Hugh Eliot. Thorne urged Henry VIII to pursue England's discovery of the "North parts" of the world, as "neerest and aptest" to his own realm; he hoped that "between our New found lands or Norway, or Island, the seas toward the North be navigable" as a way to the spice islands of the East Indies (Hakluyt 2: 161, 177). Thorne's materials on the discovery appear in volume one of *Principal Navigations* rather than in volume three with other materials on the Americas; while in the latter volume Hakluyt included an edict of Edward VI regarding "traffique into Iseland & Newfoundland" as well as John Davis's voyages along the coast of Greenland (Hakluyt 8: 7. 381–422). The suggestive network of connections linking Bristol, Iceland, Greenland, and Labrador/Newfoundland might principally serve here to remind us here that only in the South was the discovery of America by Europe a momentous, single, and datable event; in the North, the line dividing New World from Old was misty and notional at best, and Iceland straddled it.

III Commentary

Arngrímur Jónsson published his *Brevis commentarius de Islandia* at the urging of the bishop of Hólar, Guðbrandur Þorláksson (whose preface to the reader precedes the text in *Principal Navigations*). A letter included by Hakluyt indicates that Branham had written to Þorláksson, "a stranger" known to him by reputation, requesting information about "the monuments of antiquitie which are here thought to be extant," as well as about Iceland's "neighbour countries" (Hakluyt 4: 196). Þorláksson dispatched the *Brevis Commentarius* in reply, and presumably from Branham's hands it arrived in those of Hakluyt, whose parish of Wetheringsett was just the other side of Ipswich from Branham's. Þorláksson was himself a figure of some interest. One of the early Lutheran pastors in Iceland, after his 1571 appointment to the see of Hólar he purchased an existing press, procured a skilled workman and equipment for binding from abroad, and engaged in a vigorous program of publication in the Icelandic language. Bibles, hymn-books and prayer-books from this press helped to ensure that the language of the Lutheran Church in Iceland would be Icelandic rather than Danish, a significant contribution to the stability and survival of the language more generally (Karlsson, 136–7).

The autobiography of the Icelander Jón Ólafsson records that circa 1618, when he and a friend from home were dining at a tavern in Copenhagen, he beat a Danish master mason who spoke contemptuously of the manners and customs of Iceland (Ólafsson 1: 79–80). In a similarly patriotic vein Bishop Þorláksson set the younger

Figure 8.1 *Map of Islandia* (p. 13), from Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (London, *c.*1607). By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

scholar Jónsson to work responding to false and defamatory ideas of Iceland promulgated on the continent by the publication of the *Van Isslandt* (1561) of Gorees Peerse (Morgan, 2001); he was himself the creator of an important map of Iceland, employed by the cartographers Gerardus Mercator and Abraham Ortelius.

Jónsson's *Commentary* began by correcting the claims of several important European cosmographers concerning Iceland's geography and culture: in particular, Sebastian Münster, Albert Krantz, Gemma Frisius. He organized his text into sections, each concerned with outlining, examining, and correcting a particular claim about Iceland. Examples include, for instance, that the "The Isle of Island being severed from other countreys an infinite distance, standeth farre into the Ocean, and is scarse knowen unto Sailers" (Hakluyt 4: 98); that Icelanders "inhabite for the most part in caves . . . they have many houses and Churches built with the bones of fishes, and Whales" (160); or that they "make all one reckoning of their whelpes and their children" (171).

Broadly speaking, the claims Jónsson debunked fell into two categories. First, Iceland had been depicted as a zone of supernatural marvels, most spectacularly in the case of the volcanic Mt. Hekla. Both Münster and Gemma Frisius claimed that the souls of the dead were tormented there as well as in the ice off shore. Jónsson sought to naturalize phenomena like geysers and volcanos, reminding *his* readers that

Iceland's topography was no more supernatural than that of Mexico, where cosmographers were perfectly able to understand volcanoes as a natural phenomenon: "In a fiery hill of West India they search for gold, but in mount Hecla of Island they seeke for hel" (Hakluyt 4: 118). Second, the cosmographers characterized Icelandic life as closer to nature than culture; Icelanders were said to share dwellings and food with their animals, making no distinction. Krantz and Münster claimed that Icelanders had also until recently lacked the corrupting knowledge of money and alcohol.

> They leade their lives in holy simplicitie, not seeking any more then nature doeth afforde . . . but the English and Danish merchants . . . frequenting that countrey to transport fishing, have conveighed thither our vices . . . For nowe, they have learned to brew their water with corne . . . Nowe they covet golde and silver like unto our men. (4: 168)

However flattering the imputation of "holy simplicitie," Jónsson reminded his readers that Iceland was not in the state of nature, but was a literate and Protestant country populated by settlers of European descent. These original settlers had brought with them knowledge of both money and brewing, although the availability of bullion and grain might have "decayed" since their arrival.

For Jónsson, a disputant rather than a historiographer or geographer, perhaps the most important cultural allegations concerned Icelandic Christianity. He began the part of the text devoted to Icelandic culture by examining the claim that "Adalbert Metropolitaine of Hamburg in the yeere of Christ 1070. saw the Islanders converted unto Christianitie: albeit, before the receiving of Christian faith, they lived according to the lawe of nature" (Hakluyt 4: 143). Rather, Jónsson writes, Iceland voted in a general assembly to adopt Christianity in the year 1000, a date registered in Iceland's ancient written records (149–51). After 1000, while initially Christianity flourished "far more sincere and simple" than elsewhere, Icelanders became "overwhelmed in the darkness of errors" or, more directly, "infected with the poison of popery" – until Luther and his fellows came along to "pluck the ears of our hearts, and [open] our eyes" (144, 146). His text indeed aligned the spare material conditions of life in Iceland with a Northern, Protestant poetics of truthful restraint and accurate textual records. Jónsson introduced his list of Icelandic bishops by citing Saxo Grammaticus's testimony that "by reason of the native barrenness of their soile, wanting nourishment of riot," Icelanders "do exercise the duties of continuall sobrietie, and . . . supply their want by their wit" – one consequence being their attentive recording of "historical matters" both at home and abroad (4: 151–2).

These material conditions, however, attracted comment themselves. Both the more respectable cosmographers and the scurrilous German "rimer" found matter for reproach in the Icelandic diet: as Jónsson characterized "the proper & accustomed fare of our country," this diet relied on meat, fish, and dairy products preserved without salt; Icelanders lacked bread, and drank water in place of beer or wine (Hakluyt 4: 186). Here one easily recognizes the constraints of climate on diet – yet early modern observers at times judged the absence of cultural markers like bread, wine, and salt

as an absence of culture itself (M. Fuller 2008, chapter 1). If Montaigne's New World cannibals lived "as in the golden age," one sign of this state was their ignorance of "corn, or oil, or wine." Other, more scandalous reproaches – that Icelandic men used chamber pots at the dinner table, that adultery was not considered a vice, that urine was employed for washing – Jónsson himself attributes to the disorders of the seasonal fishery. If the German saw such things, it was because he had frequented:

> the coast of Island, whither a confused rout of the meanest common people, in fishing time do yerely resort, who being naught as well through their owne leudnesse, as by the wicked behaviour of outlandish mariners, often times doe leade a badde and dishonest life. (Hakluyt 4: 184–5).

This mode of explanation was not simply the invention of its author. Even as European observers praised the fishery for its role as a nursery of seamen, they seem to have viewed it as a decivilizing force, and maritime cultures as virtually no culture at all (Pope, 435–6).

Overall, however, Jónsson's common-sense critique of European travel writing resonates with an emergent discourse of plain truth and science, contrasting empirical observation with the credulous repetition of unsubstantiated marvels or scandals taken largely on faith. The *Commentary* also worked as a specifically *Protestant* critique, contrasting corrupted traditions of hearsay and invented "facts" (about the location of hell, for instance) with the authority of Iceland's ancient, written records. Jónsson's account represented as native tradition a reformation which had arrived recently, from outside, and by forceful imposition (Karlsson, 128–37). One might say that Þorlaksson and Jónsson engaged in some retrospective myth-making of their own on this topic, but, if so, it was a myth deeply congenial to their English counterparts. For Hakluyt, Jónsson's Iceland may have represented an ideal if obscure revision of the Euro-American encounter – an encounter with natives who, far from needing conversion or education, were civilized Protestants able of their own accord, and in their own voice, to denounce the work of "Catholic" geographers as barbarous and mendacious impositions. Perhaps it also served as reassurance that culture *could* flourish in the kind of Northern lands thought to have been "reserved" for the English (Hakluyt 8: 36; M. Fuller 1998).

IV Closing Remarks

Iceland was tightly connected with England through the cod fishery, whose *economic* centrality has been appreciated by historians even while its narrative poverty has served as a barrier to engagement by textual scholars (M. Fuller 2008, chapter 3). It was also tightly connected to central matters like the Arthurian pre-history of the British Empire and the Westward voyages which eventuated in English claims to North America, both by John Cabot and later by Sir Humphrey Gilbert; these claims, if periodically forgotten, were always susceptible to being remembered and reactivated

as useful origin stories, in which they were not unlike the legend of King Arthur. (Indeed, Newfoundland's Avalon peninsula, the earliest focus for English activities on the island, takes its name from Arthurian legend.) Looking at the place of Iceland in Hakluyt's anthology reanimates a corpus of documents, which, even within the anthology, have remained scattered and obscure. As I have suggested, these documents might also provoke a re-examination of some fairly fundamental categories.

Literary methods have high value in understanding documentary records of the past, and there is also value to the development of a critical mass of work around particular texts, regions, and itineraries. Yet we should also be cautious not to narrow our collective attention unduly. When Jón Ólafsson sailed the North Atlantic as the only Icelander in Christian IV's service, he may have parochially reckoned monetary values in fish (one small coin was "worth about the fourth part of a cod-fish" (Ólafsson I: 48). Yet when, during a whaling expedition in Spitzbergen, he recognized the half-English interpreter of a Biscayan crew to be someone he met as a child in Iceland, we glimpse a world of cosmopolitan maritime circulation for which Iceland was a crossroads. After another voyage into the White Sea, Ólafsson's ship was blown off course and put in at the Faroes for refitting and recuperation. There, a Faroese smith offered hospitality in the form of some English ale, and Ólafsson thanked him with a book printed in Iceland which he had to hand on the voyage – evidence of a quite different kind of sophistication (Ólafsson I: 157). Episodes like these should not escape our view, as we try to reconstruct a truly global picture of the Renaissance.

References and Further Reading

Agnarsdóttir, Anna. *"This Wonderful Volcano of Water": Sir Joseph Banks Explorer and Protector of Iceland 1772–1820*. London: Hakluyt Society, 2004.

Armitage, David. *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*. Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Arnold, Martin. *The Vikings: Culture and Conquest*. London and New York: Continuum, 2006.

Baker, David J. and Willy Maley, eds. *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature.* Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Crawford, Barbara. *Scandinavian Scotland*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1987.

Fuller, Mary C. "The Poetics of a Cold Climate," *Terrae Incognitae* 30 (1998): 41–53.

Fuller, Mary C. *Remembering the Early Modern Voyage*. New York: Palgrave, 2008.

Fuller, Thomas. *The History of the Worthies of England*. London, 1662.

Geoffrey of Monmouth. *History of the Kings of Britain*. Trans. Lewis Thorpe. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966.

Karlsson, Gunnar. *Iceland's 1100 Years: History of a Marginal Society*. London: C. Hurst & Co., 2000.

Hakluyt, Richard. *The principal navigations voiages, traffiques and discoueries of the English nation*, 3 vols. London, 1598–1600. Reprint (12 vols.) Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903–5.

Hastrup, Kirsten. *Nature and Policy in Iceland 1400–1800*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

Jones, Evan. "England's Icelandic fishery in the Early Modern Period," in *England's Sea Fisheries*. Ed. Starkey et al. 2000, 105–10.

Kendrick, T. D. *British Antiquity*. London: Methuen, 1950.

Marcus, G. J. *The Conquest of the North Atlantic*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 1980.

Moore, David W. *The Other British Isles: A History of Shetland, Orkney, the Hebrides, Isle of Man, Anglesey, Scilly, Isle of Wight, and the Channel Islands*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2005.

Morgan, Hiram. "The Island Defenders: Humanist Patriots in Early-Modern Iceland and Ireland," in *Nations and Nationalities in Historical Perspectives*. Ed. Gudmunður Hálfdanarson and Ann Katherine Isaacs. Pisa: PLUS, 2001, 223–45.

Ólafsson, Jón. *The Life of the Icelander Jón Ólafsson.* Ed. and trans. Bertha S. Phillpotts, 2 vols. London: Hakluyt Society, 1923.

Orkneyinga Saga. Trans. and eds. Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards. London: Penguin, 1978.

Pope, Peter. *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Purchas, Samuel. *Purchas his pilgrimes*, 4 vols. London, 1625. Reprint (20 vols.). Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1905–7.

Quinn, David B. *England and the Discovery of North America, 1481–1620*. London: Knopf, 1973.

Quinn, David B., ed. *The Hakluyt Handbook*, 2 vols. London: Hakluyt Society, 1974.

Quinn, David B., ed., *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*. With the assistance of Alison M. Quinn and Susan Hillier, 5 vols. New York: Arno Press, 1979.

Quinn, David B. *Explorers and Colonies: America, 1500–1625.* London: Hambledon Press, 1990.

Robinson, Robb. "The Common North Atlantic Pool," in *England's Sea Fisheries*. Ed. Starkey et al. 2000, 9–17.

Sacks, David Harris. *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450–1700*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Seaver, Kirsten A. *The Frozen Echo: Greenland and the Exploration of North America, ca. A.D. 1000–1500*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Sherman, William H. *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995.

Starkey, David, Chris Reid, and Neil Ashcroft, eds. *England's Sea Fisheries: The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales since 1300*. Chatham: London, 2000.

Taylor, E. G. R. "A Letter Dated 1577 from Mercator to John Dee," *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956): 56–68.

9

East by North-east: The English among the Russians, 1553–1603

Gerald MacLean

I A Second Cold War?

On August 2, 2007, the London *Independent* headlined with "Russia Claims North Pole," and reported how the Russian flag had been planted directly beneath the polar icecap. By this act the Russian government declared "that the Lomonosov Ridge, an underwater mountain range crossing the polar region, is an extension of its territory." This grab of potential oil resources contributes considerable substance to recent claims that 2007 will come to be known as the year in which the Second Cold War began. Right on cue, the Canadian Foreign Minister, Peter MacKay, moved the historical range beyond the "first" Cold War when he retorted: "This isn't the 15th century. You can't go around the world and just plant flags and say 'We're claiming this territory' "(Penketh). Minister MacKay clearly has a very specific "New World" geopolitical scenario in mind, so he might not be too aware of the part Russia played in what used to be called "The Age of Discovery," a period that might more accurately be recognized as the first era of globalization, or even the first stage of what Rudyard Kipling termed the Great Game.

In the following, I have sketched out some main features of the first age of Anglo–Russian relations when questions of discovery were one key element of a Global Renaissance characterized by massive realignments among powerful European states. Other key factors include a scramble for control of the seas financed by New World silver, the commercial imperatives that impelled English investments in men and equipment to maximize profits from the luxury trade to Asia, as well as the scientific advances and literary productions that enabled and legitimated commercial ventures overseas, recorded the achievement, and thereby inspired early imperial ambitions.

For the Protestant English, competition with their Catholic neighbors France, Spain, and Portugal over the Atlantic trade and New World colonies remained paramount, but was intimately connected to commercial, diplomatic, and strategic interests in the East within that newly emergent globalized circuitry of men, goods, skills,

and ideas called the Renaissance. Trading agreements between England and the Ottoman Empire, formalized in the 1580s, not only made key luxury goods – most notably silks and spices – cheaper and more readily available in English markets, but also provided the insular Elizabethans with a powerful and formidable imperial ally against the Spanish. Awed and inspired by the magnificence of Ottoman civilization, encouraged by a seemingly God-given mission to challenge the might of Catholic nations, English statesmen, merchants, and adventurers set about realizing the dream of a commercial empire by sea. After all, as Richard Hakluyt boasted when dedicating his *Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation* in 1589, "it cannot be denied" but that the English "through the speciall assistance, and blessing of God, in searching the most opposite corners and quarters of the world, and to speak plainly, in compassing the vaste globe of the earth more than once, have excelled all the nations and peoples of the earth." And, to Hakluyt, that past achievement promised an even greater future in store for the Elizabethan English. "For," he continued significantly, "which of the kings of this land before her Majesty, had theyr banners ever seene in the Caspian sea? which of them hath ever dealt with the Emperor of Persia, as her Majesty hath done, and obteined for her merchants large & loving privileges?" (Hakluyt 1: 3). To Hakluyt, England's imperial dream began with the sea voyages East by North-east.

II By Sea to Cathay

> *And these voyages were all undertaken by the instigation of* Sebastian Cabot*: that so, if it were possible, there might bee found out a nearer passage to* Cathay *and* China*: yet all in vaine; save only that by this meanes a course of trafficke was confirmed betwixt us and the* Moscovite . . .
>
> *By these, and the like expeditions by Sea, the matter is brought to that passe, that our* English *Nation may seeme to contend even with the* Spaniard *and* Portugall *himselfe, for the glory of Navigation.*
>
> John Chilmead, *A Learned Treatise of Globes* (1639) (Hues A3, A4)

The plan was drawn up by Sebastian Cabot, who returned to England in 1547 or 1548 after nearly 40 years of service in Spain, most recently as Pilot Major to Charles V (Loades, 54–9). Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor made the first voyages, but Willoughby died on the inaugural trip and Chancellor disappeared at sea returning from his second mission. Their deaths left it to Anthony Jenkinson to establish the future terms of commercial and diplomatic maritime adventuring in quest of a North-east passage to the fabled wealth of Cathay. What they were after, these enterprising mariners and their financial backers, was a piece of the global action that would enable England to compete at sea with the Spanish, Portuguese, and French. The idea had a great deal going for it. It offered to provide new and extensive markets for English woollen goods while, at the same time, promising direct and cheaper access to the silks, drugs, and spices of the Far East. Cutting out the customs

duties payable to the numerous intermediaries involved in the trade coming out of the Eastern Mediterranean – the Ottomans, Genoese, Venetians, and French – not only made financial sense but also would greatly enhance English prestige at home and abroad. After all, since the Pope had divided the world between Spain and Portugal back in 1494 by the Treaty of Tordesillas, the English were left with only one direction to go if they wanted to be counted among the leading maritime nations. As Robert Thorne had put it to Henry VIII back in 1527:

> there is left one way to discover, which is into the North: for that of the foure partes of the worlde, it seemeth three parts are discovered by other Princes. For out of Spaine they have discovered all the Indies and Seas Occidentall, and out of Portingall all the Indies and Seas Orientall.

For Thorne (as stated above), the key objective was simply for English mariners to take command of the North since, once "past the Pole," they would able to sail Eastwards or Westwards, "to what part they list.[1] But Henry, more interested in heroic war and courtly love than overseas exploration, navigation, or trade, could not be persuaded. Throughout most of his reign the export of English cloth via Antwerp returned sufficient profits to help offset the costs of his military adventures, so it was not until 1553, the final year of Edward VI's reign, that schemes for seeking a North-east passage finally came to anything.

In the event, it was a loose alliance of "certaine grave Citizens of London, and men of great wisedome" who took the initiative, partly in hopes of forestalling increasing financial problems (Adams in Hakluyt 1: 267). For some years before his death, Henry had been debasing the coinage to help pay for his wars with France and Scotland. This "economic time bomb" (Loades, 52) ticked steadily away during the 1540s, combining with a rising population to create an inflationary crisis in the domestic markets and on the Antwerp exchange. When Edward Seymour, the Duke of Somerset, assumed the role of Lord Protector in 1547, he promptly accelerated the policy of debasing the currency with the result that, by 1551, "inflation was pushed over the 300 mark" from a base of 100 in 1500, while in July 1551 the pound sterling in Antwerp exchanged against the Flemish pound for less than half its 1554 value (Loades, 53). With the drop in the real price of English cloth, demand increased beyond manufacturing capacity and the cloth market bust. It was partly in response to this crisis that, in the spring of 1553, a group of merchants that would later become the Muscovy Company raised capital of £6,000 and sent three ships in search of the North-east passage to China. With detailed navigational instructions from Cabot, and with letters signed by Edward VI addressed to "the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates, inhabiting the Northeast partes of the worlde," Willoughby and Chancellor set out on May 10 from Greenwich, sailing past a castle window from which the dying king might have seen them passing.[2] Once beyond the Baltic, Willoughby soon got lost and froze to death, but Chancellor famously sailed into the White Sea, realized he had found a sea route to Russia, visited Ivan IV, "the Terrible" (1547–84), in Moscow, and delivered Edward's letters before returning.

While the 1553 expedition itself was predominantly inspired by commercial incentives, the story of this, and subsequent attempts to discover a North-east passage to China, quickly became foundational elements in the emerging mythology of England's providential destiny and global importance as an imperial maritime nation. The quest for a North-east passage would cost many lives and considerable amounts of money, and it would eventually be abandoned for being impractical, but the very attempt itself did have unexpected consequences in the form of diplomatic and commercial relations with Russia and Persia and these, in turn, helped to bolster belief in Britain's imperial destiny. There was certainly sufficient confidence that profitable trade could be conducted with Moscow by means of the route Chancellor had "discovered . . . in his voyage toward Cathay" (Eden in Hakluyt 1: 266), that the promoters of the 1553 expedition set out to have their activities formally recognized. On February 26, 1555, the "Charter of the Marchants of Russia, graunted upon the discoverie of the saide Countrey" was signed into being. That summer, Chancellor was sent back together with a number of merchants who would stay on to establish a regular trade, and orders to "learne how men may passe from Russia, either by land or sea, to Cathaia."[3] He returned the next year with Osep Napea, the first Russian ambassador to England. Unfortunately, their ship – the ill-named *Edward Bonaventure* – was wrecked off Scotland and, while Napea survived and successfully completed his embassy, Chancellor disappeared at sea.

The persistent emphasis on the notion that Chancellor had somehow "discovered" Russia, though literally not true, was evidently a crucial element of this emerging mythology. What he had discovered was a new and important sea route, and that not only legitimated English claims to proprietary rights over both the route and the trade that could be conducted along it, but it also helped to dispel any sense of belatedness, of how the English were somehow lagging behind Spain and Portugal in their maritime "discoveries." Hakluyt forcefully promoted the international importance of this sense of "discovery" by including testimonies by the Venetian geographer Gian Battista Ramusio, the Flemish cartographer Gerardus Mercator, and the French scholar Jean Matal, the last of whom noted: "But least all and the whole glory of discovering the Ocean sea should be ascribed to the Spaniards, the Englishmen about twentie yeeres past, by a new navigation into Moscovie, discovered the Northeast partes" (Hakluyt 2: 267–9). With this discovery of a Northern sea route to Russia, "an achievement which ranks as one of the most important geographical discoveries of the period" (Anderson, 1), the English had become acknowledged members of the Renaissance world.

As for the Russians, according to the English mythology, they were found to be living in conditions of relative backwardness that made it possible for the English to imagine themselves living amidst greater wealth and civility. "I will not stande in description of their buildings," reported Chancellor, "because we have better in all points in England" (Chancellor in Hakluyt 1: 256). Accounts by other members of the 1555 expedition emphasize the contrasts in precise and more explicit terms. Moscow, notes Clement Adams, "is as great as the Citie of London . . . but for beautie

and fairenesse, nothing comparable," while other "Townes and Villages" are "built out of order, and with no handsomeness: their streetes and wayes are not paved with stone as ours are." The true measure of Russian culture, however, was to be found in the royal palace:

> As for the kings Court and Palace, it is not of the neatest, onely in forme it is foure square, and of lowe building, much surpassed and excelled by the beautie and elegance of the houses of the kings of England. The windowes are very narrowly built, and some of them by glasse, some other by lettisses admit the light: and whereas the palaces of our Princes are decked, and adorned with hangings of cloth of gold, there is none such there. (Adams in Hakluyt 1: 279, 280)

Drab and relatively grim, Ivan's palace nonetheless contained fabulous wealth in the form of massive amounts of gold. "The Emperour's plate," Adams continues, "was so much, that the very Cupboord it selfe was scant able to sustaine the waight of it: the better part of all the vessels, and goblets, was made of very fine gold" (Hakluyt 1: 281). The illusion of novelty, that Russian culture and society were being seen and described as if for the first time, was evidently an important aspect of these accounts. Such a view suggests that Russia was both unknown and underdeveloped, and that the Russians lacked the artistic awareness and skills to do anything with those vast quantities of gold that the emperors had collected, contributing to a sense of social and political stagnation. The rhetorical effect is a very direct one: that the English have arrived and fully understand what they are seeing, for Russian civilization is at little more than a relatively primitive stage of development – those unpaved roads, unadorned palace walls, and hoards of bullion – while the Russian people are simply stuck in the past, unable or unwilling to advance in keeping with the new age.[4]

Although the voyage of 1555 was primarily aimed at establishing a resident community of merchants in strategic ports, the quest for a North-east sea passage was by no means forgotten. In his initial report, Chancellor catalogued the variety of natural resources – fish, train oil, furs, hides, flax, hemp, timber, wax, tar – that made trade with Russia worthwhile. And it was of course that very set of conditions – relative underdevelopment of considerable resources – that rendered Russia such an attractive place to do business, regardless of the sea route to China.

Yet the desire to discover a North-east passage to China persisted. In the spring of 1556, Stephan Borough set out to explore the coastal regions East of the White Sea. Reaching the mouth of the river Ob, however, he was forced to return because of unfavorable winds and dangerous ice flows (see Hakluyt 1: 333–52). Amidst the excitement of establishing trade with Russia, the search for a maritime route to China sometimes took secondary status. Certainly, the "Instructions" issued to the "Masters and Mariners" who set out for Russia in 1557 do not mention plans for exploring the sea route. They do, however, stipulate that command of this expedition was given to one Anthony Jenkinson and, in a separate document directed to the merchants already resident in Russia, inform the expatriate community: "we have sent you one Anthonie Jenkinson Gentleman, a man well travelled, whom we mind to use in

further travelling, according to a Commission delivered him."[5] Although that commission does not, unfortunately, seem to have survived, we know from Jenkinson's own later report what he got up to: investigating the overland trade routes to Persia and Central Asia. If Cathay could not easily be found by a Northern sea route, what else might be done by other means?

Between 1557 and 1572, Jenkinson made four voyages to Russia and beyond, and as a result of his activities soon became a national hero. In *Albion's England* (1596), William Warner's nationalist epic, Jenkinson is praised in no uncertain terms:

> Yeat longer (for not largelier One yields Matter) let us dwell
> Of *Jenkinson*. But where shall we begin his Lawdes to tell,
> In *Europe*, *Asia*, *Affrick?* For these all he saw, in all
> Imployd for *Englands* common good: Nor my rejoicing small,
> That from *Elizabeth* to Raigne, and I to live begunne,
> Hath hapned that Commerce and Fame he to his natives wonne.[6]

Warner's point, that Jenkinson brought not simply "Commerce" but also "Fame" to his native land is crucial because the mere accumulation of wealth, however much it may have inspired early modern ambitions, could never be deemed sufficient on its own without the legitimating appearance of some noble goal; or at least an achievement that would draw the envy of other nations. In an age when acquiring wealth by means of trade, in particular, was regularly regarded as improper anti-social greed, tales of the adventurous travels of men like Jenkinson to foreign courts helped to displace moral concerns into a mythology of courage and patriotic superiority.

Jenkinson was evidently a remarkable man. In his youth he had been sent into the Mediterranean to learn the arts of trade, and happened to be in Aleppo in 1553 in time to witness, and record, the formal entry of Sultan Süleyman into that city at the head of the vast Ottoman army en route to Persia. Not content to be merely a bystander at the festivities, Jenkinson somehow insinuated himself into the sultanic presence and obtained a licence to trade within the Ottoman Empire. This was the first such document granted to any Englishman and would seriously have offended the French who, at that time, imagined they held exclusive rights to trade in the Eastern Mediterranean.[7] When Jenkinson arrived back in England in 1555, however, Queen Mary had recently married Philip, and the son of Charles V was hardly likely to encourage trade with his father's great enemy, the Ottoman Empire. Jenkinson joined the Mercer's Company and, in 1557, was appointed Captain-General by the Muscovy Company who sent him on his first voyage to Russia with, it seems, instructions to investigate possible overland routes to Persia.

By the time he returned from his fourth and final voyage in 1572, Jenkinson had contributed to his nation's fame on several accounts – diplomacy, cartography, navigation, ethnography, and literature. In addition to consolidating commercial and diplomatic relations between London and Moscow, and making the first English embassy to Safavid Persia, he had traveled South to Astrakhan, crossed the Caspian, and ven-

tured as far into the uncharted East as Bukhara.[8] Along the way, he took precise navigational bearings that would result in the most accurate map of Russia and the trans-Caspian region then available; he kept an eye out for business opportunities; and he recorded the manners, costumes, and customs of the people he met in narrative reports that, once they had appeared in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, fascinated English readers by introducing them to little-known peoples and exotic places.[9] Although Jenkinson facilitated commerce with Russia, he had less success opening up trade with Persia and Central Asia. His meeting with the Persian Shah Tahmasp (1524–76) at Qazvin in 1562 could not have come at a worse moment. Tahmasp was entertaining an embassy from the enormously powerful Ottoman Sultan Süleyman and had just reached an agreement aimed at ending territorial disputes between the two great Muslim empires. To start trading with the English, thereby depriving the Ottomans of customs duties, would jeopardize the peace. When finally granted an audience, Jenkinson reports that the shah quizzed him about religion before dismissing him abruptly, declaring: "Oh thou unbeleever sayd he, we have no neede to have friendship with the unbelievers." Although Tahmasp is generally regarded as being of an especially pious temperament, Jenkinson understood that he had been shunned not so much for religious differences but rather because the shah feared that "if hee did otherwise, and that the news thereof should come to the knowledge of the Turke, it should be a mean to break their new league and friendship."[10] When they appeared in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations,* Jenkinson's shrewd yet modest reports of his adventures, even when they told of failure, and his accounts of traveling where no English people had previously been, nonetheless fascinated readers at home and contributed to an insatiable curiosity for tales of strange and exotic places. Nor did he give up on the dream of sailing North to China. In 1565 he rewrote Thorne's proposal to Henry regarding the North-east passage and submitted it to Elizabeth, suggesting that he was the man for the job; but she was no more inclined than her father to promote such an expedition.[11]

III Hakluyt, and Books to Build an Empire

By 1598, when the second edition of the *Principal Navigations* began to appear, Anglo–Russian relations had developed since Jenkinson's final voyage, and it was for good reason that Hakluyt opened with numerous documents and accounts concerning English voyages to the North-east. For one thing, a substantial body of English writing had developed about Russia, Persia, and the Ottoman Empire, indicating an increasing fascination with historical and social insights into foreign parts and imperial partners in trade. England's position with regard to Safavid–Ottoman relations had significantly altered too. Attempts to establish direct trade with Persia had continued and these trans-Caspian expeditions helped to fuel interest in foreign parts and peoples. Perhaps of greater importance, however, it was during the 1580s that the English began direct trade to the valuable Ottoman ports of the Eastern

Mediterranean and, within four decades, became Western Europe's leading trading partner with the Ottomans (see McGowan, 21). In short, as the Spanish learned in 1588, the English were indisputably a major sea power. An imperial vision was taking shape, and it had an extensive body of literature to give it weight and substance. World histories and geographies were being composed in English, and English readers were treated to works celebrating their nation's achievements in navigation, cartography, and overseas exploration. As John Parker so pithily put it, this was England's great age of "books to build an empire." Given his perceptive understanding of how writing was a key element of England's entry as a fully fledged participant in the Global Renaissance, it is a shame that Parker dismisses William Bourne's *Regiment for the Sea* (1574; rpt. 1592) as "little more than a long-winded pleading for recognition of his invention of 'the paradoxical cumpas' twenty-four years earlier" (Parker, 92). Noting that the 1592 edition included discussion, "for the first time, of five possible ways to Cathay," Parker nonetheless misses the importance of Bourne's work, especially its relation to translations of Spanish works and its innovative focus on navigating in the Northern hemisphere. Bourne's book did not address itself to the general audience aimed at by Hakluyt and of primary interest to Parker, but – as E. G. R. Taylor explains below – the importance of technical manuals should not be ignored in this context.

The complex circuitry that we are exploring in this volume as a "Global Renaissance" involves movements across national, linguistic, religious, and cultural borders of capital, trade goods, people, diplomatic exchanges and alliances, ideas, knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values. Bourne's decisive place within this global circuitry was to relay the latest knowledge in applied geometry and mathematics necessary for pilots at sea to plot courses rather than to navigate by line and sinker, and to do it in practical terms that would easily make sense to the English mariners likely to need to know these things. Much of Bourne's work is a synthesis of Spanish and Portuguese tracts and manuals. Taylor observes how, in several places, Bourne sends the reader to a Spanish treatise, *The Arte of Navigation . . . Written in the Spanysh tongue by Marten Curtes* (1561) for instructions on manufacturing instruments and how to use them. However, unlike existing treatises whose Iberian authors had more southerly waters in mind, Bourne's text predominantly explores the peculiarities of navigating by the sun, stars, and horizon while at sea in the Northern hemisphere. Moreover, even Richard Eden's elegant and learned translation of Cortes was not easy to follow. Only university-trained men would be able to understand the formulae of the so-called "new navigation" being outlined in Eden's version. Yet this learning was essential for English claims to legitimacy as a maritime power. Since university men were unlikely to be piloting ships, Bourne sought to make the necessary skills accessible across the social and educational divide and thereby to send mariners into the dangerous Northern seas equipped with adequate knowledge and information. In an account of Bourne's achievement that makes Renaissance navigation almost sound exciting, Taylor cites a passage in which Bourne employs practical terms to offer advice on questions of navigating in the North:

> Nowe for the takynge of the altitude of the north starre, the sea men use an instrument called a Balestela or a Bazoles Jacobe being a plaine crosestaffe set out with degrees. Nowe the north starre will serve them that travel to the south wardes to any place on this side the equinoctial, but to them that doe occupie to the north partes, the northstarre will not serve by cause that the altude of the pole standeth so hie, and that the crostaffe commeth so neer to their face that with casting their eye up to the star and downwardes to the horizon, and then the degrees be so short marked upon the staffe that they may sone committee error and never be espied, therefore I doe meane to appoint certaine stares of the south for them that doe occupie to the north partes, and as for the use and making of the balastela, you shall repare to the booke of Martyn Curtes, called the arte of Navigation, for I must meddle with nothing contained in that booke.[12]

The "balastela," also known as a cross-staff or Jacob's staff, serves as a useful reminder of how many crucial elements of the European Renaissance had links in the East. First described by Levi ben Gerson (1288–1344), a "Catalan-born Jewish philosopher and scientist," this aid to navigation resembled the "kamal," an instrument long in use by Arab navigators to measure altitude while at sea. Once the Portuguese saw it in use in the Indian Ocean and had it explained to them by local pilots, they realized that it made sense to adapt the European cross-staff – formerly used for surveying on land – for use at sea since it employed the horizon, rather than a weight hanging down at a right angle, to establish a constant in angular measurement. In its developed form, as described by Cortes and Bourne, it was commonly used to take bearings on the Pole star and horizon in order to establish declination and thus calculate latitude at sea. Among Bourne's innovatory proposals was the use of a piece of colored glass to enable the observer to take the altitude of the sun.[13]

Hakluyt did not include any extracts from Bourne's important work; presumably he considered the material far too technical. But he deliberately began the *Principal Navigations* with a carefully selected range of materials narrating how the quest for a North-east passage to Cathay had led to commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia and Persia. As John Archer has observed, Hakluyt's primary focus was on travels into the Old World, and certainly the English discovery of a sea route to Russia could not be announced too loudly (Archer, 2). By the final decades of the sixteenth century, certain fanciful notions about the manners and customs of the distant empire of the Russians had become commonplace, as suggested by Shakespeare's Muscovy ambassadors in *Love's Labour's Lost* (published 1598). First-hand accounts by diplomatic travelers augmented Hakluyt's selections. George Turberville accompanied Thomas Randolph's embassy to Moscow in 1568. While there he composed his *Poems describing the Places and Manners of the Country and People of Russia* (1569) and contributed mightily to English contempt with observations such as:

> A people passing rude, to vices vile enclinde:
> Folke fitte to be of Bacchus traine, so quaffing is their kinde. . . .
> Perhaps the Mausick[14] hath a gay and gallant wife:
> To serve his beastly lust yet he will leade a bowgards life.

> The monster more desires a boy within his bed
> Then any wench, such filthy sinne ensues a drunken head.[15]

Throughout, Turberville is pretty scathing about the Russians, whether describing their costume, treatment of horses, sexual habits, religious hypocrisy, drink, food (the beef is watery), weather, vegetation, housing, male hairstyles, corruption, gaming (chess and dice), or politics.

Turberville was by no means to be the last Englishman who found little to praise in the culture of a people who, it was regularly reported, were by nature liars, bullies, drunks, and slaves.[16] In contrast to Turberville's lively contempt, Giles Fletcher's understated disapproval took published form in his documentary account, *Of the Russe Common Wealth* (1591), "the first English book based upon an Englishman's observations to describe Russia at length" (Parker, 143). And his confidential report was far more explicit than his published work. Fletcher was sent to Moscow in 1588 and was immediately appalled not only by the treatment he received but also by the general conditions under which ordinary Russians were expected to live. Shortly after his book appeared, the Muscovy Company attempted to have it suppressed, for it gave persuasive voice to a derogatory version of the foreign nation, one that had been incipient in earlier accounts but never before so fully detailed with such authority. Fletcher had good reason to be hostile.

When he arrived, Ivan Vasilovich had been dead for four years and the struggle for power surrounding the rather feeble-minded Theodor I (1584–98) had barely abated, with Theodor's brother-in-law, Boris Godunov, still struggling for dominance. Fletcher's mission was to sort out the terms of the privileges governing English trade; these had become confused and the focus of a degree of ill feeling between Theodor and Elizabeth.[17] "My whole intertainment," Fletcher reported in his confidential letter to Elizabeth, "from my first arivall till towards the very end, was such as if they had divised meanes of very purpose to shew their utter disliking both of the trade of the Marchants and of the whole English nation" (Fletcher in Bond, 342). The presents that Elizabeth had sent to Theodor "wear the day following returned to me, and very contemptuouslie cast down before mee," while Fletcher felt he was being "kept as prisoner, not as an ambassadour" (Fletcher in Bond, 343). Fletcher understood that this hostile reception had several causes and he outlined these in the rest of his report, noting that the major problem was that the Russians wanted to transfer the entire seaborne export trade from the Baltic port of Narva – which had recently been lost to Sweden – to the newly built port of St Nicholas (Archangel) on the White Sea. Fletcher noticed that, reasonably enough, the English merchants "that use to trade by the way of the Sound would never be brought to leave a knowne, safe, and speedie trade, for so long, tedious, and daungerous a course as lieth by the way of St Nicholas." Adding to Fletcher's problems, on arriving in Moscow he found a delegation from Spain petitioning for an alliance against the Ottomans – "a cause of more sadd countenance towards mee at my first arrival" – though once word arrived that the Armada had been defeated "all this conceipt of a Spanish league vanished away."

International relations, however, evidently remained a thorn in his side, for he also reports finding "at the Moscko an other ambassadour sent from the Emperour of Almaign, to treat of a confeaderacie . . . against the Polonian." "This ambassadour, (as if hee had been sent for nothing ells)," Fletcher continued, "inveighed against the doings of England; made small account of the Spanish defeat; assuring them that the King of Spain would sett on again, and make a conquest" (Fletcher in Bond, 347). Despite the opposition of foreign agents, however, Fletcher managed to obtain "a confirmation and reestablishment of the former privileges of the Companie . . . with divers necessary additions to the same" and returned in the summer of 1589 carrying letters to Elizabeth from both Theodor and Boris.[18]

In his published testimony, *Of the Russe Common Wealth*, Fletcher combines personal observation with traditional anecdotes and, presumably, a certain amount of contemporary hearsay evidence into a rational and dispassionate diatribe that would set the tone of English attitudes toward Russia for more than a century. The dedicatory epistle to Queen Elizabeth sets the dominant theme:

> In the maner of government, your Highnesse may see both a true and strange face of a tyrannical state (most unlike to your own), without true knowledge of God, without written lawe, without common justice, save that which proceedeth from their speaking lawe – to wit, the magistrate, – who hath most neede of a lawe to restraine his owne injustice. (Fletcher in Bond, cxxxvii)

For Fletcher, and most English writers who followed him, Russia was simply that, an absolute tyranny entirely bereft of redeeming qualities. The natural world was not to blame. Despite the terrible cold that often caused travelers to be found "sitting dead and stiffe in their sleddes," summers were warmer than in England. The land itself was certainly fertile and capable of producing a host of grains and cereals so that: "If there be any dearth . . . the fault is rather in the practise of their nobilitie that use to engrosse it, then in the countrie it selfe" (Fletcher in Bond, 5, 9). Natural resources such as fur, wax, honey, and tallow were plentiful, but Fletcher noted that the export of flax and hemp – both important imports to England to supply the maritime need for rope – had fallen off because of extensive corruption:

> the marchants and mousicks (for so they cal the common sort of people) are very much discouraged by many heavy and intolerable exactions, that of late time have been imposed upon them: no man accounting that which he hath to be sure his own. And therefore regard not to lay up anything, or to have it before hand, for that it causeth them many times to be fleesed and spoiled, not only of their goods, but also of their lives. (Fletcher in Bond, 12–13)

Every aspect of the country, its people, and economy suffered from tyranny and corruption. Apart from Moscow and Novgorod, towns were of no interest except for the "many ruines within their walles. Which sheweth the decrease of the Russe people under this government" (Fletcher in Bond, 18). Fletcher cannot avoid telling the tale of how, centuries before, the men of Novgorod returned from war against the Tartars only to find that their "bondslaves whome they left at home, had in their absence

possessed their townes, lands, houses, wives, and all." In contempt of their former slaves, the returning warriors marched home cracking their horse whips "which seemed so terrible in the eares of their villaines . . . that they fled altogether like sheepe before the drivers." In commemoration, the local coinage bears "the figure of a horseman shaking a whip in his hand" (Fletcher in Bond, 17–18). Often repeated, the tale – originating in Herodotus – came to prove that the Russian national character was, from the outset, both tyrannical and slavish.

Yet Fletcher repeatedly suggests that the current state of Russian society is more the result of deliberate policy than of the people's innate characteristics. In order to maintain power, the imperial court, since Ivan's time at least, has colluded with the Church and army to keep the people ignorant and impoverished. "As for the common people," he observes, "they are robbed continually both of their harts and mony," a situation that leads them "to give themselves much to idleness and drinking . . . To drinke drunke, is an ordinary matter with them every day in the weeke" (Fletcher in Bond, 45, 62, 146). With English mercantile interests in mind, he notes that "hereof it commeth that the commodities of Russia . . . as wax, tallow, hydes, flaxe, hempe, &c., grow and goe abroad in farre lesse plentie then they were woont to doo: because the people being oppressed and spoiled of their gettings, are discouraged from their laboures" (Fletcher in Bond, 62). In order to keep people ignorant, the bishops appoint clergymen who are "utterlie unlearned, bothe for other knowledge and in the word of God," with the result that illiteracy is both normal and deliberate: Fletcher tells how a printing press brought from Poland to Moscow mysteriously "burnt up, as was thought by the procurement of the cleargy men" (Fletcher in Bond, 110, 111). Being constantly abused and ill-treated, the people are "as cruell one against an other . . . so that the basest and wretchedest" among them "is an intolerable tyrant where he hath the advantage. By this meanes the whole countrie is filled with rapine and murder." But, unlike Turberville, Fletcher leaves the worst to the reader's imagination, commenting: "it may be doubted whither is the greater, the crueltie or intemperancie that is used in that countrie. I will not speake of it, because it is so foule and not to bee named. The whole countrie overfloweth with all sinne of that kinde" (Fletcher in Bond, 151). Such accusations of sodomy were, as Nabil Matar suggests, little more than a means of demeaning a foreign nation (Matar, 109–23).

IV By Way of Conclusion

By their discovery of a North-east route, the English earned themselves a ticket on "the Asian productive and commercial train" (Frank, 151). It did not take them all the way to China straight away as they had initially hoped, but it did get them to Russia and beyond into the trans-Caspian regions. It greatly boosted their international prestige as a maritime force in the world, yet the cultural impact on the English of their earliest encounters with the Russians was, perhaps, never as intense as that of their encounters with the Ottomans. Goods imported from Russia – fish, train oil,

flax, tar, hemp, hides, timber, and wax – however essential to an emerging maritime nation, were less conspicuous than the luxury items brought from or across Ottoman lands – silks, carpets, horses, spices, and drugs. Although the trade with Russia fell off during the early seventeenth century, commercial and diplomatic alliances with the Ottoman Porte became increasingly important for English and British interests in global affairs. Both provided models of actually existing empires but while the Ottomans were evidently extremely powerful and magnificent in their confident expressions of that power, the Russians appeared mean, insecure, and contemptible.

English accounts of the Russian and the Ottoman states illustrate how commercial ambition helped generate imperial fantasy. The result was an imaginary vision of adjacent Eastern realms governed by Christian tyrants and Muslim despots that served to confirm the Protestant English in their God-given right to establish a global maritime empire dedicated to commercial profit. Certainly the sacking and burning of Moscow in 1571 by the Crim Tartars – during which several resident English merchants were killed and their goods destroyed – did little to encourage admiration for Russian military abilities, while repeated accounts of the general corruption of the Russian aristocracy and Church encouraged belief that the entire nation was little more than a slavish despotism. Although both were regarded as tyrannical, the empire of the Ottomans was greatly admired and envied, while that of the Russians was largely scorned and imagined to represent an imperial order that the English could consider themselves already to have surpassed.[19]

Notes

1 Hakluyt (1: 214, 215). On Thorne and his project, see Taylor (46–51).
2 Hakluyt (1: 241); see also Willan (3–6), and Loades (54–74). For the expedition of Willoughby and Chancellor, see Willan (15–17).
3 Hakluyt (1: 318, 303); and see Willan (7–8), and Foster (8–13).
4 Palmer (15) suggests that the English "found their reflection in Russian life."
5 For the "Instructions," see Hakluyt (1: 377–80); the "Letter" to the merchants appears (1:380–91; 389–90).
6 William Warner, *Albion's England* (1596), cited here from Morgan and Coote (1: cxlix). For Jenkinson, see also Morton.
7 For Jenkinson's licence, see Hakluyt (3: 36–8); Jenkinson's account of Süleyman's entry appears in Morgan and Coote (1–5).
8 On the importance of Jenkinson's overland journeys east of Moscow, see Baron.
9 An early attempt by Richard Eden to collect "records of the Muscovy voyages" to the North-east and into Persia was forestalled in 1562, though much of his efforts eventually appeared in parts three and four of Richard Willes's *History of Travayle* (1577); see Taylor (28, 37–9, 182).
10 Jenkinson, in Morgan and Coote (147, 148); and see Meshkat for detailed analysis of how this episode has been variously interpreted.
11 Jenkinson's petition to the queen is reprinted in Morgan and Coote (159–66); the opening paragraphs are clearly based on Thorne's letter to Henry VIII of 1527, reprinted in Hakluyt (1: 212–16).
12 Bourne, cited in Taylor (89). My thanks to Bernhard Klein for drawing Bourne's book to my attention.

13 The precise relation between the Arab "kamal" and the European cross-staff remains difficult to ascertain with accuracy. The account given here is indebted to comments by Bernhard Klein and to Bruyns (23).
14 "Mousick . . . so they cal the common sort of people," Fletcher, in Bond (12).
15 George Turberville, "The Author being in Moscovia," from *Poems* (1569), reprinted in, and cited from, *Tragicall Tales* (1587, 183–4). The verses are also reprinted in a bowdlerized form in Hakluyt (2: 99–108), and discussed by Archer (114–17).
16 For the sixteenth-century English view, see the general Introduction to Berry and Crummey (1968), while Hellie (1982) provides a scholarly survey of the existing documentary evidence.
17 On the impact of Ivan's death and the ensuing political struggles upon English trade, see Baron (574–5) for a corrective to the otherwise useful summary account of Fletcher's negotiations in Willan (166–76).
18 Hakluyt (2: 284); the letters are reprinted in Tolstoy (350–3, 359–64).
19 For more on English envy of the Ottoman Empire, see MacLean.

References and Further Reading

Anderson, Matthew Smith. *Britain's Discovery of Russia, 1553–1815*. London: Macmillan, 1958.

Archer, John Michael. *Old Worlds: Egypt, Southwest Asia, India, and Russia in Early Modern English Writing*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.

Baron, Samuel H. "Ivan the Terrible, Giles Fletcher, and the Muscovite Merchantry: A Reconsideration," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 56 (1978): 563–85.

Berry, Lloyd and Robert Crummey, eds. *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom: Russia in the Accounts of Sixteenth-Century English Voyagers*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968.

Bond, Edward A. ed. *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1856.

Bruyns, W. F. J. Mörzer. *The Cross-Staff: The History and Development of a Navigational Instrument*, Amsterdam: Vereeniging Nederlandsch Historisch Scheepvaart Museum, 1994.

Busckovitch, Paul. *The Merchants of Moscow, 1580–1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Fletcher, Giles. *Of the Russe Common Wealth, or Maner of Government by the Russe Emperour, (commonly called the Emperour of Moskovia) with the manners and fashions of the people of that Countrey*, 1591.

Foster, William. *England's Quest of Eastern Trade* (1933). Rpt. London: Black, 1966.

Frank, Andre Gunder. *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998.

Hakluyt, Richard. *The Principal Navigations*: *Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589). Rpt., 8 vols. London: Dent, 1910.

Hamel, Joseph. *England and Russia; Comprising the Voyages of John Tradescant the Elder, Sir Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, Nelson and Others*. Trans. John Leigh. London: Bentley, 1854.

Hellie, Richard. *Slavery in Russia, 1450–1725*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Hues, Robert. *A Learned Treatise of Globes, Both Coelestiall and Terrestriall: with the severall uses. Written first in Latine, by Mr Robert Hues: and by him so Published. Afterward Illustrated with Notes, by Io. Isa. Pontanus. And now lastly made English, for the benefits of the Unlearned. By John Chilmead Mr A. of Christ-Church in Oxon*. London: T. P. for P. Stephens and C. Meredith, 1639.

Loades, David. *England's Maritime Empire: Seapower, Commerce and Policy, 1490–1690*. Harlow: Longman, 2000.

McGowan, Bruce. *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

MacLean, Gerald. *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007.

Margeret, Jacques. *The Russian Empire and the Grand Duchy of Muscovy*. Trans. Chester Dunning. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983.

Matar, Nabil. *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Meshkat, Kurosh. "The Journey of Master Anthony Jenkinson to Persia (1562)." Unpublished MA thesis, University of Oslo, 2005.

Morgan, E. Delmar and C. H. Coote, eds. *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia by Anthony Jenkinson and Other Englishmen*, 2 vols. London: Hakluyt Society, 1886.

Morton, Margaret B. Graham. *The Jenkinson Story*. Glasgow: Maclellan, 1962.

Palmer, Daryl. *Writing Russia in the Age of Shakespeare*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

Parker, John. *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620*. Amsterdam: Israel, 1965.

Pavlov, Andrei and Maureen Perry. *Ivan the Terrible: Profiles in Power*. London: Longman, 2003.

Penketh, Anne. "Russia claims North Pole." *The Independent*, August 3, 2007, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/science/russia-claims-north-pole-460098.html>.

[Smith, Thomas]. *Sir Thomas Smithes Voyage and Entertainment in Rushia. With the tragicall ends of two Emperors, and one Empresse, within one Moneth during his being there: And the miraculous preservation of the now raigning Emperor, esteemed dead for 18. yeeres.* London: Nathaniel Butter, 1605.

Taylor, E. G. R. *Tudor Geography, 1485–1583*. London: Methuen, 1930.

Tolstoy, George. *The First Forty Years of Intercourse between England and Russia, 1553–1593*. (St Petersburg, 1875). Rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, n.d.

Turberville, George. *Poems describing the Places and Manners of the Country and People of Russia*. London: n.p., 1569.

[Turberville, George]. *Tragicall Tales translated by Turbervile*. London: Abell Jeffs, 1587.

Veer, Gerrit de. *The True and perfect Description of three Voyages, so strange and woonderfull, that the like hath never been heard of before: by the northeast to Cathay*. Trans. William Phillips. London: T. Pavier, 1609.

Warner, William. *Albion's England* (1596). In Morgan and Coote, 1886.

Willan, T. S. *The Early History of the Russia Company, 1553–1603* (1956). Rpt. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968.

Willes, Richard. *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies*. London: n.p., 1577.

10

The Politics of Identity: William Adams, John Saris, and the English East India Company's Failure in Japan

Catherine Ryu

I Introduction

The English East India Company's venture in Japan (1613–23) was an unmitigated disaster. Despite the company's initial enthusiasm and high hopes for maintaining a profitable trading post in Japan, the English Factory at Hirado – a small offshore island near Nagasaki Bay in Kyushu, the southernmost region of Japan – was declared insolvent and abandoned only a decade later due to a variety of unanticipated and insurmountable difficulties. Consequently, negligible were the Factory's contributions both to the economic system of international trade during the so-called "Christian Century" in Japan (1549–1650) and to the illustrious history of the company (1600–1858), the putative machinery of England's imperial expansion and domination over the globe.[1] Hence, the Factory's brief existence in Japan has been analyzed largely in terms of initial *cultural* encounters between Japan and England,[2] a critical endeavor framed by the long-established, though problematic, discourse on early European notions of civilization, race, and white supremacy vis-à-vis non-Europeans.[3]

Under this hegemonic critical regime, the very fact of England's failure in Japan came to be enmeshed in assumptions regarding the inhospitable (i.e., uncivilized) conditions of the host country, just as the English factors stationed there felt that "brabbling Japons" interfered with their pursuit of profit.[4] Abundant scholarly speculation about the "real" causes of the East India Company's fiasco in Japan, as well as about its potential success had the company endured its initial setbacks, clearly points to the presumption that the English should have been successful. In other words, England's failure in Japan, a non-European polity, has been regarded as an anomaly.

Similarly, in the contemporary iteration of Japanese history, the import of the English East India Company's aborted venture at Hirado, together with that of England's subsequent failure to re-establish trade at Nagasaki in 1673, is understood within the context of the end of the Christian Century, a period of thriving international trade that came to an abrupt halt due to what C. R. Boxer dismissively refers

to as "the arbitrary action of the Tokugawa" – the policy of national seclusion, the breach of which was punishable by death.[5] The subsequent period of *sakoku* (literally, "the closed country") has been viewed as an unfortunate stumbling block that delayed by two and a half centuries Japan's inevitable march toward the enlightening and enlightened Western ideals of modernity in the form of industrialization, liberal democracy, and capitalism based on free trade.

In this study, I explore, without privileging the modern assumption of the superiority of the West to the East, the significance of the English East India Company's failure from a new investigative angle, that is, the relationship between two Englishmen, John Saris (1580–1643) and William Adams (*c.*1564–1620), in the context of the politics of identity in early seventeenth-century Japan.

The rancor between Saris and Adams, that is, the first director of the English Factory at Hirado, newly arrived in Japan, and the first Englishman, a pilot, who had already become an informal adviser to the Japanese shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616), is legendary. These two Englishmen's dislike and distrust of each other are usually assumed to be of a personal nature – a sense of rivalry on the part of Saris and sheer frustration on the part of Adams, for example. Their antagonism toward one another, however, takes on a new dimension of signification when it is scrutinized from the perspective of their own involvement in the politics of identity in early seventeenth-century Japan, a major player in China-centered international trade. As recent scholarship on the silver trade of the period amply testifies, the main engine that invigorated and sustained the entire structure of the world economy from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century was China – the world's largest importer of silver and exporter of silk, which were the most commonly accepted currencies in the international trade of the time.[6] When the European economic system became incorporated into the China-centered system through the so-called European "discovery" of the rest of the world, the main role of European merchants was limited to that of middlemen, that is, the role of transporting goods – be it the silver from the New World to China or Chinese silk and tea to Europe – from one place to another in pursuit of potential arbitrary gain. These European merchants were thus in no position to control the terms of their trade, that is to say, without resorting to the diplomatic language of extolling the mutual benefits of trade exchange, or to the blunt force of arms (i.e., piracy), which was indeed routinely deployed for immediate gain, or to the combination of the two.

By the time England appeared on the scene of China-centered international trade, the Portuguese, Spaniards, Chinese, Japanese, and Dutch had already established themselves as the dominant players, controlling access to the most profitable commodities such as silver and silk. Even Holland, a former Protestant ally and an invaluable partner in their joint effort of privateering and trading during the Elizabethan era, had been turned into a commercial rival, if not an actual foe. It is against such a historical backdrop that the first encounter between Saris and Adams took place on July 29, 1613, and Saris recorded the event in his journal with words of dismay and disapprobation:

> He [Adams] entreated me to pardon him: he would for two or three days repair to his colours, which he had put out at an old window in a poor house, being a St. George made of coarse cloth, neither would admit of any merchant or other to accompany him, which unto us all was very strange, yet I would not further importune him till more acquaintance, praying him to do what he thought best . . . And so making a short dinner he took his leave, many proffering after he came down to go along in company with him in love, but he entreated the contrary, as some were not well pleased, thinking that he thought them not good enough to walk with him.[7]

The image of Adams that emerges from Saris's journal entry above is that of a distant and self-absorbed man with a dash of a superiority complex. Ordinarily, such qualities by themselves would make one merely an unsociable person. However, these same qualities are deemed highly undesirable, if not treasonous, when found in the person of William Adams, the very individual the company had informed Saris "to consult and take good advice with"[8] in Japan, and whose famous letter, "To my unknown Friends and Countrymen" (1611) with an express reference to "much Silver and Gold"[9] in Japan, Saris himself had read to his crew before landing on Japanese shores. In other words, Saris and other English factors had a prior knowledge of Adams in connection with the company's commercial interest and had formed an image of him accordingly: a ready English informant eager to serve and work solely for the good of the company and, by extension, for England.

The factors' shared sense of rage against what they took to be Adams's offense toward English camaraderie is of particular interest for deciphering the notion of "Englishness" that they brought with them to Japan and its link to their unarticulated anxiety for the success or failure of their venture in Japan. While it is impossible to ascertain Adams's self-perception as an English subject, no one, in fact, could be further away than Adams from the widely accepted conception of Englishness in the early seventeenth century. Even though the idea of the nation-state as a polity based on one language, one culture, and one religion is but a European construct of the nineteenth-century,[10] tools for national identification, such as language, attire, and race were already in place and readily used even in the early modern period. The authenticity of one's Englishness is measured by the purity of the linguistic, sartorial, and racial identity of the individual under consideration. Conversely, any degree of mixing with foreign elements in each identity category is seen as an indication of contamination and moral decay.[11] By this estimation, the Adams who appeared before the English factors was no authentic Englishman. He had gone "native," speaking Japanese, wearing Japanese clothes, marrying a Japanese woman, and openly carrying out social and commercial intercourses with the Jesuits, Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch. In short, Adams's mode of being figuratively pulls apart the connection between mercantile desire and the factors' shared conviction of their Englishness.

What the newly arrived factors' perception of Adams brings into focus, however, is not merely a question of Englishness varying in degree or kind. Rather, it is their keenly felt sense of anxiety that was manifested through their marginalization of Adams. That Adams generates an unease among the factors is evident in that they

had continued to regard him as someone not to be trusted, despite the soundness of Adams's initial advice and subsequent recommendations to the company, and regardless of how well he had carried out his duty during his three-year stint in the company and even beyond.[12] Particularly symptomatic of this anxiety are Saris's parting words of severe warning concerning Adams to Richard Cocks, the Head of the English Factory at Hirado:

> In any hand let him [Adams] not have the disbursing of any money of the Company's, either for junks or otherwise; for his unusual speech is so large and his resolution so set upon getting. I entreat you, he may always have one with him to pay out and to write the particulars of what is disbursed in all such matters as you shall employ him in.[13]

Here, Saris's initially negative perception of Adams's *un-Englishness* is turned into a lucid iteration of mercantile interest, the heart of the company's venture, thereby expressing, through a seemingly legitimate concern about Adams as a potential threat to the company's financial well-being, his anxiety about the prospect of their venture in Japan rather than his apprehension about Adams as an individual. The other English factors stationed in Hirado shared Saris's view of Adams, Richard Wickham being one of them. Wickham similarly harbored and voiced his suspicion that Adams

Figure 10.1 *Will Adams* – photograph from *The Needle-watcher: The Will Adams Story, British Samurai,* by Richard Blacker. Reproduced by permission of Tuttle Publishing, member of the Periplus Publishing Group, Clarendon, Vermont.

posed an obstacle to the company's success in Japan, when it was actually Wickham himself who had his own thriving private trading business.[14] These factors' angst was in fact not unfounded for the English Factory at Hirado ultimately failed to prove its viability in Japan and was foreclosed by the decision of the English East India Company in London.[15]

II Adams's Politics of Identity

The significance of Adams's public display of multi-layered identity and affinity that so alarmed the newly arrived English factors as a sign of disloyalty to England and an ominous portent of their mercantile failure takes on a different signification when we examine it from the perspectives of identity politics in early seventeenth-century Tokugawa Japan. Adams's self-representation in his famous letter "To my unknown Friends and Countrymen (October 22, 1611)," the one he wrote in the hope of informing his family and the world of his existence in Japan – the very one Saris had read to his crew prior to lading on Japanese shores – is a good example of how Adams played his own politics of identity. The section of the letter that is of particular interest is his report on an interview with Shogun Ieyasu more than 10 years prior, that is, immediately after his arrival in Japan:

> Some days after, the Emperour called me againe, demanding the reason of our coming so farre: I answered, We were a People that sought all friendship with all Nations and to have trade of Merchandize in all Countries, bringing such Merchandizes as our Country had, and buying such Merchandizes in strange Countryes, as our Countrey desired; through which our Countryes on both side were inriched.[16]

What is immediately striking in this passage, when read in light of the emergent sense of English nationalism, is a complete erasure of Adams's own national identity. It is replaced instead by a more generic term such as "our country," which then gains its rhetorical signification in relation to "strange countries," another general term. The differentiation between Self and Other implicit in the qualifiers, "our" and "strange," is, however, subsumed by the meaning of an inclusive expression, "all nations." The connotation of the exclusive political boundaries still palpable in the word "nation" becomes elided through Adams's apt use of a series of subject makers. The first- person pronoun "I" is immediately replaced by a collective pronoun, "we," which is then identified simply as "a people," (i.e., we are one of many), thus implicitly situating peoples of all nations on equal footing. Adams further homogenizes all countries by unifying them with the self-same mercantile desire to trade. It is not simply the existence of this desire that renders them all identical. There is an inherent equality among people of all nations shown in the perfect alignment in one country's desire to sell and another country's wish to buy. This beauty of symmetry extends to the outcome of such an exchange for both parties are enriched by the transaction. This

whole commercial enterprise, most importantly, is presented as stemming from "our" honorable desire for "all friendship with all nations."

By presenting the mercantile desire of "our country" cloaked in the language of mutual benefit for and friendship with all countries, Adams achieves several goals simultaneously. Using only the words of good will, he has subtly coerced Ieyasu into a position of obligation. The Japanese ruler now must respond in kind. To do otherwise would mean to negate the image of the beneficial, and thus civilized, host that Adams has implicitly conceived of and offered to him. Adams then adroitly yields firm ground on which the Japanese ruler can stand to welcome him, a foreign castaway, without having to alter or sacrifice his host's self-interest. As he is already well aware of Ieyasu's concern for his subjects' growing faith in Christianity and loyalty to the Catholic Church brokered by the Jesuits and friars, the picture of a mercantile utopia Adams expressly paints for Ieyasu's pleasure is that of a universe with no division: all people are joined by the self-same mercantile desire, for which there is no competing religious or political desire. In fact, this universe is devoid of religious and national identities altogether: no English, no Dutch, no Portuguese, no Spaniards, no Christians. Since Adams has been also informed of Ieyasu's own desire for profit by trade and of his dependence on the Portuguese, he emphasizes the mercantile mission of "our country" as its sole *raison d'être*, his having already come "so farre" being evidence of the sincerity of his words.

The significance of Adams's rhetorical finesse demonstrated in his self-presentation to Ieyasu also needs to be contextualized within the import of his *entire* letter. Since Adams addressed it to "my unknown Friends and Countrymen," without knowing into whose hands his open letter might fall, he must present his image in the most advantageous light possible. Even though Adams made no mention of his national identity in his appeal to Ieyasu, this omission alone would not necessarily make him less English in the eyes of the potential English reader. On the contrary, Adams's explanation of the mercantile mission of "our country" is a concise articulation of England's commercial imperatives in the Jacobean period, even though he had not been aware of the political transformation that took place in England since he had left for Japan in 1598. The language of honor, mutual benefit, and friendship mobilized by Adams is indeed the *langue* of mercantile trade, the same one appropriated by England to expand its trade relations in Asia from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while veiling the true object of its desire: profit.[17]

Moreover, Adams's letter portrays himself as an English subject who shares the nation's enduring hatred of the Spanish and Portuguese. Immediately after the report of his interview with Ieyasu appears a summary of an unsuccessful attempt by the Spanish and Portuguese to have Ieyasu believe that Adams and his crew were "theeves and robbers of all Nations,"[18] thus urging him to execute them all. That Adams did not die proves that he had outsmarted his enemies. From his report of this incident also emerges the image of the Japanese ruler as that of a wise king with sharp powers of discernment, as he trusts Adams's words against his enemies, even though the latter had already enjoyed Ieyasu's favors.

By presenting his relationship with Ieyasu in such a positive light, Adams further underscores how he had already paved a way in anticipation of his fellow Englishmen's trade with Japan. Detailing essential information about the favorable conditions in Japan for profitable trade, Adams presents himself as an English subject keen on advancing the commercial interest of the nation. Such an expression of Adams's sincere desire for England's trade expansion into Japan would have endeared him to any Englishman desiring a trade relation in Japan, taking away suspicions that might have otherwise arisen about Adams's loyalty to England due to his direct involvement in the establishment of the Dutch Factory at Hirado in 1609. Given the history of his relationship with the Dutch (he had been hired in 1598 as the captain of a Dutch fleet – armed for privateering as well as trading – bound for Asia in search of a navigable Northern passage), his sustained alliance with the Dutch, now the arch-rival of Jacobean England, could be viewed as an expression of personal integrity.

In fact, the ending of his letter completes Adams's self-portrait with a lasting impression of him as a morally upright Englishman who had never forgotten his obligations toward marriage and family:

> Thus, in short I am constrained to write, hoping that by one meanes or other, in processe of time I shall heare of my wife and children: and so with patience I wait the good will and pleasure of God Almightie, desiring all those to whom this my Letter shall come, to use the meanes to acquaint my good friends with it, that so my wife and children may heare of me: by which meanes there may be hope, that I may heare of my wife and children before my death: The which the Lord grant to his glorie, and my comfort, Amen.[19]

Adams's repeated mention of his wife and children – three times – in this short passage creates an image of a broken-hearted husband and father whose intense desire to see and hear of his wife and children had led him to write this letter, the delivery of which to the intended addressee would depend entirely on the good will of strangers and God. The overall impression of himself that Adams has orchestrated in the letter then is that he is a man of humility, honor, loyalty, integrity, and steadfast love. In short, an authentic Englishman.

While the letter itself is a *tour de force* in terms of crafting this self-portrait, Adams's real mastery in identity politics is displayed in the gap between the image of himself in the letter and his actual mode of being in Japan – the gap immediately recognized by the newly arrived English factors upon seeing how *un-English* he had actually become. What is strategically omitted in his letter is the fact that, despite his love for his wife and family, he had married a Japanese woman, fathered two children, and maintained a Japanese mistress. While remaining adamantly anti-Catholic himself, he was not hostile enough to the Catholic faith to avoid marrying a native woman who was most likely to have been a Catholic.[20] Moreover, his self-perception of being English did not exclude forming social and commercial relations with the nation's erstwhile enemies.

The gap noted above, however, does not necessarily point to the extent of Adams's duplicity. Rather, it reveals the nature of the politics of identity in Tokugawa Japan that differed vastly from the one practiced in Jacobean England. By virtue of being in Japan, the English factors, together with other Europeans, are subject to an identity category that is not of their making: Japanese vs. non-Japanese. Under the category of "non-Japanese," Europeans and Asians (e.g., Chinese, Koreans, Indians, etc.) share the same collective identity, contrary to the European perception of Self and Other in the early seventeenth century. Even under the subcategory of "non-Japanese," the English, again together with other Europeans, belong to the collective identity of being "non-Chinese," as opposed to the Chinese who enjoyed more privileges than any other foreign groups. As a further subcategory of "non-Chinese," "Southern Barbarian" (*nanbanjin*) functions as the collective identity for all Europeans in Japan, regardless of their nationality (Spanish, Portuguese), religious affiliation (Jesuits, Franciscan, Dominican), or professional identity (priest, merchant, interpreter). Until the arrival of Adams, the first Englishman and Protestant in Japan, the only religious identity recognized in connection with "Southern Barbarians" was Catholicism. By the time the English factors arrived in Japan in 1613, the notions of *kōmōjin* (literally, "red-haired people"), Protestant, and Dutch, had been only recently added as new variables to the politics of identity after the establishment of the Dutch Factory at Hirado in 1609. (These accounts are woven into Japanese history as articulated in works such as by Michael Cooper and C. R. Boxer.)

Adams's social and business conduct, which so appalled the English factors, should be understood in this context. His multi-layered identity is mediated by all the different categories and subcategories mentioned above, generating a wider variety of identities and affiliations than what is possible or desirable in the context of Jacobean England. One can be a Japanese Jesuit priest, or a Portuguese Japanese interpreter, or a Japanese English Catholic merchant. For Adams, being English is only one of many variables with which he can choose to forge his own identity.

The possibility of hybrid identities, however, does not mean that one is allowed to transgress identity boundaries without consequences. On the contrary, in early seventeenth-century Japan, the war of identity politics was an ongoing affair. Aligning a particular set of identity variables literally meant the difference between life and death or between an enormous windfall and total bankruptcy. At the same time, nothing can be as easily disposed as one's identity for it can be made, unmade, and remade, as clearly demonstrated by how some of the Christians in Japan had responded to the pressure of the Japanese government's anti-Christian edicts. When Adams first arrived in 1600, Japan was already a hotbed of identity politics, and it turned into a veritable bloodbath when the persecution of Christians was in full force, shortly after the English East India Factors departed Japan in 1623.

Adams's network of personal, sexual, commercial, social, and political relationships thus mirrors an intricate constellation of vectors that constituted the reality of seventeenth-century Japan. In such an environment, possessing a single rigidly defined identity and parading it in public could mean only two things: either that one is

ready to defend that identity at the price of death (either literal or symbolic) or that one does not know how to play the politics of identity. Both Adams's long, prosperous life in Japan and the brief existence of the English Factory at Hirado thus can be seen as symbolic of how Adams and the factors had become enmeshed, knowingly and unknowingly, in the politics of identity in seventeenth-century Japan, where England was an ill-equipped newcomer and the notion of Englishness carried little value, either symbolic or commercial, in a highly competitive international trading scene.

III Conclusion

This study has analyzed the significance of the English East India Company's failure in Hirado through the well-known antagonistic relationship between two Englishmen, William Adams and John Saris, in the context of identity politics in seventeenth-century Japan. The findings of this analysis, however, should not be hastily translated into an overdetermined postmodern reading that the notion of Englishness was a site of indeterminacy fraught with tension and anxiety. The instability of English identity delineated in this study is not of theoretical speculation or philosophical meditation on the nation's self-perception. Rather, it is an effect manifested by the marginal role England played in Japan, which was connected to the vibrant China-centered economic system, the veritable engine behind the world economy from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Both Adams and the other English factors, however differently they mobilized their notions of Englishness during their stay in Japan, had to respond to a power beyond their control; namely, the Japanese shogunal government that had its own interests to promote and protect.

Such findings of this study, moreover, should not be taken merely as a basis for making localized modifications to the hegemonic configuration of the relation between England and Japan or, by extension, between the West and East. Merely to assert, for instance, that England held a weak and marginal position in the global economy of the early seventeenth century, or that Japan was superior to England, or that there already existed a vibrant form of proto-capitalism in Asia does not ultimately collapse the existing epistemological framework that has supported "the Rise of the West" as the meta-narrative for the history of all human civilization. These assertions, however indispensable they are to destabilizing hegemonic Eurocentric critical discourses, are still implicitly predicated on the prevailing notion that England overcame its initial weakness to be a dominant player, or that the status of Japan needs to be assessed in relation to that of England, or that the economic system of Asia can be analyzed via a Western model of capitalism.

Equally undesirable would be to use the findings of this study on the East India Company's venture in Japan as a marker of the exteriority of England's global expansion, without problematizing the very notion of "the era of expansion." This notion is, in fact, conceptually tied to the conventional understanding of the Renaissance as

the originary moment of what we have come to identify as the emergence of modernity in the West, which has been, in turn, employed to buttress the idea of the West's supremacy vis-à-vis the rest of the world. Rather, this study on the English East India Company's failed venture in Japan is an attempt to throw into higher relief a significant historical moment in the Global Renaissance, a moment that points to the urgent need to freshly conceptualize an *episteme* of the twenty-first century, a new era of globalization with which to rewrite history from the multi-perspectives generated by interactions among various peoples, both locally and globally.[21]

Notes

1 To date, the most extensive compilation of the archival materials related to the English East India Company is Anthony Farrington's, *The English Factory in Japan, 1613–1623*, 2 vols. Another useful source is *Purchas His Pilgrimes in Japan Extracted from Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*. For an insider's view of the Factory's day-to-day operation, see *Diary of Richard Cocks, 1615–1622: Diary Kept By the Head of the English Factory in Japan*.

2 Michael Cooper, for one, puts the significance of the English East India Company's venture in Japan in this light: "The Iberian missionaries, it is true, recorded a great deal about Japan, but for the most part their writings deal with religious matters, political affairs, and cultural concerns. For an account of everyday life of the lower classes, we turn to the English records, which describe less savory aspects of Japanese life in the early seventeenth century – thefts, fights, execution, bawdy-house and women dancers, petty trading, and the like." "The Brits in Japan" (*Monumenta Nipponica* 47/2: 265).

3 In my estimation, there is an extensive body of scholarship that can best be described as "the discourse of the denial of racism." Derek Massarella, an authority on the English East India Company at Hirado, for instance, asserts that, "At least Cocks [the lead English factor at Hirado] and his colleagues elsewhere in the Indies considered neither themselves nor their society superior to the people and civilizations in which they worked. (*A World Elsewhere*, 332). Both Gary P. Leupp and Rotem Knowner echo Massarella's view in their respective works, "Skin as a Metaphor: Early European Racial Views on Japan" (*Ethnohistory* 51/4: 751–78) and *Interracial Intimacy in Japan: Western Men and Japanese Women 1543–1900*. First and foremost, we need to keep in mind that such observations made by the Jesuits priests, friars, and merchants were not at all value neutral for they had their own interest invested in insisting that the Japanese were superior to other Asians and even to themselves. There is plenty of evidence to demonstrate that these Europeans thought otherwise about the Japanese. The early European observations that the Japanese were "white" are frequently used as a way of denying the historical existence of racism, which was in effect widely practiced through such concrete means as low wages and low professional status given to the native Japanese who served Europeans, including English merchants. At the same time, the discourses of race in the seventeenth century serves as a historical means of further confirming retrospectively the unique status of Japan in the modern Western imaginary: befitting its role as a lesser twin of the West, Japan is and has always been treated as different from the rest of Asia.

4 C.R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* (294–5).

5 Ibid. (209).

6 My assessment of the marginal status of European nations in the world-system and China's central role in it has been informed by a body of scholarship, including Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, "Cycles of Silver: Global Economic Unity through the Mid-Eighteenth Century" (*Journal of World History* 13/2: 391–427); William Schell Jr., "Silver Symbiosis: ReOrienting Mexican Economic History" (*Hispanic American Historical Review* 81/1: 89–133); William S. Atwell,

"Another Look at Silver Imports into China, ca. 1635–1644" (*Journal of World History* 16/4: 467–89); Enrique Dussel, "World-System and 'Trans'-Modernity" (*Nepantla: Views from South* 3/2: 221–44).

7 Wild (104–5). The editor notes that this passage was omitted from *Purchas His Pilgrimes in Japan*.

8 Ibid. (84).

9 Ibid. (95).

10 Jack A. Goldstone, "Efflorescences and Economic Growth in World History: Rethinking the 'Rise of the West' and the Industrial Revolution" (*Journal of World History* 13/2: 336).

11 Roze Hentschell, "Treasonous Textiles: Foreign Cloth and the Construction of Englishness" (*Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32/3: 543–70).

12 Wild (109).

13 Ibid. (108).

14 Massarella (147).

15 As C. R. Boxer points out, the Portuguese had exclusive access to the Chinese silk market, and the English factors were hard pressed to acquire it but ultimately failed in doing so (30)3.

16 Wild (88).

17 The same rhetoric governs the ritual of gift exchanges as noted by Cynthia Klekar in her article, "Prisoners in Silken Bonds: Obligation, Trade, and Diplomacy in English Voyages to Japan and China" (*The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 6/2: 84–105).

18 Wild (89).

19 Ibid. (96).

20 Leupp (57).

21 Walter D. Mignolo, "Globalization, Civilization Processes, and the Relocation of Languages and Cultures," in *The Cultures of Globalization*, eds. Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi (32–53).

References and Further Reading

Atwell, William S. "Another Look at Silver Imports into China, ca. 1635–1644." *Journal of World History* 16/4 (2005): 467–89.

Boxer, C. R. *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951. Rpt. Lisbon: Carcanet, 1993.

Cocks, Richard. *Diary of Richard Cocks, 1615–1622: Diary Kept By the Head of the English Factory in Japan*. Ed. Tokyo Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, 3 vols. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1978–1980.

Cooper, Michael. *Rodrigues The Interpreter: An Early Jesuit in Japan and China*, New York: Weatherhill, 1974.

Cooper, Michael. "The Brits in Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 47/2 (1992): 265–72.

Cooper, Michael, ed., *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan*, *1543–1640*. Berkeley: University of California, 1965. Rpt. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan,1995.

Dussel, Enrique. "World-System and 'Trans'-Modernity," *Nepantla: Views from South* 3/2 (2000): 221–44.

Farrington, Anthony. *The English Factory in Japan*, *1613–1623*, 2 vols. London: British Library, 1991.

Flynn, Dennis O. and Giráldez, Arturo. "Cycles of Silver: Global Economic Unity through the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *Journal of World History* 13/2 (2002): 391–427.

Goldstone, Jack A. "Efflorescences and Economic Growth in World History: Rethinking the 'Rise of the West' and the Industrial Revolution," *Journal of World History* 13/2 (2002): 323–89.

Hentschell, Roze. "Treasonous Textiles: Foreign Cloth and the Construction of Englishness," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32/3 (2002): 543–70.

Jones, Ann Rosalind and Stallybrass, Peter. *Renaissance Clothing and The Materials of Memory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Klekar, Cynthia. "Prisoners in Silken Bonds: Obligation, Trade, and Diplomacy in English Voyages to Japan and China," *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 6/2 (2006): 84–105.

Kornicki, P. F. "European Japanology at the End of the Seventeenth Century," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 56/3 (1993): 502–24.

Knowner, Rotem. "Skin as a Metaphor: Early European Racial Views on Japan," *Ethnohistory* 51/4 (2004): 751–78.

Lach, Donald. *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 9 vols. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1965–93.

Leupp, Gary P. *Interracial Intimacy in Japan: Western Men and Japanese Women 1543– 1900*. London: Continuum, 2003.

Markley, Robert. "Gulliver and the Japanese: The Limits of the Postcolonial Past," *Modern Language Quarterly* 65/3 (2004): 457–79.

Markley, Robert. *The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600–1730*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Massarella, Derek. "James I and Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 38/4 (1983): 373–86.

Massarella, Derek. *A World Elsewhere*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

Massarella, Derek and Anthony Farrington. *William Adams and Early English Enterprise in Japan*. London: Suntory and Toyota International Centers for Economics and Related Disciplines, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2000.

Mignolo, Walter D. "Globalization, Civilization Processes, and the Relocation of Languages and Cultures," in *The Cultures of Globalization*. Ed. Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998, 32–53.

Milton, Giles. *Samurai William: The Englishman Who Opened Japan*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003.

Philpott, Daniel. "The Religious Roots of Modern International Relations," *World Politics* 5 (2000): 206–45.

Sadler, A. L. *The Maker of Modern Japan: The Life of Tokugawa Ieyasu*. London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1937.

Schell, William Jr. "Silver Symbiosis: ReOrienting Mexican Economic History," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 81/1 (2001): 89–133.

Wild, Cyril, ed. *Purchas His Pilgrimes in Japan Extracted from Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*. Kobe, Japan: J. L. Thompson & Co., 1939.

11

The Queer Moor: Bodies, Borders, and Barbary Inns

Ian Smith

I Travel Relations

The hotel, James Clifford points out in "Traveling Cultures," has figured significantly in postmodern accounts of intercultural exchange (1992, 96).[1] The hotel and its related term "traveler" cannot be easily dislodged, however, "from a history of European, literary, male, bourgeois, scientific, heroic, recreational, meanings and practices" (Clifford 1992, 106). The long history of travel recalls the kinds of early modern European hegemonic endeavors that characterized the Portuguese, Spanish, and English incursions into Africa, the Levant, and eventually the New World. At the same time, cultural theory finds the hotel or inn particularly attractive because it serves as the emblem for one of the dramatic, transforming features of early modern and contemporary history: transnational movement – forced or otherwise – leading to radical proximities.[2] Strategically situated along the ideological routes of travel, the inn or hotel is associated with border transitions: it marks the passage from one place to another and mediates traveling ideas in the context of cross-cultural contact.[3] At once a temporary house and permanent location, the hotel or inn mobilizes global and local relationships concerning race, sexuality, and colonization to suggest the manufacture of sodomy in the strategic establishment of non-European identities in the early modern period. "Race," used to exercise power differentials within or between cultures, rests on the claim that native attributes, such as physical signs like color, are indicators of the natural order of things. Race requires, therefore, an obsessive, essentializing investment in an array of body discourses, including sodomy, pursued urgently in the literature of travel. Sodomy is understood, therefore, as coincident with the discourse of corporal materialization that has, historically, become a signature feature of race construction.

A temporary resident of the Sagittary Inn, Othello is the traveler *par excellence* whose entire life has been a journey of wanderings, enslavement, and escape (*Othello* 1.3.134–47).[4] The inn and seraglio, an international station with a pronounced sexual purpose,

can be used to articulate some of the issues raised by the term *queer* in relation to the "Moor" and racial politics. My essay's title, "The Queer Moor," is inspired by Shakespeare's peripatetic African and seeks to identify the persistent construction of the North African, Muslim, or Turk as sodomite in order to examine the ideological value of such an inscription in European dramatic and travel literature. "Queer," according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, derives from the German *quer* and middle-German *twer* from which we get the English *thwart*: "to pass or extend across from side to side of; to traverse, cross; also to cross the direction of, to run at an angle to."[5] *Queer* is, thus, related to *travel*, a term that serves as the conceptual genesis of the present argument concerning the inn as site of exchange where competing notions of sexuality, in particular, converge and produce European discourses of difference. The inn, by definition, is a queer place.

II The Sagittary, or Sodomy's Inevitable Narrative

Othello's history of sodomy begins in Venice at an inn: the Sagittary, where the second scene unfolds on the night of Othello's elopement with Desdemona. Shakespeare is careful to name the inn earlier in the opening scene when Iago plots to betray Othello's secret location: "Lead to the Sagittary the raised search,/ And there will I be with him" (1.1.162–3). A similar reference to an inn occurs in *The Comedy of Errors* when Dromio of Syracuse is instructed to "go to the Centaur, where we host" (I.ii.9). The name would have referred to a sign outside the inn with its emblematic figure of Sagittarius, the centaur, the half-man, half-horse known in classical art and literature for the famous battle with the Lapiths. In Book 12 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the wedding of Pirithous and Hippodame explodes into chaos, bloody fighting, and multiple deaths when Eurytus, the fiercest of the invited centaurs, seizes the bride in a drunken, lust-driven rage, but in the end, the centaurs are crushed (280–1). Traditionally interpreted as the assault on civilization by barbarism, the rape of the bride bears directly on Iago's characterization of Othello as bestial and a sexual menace. The imputed equine identity of Othello forebodes miscegenation and the creation of a new breed of Venetians who would be the early modern descendants of the centaurs, part horse, part human: "you'll have your daughter covered with a Barbary horse; you'll have your nephews neigh to you; you'll have coursers for cousins, and jennets for germans" (1.1.113–16). The charge of lust leading to sexual aggression leveled against the centaurs, then, echoes the core accusations made against Othello (1.1.125–9).

The play's subject of unbridled lust finds its anxious proscription in John Davies's *Microcosmos: The Discovery of the Little World* (1603), written about the time of *Othello*. Davies refers to a historic moment in the imperial career of Alexander the Great: his advance, conquest, and sacking of Persepolis, at the time the principal city of Persia. Diodorus records the orgy of greed and lust that attended the Macedonians' assault in his *Bibliotheca Historica*.

> Some cut off the hands of those who were grasping at disputed property, being driven mad by their passions. They dragged off women, clothes and all, converting their captivity into slavery.
>
> As Persepolis had exceeded all other cities in prosperity, so in the same measure it now exceeded all others in misery. (17.70.5–6)

Worse was yet to come: the torch of lust's fire only fueled the conflagration that followed. Thais the courtesan is reputed to have urged Alexander to burn the city, an act that he lived to regret.[6] Davies writes:

> A Man by woman, a King by a Queane
> To be so overcome through Lustfull moode,
> (Being so effeminate and most obscene)
> Argues, in Loue and Lust there is no meane. (66)

Davies paints a picture of a great man overcome with passion, derailed from the course of sanity, and propelled into lustful error. This scenario recalls Othello's situation as Venice's general in the republic's own imperial contest with the encroaching Ottoman Turks. He, too, finds himself under the manipulative sway of Iago, the engineer of Othello's capitulation to excessive passion (4.1.269–73). The destruction of cities in Ovid, Diodorus, and Davies registers the emotional upheaval that Othello's elopement with Desdemona triggers in the city-state of Venice. Like Othello, Alexander is a multicultural figure, having set up his new capital at Babylon among the barbarians and pursuing inter-cultural marriage as sound foreign policy in the ordered mass wedding with Persians at Susa in 324 BC.[7]

Davies's analysis of lust's full sequential effects unfolds to reveal a monster among men: the sodomite.

> Strange are th'effects of Lust. For, Men with Men
> Nay, Man with Beast: A Sinne not to be toucht
> So much as with the Tongue, much lesse with Pen,
> And least of all with that too oft bewitcht,
> With loue of that which is by Nature grutcht:
> Lust is so blinde that it cannot discerne
> A Man from Beast, (how ever beastly coucht)
> But doth a Man-beast moue (though Nature yerne)
> The tricks of Beasts, with lothsome Beasts to learne. (66)

The explicit Christian rhetoric of sin enters the text, and male–male and man–beast relations – the immediate product of lust between a man and a woman – are both seen as unnatural ("that which is by Nature grutcht"). Heteroerotic lust induces sexual relations between men that are tantamount to bestiality and indiscriminately leads men from one degraded coupling to another. We are in the Foucauldian territory of that utterly confused category, sodomy: "As defined by the ancient civil or canonical codes, sodomy was a category of forbidden acts" that included but was not limited to

male–male sexual relations and bestiality (43).[8] For Davies, lust has its own narrative agency, and the first casualty in its operation is the woman eliminated from the erotic equation to be displaced by same-sex male intercourse that morally mimics relations between man and beast.[9] *Microcosmos* offers a traveling narrative of lust, women, sodomy, and bestiality whose fluid, seemingly borderless categories lead inevitably to an unsavory, unchristian outcome.

Employing language critical to the homoerotic density of the play, Iago warns that he circumscribes passion with reason in order to avoid "preposterous conclusions" (1.3.332).[10] His language, however, betrays his own uncensored homoerotic cogitations through a series of prodigious, promiscuous puns; that is, his language *travels* despite his declared efforts and entraps Othello in its sexual web. When he speculates notoriously that "the lusty Moor/ Hath leaped into my seat, the thought whereof/ Doth, like a poisonous mineral, gnaw my innards" (2.1.296–8), the anal eroticism of Iago's piercing language links lust to sodomy, penetration, and sexual release. The homoerotic dream sequence in Act III, however, stands as a pivotal moment where, through a series of sequential displacements, Othello is required to imagine himself (replacing Cassio) copulating with Iago (3.3.429–41).[11] Consistent with Davies's model, the initial male–female pair (Cassio and Desdemona) undergoes a series of narrative transformations to produce the Cassio and Iago same-sex twosome and culminate in the man (Iago) and beast coupling, with Othello the centaur-figure, the "Man-beast" identified with the Sagittary. The inn, therefore, where the bridal couple is lodged, encapsulates and reinscribes Davies's protean narrative whose predicted end is sodomy. Moreover, Othello's self-conscious outburst at the conclusion of the dream narrative – "O monstrous, monstrous!" (3.3.442) – coincides with his initiatory, self-destabilizing articulations of blackness in that same scene (3.3.279; 402–4). Sodomy *and* blackness intersect and function together as corporal, differential signs to contest the alien presence within Europe.

III Transvestite Innkeepers

Leo Africanus, the converted Moor often compared to Shakespeare's Othello, establishes the reverse geographical paradigm; like the European traveler abroad, he becomes the native turned native-informant for Europe.[12] Leo's history is important not just in providing a conjuncture of travel, tourism, and hotels, but it should be regarded as an important intertext in documenting homoerotic behavior in Barbary.[13] At the same time, his *A Geographical Historie of Africa* bears signs of a divided subjectivity: a Muslim past that allows an intimate knowledge of the African territories Leo writes about and a present Christian perspective that obliges him to read his native place with ambivalence. Accordingly, Leo ends up denigrating "what hits and threatens closest to home: his Mohammedan, African past" (Bartels, 437). At Fez, a city where he served as a notary at a hospital for two years in his youth, Leo is loath to provide an account that, to his mind, discredits that great city's reputation and the kingdom's

royal seat. From among the inns of Fez, architecturally pleasant and large but "of most beggerly entertainment to strangers," Leo identifies a subculture of transvestite men. In John Pory's English translation of Leo Africanus (1600), we read:

> The inn-keepers of Fez being all of one familie called Elcheva, goe apparelled like women, and shave their beards, and are so delighted to imitate women, that they will not only counterfeite their speech, but will sometimes also sit downe and spin. Each one of these hath his concubine, whom he accompanieth as if she were his owne lawfull wife; albeit the said concubines are not only ill-favoured in countenance, but notorious for their bad life and behaviour. (Purchas, 5: 413)

The scene of men dressed as women, imitating the speech of women and performing tasks conventionally codified as women's labor, produces for Leo that anti-social, disturbing figure, the effeminate man. In describing the transvestite Elcheva, Leo cites clothing as a form of disfigurement that betrays the body's presumed natural biological and moral determination as well as its material presence as stable cultural signifier.

John Pory's English translation (a term etymologically related to *travel*) creates a conundrum around these queer Moors, especially concerning the gender of the concubines taken by these transvestite men. Pory superimposes the rhetoric of the "heterosexual" couple, the concubine relating to the male innkeeper "as if she were his owne lawfull wife." The *visual* pairing is, nevertheless, of two "women," the transvestite man and his "ill-favoured" female partner while the report's scandal reminds us that these are two men as in the 1556 French translation of Leo's *Historie* where the concubine ("un concubin") is clearly identified as a man: "et n'y a celuy de ces infames paillars qui ne tienne un concubin" ("each of these degenerate innkeepers has his male concubine").[14] Pory's text produces a set of overlaid sexual constructions (in contemporary terminology, heterosexual, lesbian, and homosexual) whose fluid iterations mimic Davies's narrative of traveling sexualities. The ethnographic record of the transvestite hoteliers in Fez was well known, reappearing in Luis del Mármol Carvajal's voluminous *Descripción general de Africa*, published between 1573 and 1599, and again in Pierre d'Avity's *The Estates, Empires, & Principalities of the World*, translated in 1615, where we find the following parallel passage:

> As for the Inkeepers, they are of a race called Elcheua, and they are attired, and deckt vp like women. They haue their beards shauen, and imitat women in their speech. Euerie one of these men hath a boy which lyes with him, and liues with him as a husband doth with his wife. (1121)[15]

Despite additional details of local color, the multiple, shifting sexual constructions that Pory explicates return as uncontainable within the prescriptive "man–wife" model that Europeans rhetorically impose.

Because the inn is a queer place – the emblematic site of travel, displacement, and translation – the destabilizing sexual possibilities presented by the Barbary innkeepers

is entirely consistent with their location at an international and intercultural crossroads. At the same time, "queer theory" – in the contemporary sense but also referring to the idea of semiotic plurality identified in the early modern inn – relies on this kinetic, geographical premise of travel, movement, and contingent encounter as the basis of its intellectual formation – "*across genders, across sexualities, across genres, across 'perversions.'* "[16] Important is its requisite anti-categorical temper, its dissidence, and impulse to redraw boundaries, reorganize conceptual spaces, and to champion the traveling of ideas in ways that question the conservative "man–wife" paradigm as the exclusive global unit of cultural organization. Ironically, the anxious resistance to queer sexualities represents the traveler's attempt to repeal the very notion of border transition that legitimates his practice. The fear registered by Davies concerns the uncontainability of sexuality's energies that would produce narratives of transition and change; Leo is confronted with unfixed sexual categories whose mobile configurations threaten to fracture his epistemology of marriage (Purchas, 5: 413). The production of the man–wife model, therefore, is a strategy of global organization meant to redraw clear lines of difference as a prophylaxis for the European traveler in distant places, who by definition embodies and internalizes the fear of mutability, fluctuation, and conversion.

Where the inn is perceived as a symbolic cultural crossroads that permits an open dialogue and exchange, there is the possibility of identifying multiple sites of power, " 'scattered hegemonies,' a concept that challenges the master narrative of cultural imperialism through specific articulations of transnational identities and relationships" (Kaplan, 18). The inn, I would argue, can be used to deconstruct the privileged status of the traveler as European male: the permanence of the inn as a fixed site contrasts dramatically with the transience of the visitors, whoever and wherever they may be. "Traveler" connotes disjunction, disaffection, marginalization, and social displacement. Yet the term is fully ambiguous, for it does not automatically distinguish between the traveler away from metropolitan "centers" under the aegis of assumed imperial privilege and the traveler who ventures into or moves within the periphery of empire. In European travel narratives, the trope of the hotel reminds us that the European is the visitor among the permanent sites abroad, and it is he who is the marginal, transient, racialized subject with his own peculiar desires and investments.

IV The Seraglio and International Affairs

Other travel texts elaborate the European staging of the Moor as sodomite, Muslim, and, because of religious affiliation, related to the Turk. The invading Ottomans who drive *Othello*'s political drama bear an undisguised relationship to the Moor dwelling within the city, and, historically, their military struggle with Europe legitimates the rhetorical ascription of sodomy as a tenuous countermeasure.[17] In both literary and non-literary sources, the repeated identification of the Moor or Turk with sodomy

does not heed the apparently urgent caveat: sodomy is a horrible, unspeakable vice. In the words of Davies, it was "A Sinne not to be toucht/ So much as with the Tongue, much lesse with Pen," yet it was written and spoken about. The need to articulate evidently outweighed the virtue of silence to compel such a singularly deviant European eloquence.

Paul Rycaut's *The Present Sate of the Ottoman Empire* offers a unique view into the seraglio, the holding place and training ground for young men destined for administrative service in the sultan's employ. In early modern European Orientalist narratives, the seraglio or harem is typically the secluded enclosure of women (sometimes numbering in the hundreds) destined for the sultan's exorbitant sexual pleasure and scrupulously guarded from the gaze of other men, except eunuchs.[18] "The sultan's harem," writes Daniel Vitkus, "was the hub of the world's greatest empire, an empire whose power, discipline, and masculine order were said to be enforced by extreme cruelty; but at the same time, the sultan's palace was the *locus classicus* for effeminate luxury, hidden sensuality, and sexual excess" (in Kamps and Singh, 45). Silke Falkner observes, "that one cannot know very much about the activities inside or even the interior architecture because no non-Muslim man or woman has access to it" (422). Rycaut, however, offers a look beyond this veil of secrecy and re-figures the seraglio to expose a regime of same-gender sexual behavior. Here, the seraglio, like the early modern inn, operates as the transnational dwelling for a collection of diverse young men who, together, undergo significant cultural and sexual reorientation. In addition to training in arms, the strict regimen also demanded lessons in Arabic and Persian to give the men access to "the books of their Law and Religion; especially the Alchoran, whereby may be produced in their minds a greater reverence to them" (30). The entire period of training could last up to 40 years, so life within the enclosed male site of the seraglio was, according to Rycaut, organizationally suited to encourage homoerotic behavior under the guise of "a kind of Platonick love each to other."

> But for their Amours to Women; the restraint and strictness of Discipline, makes them altogether strangers to that Sex; for want of conversation with them, they burn in lust one towards another, and the amorous disposition of youth wanting more natural objects of affection, is transported to a most passionate admiration of beauty wheresoever it finds it. (31)

In a separate chapter devoted to the issue, "Of the Affections and Friendship the Pages in the Seraglio bear each other," Rycaut claims to unmask the Turks' adoption of Neoplatonic doctrine to reveal sodomy stripped of its philosophic veneer. "This is the colour of virtue, they paint over the deformity, of their depraved inclinations," charges Rycaut, "but in reality this love of theirs, is nothing but libidinous flames each to other, with which they burn violently" (33).

Male–male sexual attraction per se is not the problem for the Turks but, rather, the challenge of managing so many young men and maintaining some semblance of libidinal order in the seraglio. Under the constant surveillance of eunuchs and the threat of punishment aimed at reasserting control in this hotbed of sensuality, the

young men develop a system of secret signs. Quite creatively, "they learn a certain language with the motion of their eyes, their gestures and their fingers," and the seraglio boils over with erotic passion so "that jealousies and rivalries have broken forth in their Chambers." While social disorder requires circumspect restraint among the young men, sodomy is itself allowed free expression as the men of "eminent degree in the Seraglio become inveigled in this sort of love, watching occasions to have a sight of the young Pages that they fancy" (33). On another social level, the "Grand Signiors themselves have also been slaves to this inordinate passion," the current sultan being no exception (34). Having favored a page from the school of musicians within the seraglio, the sultan had the boy "clothed like himself, made him ride by his side, commanded all to present and honour him, in the same manner as if he had made him Companion of the Empire" (33–4). Rycaut's tripartite excursus, divided according to the social rank of young males, political administrators, and the sultan, culminates with the significant appeal to the man–wife model – the young male musician in the role of the sultana – as a way of representing a distorted society even at the highest levels.[19]

The European man–wife sexual paradigm is also central to Sir Thomas Shirley's *Discours of the Turkes* where the arrival of the Turks in Asia Minor reputedly brought "the erronious & deuilishe secte of Mehemett whiche is the moste opposite to a Christian of all" (1). Not surprisingly, they are described as the radical contrast to the English in every other way:

> Theyre manner of liuing in priuate & in generalle is moste vnciuille & vicious; & firste, for theyre vices they are all pagans & infidelles, Sodomittes, liars, & drunkardes, & for theyre Sodommerye they vse it soe publiquelye & impudentelye as an honest Christian woulde shame to companye with his wyffe as they doe with theyre buggeringe boyes. (2)

Those of Mohammed's religion are depicted as morally moribund pagans, shameless in their sexual vice and in their overt display of affection for boys. As in Rycaut's account of the sultan's seraglio and Leo Africanus's report on the transvestite innkeepers, the very public sodomitic couple is the denigrated iconic displacement of the European convention of the male husband and female wife. Where the governors of the seraglio work to safeguard social management, the European writers seek to impose ideological control but find the limiting terms of their man–wife system grossly inadequate to account for the plural sexual possibilities available in the Turkish seraglio or Barbary inns.

Politically, the male–female couple connotes Christian religious sacrament, reproduction, and national regeneration, all of which impelled the patriotism that drove men like Shirley to support trade and mercantile venture in hostile places as the economic supplement to national productivity. The reproductive trump card that the male–female model implies in its stigmatization of the male–male coupling imagines the Turkish sexual behavior as barren and totally impotent as a social practice. To parade the boys around as wives, from the perspective of the castrating European gaze,

is a vain attempt at imitation and is nothing but an empty simulacrum of the Christian ideal; the sodomitical couple survives by way of simile that will never amount to the same. But reproduction is tied more directly to the military aggression against Europe meant to furnish the "buggeringe boyes" needed for the sexual appetites of the Turks. Robert Withers writes of the captured Christian renegado children who "may not bee (when they are gathered) of above twelve or fourteene yeeres of age, least they should bee unfit for a new course, and too well setled in Christianitie." After their initial training, the boys are taken and offered for service in the seraglio: "Then this choise being made, the Youthes chosen by the Chiefe Vizir, are carried by the Bustangee Bashee into the Kings owne Serraglio, and there distributed to such Companies as want their compleat number: then are they Circumcised and made Turkes, and put to learne the Turkish Tongue" (Purchas 9: 348). Military seizure would supply the store of necessary young men and boys; multiplication by force – instead of reproduction – loomed as the grim political threat below the surface of European charges of indecorous sodomy.[20] Thus the repeated condemnations of sodomy admit a troubled recognition of a very troubling military problem.

Understanding the reference to "boys" can add further illumination. "Boy" is a variable term that might apply to a 22-year-old as well as the unspecified but clearly younger age of a beardless youth (Purchas, 9: 483). The age-structured male relationship, however, seems to rely on duplication and eventual reversal of sexual roles. J. B. Gramaye records that after young boys are taken by the Turks, they are "soone circumcised, their infancy trained up in Turkish blasphemie, their childhood lusts passive, and youth in active, their riper age rotten in all damnations" (Purchas, 9: 281). As a boy, the younger male adopts the passive sexual role, the active role as he grows older; as for the "riper age," the text seems to throw up its rhetorical hands to imply that anything goes. This narrative of sexual progression ignites the European fantasy of an ever increasing and changing retinue of Christian boys who are caught, converted, and trained up in the various stages of sodomy. Thus "heterosexual" reproduction is once more undermined by ever-expanding imperial acts that guarantee a supply of boys who are inserted in the narrative of sexual growth measured in terms of adopted sexual roles and performance. The "riper age rotten in all damnations" represents, quite frighteningly for Europeans, the mature, thoroughly trained and fully converted member of Islam who is added to the ranks of a greedy empire always on the prowl for more territory, more bodies, more men.

Notably, in the early modern period the relationship between Englishmen and the Muslim world, Europe and Islam, was not one of colonization but of defensive strategy and contest.[21] England had witnessed "the formidable success of the Turks in conquering Christian lands in central Europe and, still menacing, their success in converting the populations to Islam" (Matar, 8–9). Where individual European nations, with differing rates of success, were able to colonize in the Americas, they found themselves in the position of being colonized at home by powerful Islamic forces trooping on the Mediterranean rim. Regarding American possession, Louis Montrose has famously made an important case for the "similitude of the land and a woman's body, of

colonization and sexual mastery" where "the emergent hierarchical discourse of colonial exploitation and domination reciprocally confirms the hegemonic force of the dominant sex/gender system" (154). Montrose's argument works particularly well in the colonial context where European mastery is unequivocally "gendered masculine and whose object is gendered feminine," thus postulating a cross-cultural interaction that vivifies a heterosexual epistemology (147). Gender and conquest has hitherto been largely thought of in these terms set out by Montrose, but they prove inadequate for a description of the European discourse of Islam I have been suggesting.

When England or other European nations found themselves facing the Turkish threat, writers who traveled in Muslim territories still boasted a writerly agency and patriarchal attitude. Travel was a defining feature of the masculine man, the man who ventured forth in earnest whether in the interest of the nation, business enterprise at home, or purely personal financial reward. As the object of Islamic aggression, the masculine Christian was incorporated into an entirely other symbolic system (of *being* colonized) whose relational premise is sodomitical. The chief difference here is that in the European colonial model, the writing subject belongs to the dominant power whereas in the confrontation with Islam, the writing Christian, despite an assumed agential authority, does not. Postcolonial critique and feminist studies have addressed the phenomenon of the silenced object: the dominated natives reproduced as repressed signs in what de Certeau might describe as the textualization of history (2–6). Ironically, Europe finds itself peculiarly aligned with just such objectified natives except that it still fancies itself as the controlling, writing agent who is responsible for activating history.

European obsession with sodomy among the "infidels," then, requires an explanation. It takes the form of the symbolic construction of the masculine, patriarchal European self under siege by the representative forces of Islam who have, in a manner recalling Iago's own anxiety, leaped into the driver's seat. As a demonizing rhetoric, sodomy articulates the European struggle for freedom from the colonizing Turk and unmasks the fear of being militarily sodomized. If Jan Van der Straet's drawing of Vespucci discovering America (1575) has been used to explain the conquest model as heterosexual male domination, then European writers on Islam have recast the symbolic recumbent female figure before the intrepid European explorer.[22] The picture that emerges from the multiple texts of European protest against Islam re-maps the sexualizing of conquest to show instead a symbolically prostrate, patriarchal Europe in fear of the sodomizing Turk. This male-on-male action invites, therefore, a fundamental rethinking of the conventional ways the "sex/gender system" has been used as an explanatory tool. Holding fast to an authorizing masculine identity, European texts on inter-cultural confrontation imagine a male-on-male paradigm that registers its repressed yet clearly defensive posture within the discursive framework of sodomy. Frantic outcries against "Sodomiticall boyes" or "Sodomiticall places" confess European powerlessness facing the Turk, and Ottoman imperial lust for power is systematically metaphorized and displaced as the alleged acts of a depraved sexual predilection (Purchas, 9: 483; 8: 290).

At the same time, sodomy also introduces a disturbing, recursive ambiguity, as Robert Matz points out: "And yet sodomy was also the Italian vice, not wholly foreign, especially when, as in *Othello*, Venice can also figure England. . . . While the discourse of sodomy in *Othello* marks the difference between the European and non-European, it simultaneously marks in the play the transgression of the differences it would define" (270). Despite European claims of sodomy elsewhere and the silence about sodomy at home, Matz reminds us that this deception merely foregrounds the similarities with the Other that would otherwise be denied. Further, to acknowledge similarities would be to remove a tool of invidious differentiation from the arsenal of racialist rhetoric. An ironic version of the return of the sodomitic repressed occurs in John Davies's text. His moral outcry that the matter of sodomy ought "not to be toucht:/ So much with the Tongue, much lesse with the Pen," self-deflates through its articulation of a negative performative – he does succumb to the worse of the two choices, writing or using the "Pen." Moreover, the anti-sodomitical violence expressed turns on itself with a phallic pun on "Pen" and the sensory *frisson* of the "Tongue" that together stage their own scene of sodomy despite Davies's anxious proscription.

V Race and the Queer Moor

Eve Sedgwick observes, "the most exciting recent work around 'queer' spins the term outward along dimensions that can't be subsumed under gender and sexuality at all: all the ways that race, ethnicity, postcolonial nationality criss-cross with these *and other* identity-constituting, identity-fracturing discourses, for example" (1993, 8–9). In the early modern period, race is constitutionally queer insofar as it is never a unified, fixed category but posits a social identity produced from a number of intersecting, overlapping conceptual conjunctions – including color, religion, geography, and sexuality. However, most often the effect of the criss-crossing of categories in European texts of travel is to produce an aggregate, layered consolidation that catalogues the multiple ways by which a certain social identity can appear to be unified and prudently stigmatized. As in Othello's case, ethnic bias rigidly informs cultural praxis in the Venetian world and exacerbates the problem of social proximity encoded in the trope of the ethnographic inn. Multiplicity, from a European perspective, tends toward racial and cultural monolith.

The etymology of *theory* itself is an overdetermined reminder that the construction of the queer Moor derives from traveling ideas about traveling cultures localized in the analytical trope of the inn. An explanation of theory's etymological roots in the notion of "travel" is provided in Clifford's definition: "The Greek term *theorein*: a practice of travel and observation, a man sent by the polis to another city to witness a religious ceremony. 'Theory' is a product of displacement, comparison, a certain distance. To theorize, one leaves home" (1989, 177).[23] The European travel writer does leave home and inhabits the epistemological and political space of the inn to

function as witness to different cultural behaviors elsewhere and to theorize about them. The *queer* Moor also reminds us, however, that these rhetorical constructions are precisely that: traveling ideas or inventions that sustain English and European political identities while insisting on the materialization of the body – typically mediated as color but here annexed to discourses of sodomy – in the historical manufacture of race.

Notes

1 The hotel, in Clifford's mind, appears as the urban version of the "village" that has dominated ethnographic fieldwork (1992, 97).
2 Reading Fredric Jameson's analysis of the city in modern culture, Bhabha observes that, "the demographic and phenomenological impact of minorities and migrants *within* the West may be crucial in conceiving of the transnational character of contemporary culture" (214).
3 For an important treatment of "traveling ideas," see Said.
4 All references to Shakespeare's plays follow the Bevington edition.
5 *OED* (12: 1014). See also Sedgwick (1993, xii).
6 Diodorus writes: "She was the first, after the king, to hurl her blazing torch into the palace. As the others all did the same, immediately the entire palace area was consumed, so great was the conflagration. It was most remarkable that the impious act of Xerxes, king of the Persians, against the acropolis at Athens should have been repaid in kind after many years by one woman, a citizen of the land which had suffered it, and in sport" (17.72.6).
7 Among the studies on Alexander's imperial career, see Hammond and Bosworth.
8 Goldberg reminds us that Foucault's claim is commensurate with "the first English sodomy laws, passed during the reign of Henry VIII, which punishes with death those convicted of 'the detestable and abhomynable vice of buggery commyttid with mankynde or beaste' " (3).
9 The narrative continuum along which women are situated in Davies's reading is different from the contemporary model of their role in the "homosocial triangle." See Sedgwick (1985, esp. 21–7).
10 Parker (26–8). Critics who draw attention to homoeroticism focus on Iago; thus, recent studies that apply to homoerotic behavior among white European males could supply critical contexts; see Smith (1994), Rocke, Stewart, and DiGangi.
11 See Smith (1998, 177–85).
12 For the Othello comparisons, see Levin and Johnson.
13 Leo's *Historie* has often been read as reflecting the attitudes of a converted Christian writing for an influential European patron, Pope Leo X. Jonathan Burton understands Leo's textual strategies differently. Using Mary Louise Pratt's notion of "autoethnography," Burton hopes to show a Leo who "unlike Othello, reveals the instability of European discourse about difference by undermining many of those anti-African and anti-Islamic shibboleths which, ironically, gain him admission to the ranks of authoritative European historians" (44).
14 Translation mine. Quoted in Guy Poirier (167 n.30). Poirier does not treat the notable difference in Pory's translation.
15 Mármol's work appeared in French translation, *L'Afrique de Marmol*, in 1667 (2: 161–2).
16 Sedgwick (1993, xii).
17 By the play's end, Othello has terminally internalized his role as Ottoman outsider evident in the death-blow directed to the hated part of his divided self, explicitly identified as the "malignant and turbaned Turk" (5.2.363). See also Vitkus (esp. 77–106).
18 George Sandys's description of the Turkish harem, from *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610*, begins with noting the sultan's "Virgins, of whom there seldome are so few as five hundred, kept in

a Serraglio by themselves, and attended on onely by women, and Eunuchs. They all of them are his slaves; either taken in the warres, or from their Christian parents: and are indeede the choicest beauties of the Empire," in Kamps and Singh (25). On the seraglio and the politics of looking, see Ballaster (59–192, esp. 73–5).

19 The first part is exceptional, for Rycaut documents homoeroticism not of the more widely asserted age-graded type. The second and third references follow the familiar pattern of the older man–younger male sexual liaisons.

20 Gramaye also writes of "two hundred thousand Christians, of which the most are Renegados or Apostatas, which professe Mahometisme: some, but very few, of their owne accord; some by force, as Boyes which they take, and Infants (neither is it lawfull for any to be freed thence till hee bee fifteene yeeres old)" (Purchas, 9: 268).

21 Bleys discusses the explicit relevance of this distinction in relation to sexuality and sodomy (see esp. 17–36).

22 Van der Straet's drawing was widely circulated in print. Montrose (141–7), de Certeau (xxv–xxvi), and Matar (2) have all made use of this image, emphasizing its importance to a discourse of colonialism.

23 The *OED* notes this specialized meaning of *theory*: "A body of *theors* sent by a state to perform some religious rite or duty; a solemn legation" (17: 902).

References and Further Reading

Africanus, Leo. *A Geographical Historie of Africa*., trans. John Pory. London, 1600, in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes*. New York: AMS Press, 1965.

Ballaster, Ros. *Fabulous Orients: Fictions of the East in England 1662–1785.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Bartels, Emily. "Making More of the Moor: Aaron, Othello, and Renaissance Refashionings of Race," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41/4 (1990): 433–54.

Bevington, David, ed. *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, 4th edn. New York: HarperCollins, 1997.

Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Bleys, Rudi C. *The Geography of Perversion: Male-to-Male Sexual Behavior Outside the West and the Ethnographic Imagination*. New York: New York University Press, 1995.

Bosworth, A. B. *Conquest and Empire: The Reign of Alexander the Great*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Burton, Jonathan. "'A Most Wily Bird': Leo Africanus, *Othello* and the Trafficking in Difference," in *Post-Colonial Shakespeares*. Ed. Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin. New York: Routledge, 1998, 43–63.

Clifford, James. "Notes on Travel and Theory," *Inscriptions* 5 (1989): 177–88.

Clifford, James. "Traveling Cultures," in *Cultural Studies*. Ed. Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Triechler. New York: Routledge, 1992, 96–116.

Davies, John. *The Complete Works*, vol. 1. New York: AMS Press, 1987.

d'Avity, Pierre. *The Estates, Empires, & Principalities of the World*, trans. Edward Grimstone. London: Adam Islip, 1615.

de Certeau, Michel. *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

DiGangi, Mario. *The Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Diodorus Siculus. *Bbiliotheca Historia*, vol. 8. Loeb Classical Library, 1963.

Falkner, Silke R. " 'Having It Off' with Fish, Camels, and Lads: Sodomitic Pleasures in German-Language Turcica," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 13/4 (2004): 401–27.

Foucault Michel. *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1. New York: Vintage, 1980.

Goldberg, Jonathan. *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992.

Hammond, N. G. L. *The Genius of Alexander the Great*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Johnson, Rosalind R. "African Presence in Shakespearean Drama: Parallels Between Othello and the Historical Leo Africanus," *Journal of African Civilizations* 7/2 (1985): 276–87.

Kamps, Ivo and Jyotsna G. Singh, eds. *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period.* New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Kaplan, Caren. *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.

Levin, Carole. "Backgrounds and Echoes of Othello: From Leo Africanus to Ignatus Sancho," *Journal of the Humanities* 22/2 (1996): 45–68.

Mármol Carvajal, Luis del. *L'Afrique de Marmol*, 3 vols, trans. Nicholas Perrot. Paris: Louis Billaine, 1667.

Matar, Nabil. *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Matz, Robert. "Slander, Renaissance Discourses of Sodomy and *Othello*," *ELH* 66 (1999): 261–76.

Montrose, Louis. "The Work of Gender and Sexuality in the Elizabethan Discourse of Discovery," in *Discourses of Sexuality: From Aristotle to AIDS*. Ed. Donna C. Stanton. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992, 138–84.

Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. Trans. A. D. Melville. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Oxford English Dictionary. 2nd edn., prepared by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 20 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Parker, Patricia. *Shakespeare from the Margins: Language, Culture, Context*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Poirier, Guy. "Masculinities and Homosexualities in French Renaissance Accounts of Travel to the Middle East and North Africa," in *Desire and Discipline: Sex and Sexuality in the Premodern West*. Ed. Jacqueline Murray and Konrad Eisenbacher. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996. 155–67.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Purchas, Samuel. *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols. New York: AMS Press, 1965.

Rocke, Michael. *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Rycaut, Paul. *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*. London, 1668.

Said, Edward W. "Traveling Theory," *The World, the Text, and the Critic*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983, 226–47.

Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.

Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Tendencies*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.

Shakespeare, William. *Othello*. New Cambridge Edition. Ed. Norman Sanders. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Shirley, Thomas. *Discours of the Turkes*. Ed. E. Denison Ross. London: Royal Historical Society, 1936.

Smith, Bruce R. *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England: A Cultural Poetics*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Smith, Ian. "Barbarian Errors: Performing Race in Early Modern England," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 49/2 (1998): 168–86.

Stewart, Alan. *Close Readers: Humanism and Sodomy in Early Modern England*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Vitkus, Daniel J. *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630.* New York: Palgrave, 2003.

PART III

Networks of Exchange: Traveling Objects

12

Guns and Gawds: Elizabethan England's Infidel Trade

Matthew Dimmock

On the night of May 4, 1593, a document was attached to the door of one of the London churches used by the city's immigrant Protestant communities. Known now as the Dutch Church Libel, it was described by the authorities as "lewd and malicious" and prompted a city-wide man-hunt for its author. One of those first questioned was the poet and dramatist Christopher Marlowe, inevitably implicated since his work is repeatedly referenced in the libel, and who was soon after murdered.[1] One of the most controversial documents that remain extant from sixteenth-century England, it reveals deep anxieties were circulating in London concerning England's place within the wider world beyond its shores and the increasingly sophisticated networks of exchange that bound the English into that world. Rediscovered in the early 1970s by Arthur Freeman, and cited here from the Bodleian manuscript, it warrants reproduction in full:

> Ye strangers y^{t} doe inhabite in this lande
> Note this same writing doe it vnderstand
> Conceit it well for savegard of your lyves
> Your goods, your children, & your dearest wives
> Your Machiavellian Marchant spoyles the state,
> Your vsery doth leave vs all for deade
> Your Artifex, & craftesman works our fate,
> And like the Jewes, you eate us vp as bread
> The Marchant doth ingross all kinde of wares
> Forestall's the markets, whereso 'ere he goe's
> Sends forth his wares, by Pedlers to the faires,
> Retayle's at home, & with his horrible showes: Vndoeth thowsands
> In Baskets your wares trott up & downe

My thanks to Jyotsna Singh and to Hazel Forsyth, Senior Curator at the Museum of London, for their assistance with this chapter.

Carried the streets by the country nation,
You are intelligencers to the state & crowne
And in your hart*es* doe wish an alteracion,
You transport goods, & bring vs gawds good store
Our Leade, our Vittaile, our Ordenance & what nott
That Egipts plagues, vext not the Egyptians more
Then you doe vs; then death shall be your lotte
Noe prize comes in but you make claime therto
And every merchant hath three trades at least,
And Cutthrote like in selling you vndoe
vs all, & with our store continually you feast: We cannot suffer long.
Our pore artificers doe starve & dye
For y^t^ they cannot now be sett on worke
And for your worke more curious to the ey
In Chambers, twenty in one house will lurke,
Raysing of rents, was never knowne before
Living farre better then at native home
And our pore soules, are cleane thrust out of dore
And to the warres are sent abroade to rome,
To fight it out for Fraunce & Belgia,
And dy like dogges as sacrifice for you
Expect you therefore such a fatall day
Shortly on you, & yours for to ensewe: as never was seene.
Since words nor threates nor any other thinge
canne make you to avoyd this certaine ill
Weele cutte your throtes, in your temples praying
Not paris massacre so much blood did spill
As we will doe iust vengeance on you all
In counterfeitinge religion for your flight
When tis well knowne, you are loth, for to be thrall
your coyne, & you as countryes cause to slight
With Spanish gold, you all are infected
And with y^t^ gould our Nobles wink at feats
Nobles said I? nay men to be reiected,
Upstarts yt enioy the noblest seat*es*
That wound their Countries brest, for lucres sake
And wrong our gracious Queene & Subiects good
By letting strangers make our harts to ake
For which our swords are whet, to shedd their blood
And for a truth let it be vnderstoode/ Fly, Flye, & never returne.
per. Tam-
berlaine

Concerns regarding the export of English goods, those goods imported in return, the number and nature of "strangers" in the realm, and aristocratic complicity in their perceived dominance here all coalesce in an assertion of "pure" Englishness that is

simultaneously a call for action and a threat of extreme violence. Particularly striking is the way in which the group addressed – largely Protestant refugees from Northern Europe, protected by the Crown – is progressively made more and more alien. They are initially homogenized as "strangers" and then characterized as devious and parasitic merchants. They subsequently become explicitly associated with the derogatory medieval stereotype of the Jew as a cannibalistic and exploitative moneylender, a corruptor of the noblemen of the realm, worshipping in his "temples" – a provocative reconsecration of the Christian Church on which the libel had been posted. The libeler, who signs himself "Tamburlaine" after Marlowe's vicious Scythian warlord, the "scourge of God," also repeatedly threatens bloody and indiscriminant violence if these "strangers" do not leave the country immediately (Freeman, 44–52).

This remarkable document can be placed in the context of a series of crises in England in the 1590s. For London, grain shortages and economic depression were coupled with a surge of incoming economic migrants fleeing starvation and poor wages in the countryside (the "country nation" coopted by the "strangers" in the Dutch Church Libel). In 1593 the Queen herself complained that there were "more vagrant people and masterless men in at the gates of London and were within the city than within four score miles around the same" (Clark, 50). Their numbers were swollen by troops returning from war on the continent or from Ireland – again in 1593 authorities condemned the great numbers of alleged soldiers who "do swarm in all parts of this city" (Clark, 52). London seethed with discontentment and violence.

These factors – poverty, grain shortages, unemployment, overcrowding, rising prices (and their prominence in the early 1590s) produced specific grievances that were invariably directed against London's "alien" communities and are prominent in the libel: that "alien" merchants had become wealthy in England but kept all the money for themselves and their own; that such merchants had either sold all the English grain overseas or were holding it back to drive up prices; that "alien" merchants employed only their own kind and forced locals out of their jobs; that "alien" landlords drove up rents by accommodating large numbers in each house and buying all the property; and that the English were fighting against Catholic forces on the continent purely for the benefit of these "strangers" who were growing rich in their absence. Such accusations, here addressed directly to the "strangers" but intended to be copied, circulated, and publicly recited among London's apprentices, together coalesced into the polarized assertion of an exclusive English identity set against an homogenized "alien" identity. This was despite the existence in London of established communities of Protestant Dutch, French, and Italians, a number of whom were second- or third-generation immigrants, having been born in England and with denizen status (Yungblut, 77–8). The preoccupation with trade in the libel is also telling. The ongoing and bitter conflict with Spain had gradually isolated England in mercantile, religious, and political terms: Spain itself had been an important outlet for English goods, as had Portugal, another crucial market, which had become a Spanish territory after Philip II's annexation in 1580. Spanish dominance in the Low

Countries – especially after the Spanish sack of Antwerp (a major commercial centre) in 1576 – meant that another vital outlet for English wares was closed. As a Spanish spy in England wrote to the Spanish court in 1586:

> [The English] . . . are much troubled with this war they have entered into against Spain, as the whole country is without trade, and knows not how to recover it; the shipping and commerce here having mainly depended upon the communication with Spain and Portugal. They feel the deprivation all the more now, with the loss of the cloth trade with Germany, which they formally carried on through Holland . . . and this is causing much dissatisfaction all over the country . . . All that is left to them is the Levant trade, which is with Turkey and Italy, and that with Barbary. If these two are taken from them, which can be easily done, they will be driven into a corner, without any commerce or navigation at all. Their French trade is very insignificant, and is carried on by a few small vessels only.
>
> Great importance should be attached to stopping their Levant trade . . . and I can assure your Lordship, if this were done for a single year, it would bring them perforce to surrender on any terms His Majesty might please to dictate. (Reproduced in Tawney and Power, 75–6)

The English were being squeezed out of their traditional North European markets for both exports and imports, and the Spanish clearly felt that this strategy of embargo would ultimately bring them victory. Shut the English off from international networks of trade and they will collapse internally, this spy argues. Yet, as he recognizes, new commercial relationships established in the Mediterranean, especially with the Ottoman Empire and with North Africa (particularly Morocco) undermined this Spanish blockade and were crucial for England's survival.

English ships had been carrying on an unregulated trade in the Eastern and Southern Mediterranean for decades, but it was not until the late 1570s and early 1580s that commercial treaties were signed which could lead to an anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic mercantile alliance. Despite the desperate circumstances in which they were forged, this necessary shift in policy brought England a great deal of criticism from both home and abroad – a Catholic polemicist on the continent wrote in 1592 that England had now found "new confederates" in "the great Turk, the kings of Fez, Morocco and Algiers, or other Mahometains and Moors of Barbary, all professed enemies unto Christ." In fact, he writes, were they not so geographically distant, the English would readily exchange "their Geneva Bible" for the "Turkish Alcoran" (Dimmock 2005, 164–6). In response to such accusations from other Christian monarchs, Elizabeth I took to repeatedly denying that the English had anything more than a simple trading relationship with the Ottomans, just as many Christian states maintained: but this was a necessary fiction. In the schism of ongoing Reformation the Protestant English had become the "infidels" of Christendom, increasingly bound together in polemical, mercantile, and symbolic terms with the Muslim "infidels" of North Africa and the Ottoman Empire.

It is this "infidel" trade – the reactions it generated and the new worlds it opened up – that is the focus of this chapter. While it predominantly reflects trading in prohibited goods with the Islamic world, unlawful under papal edict, it also concerns

wider attempts by English merchants to create an unregulated and illicit arms trade in which cheap English weapons were sold across the Afro-European world, exploiting the fractures opened by the Reformation and reflecting the abandonment of any pretense of adherence to a Christian division of the world between those whom one might legitimately trade arms with and those "infidels" or "barbarians" with whom one might not. The English would now sell arms to anyone who could afford them, from Islamic Morocco to the Protestant Low Countries, even to Catholic Spain. Aside from commonly made accusations against "strangers" concerning rents and trading, the author of the Dutch Church Libel makes an important point concerning this "infidel" trade. About halfway down the text the libeler writes "You transport goods, & bring vs gawds good store / Our Leade, our Vittaile, our Ordenance & what nott." Here the imagined alien merchant is accused of exporting out of England goods such as lead, vittaile (food or provisions of any kind) and "ordenance" (military materials). In return, he is importing "gawds good store" – gawds here meaning gaudy goods, or trash of no value – in large quantities. There is a clear discrepancy, as far as the libeler is concerned, between the intrinsic value of those "foreign" goods coming in, and those "English" goods going out – the crucial "balance" of trade has become critically imbalanced.

For this libeler and his imagined constituency there is a vast gulf between the worth of these goods, those "gawds good store" that represent the outside world, and the solid English value inherent in "our" lead, vittaile, and "ordenance." The polemical implication is clear: England would fare better in total isolation, keeping her goods to herself. This apparently patriotic sounding of the alarm highlights real fears felt about the ramifications of global trading networks upon English "purity" and nationhood at a time of crisis, poverty, and rising inflation. To uncover the extent to which this libeler's remarks reflect the mercantile situation as it was played out on the streets of the capital (and in some cases on its public stages), I want to divide what remains of this chapter between the implacably opposed categories the libeler creates between those imported "gawds" and the exported lead, vittaile, and "ordenance."

I Gawds

The writer of the Dutch Church Libel ascribes the responsibility for these "gawds" squarely with those "stranger" merchants who bring such worthless trash into the country. There is no suggestion of English culpability of any sort, nor does the libeler offer any sense of a history to this trade. English men and women had been acquiring such goods – often luxury materials at considerable cost – for centuries, and the English had developed a reputation for their addiction to imported novelties, and to clothing in particular. Many domestic writers had repeatedly lamented this trend: Andrew Boorde (writing in 1542) had portrayed the archetypal Englishman bewitched by "all new fashyons" (Boorde, A.3v), and William Harrison's *Description of England*

(incorporated into Raphael Holinshed's influential *Chronicles*, first published in 1577 and revised in 1587) is a text suffused with a general suspicion of trade from "foreign countries" and specifically its effect upon England and the English character. Harrison even identifies the point at which the downward spiral began: the day the English stepped onto the continent following Edward III's conquest of Calais in 1347. It was at that moment that they "began to wax idle" and "not onlie left off their former painfulnesse and frugalitie, but in like sort began to give themselues to liue in excesse and vanite" (Holinshed, 208). This supposed first step onto the continent is thus anachronistically imagined as an end to a glorious golden age of virile and vigorous isolation, a retrospective projection of the island Albion of Elizabethan myth. The infection of England with idleness, and "foreign" goods to supply that "idleness" may have started with an English conquest, but it was by no means simply the responsibility of the English. Far from it:

> Such strangers also as dwelled here with vs, perceiuing our sluggishnesse and espieng that this idlenesse of ours might redound to their great profit, foorthwith imploied their endeuours to bring in the supplie of such things as we lacked, continuallie from forren countries; which yet more augmented our idlenes. (Holinshed, 208)

As the Dutch Church libeler suggests, those "strangers" dwelling amongst "us" are only too ready to exploit English weakness, making considerable sums of money while further exacerbating English dependence upon their goods. Consequently those "common and plentiful" home-grown English goods are treated with "irksome contempt" while those "things far-sought" – every "trifle and toy" – are highly esteemed regardless of their cost (Holinshed, 208).

Despite this apparent love of all things new and strange, Englishmen – as we saw with the Dutch Church Libel – regularly erupted with vicious xenophobia against the perceived purveyors of these goods. Under Elizabeth alone attacks upon immigrants are recorded numerous times (Yungblut, 40).[2] Yet, although rioters and polemicists liked to represent it as such, trade from the world beyond Christendom was neither simply about fripperies and trash, nor did it concern only "alien" merchants. Spices, alongside conventional luxury goods like silks, carpets, and ceramics, had found their way into Britain through long-established trade routes for centuries, although they were rare and expensive. The trading networks in which the English were closely involved were firmly anchored in Northern Europe, with only occasional voyages recorded to North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean before 1500. This scarcity and unfamiliarity further stimulated the desire for such goods in England – initially transported through major Christian trading centers like Venice and Antwerp – and recurrent fantasies of Asia as a place of infinite riches and magic indicate the potency of such desires.

Assumptions that the number of decorative "trifles" available on English streets and acquired by men and women seeking to capitalize on those "exotic" associations were increasing had been a cause for alarm – in private circles at least – since the late

1540s, when Sir Thomas Smith wrote his incisive "Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England" (1549). Intended as an investigation into the cause of inflationary rises, this text was later published in 1581 to capitalize on an ongoing preoccupation with the issue. In his discourse, Smith's "Doctor," the voice of reason, disconsolately marvels that no man takes heed of the "number of trifles comes hether from beyond the sea, that we mighte eyther cleane spare or els make them within our realm." Among these he lists "looking" and "drinking" glasses, alongside:

> glase Windowes, Dialles, Tables, Cardes, Balles Puppettes, Penners, Inkehornes, Tothepickes, Gloues, Kniues, Dagges, Owches, Browches, Aglettes, Buttons of silk & Siluer, Earthen pots, Pinnes & Pointes, Hawkes belles, Paper both white and browne, and a thousand like thinges. (Smith, 25a)

Imported goods such as these could be found on "euery streate." Equally as despicable, alien merchants buy English commodities cheaply, then "set their people a work" making "clothes, Cappes and Kerseies . . . Spanish skinnes, Gloues and Gerdels" from English cloth, "Saltsellers, Spones and Dishes" from English tin and "Paper both white and browne" from English "broken linen clothes and ragges." They then sell them back to the English at a vast profit, costing the country "inestimable treasure every year" (Smith, 25b). The paradox surrounding such goods was that they were both worthless and expensive, highly desired trash, indicating to many dismayed observers that the English were being fooled and "strangers" were making a great deal of money.

This anxiety was further dramatized in a satirical play by Robert Wilson, also produced in 1581 and titled *Three Ladies of London*. It features a despicable alien merchant named Mercadorus who, complete with comedic Italian accent, sells English goods in the Mediterranean markets (particularly in Turkey) including domestically produced "vittaile" like wheat, peas, barley, oats, beef, and bacon. In return he brings "trinkets" and "trifles" for "da Gentlewoman of England," goods such as:

> Bugles to make babies, coloured bones, glasse, beades, to make bracelettes withal: For every day Gentlewomen of England doe aske for more trifles from stall to stall. And you must bryng more, as Amber, Jeat, Corall, Christall, and euery such bable, That is slight, prettie and pleasant, they care not to haue it profitable. (Wilson, B.3v)

This extract – polemical though it is – repays detailed analysis. Initially it is clear that anxieties about this trade in trash from Turkey are immediately displaced onto the "Gentlewomen of England" who are obsessed with frivolously acquiring such trinkets. But what are these goods? The *OED* suggests that in this context "bugles" are tube-shaped glass beads, ornaments for clothing. A "baby" is a doll or puppet – "babes" are recorded in shipments of goods into England from Antwerp in the 1570s (Willan 1959, 72). Colored bones, glass, beads, and bracelets are more easily identifiable – and again are all decorative items with no functional or "profitable" value.

This suspicion of items without obvious function intersects with wider iconoclastic Protestant concerns, and beads in particular may well have retained a Catholic association through the rosary, further qualifying their identification as "trash" (the same word was used to describe the ritual objects of the Catholic Mass). Glass is of particular interest, since Harrison's *Description of England* had noted disapprovingly that now the wealthy had recently chosen "the Venice glasses both for our wine and beere" rather than "anie of those mettals or stone wherein before time we haue been accustomed to drinke," even "the poorest . . . will haue glasse if they may" (Holinshed, 167). Further "bables" – amber, jet, coral, and crystal – were highly sought after in Elizabethan London, but were again not necessarily from Turkey, nor were they entirely new, as this play appears to suggest. A great deal of jet came from Spain, while large quantities of Mediterranean red coral had been carried into England with other luxury goods from the region. Like coral, amber – mainly from the Baltic – was revered for its color and beauty, and both had been used for decorative beads in jewelry and clothing. It was worked in Bruges, and arrived in England through the English mercantile community in Antwerp. Crystal was almost certainly Venetian-style glass – "cristallo" – based upon the immensely popular glassware made in Venice from the mid-fifteenth century and widely exported. By the following century it was being reproduced across Northern Europe. What is particularly noteworthy about these goods and their identification as newly dangerous "bables" is that they had been imported into England regularly since at least the mid-fifteenth century, and the extant Exchequer Customs Accounts for London in 1480–1 record numerous shipments – particularly of amber, glass, and beads, but of almost every item identified as a problem by Smith in 1549.[3]

This trade in trinkets that Wilson suggests has so bewitched the gentlewomen of England furthermore comes from all over the Mediterranean, but the playwright chooses to focus its origin on Turkey – suggesting an intention to play upon popular connotations of the luxurious and indolent "East" and the potential damage to England this association was apparently causing. One further satirical context for this passage becomes apparent in the recognition that those same materials that preoccupy the English gentlewomen – beads, glass, colored bones – are conspicuously the same trinkets the English were using to trade with the peoples they encountered in the New World. In an attempt to galvanize support for English voyages to Virginia, Richard Hakluyt had insisted that this trade would offer "ample vent of the labour of our poor people at home, by sale of hats, bonnets, knives, fish-hooks, copper kettles, beads, looking-glasses, bugles & a thousand kinds of other wrought wares" (Sloane, 122). This is even true of "babies". When first encountering the peoples of Roanoke Thomas Hariot, author of *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588) recorded that "We offred the[m] of our wares, as glasses, kniues, babies, and other trifles, which wee thougt they delighted in" (Sloane, 122). This is further emphasized in John White's famous image of *A wife of an Indian werowance or chief of Pomeiooc, and her daughter* (and Theodore de Bry's subsequent engraving) in which the young girl carries an English doll. The implication is that even while the English were

exploiting the indigenous peoples of Virginia with their "trifles," they too were being exploited back at home. English men and women, foolishly "delighted" with imported toys were thus equivalent to the naive peoples of the New World, dazzled by worthless trading goods from elsewhere.

There are some clear dichotomies surrounding the import of goods from the Mediterranean, and particularly those originating in, or passing through, the Ottoman Empire and North Africa. The goods that made up the bulk of this trade were sugar, pepper and other spices, including nutmeg, ginger, and cinnamon – and in his text William Harrison specifically complains at their fluctuating prices (Harrison 1994, 116). While these were widely desired, it was the apparently purposeless luxury goods, primarily the province of the wealthy, which became popularly associated with "Eastern" commerce. Part of the problem, for some commentators, was clearly the new social dimension to this trade, which catered for the lower social orders, allowing them to ape the tastes of their superiors – this again disrupted the relative value of things. Yet to really understand the dynamics at work, we need to consider the other side of this equation – what was going out of England for which the English were only gaining trash in return. Certainly – as demonstrated in the Dutch Church Libel, in Harrison's *Description*, and Wilson's *Three Ladies of London* – such transactions gave rise to a fear that England's innate value was leaking away, that inherent quality was being exchanged for rubbish, and England was losing its Englishness. This imbalance furthermore had a political edge to it, with writers suggesting that basic necessities were being sold out of the realm by a combination of "alien" merchants and the "upstart" nobility, with the latter then acquiring trinkets for their own amusement in return. But this wasn't just an issue of "vittaile." So let us turn to those goods the anonymous libeler of 1593 felt were being sold out of the realm without adequate recompense.

II Lead, Vittaile, and Ordenance

The Dutch Church Libel pinpoints "lead, vittaile and ordenance." Wilson's play similarly identifies "wheat, peas, barley, oats, fitches [a kind of seed] and all kinds of grain" along with "leather, tallow, beef, bacon, bellmetal and every thing" (Wilson, B.3v). The references to food can, as we have seen, be connected to the desperate food shortages, routinely blamed upon "alien" merchants. But what of ordnance and bellmetal? Why does such concern surround their export? The answer lies in the complex European situation created in the aftermath of Reformation.

One prominent consequence of the Reformation, as already mentioned, was the conspicuous isolation of Elizabethan England, particularly after the papal excommunication of Elizabeth in 1570, the Spanish sack of Antwerp in 1576, and their annexation of Portugal in 1580. Trade lay largely in the hands of England's Catholic adversaries, and in the late 1570s England turned to the Ottomans and North Africa. This had its dangers, not only in the accusations and conflations made by Catholic

polemicists, but also in the infringement of papal dictate and its consequences. The canon law of the Christian Church:

> had long forbidden trade with the Infidel in materials used for war. A clause of the papal bull *In Cena Domini* threatened with excommunication all Christians who carried to the Muslims horses and arms, iron, tin, copper, sulphur, saltpetre and the like, also the ropes and timber indispensable in naval affairs. (Parry, 225)

This general prohibition originated in the laws of the Roman Empire, and had been reformulated and reissued by numerous popes and secular rulers. Equivalent prohibitions existed in the Ottoman Empire, and in the turmoil of the sixteenth century these strictures on the exportation of anything that might aid an enemy's military capacity (including foodstuffs) were rigorously enforced on both sides. Yet there was a great deal of money to be made, and Christian soldiers, technicians, weaponry, and raw materials continued to pour into the Ottoman Empire despite the concerted efforts of Christian monarchs and the papacy who sought to block the trade and seize those ships carrying contraband materials into the Mediterranean.

Pope Pius V's Bull excommunicating Elizabeth I as the "pretended Queen of England, and her followers, heretics" had a profound effect upon English perceptions of their relationship with the rest of Christian Europe, and, as Susan Skilliter has recognized, "caused an upsurge of patriotism and loyalty, remarkable even in the number of official portraits of the Queen issued from 1570." More importantly, "the English merchants, now outlawed, were free to reap the harvest offered by the infidel market" – and this "infidel market" was vast (Skilliter, 23). Ottoman need was greater than their own domains could supply, particularly in terms of cloth and metals. In 1571 the Ottoman fleet had been comprehensively defeated by the Holy League in the Battle of Lepanto and required total reconstruction, and in 1578 Ottoman forces began an expensive 12-year campaign against Safavid Persia. They needed supplies, munitions, and ordnance, and, following Elizabeth's excommunication:

> [the English] were now free and eager to export cloth for soldiers' uniforms and metal for arms, especially the precious tin. Flaunting their liberty, English ships would carry to the infidel the scrap-metal resulting from the upheavals of the Reformation – lead from the roofs of ecclesiastical buildings, old bells, and broken metal statuary (Skilliter, 23).

In this extraordinary exchange, products of Reformation iconoclasm that remained in England – particularly bells, many of which were confiscated from monasteries at the time of the dissolution – combined with tin, which England had from its Cornish mines in abundance, were being shipped to the Ottoman Empire in defiance of papal prohibition, potentially for use against Spain and Christian armies in the Eastern Mediterranean. This kind of material had tremendous symbolic value – the expurgation of England's own Catholic "trash" – affirming Elizabeth's status as a Protestant

idol destroyer, corresponding with the Muslim Ottoman ruler Murad III's recognized abhorrence of idols and idolatry.

Trade in the machines and materials of war had been going on for centuries, yet in these new political circumstances the Protestant English – and later the Dutch – created for themselves a new and lucrative trade with the Ottomans in war material which, though often alleged, had been carefully resisted by traditional Christian trading partners with Muslim states such as Venice and Chios. An English ship is mentioned at Livorno in 1573 with a cargo of tin, broken bells, and ingots of lead, and the *Providence* of London is recorded as carrying "bell-metal and tin to the value of twenty thousand crowns" into the Mediterranean (Parry, 226; Skilliter, 75). A number of such accounts remain extant, and they confirm that ordnance and related materials were indeed, as the Dutch Church libeler alleged, being shipped out of England. These cargoes were only the tip of an iceberg. The English had been exporting armaments to Tsar Ivan IV of Russia from soon after the incorporation of the Muscovy Company in 1555, despite protests from Gustavus of Sweden, Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I, King Sigismund of Poland, and the Senate of Hamburg (Willan 1956, 63–5; Fuhrmann, 42–4). The English were also supplying armaments to Sweden in the 1560s, to the Low Countries and Morocco in the 1580s and 1590s, and one unnamed entrepreneur even exported 23 cannons to Spain in 1583 (Willan 1959, 117; Cipolla, 46). Furthermore, they supplied both Christian and Muslim sides with arms and gunpowder in the momentous North African campaign that led to the Battle of Alcazar (Al-Ksar-el-Kebir) in 1578 in which King Sebastian I of Portugal was killed (Dimmock 2005, 122).[4] The remarkable extent of this trade may have made it lucrative, but it also made it problematic. Protests from Christian monarchs, and the deliberate and conspicuous omission of any mention of England's involvement in the sale of armaments in Richard Hakluyt's celebration of English "traffique," *The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589), indicate the potentially damaging associations a trade in arms might have, both domestically and internationally.

The success (and continuance) of these ventures was primarily a consequence of the popularity of cheap cast-iron English guns across Europe, and despite an outcry led by Sir Walter Raleigh, who declared English guns to be "a jewel of great value," and laws passed against their export in 1574, they were sold overseas in huge quantities (Cipolla, 45). The English were fast becoming the arms dealers of the early modern world – "the troublers of all Christendome" – and with that came opprobrium, particularly for their trading of armaments to "infidels." The Spanish were especially vocal in their opposition. In November 1579 the Spanish ambassador in London, Bernardino de Mendoza, wrote to Philip II:

> The Turks are also desirous of friendship with the English on account of the tin which had been sent thither for the last few years, and which is of the greatest value to them, as they cannot cast their guns without it, whilst the English make a tremendous profit on the article, by means of which alone they maintain the trade with the Levant . . . As this sending tin to the infidel is

> against the apostolic communion, and your Majesty has ordered that no such voyage shall be allowed to pass the Messina light, to the prejudice of God and Christianity, I advise the viceroy of Sicily of the sailing of these ships as I understand that they will touch at Palermo, where the tin can be confiscated. (Skilliter, 24–5)

In another report, this time from 1580, the French ambassador in Istanbul, de Germigny, wrote to his king:

> not wishing to conceal from you that what has given the greatest favour to the said Englishman in the eyes of these people [i.e. the Ottoman court] is that he has brought in a large amount of steel and bits of broken images of brass and latten to cast ordnance, and promises to bring in a great deal more of it secretly in future, which is a form of contraband hateful and pernicious to all Christendom. (Skilliter, 84)

Elizabeth's response to all such complaints was flat denial. The political contours of Europe in the late 1570s and the growing importance of this trade had meant that it required official involvement, regulation, and validation, if initially only within the secrecy of the Privy Council. An ambassador was despatched (the "said Englishman" mentioned by de Germigny), the experienced merchant William Harborne, to the Ottoman court in 1578, and in 1580 he was awarded a series of "Capitulations" which both established Elizabeth as a tributary of the Ottoman Sultan (a point the English prudently chose to downplay) and gave English merchants significant trading privileges in Ottoman domains. Information concerning this newly codified relationship between an "infidel" state and a "heretic" nation only filtered into the public domain gradually and its establishment was lauded in such celebratory terms that a policy of careful control was clearly at work, culminating in Hakluyt's politic editing and reproduction of the whole sequence of treaty and correspondence in 1589.

Only Wilson's play, written soon after Harborne's success, expresses discomfort with English bell-metal – along with a host of other goods and vittaile – being traded with the "Turk." Wilson does not attack the "Turk," however. Instead his play fits alongside later writings including the Dutch Church Libel that are preoccupied less with the ideological dimensions of the trade and more with those "strangers" making money from it, along with the scale of the discrepancy in perceived value between imports and exports. The Anglo-Ottoman trading association built upon earlier trading ventures in Russia and North Africa and would, while controversial, generate a considerable expansion in England's Mediterranean trade. Aside from the direct benefits, it also encouraged English merchants to expand into secondary and tertiary trading arrangements, in which they sold on goods into other North European markets, or acquired goods in Northern Europe for sale in the ports of the Mediterranean. Despite public anxieties and misgivings, England's "infidel" position allowed her merchants to profitably enmesh themselves further into international networks of trade than ever before.

III Stranger Exchanges

England's "infidel trade" was thus a multifaceted enterprise. It incorporated those "trifles" arriving in the country, polemically imagined as "Eastern," which were both despised and desired by English men and women. It also included goods traded by English merchants to those considered in traditional Christian terms to be "infidels" – and particularly those contraband materials such as "ordenance" that were forbidden by papal dictate. As a term it reflects England's repositioning as "infidel" by the wider Christian community following the excommunication of Elizabeth I, and indicates the ways in which those "trifles" that come to represent all "alien" imports into England were a consequence of this illicit trade. As all those opposing the trade recognized, without the exportation of England's guns, metals, and cloth, there would be no imported "trifles" – the two were part of the same process, and it is the stark imbalance writers found between the two (as well as distaste for the trade as a whole) that generates such opposition.

There were however clear advantages to be gained, and many favored England's mercantile expansion, assuming that it would generate imperial opportunities, and relishing the prestige and wealth such exploits promised. These contrasting perspectives, and their implications for a notion of English identity, are brought to the fore not only in anti-alien sentiment, but also in civic pageantry, drama, religious sermons, and ambassadorial visits. Of the latter, amongst the many ambassadors that visited Elizabeth's court, the highly public nature of the Moroccan embassy of 1600–1 makes it particularly relevant. Ostensibly in England to discuss matters of trade, the ambassador Abd al-Wahid bin Masoud bin Muhammad al-Annuri (whose portrait remains in England), and his retinue prompted one contemporary observer to remark that they were "very strangely attired and behauiored." Later observers would comment upon their inclination to kill their own food according to their own rites, and suspected that they were spies or even magicians (Matar, 23–8; Dimmock 2006, 7–10). The embassy brought with them a group of Flemish captives for release, specifically requested by the Queen, who recognized in the visit an opportunity to position herself as a liberator of Christian captives, enhancing her chosen role in diplomatic exchanges with Morocco and the Ottomans as "Queen of the Nazarenes." Yet behind the ritual and the official guise of trading agreements, the ambassador had secretly submitted another proposal on behalf of his king Al-Mansur, which urged an aggressive military alliance between Morocco and England in order to seize "Spanish-held possessions in North Africa and in America" (Matar, 26). Perhaps unsurprisingly, the project never materialized – both monarchs would die soon after in the same year, 1603. After nearly six months in England, the embassy left in early 1601. Their visit had been prolonged by the death of a member of the party, but their departure was further delayed by the reluctance of "our merchants and mariners [who] will not take them to Turkey, thinking it scandalous to be too familiar with infidels," as John Chamberlain reported, before adding: "yet it is an honour for remote nations to meet

and admire the glory of the Queen of Sheba," that is, Queen Elizabeth. This is revealing – on the one hand English merchants and mariners felt it was scandalous to be dealing in this way with "infidels," yet on the other, it was an honor (Dimmock 2006, 8).

Returning to the Dutch Church Libel in terms of such exchanges, it seems that this "infidel" trade and the potential for aggressive alliance associated with it was crucial for England and for the redefinition of a Protestant English identity in the late sixteenth century. Although in many of the attacks upon this trade and upon those involved the attackers evade any substantial English responsibility for it by blaming "alien" merchants and corrupt noblemen, this trade offered a vital outlet for English trading goods – cloth in particular, but also tin – and a route through which "Eastern" goods previously unknown or of very high price could directly enter the country in bulk. Yet it was as much a construct as a reality. These desirable goods themselves provoked a series of anxieties about the nature of consumption – this was most obviously manifested in the wearing of "exotic" clothing, and would later take on a more literal dimension in the drinking of coffee, which was rumored in the mid-1650s to cause people to "turn Turk."[5] The influx of such goods was perceived to threaten the very nature of English identity. Conversely, this trade also provoked English desire for such goods and in the seventeenth century motivated voyages of exploration in every direction of the compass, prompting Englishmen to explore and settle the Americas, and driving them across Russia, Persia, into India, and further East to the fabled Spice Islands themselves, the Moluccas. It was this trade, despite the paradoxes and oppositions it generated, that would – through necessity – lead England to become an active component of a global mercantile system in a way that the country had never been before. The shape of the world, as the English understood it, had changed forever.

Notes

1 For further material concerning the murder of Christopher Marlowe, and the links with the Dutch Church Libel investigation, see David Riggs, *The World of Christopher Marlowe* (317–19); Park Honan, *Christopher Marlowe: Poet and Spy* (334–5); Charles Nicholl, *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe* (284–9).

2 Laura Hunt Yungblut identifies attacks upon immigrant communities in 1573, 1575, 1581, 1583, 1586, 1587, 1593, and 1595, and there are undoubtedly others of which traces no longer remain.

3 H. S. Cobb, ed., *The Overseas Trade of London Exchequer Customs Accounts 1480–1*, records five shipments of amber between 1480 and 1481, numerous shipments of beads and glass along with a multitude of other goods, and, for export, large quantities of bacon. See the excellent "Glossary and Index of Commodities," 174–89.

4 This conflict, later dramatized for the English public stage by George Peele, was of huge significance for England's position regarding an attempted Spanish trading embargo. Sebastian I of Portugal was killed, and Portugal was subsequently annexed by Spain in 1580. The Spanish Armada of 1588 later sailed from Lisbon, blessed as a crusade. See Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (112–34).

5 For further reference to the rise of the coffee-house in seventeenth-century England (the first was opened in 1652), consult Markman Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History*.

References and Further Reading

Primary Sources

Anonymous *(Libel Pamphlet) MS. Don.d.152.f.4v*. Bodleian Library.

Boorde, Andrew. *The fyrst boke of the introduction of knowledge, the which dothe teache a man to speake parte of all maner of languages, and to know the usage of all maner of countreys*. London: William Copland, 1555?

Hakluyt, Richard. *The principall navigations, voiages and discoveries of the English nation, made by sea or over land . . . within the compasse of these 1500 yeeres; Devided into three . . . parts, according to the positions of the regions whereunto they were directed.* London: G. Bishop and R. Newberie, Deputies to C. Barker, 1589.

Holinshed, Raphael. *The first and second volumes of Chronicles comprising 1 The description and historie of England, 2 The description and historie of Ireland, 3 The description and historie of Scotland*. London: Henry Denham, 1587.

Smith, Thomas. *A compendious or briefe examination of certayne ordinary complaints of diuers of our country men in these our dayes*. London: Thomas Marshe, 1581.

Secondary Sources

Burton, Jonathan *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579–1624*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005.

Carboni, S., ed. *Venice and the Islamic World, 828–1797*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007.

Cipolla, Carlo M. *Guns and Sails in the Early Phase of European Expansion, 1400–1700*. London: Collins, 1965.

Clark, P., ed. *The European Crisis of the 1590s: Essays in Comparative History*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1985.

Cobb, H. S., ed. *The Overseas Trade of London Exchequer Customs Accounts 1480–1*. London: London Record Society, 1990.

Dimmock, Matthew. *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.

Dimmock, Matthew. *William Percy's* Mahomet and His Heaven: *A Critical Edition*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

Ellis, Markman. *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History.* London: Orion Books, 2004.

Freeman, A. "Marlowe, Kyd and the Dutch Church Libel," *English Literary Renaissance* 3 (1973): 44–52.

Fuhrmann, J. T. *The Origins of Capitalism in Russia: Industry and Progress in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Chicago, IL: Quadrangle Books, 1972.

Harrison, W. [2nd edn.] *The Description of England* [1587]. Ed. Georges Edelen. New York: Dover Publications, 1994.

Honan, Park. *Christopher Marlowe: Poet and Spy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Matar, Nabil. *Islam in Britain 1558–1685*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Nicholl, Charles. *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1992.

Parry, V. J. "Materials of War in the Ottoman Empire," in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East: From the Rise of Islam to the Present Day*. Ed. M. A. Cook. London: Oxford University Press, 1970, 219–22.

Riggs, David. *The World of Christopher Marlowe*. London: Faber and Faber, 2004.

Skilliter, S. A. *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578–1582*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Sloane, K. *A New World: England's First View of America*. London: British Museum Press, 2007.

Tawney, R. H. and E. Power, eds. *Tudor Economic Documents Vol. 2*. London: Longmans, 1924.

Thirsk, J. *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.

Willan, T. S. *The Early History of the Russia Company, 1553–1603*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956.

Willan, T. S. *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959.

Wilson, T. *Three Ladies of London*. Ed. J. S. Farmer. London: Tudor Facsimile Texts, 1911.

Yungblut, L. H. *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, Perceptions and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England*. London: Routledge, 1996.

13

Cassio, Cash, and the "Infidel 0": Arithmetic, Double-entry Bookkeeping, and *Othello's* Unfaithful Accounts

Patricia Parker

a great arithmetician,
One Michael Cassio, a Florentine . . .
By debitor and creditor – this counter-caster . . .
Shakespeare, *Othello* 1.1.19–31

ten numerall figures . . . vsed in the vulgar Arithmeticke throughout all Europe, . . . generally thought to haue proceeded first from the Arabians.
Hylles, *Vulgar Arithmeticke* (1600)

"O! O! O! . . .
Shakespeare, *Othello* 5.2.198

Othello is particularly suggestive with regard to the "Global Renaissance" – as the tragedy of a "Moore of Venice" set against the geopolitics of the "Turk," geographies ranging to Aleppo and the Pontic Sea, and names evocative of *Sant'Iago Matamoros* and Spanish "Roderigo" as well as (through "Brabantio") the Low Countries' campaigns (Griffin, 58–99). What I want to explore here are its critically marginalized lines on "Florentine" Cassio as an "arithmetician" and "debitor and creditor" (the term for double-entry bookkeeping) in relation to an international network that included Antwerp, the financial center Dekker described as "the eldest daughter of Brabant" (Sugden, 23) –whose Burse provided the model for Gresham's Exchange – and the "arithmetricke meete for marchauntes" (as Thomas More called it) identified with the new "mercantile" (Edler, 120) or "Arabyan" numerals, including the " 'infidel symbol' " of "0" (Rotman, 8).

Iago's reference to Cassio as an "arithmetician" clearly summons the new military science important for *Othello*, "Florentine" in this context evoking the Machiavelli of *The Arte of Warre* (with its ciphers or "0's" in battle array) in a tragedy in which the "Machiavel" is (ironically) Iago himself. But "arithmetic" – from *arithmos* or counting,

for the calculation "used by merchants or bankers when buying or selling in the marketplace" (Jaffe, 29) – was also bound up with the " 'infidel' symbols" (Bernstein, 35) identified with Arabs, Saracens, and Moors. Hylles's *Vulgar Arithmeticke* (1600) – just a few years before *Othello* – notes defensively that though "God himselfe" is the "author" of all "sciences," the "inuention of those ten numerall figures, which at this present are vsed in the vulgar Arithmeticke throughout all Europe, is generally thought to haue proceeded first from the Arabians" (Hylles, sig. B4r). Recorde's (1543) influential English "arithmetike" (Recorde, 6) notes that some call it "Awgrym for Algorisme (as Arabyans founde it)." It was associated elsewhere with "Geber," the tenth-century monk who studied in Moorish Spain, accused, as Pope Sylvester II, of "heresy and witchcraft" (Smith and Karpinksi, 110–12) because of his identification with Islamic learning. Frank J. Swetz in *Capitalism and Arithmetic* comments, with others, on its spread into Europe not only through early contacts with the Muslim world, which included its dissemination by "Moorish universities in Spain and elsewhere and by the Saracens in Sicily" (Bernstein, 35), but also through trade contacts "around the Mediterranean and Barbary coasts" (Swetz, 11). And as late as Warton's *History of English Poetry* (1774), the new arithmetic continued to be described as coming "from the Saracens."

The "system was attributed to the Arabs by the scholars of Europe because it came via Baghdad with the Moorish invasion" (Pullan, 36), from the ninth-century intellectual center that produced the influential arithmetic of Mohammed ibn-Musa al-Khwarizmi, which applied Hindu numerals (including the zero) to practical and commercial problems. Its title, *Al-jabr wa'l muqabalah* – translated into Latin as *Algebra et Almucabala* by the Englishman Robert of Chester, from his own studies in Muslim Spain – gave "algebra" its familiar name, while a corrupted version of "Al-Khwarizmi" yielded "algorism" for the arithmetic that used these new numbers (Smith and Karpinski, 126; Boyer, 225; Menninger, 410–12). Subsequent trade contacts with "the Arabs of northern Africa" (Littleton, 20) led to Fibonacci's *Liber abaci* (1202), or "Book of Computation" (Swetz, 12, 292; Crosby, 110), which detailed the commercial reckoning made possible by these "arithmetical figures," including the "0 which in Arabic is called cipherum" or cipher (Menninger, 425). And the new arithmetic was further spread by the *Carmen de algorismo* of Villa Dei (1240) and *Algorismus vulgaris* (1250) of Sacrobosco, who influentially described "the Arabs as the inventors of this science" (Smith and Karpinski, 3).

But despite the calculations it enabled across more global networks of commerce and credit, and its advantages over tally-sticks and counters as well as the cumbersome Roman numerals (Pullan, 34; Rotman, 10), an "intense and bitter resistance" to the new arithmetic and its " 'infidel' symbols" meant that it was many centuries before they were more widely accepted (Bernstein, 35). Boyer's *History of Mathematics* observes that in the Latin translation of Al-Khwarizmi "a considerable portion of the Arabic draft is missing," perhaps "because the author's preface in Arabic gave fulsome praise to Mohammed, the prophet, and to al-Mamun, the Commander of the Faithful" (Boyer, 228). And despite the spread of vernacular arithmetics or "algorisms" (Swetz,

29) – in ways that also broke down what Iago calls the "old gradation" (1.1.37) (Biagioli 1989, 41–95; Thomas, 103–32; Turner, 255–73) – "the change was slow and accomplished without grace" (Crosby, 115).

Though the "new arithmetic of the pen" using "arabic numerals" (Thomas, 106) spread into sixteenth-century England ("I shall reken it syxe tymes by aulgorisme or you can caste it ones by counters": Palsgrave, 1530, cited in Pullan, 42), both it and its "strange and unfamiliar" numerals were resisted well into the seventeenth century (Thomas, 120; Pullan, 42–3; Hadden, 87). The "old medieval battle between abacists and algorismists" continued, making it necessary for English arithmetics to include sections on counters for "such as lacke the knowledge of Arithmetike by the Penne" (Mellis, sig. A7v; Thomas, 121), a combination registered in the canon of Shakespeare (with its references to both "counters" and "arithmetic"), including in the description of Cassio as both "counter-caster" and "arithmetician" (Menninger, 366).[1]

In England, the association of "arithmetic" with "Arabyans" likewise continued in the repeated reminders that its "figures" (or "ciphers") were to be written backward like Arabic itself, as in Villa Dei or Sacrobosco's "sinistrorsum" or to the left, *more arabico* or "as arabiene writene, that weren fynders of this science" (Steele, 34–5; Ostashevsky 208–10; Recorde, 14; Gray, 1; Mellis, 2; Blundeville, 1v; Baker, fol. 2). Hylles's *Vulgar Arithmeticke* repeatedly contrasts the right-directed writing of the "ABC" with what he calls the "preposterous order & contrarie to all reason" (4v–6r) of this system emanating from the "Arabians," complaining that "to write the figures toward the left hand (as it were backwardly) troubleth me much" (7v).

I

> *O, pardon! since a crooked figure may*
> *Attest in little place a million . . .*
> *If you would conjure in her, you must make a circle.*
>
> Shakespeare, *Henry V*, Prologue, 15–16; 5.2.292–3

> *Ciphers made like the Letter O . . . of necessarie use in practise*
> *of Arithmetique, only to keepe the places*
>
> Dionis Gray, *The Store-house of Breuitie in woorkes of Arithematike* (1577)

Central to resistance to the new arithmetic and its "Arabyan" numerals was the "'infidel symbol'" of zero or "0," which was "resisted by Christian Europe" (Rotman, 7–8) both because of its "infidel" origins and because as "the terrible zero, a sign for what was *not*" (Crosby, 113), it risked identification with "blasphemy or heresy," despite the Genesis account of creation *ex nihilo* (Rotman, 3). The "0" registered its "Arabyan" origins in its very name, the Hindu *sunya* that "Arabs turned into *sifr*" (Seife, 73), or "*as-sifer*, 'the empty'" (Menninger, 401), identified with the secret, hidden, or occult through the "cipher" of secret code or writing (Jaffe, 87). Like the

Moorish "arithmetic" to which it was central, it was identified with "dangerous Saracen magic" (Kaplan, 102), as "the creation of the devil" (Menninger, 422), including in England, where "to the ignorant, arithmetic appeared as a bizarre and mysterious art" (Thomas, 120–1) and its connection with alchemy (Kaplan, 96) was reflected in Jonson's *Alchemist* (1.1.37–46) where "Algebra" is cited with "conjuring" among the alchemist's "black arts."

In ways important for a tragedy involving the charge of "witchcraft" or "arts inhibited" (1.3.64–79) against a "Moor" but also a woman accused of infidelity – a combination of infidel and infidelity *Othello* shares with *The Merchant of Venice* (Spiller, 153) and the "Fidelio" and "Infidelio" of Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* (Vitkus 2000, 218) – the cipher or "0" long assimilated to the circle as well as to the letter O (Menninger, 412; Rotman, 50) was readily conflated with both the potentially unfaithful female "O" and the conjuring circle (Kaplan, 96), a combination foregrounded in the "adulterous circles" in "secret places" invoked by the conjurer Lucifer in Middleton's *Black Book* and in other contemporary writing (Daileader, 7, 133–4), including *Romeo and Juliet's* "raise a spirit in his mistress' circle" (2.1.24–6). In *Henry V*, "If you would conjure in her, you must make a circle" (5.2.292–3) comes at the end of a play that begins with the "flat unraised spirits" to be conjured within the "wooden 0" and the zero or "0" that "may / Attest in little place a million" (Prol.8–16).

The use of this "infidel 0" to "hold open a place" (Evans, 117) – "as sifre doth in awgrym, That noteth a place and no thing availeth" (Langland, in Pullan, 34) – was central to the new place-based arithmetic "profitable not onley for Merchants, but also for all other occupiers" (Baker, fol. 87; Recorde, 5), including in calculating "gaines" according to "the portion of their laying in" (Mellis, 40). And it was frequently used for comparisons with other kinds of "place," in ways suggestive for the obsession in *Othello* with "place" and "occupation," including in relation to the "lieutenancy" of Cassio the "arithmetician."[2] Stephen Gardiner, for example, compares the "places" (as both "offices" and "rooms") that can be occupied by "one man" to the new "Arithmeticall figures" that change value according to the position they "occupie" (Gardiner, sig. F5v). But in a context in which Francis Meres's *Gods Arithmeticke* (1597) could begin with the Genesis command to "multiplie and increase" (Meres, sig. A2r), and the "place-value system" of the new arithmetic was "essentially about multiplication," where "every empty space is pregnant with value" (Jaffe, 44), the place occupied by the "0" that was "nought in itself" (Hylles, 6r) but enabled a "miraculous" increase to "ten thousand times" and more (Mellis, 2) adds arithmetic's "infidel 0" to the much-discussed "O" of *Othello* (Vitkus 2002, 347–62).

Othello goes out of its way to invoke arithmetical "reckoning" ("seven days and nights? / Eightscore eight hours? . . . O weary reck'ning," 3.4.173–6), while Desdemona's "high and plenteous wit and invention" is described as making her infidelity "the worse" a "thousand, a thousand times" (4.1.190–2). Othello's conclusion that "she with Cassio hath the act of shame / A thousand times committed" (5.2.212) is not just an index of the "double time scheme" for which that line has been cited but of a feared multiplication (and increase) out of control, enabled by the "infidel symbol"

of "0" whose conflation with the potentially unfaithful female "0" would subsequently be exploited in its rewriting in *The Winter's Tale,* where the first scene in which (the pregnant) Hermione appears on stage is introduced with "therefore, like a cipher / (Yet standing in rich place), I multiply / . . . many thousands more" (1.2.6–8).

II

> *you shall sone see,*
> *What thynges by one thyng knowen maie bee.*
> Recorde, "Of the rule of Cose," *The Whetstone of Witte* (1557)

> *Spare your arithmetic, never count the turns,*
> *Once, and a million!*
> Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, 2.4.142–3

"Arithmetic" itself was associated with the sexual in the period, as with different kinds of "traffic" or trade. If the "Fidler" of Heywood's *Fair Maid of the Exchange* identifies "skill in Arithmeticke" with the power of "multiplication" in a commercial or monetary context (Heywood 1.1), a lover is termed "an Arithmetician" for multiplying between a woman's "thighes" (Middleton of York, 6), while in *The Changeling* (2.2.62) it is said of the "0" of an unfaithful wife that "She spreads and mounts then like arithmetic; One, ten, a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand" (Williams 1994, 2: 863–4). In a contemporary context where "Turnbull Street whores" could be described as practicing "arithmetic," where the "Arithmaticke" of a "Bawd" included carnal as well as commercial "Divisions & Multiplications," and where Fletcher's *The Woman's Prize* (4.4) could refer to "those that multiply i' th' Suburbs" for "money" (Williams 1994, 2: 863–4) – a sexual "traffic" registered in Othello's condemnation of Emilia as a "bawd" and Desdemona as a "public commoner" who "can turn, and turn" (4.1.252) – the introduction of Cassio as "arithmetician" as well as "lieu-tenant" not only evokes the " 'infidel symbol' " combined with the "O" of a suspected female infidelity in *The Winter's Tale* but the sexual "arithmetic" explicitly foregrounded in "spare your arithmetic, never count the turns, / Once, and a million!" in *Cymbeline* (2.4.142–3), the other late play that revisits *Othello*.

The association with "arithmetic" in a play filled with the monetary and mercenary as well as with references to sexual "use" (*Othello* 1.3.292; 4.3.101–3; 5.2.68–70) simultaneously activates within *Othello* the sense of an "infidel" usury (Caesar, sig. A3v) both monetary and sexual (the "two usuries" foregrounded in *Measure for Measure*). "Use Desdemona well" (1.3.292) is the warning given to the Moor in the opening Act in which "an old black ram / . . . tupping your white ewe" (1.1.87–8) racializes the usorious language of "wooly breeders in the act" from *The Merchant of Venice* (Lupton, 77), and a canon in which the combination of the female "O" with the "cipher" or "0" in *The Winter's Tale* has its counterpart in the prodigious increase of

the "usurer's wife" in that play's commercial second half (Parker 2004, 25–49). Sexual "use" is aligned with the explicitly commercial in Othello's "keep a corner in the thing I love / For others' uses" (3.3.273), while Iago's "fairness and wit, / The one's for use, the other useth it" (2.1.130) includes the "obscene innuendo" (Neill 2006, 249) that a woman will make "her body available for use, i.e. sexual 'use' for a usorious return (prostitution)."

In ways important for the conflation of epistemological and sexual in the obsession in *Othello* to "see and know" what is "hid" (Neill 2000, 237–68; Parker 1996, 244–5), the "vulgar Arithmeticke" was at the same time identified with bringing the secret or hidden to light, through the "Cosa" or unknown "thing" that was synonymous with it. *Regola della Cosa* was the term for "Algebra" or the new "infidel" arithmetic itself (Murray, 233). Digges's *Arithmeticall treatise, named Stratioticos* (1579) refers to the "Art of Algebra or Rule of Cosse as the Italians terme it" (55), the English "coss," "cose," or "coase" that was both the counterpart of *cosa* as the contemporary term for "Algebra" and a verb meaning "to barter, exchange," as in "To cope, or coase, cambire" (*OED coss v.*). Recorde foregrounds it in the very title of his 1557 *Whetstone of Witte*, which plays on "cos" as the Latin for "whetstone" together with this *cosa* or unknown thing (Murray, 238), introducing his entire text with "the rule of Cose" or the unknown "thyng" which the new arithmetic could make "knowen" (Recorde, sig. b5r). John Dee – on "The Science of workyng Algiebar and Al-machabel, that is, the Science of findyng an unknowen number" – again emphasizes the connection between the Italian *cosa* for "that great Arithmeticall Arte of Aequation: commonly called the rule of Coss or Algebra" (Dee, sig. iiv) and "the Latin word, *Res*: A thing," before proceeding to "the rule of Algiebar" to find the value of this unknown "Cos, or Thing" (sig. iiiir), calling attention to the "vulgar names . . . in Italian, Frenche and Spanish" that corresponded to the Latin term, from Italian and Spanish *cosa* (from Latin *causa*) to the French *regle de la chose* (Murray, 436). The *res* or "thing" that already came with so much contemporary sexual resonance (Williams 1994, 3: 1150) – evoked in Othello's "keep a corner in the thing I love" (3.3.273), in Iago's response to Emilia's "I have a thing for you" with "it is a common thing" (3.3.301–2), and in the "cause" of the final scene that cannot be named to the "chaste stars" (5.2.1–2: Parker 1996, 252) – was thus at the same time central to the lexicon of the "arithmetic" invoked at its beginning and its power to bring a secret or unknown *cosa*, *chose*, or "thing" to light.

III

When we shall meet at compt,
This look of thine will hurl my soul from heaven

Shakespeare, *Othello*, 5.2.273–4

I stand accomptant (ie accountant) for as great a sin . . .

Shakespeare, *Othello*, 2.1.293

You have no true debitor and creditor but it . . . your neck, sir, is pen, book, and counters
Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, 5.4.157–70

Iago calls Cassio not only an "arithmetician" but also a "counter-caster" or accountant, in lines whose "debitor and creditor" summons the English term for double-entry bookkeeping – associated not only with Florence, where the term for the ledger was *libro dei debitori e creditori* (De Roover, 143), and with Venice in its facing-pages form (Swetz, 12), but also with Antwerp ("the eldest daughter of Brabant"), where Simon Stevin, who would go on to apply the new "arithmetic" to military science and write his own double-entry treatise, began as a "book-keeper and cashier" (Murray, 213). Double-entry itself was a product of increasingly global networks of commerce and "credit transactions" (De Roover, 121) and the need to control agents, factors, or "lieutenants" (Crosby, 205), following the rise of the "sedentary" merchant who used "partners, agents or correspondents to secure representation abroad" (De Roover, 128; Robson, 694–704; Hadden, 94–5; Goldthwaite, 3–31).

Already long-standing practice, it was disseminated in print through the Tuscan Fra Luca Pacioli's massively influential *Summa de arithmetica, geometria, proportioni et proportionalita* (Venice, 1494), which combined commercial arithmetic (including "la Regola della Cosa ouer Algebra") with double-entry's "Venetian" form. And it soon spread beyond Italy (Sullivan,13), including to Brabant, where the 1543 redaction of Pacioli by Antwerp merchant Jan Ympyn Christoffels was quickly translated into French and then into English, as *How to Kepe a Boke of Accomptes* (1547), and incorporated by James Peele (father of the dramatist) into *How to Keepe a Perfect Reconyng after the order of the moste worthie and notable accompte, of Debitour and Creditour* (1553), expanded in *The Pathe waye to Perfectnes, in th'Accomptes of Debitour, and Creditour* (1569). Antwerp itself also produced Valentin Mennher de Kempten's *Practique . . . pour cyfrer et tenire Liures de Compte* (Antwerp, 1550), a work "known and often quoted in England" (Murray, 208); John Weddington's *Howe to kepe Merchantes Bokes of accomptes. After the order of Debitor and Creditor* (Antwerp, 1567), and Jan de Raeymaker's *Comptes pour les Cassiers* (Antwerp, 1603), or "Cashiers" (Murray 1978: 212). In England, John Mellis's *Briefe Instruction and Maner how to Keepe Bookes of Accompts after the order of Debitor and Creditor* (1588) – which included his "Arithmeticke" – revised the earliest English version of Pacioli, Hugh Oldcastle's *A Profitable Treatyce . . . of the Kepyng of the Famouse Reconynge Called . . . in Englysshe, Debitor and Creditor* (now lost). And, following John Browne's *The Merchants Avizo* (1589), Nicolaus Petri's *Practique Om te Leeren Reekenen en cypheren* (1583) was translated in 1596 as *The Pathway to Knowledge*, also combining the "rule of equation or of algebere" with "the order of keeping of a marchants booke, after the Italian manner, by debitor and creditor" (Nobes, 136).

Though the actual practice of double-entry bookkeeping gained ground slowly in England, what Nashe in the mid-1590s called "the Discourse of Debitor & Creditor" (Nashe, sig. L4r) was thus already the familiar term for double-entry (Murray, 238), invoked explicitly by Shakespeare not only in *Othello* but also in *Cymbeline* (5.4.157–70), in the context of a final "reckoning."

IV

> *thou by that small hurt {hast} cashier'd Cassio. . . .*
>
> *Othello* (2.3.375)

> Cassa*, a chest, a coffine, a shrine, a trunke. . . . Also a case of any thing . . . , a merchants cashe, or counter.*
>
> Florio (1598)

The double-entry accounting introduced through Cassio as "debitor and creditor" has multiple implications for *Othello* as a whole, from its combination of military and commercial to the fidelity of accounts of various kinds within it. Michael Neill has suggested that Cassio's name may have sounded as "Cashio," from "the Italian *casso* = cashiered *cashiering*" (Neill 2000, 32) – connecting it both with "the sneering force of 'cashiered' " in Iago's complaint about "old gradation" ("and when he's old, cashier'd," 1.1.48) and with "cashier'd Cassio" (2.3.375) after the lieutenant's dismissal. The juxtaposition not only invokes the military sense of *cashier* adopted into English "during the Low Country campaigns" (Edelman, 76) but also the play's pervasive monetary language – applied by Iago to Cassio as "an epitome of the mercenary world of 'debitor and creditor' where cash is the key to all relationships – the world whose cynical values he must patiently explain to Roderigo ('Put money in thy purse')" when ironically "it is actually Iago himself who is the perfect denizen of that world" (Neill 2000, 32).

At the same time, however, both "cashier" and "cash" participated in the international lexicon of accounting, for having "charge of the cash of a bank or mercantile firm, paying and receiving money and keeping the cash account" (*OED*, *cashier* n.). Cotgrave included in "Cassier" (or cashier) not only "a chest-keeper, or treasurer" but "Aujourd'huy cassier demain cassé," or "To day in cash, tomorrow cashiered" (Cotgrave 1611). By the time of *Othello*, Shakespeare had used this term from the Low Countries in the advice to Falstaff to "cashier" his followers (*1Henry IV* 1.3.4–6) and in *Merry Wives*, where "the gentleman . . . was, as they say, cashier'd" (1.1.174–9) suggests both "dismissed" and eased of his "cash" (*OED*, *cashier v.*5). "*Casso*" as "deprived, frustrated, crossed, cashiered" (Neill 2006, 194) included being "cancelled" or "crossed, blotted, casheered out of a booke" (Florio 1598), in ways reflected in the cancelling of a debt from a "book" or ledger in *Cymbeline* (3.3.25–6) but also in the Book of Heaven from which it is possible to be cancelled, cast or blotted out, evoked in Othello's despairing reference to the final "Compt" or "generall daie of accompte and audit to bee made at the throne of God" (*OED*, *audit n. 3; account n.*8b).

Even more importantly, in a period when "cash" as "money" is already suggestive in relation to the contemporary alignment of adultery with adulterated coin (Neill 2000, 136), "cash" was in the discourse of double-entry the English equivalent of Pacioli's *cassa* or cash account, so that "a payment per *cassa* was a cash payment 'for

the money chest' " (Menninger, 428) – reflected in Mellis's "Capsa," "Chest, or purse" as the "accompt of the Chest or ready money" (1588, sig. C2r, D4iiir). "Cash" in this sense was increasingly personified as a subordinate in whom faith or trust could be placed (Miller and O'Leary, 235–65; Poovey, 58) – in ways suggestive for the difficulties editors have faced with regard to whether to gloss the "debitor and creditor" of the lines on Cassio as "an account book or a man who keeps an account book" (Ridley, 5). Simon Stevin's 1604 double-entry treatise explains the personification of the "Cash" account made "debitor" (if given "money for safekeeping"), "just as if it were a human being" (Littleton 1966, 49), while Richard Dafforne's double-entry treatise (1635, augmented 1660) – in response to the question "How booke you the Ready Money after the way of Debitor and Creditor" – explains that "Cash (having received my mony unto it) is obliged to restore it again at my pleasure: for Cash representeth (to me) a man, to whom I (onely upon confidence) have put my mony into his keeping, the which by reason is obliged to render it back, or, to give me an account what is become of it" (Geijsbeek, 153).

The "Faithful Cash" as "keeper of the money-chest" appears as a character in a much later play devoted to double-entry (Littleton, 59–60). But personification of double-entry's "impersonal 'chest' (for cash)" as "a trusted employee" (Littleton 1966, 49, 51) is already evoked in the choice of the name "Cash" for the "Cashier" entrusted with a treasure and "secret" ("lock'd up in silence": Jonson, 134–15) in Jonson's Folio version of *Every Man In His Humour*, where this "Cash" is the post-*Othello* (or 1616 Folio) change-of-name for the original (suspected) yet "honestest faithful servant" (Jonson, 62–5) of a jealous husband who fears being "robbed" of his "treasure," in the earlier 1598 version (set in Florence) in which Shakespeare himself had performed – a play long assumed to have exerted an important influence on *Othello* (Jonson, xxiv–xxvi) not only because of its suspected wife Bianca, and jealous husband Thorello as an anagram of Othello but also because of its scene of military arithmetic, or killing by computation (Cahill, 168).

V

> *I taught them not to keepe a Marchaunts Booke, or cast accompt: yet to a word much like that word Accounte . . .*
>
> Haughton, *Englishmen for my Money; Or a Woman Will Have Her Will (ca. 1598)*

The "cash" identified in double-entry accounting with the chest, casket, or case is highly suggestive for *The Merchant of Venice*, where the *cassa* or *casse* that was simultaneously a "box, case, or chest, to carrie, or keep wares in," a "casket," "coffin, or shrine," and "a Marchants cash, or counter" (Cotgrave) is reflected in the varying "choyse of three chests" (1600 Quarto) and "choyse of three caskets" (Pavier Quarto). Double-entry (with the new arithmetic) has in fact long been applied to that play (Bady, 10–30), together with the relation of the "*casse*, or caskets, used by merchants to hold

money" to the "marriage-endowing *casse* (caskets)" identified with the "rich prize" of Portia herself (Jaffe, 66–79).

But in a context where English "cash" like "Cash in Italian, *cassa*, comes from case or box" (Geijsbeek, 14), through "Latin *capsa*, case, receptacle" (*OED*, *cash* n. 1; case n. 2), and a canon that repeatedly combines the sexual sense of "case" (as "priuities") with its other senses of "cause, matter, thing . . . crime . . . esteeme, account, reckoning" (Cotgrave: *cas*; Parker 1987, 27–31), Iago's insinuating "your case is better" (4.1.69) – in the lines that warn Othello that "There's millions now alive / That nightly be in those unproper beds / Which they dare swear peculiar" (4.1.67–9) – and Othello's "This is a subtile whore, / A closet lock and key of villanous secrets" (4.2.21–7) suggest that this nexus from the discourse of "debitor and creditor," introduced in the description of Cassio the "lieutenant," resonates within Shakespeare's other Venetian play as well, including in relation to what is kept "secret" or hidden.

Double-entry itself was preoccupied with the "privy" or secret. "Early accounting records can be said to have functioned like the study or the locked chest" (Poovey, 36) and "directions as to keeping one's account private are given by all the early writers" (Murray, 225). Pacioli's influential treatise advises its reader to "keep in a more secret place, as private boxes and chests [*cassi*], all manuscripts of your debtors who have not paid you" (Geijsbeek, 75). Peele counsels on "what is to be done of such as will haue their substaunce kept in secrete" (Peele, ch. xi, sig. B5r) and Mellis on the keeping of the "inuentorie" in "a secrete . . . booke" (Mellis, sig. B1r), while many "sixteenth-century manuals advise the merchant to keep a separate cash-book" in order to "keep the exact details of the master's wealth secret" (Nobes, 110). Double-entry thus inhabited the very boundary between private and public, secret and disclosed, functioning on the one hand "to protect the records of the household estate from prying eyes," ensuring "that no one else had access to the family treasure," but on the other, especially in the "ledger, which was the most public book," purporting to make the private available to the eye's inspection (Poovey, 34–5). It is not just, therefore, that the "infidel 0" or "cipher" was bound up with the mysterious or "secret" or that a hidden *cosa* or "thing" was identified with what the new "arithmetic" could bring to light, but that double-entry accounting was itself a practice bound up with "secrets" as well as with the promise of ocular proof.

In a period when the female body as a "book" that could be "opened and inscribed with the phallic pen" is foregrounded in Othello's "Was this fair paper, this most goodly book, / Made to write 'whore' upon" (Williams 1997, 49), in his charge against Desdemona as a "public commoner" (4.2.73), and in a play in which the familiar equivoque on the Low Countries (already reflected in "Did I not dance with you in Brabant once?," *Love's Labor's Lost* [2.1.114]) is sounded in Iago's insinuation of her preference for "her country forms" (3.3.241: Williams 1997, 88), it is important to note as well that the accounts (and "counter") of double-entry were also repeatedly aligned with the female "count" (*Henry V* 3.4.51; Parker, 1987: 132–8; Ostashevsky, 218–20) – not only in double-entry's "PUBLIC LEDGER" as slang for "a prostitute because like that paper she is open to all parties" or in other contemporary bawdy on account-

ing and its books (Williams 1994, 1: 131–2; Middleton, 401, 599, 1106; Haughton, sig. A4r)[3] but also in Shakespeare, in the "account" of Sonnet 136 combined with "a treasure," "a 'thing' of great receipt," a "nothing," and a female "will" (Booth, 471–2) and in "I see, lady, the gentleman is not in your books," glossed as "account books" (McEachern, 154) in *Much Ado About Nothing* (1.2.79), the play whose plot of a "note," accusation, blot, or stain as well as a female "nothing" or "0" *Othello* itself revisits.

The play that opens with the description of the "lieutenant" and "arithmetician" Cassio as "debitor and creditor – this counter-caster" (1.1.31) thus at the same time raises the question of the fidelity of all kinds of "accounts."

VI

The {bookkeeper} is not to falsifie any parcell, matter or thing . . .

Roberts, *The Merchants Mapp of Commerce* (1638)

a parcel, parte or share of any reckoning or accounts.

Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598)

{Book-keeping} is like a Prince who is a judge before whom the merchant comes as litigant. With Arithmetic as his assessor, the case is argued by the rules of the ledger; and after hearing both parties – debtor and creditor – judgment is given.

Antonio Moschetti, *Dell'universal trattato di libri doppii* (Venice, 1610)

Othello as a whole is filled with the language of accounting. As Michael Neill observes, Iago "dismisses Cassio as a mere pen pusher or accountant," though "ironically it is he himself who typically employs the language and calculus of accounting" – including in his later reference to standing "accountant" (2.1.293) and its relation to a (calling to a) "compt" or "count" (Neill 2006, 198, 258, 391). But even more pervasively, in a historical context where Recorde's "Arithmetike" could claim that "numbre . . . is the ground of all mennes affayres, so that without it no tale can be tolde" (Recorde 1543, 2) and "count" and "account" elsewhere in Shakespeare connect financial to narrative telling, tallying, or accounting, the language of double-entry in this tragedy also extends to its narrative accounts.

"Tell" is used both as "count" ("O, what damned minutes tells he o'er," 3.3.169) and as narrate ("if I had a friend that lov'd her, / I should but teach him how to tell my story," 1.3.163–4) when Othello is called to account before the Venetian Senate. And in his "story" recounting Desdemona's prayer "that I would all my pilgrimage dilate, / Whereof by parcels she had something heard" (1.3.129, 152–4), the "parcels" that editors generally gloss simply as "portions" or "parts" was not only a familiar term from the lexicon of arithmetic, property, and money (Recorde 1543, 39; *OED*, *parcel n*. 2b, 4, 5a), but yet another key term from the double-entry accounting introduced at the play's beginning, "the equivalent of the Italian *le partite*, or journal-posts, of

Pacioli" (Murray, 223), which Florio renders as "a parcel, parte or share of any reckoning or accounts" (Florio 1598, 260). The inclusion of all "parcels" or "particulars" was crucial to the comprehensive account promised by double-entry (Murray, 224), including in "the general ledger, summarized in the trial balance," which "brings to a point all the loose 'parcels' or transactions" from the other books (Sullivan, 79). Peele repeatedly refers to the bearing of the "parcels" out of one book into another as crucial to producing a complete account, advising on the "circumspect hede to be taken, that eche parcel of the Iornall be truly cast before it is borne into the quarterne" or ledger. Mellis emphasizes the importance of the accountant's "keeping of accomptes & parcels of all his reckonings in his bookes" (sig. A2r) and instructs in the "manner of bringing the parcels out of the Iournal into the Leager" as the principle of double-entry itself ("that for euery one parcell that is sette in your Journall ought to bee made two parcels in your Leager, the one in Debitor, and the other in Creditor"). *The Merchants Mapp of Commerce* warns that "[The bookkeeper] is not to falsifie any parcell, matter or thing . . . but to set everything . . . plainly, directly, and orderly down" so that the account will be not only "perfect" (or complete) but "just" and "true" (Roberts, C6v).

"Parcels" in Shakespeare make clear its accounting (as well as arithmetical) senses, and not just the sense of "piecemeal" or "in parts" customarily used to gloss Othello's narrative account – from "to your audit comes / Their distract parcels in combined sums" in *A Lover's Complaint* (230–1) to the pervasive accounting terms in the scene of Wolsey's downfall in *Henry VIII*, from the "earthly audit" (3.2.141) of discovery of his secret "Inventory, thus importing / The several parcels of his . . . Possession" (3.2.124–38) to the "paper" (208) he expects to contain "the story of [the King's] anger" (209) but finds instead is "th'accompt / Of all that world of wealth I have drawn together" (210–11). And – in a canon where the sexual sense of "parcel" or particular (Parker 1987, 86–7; Williams 1994, 2: 998) is also exploited in the "parcel-bawd" of *Measure for Measure* (2.1.63–4) – both the arithmetical and the rhetorical senses are combined in *Henry IV Part One* (2.4.101: "his eloquence the parcel of a reckoning").

At the same time, the rhetorical and judicial "circumstances" crucial to *Othello* (Parker 1996, 354–5) were the foundation of double-entry itself and its connection to the disciplines of examination, interrogation, and confession. Studies of accounting as "a social and institutional practice" have stressed the fundamental early connections between double-entry and rhetoric (Aho, 28; Hopwood and Miller) but also the judicial, from Pacioli's emphasis on its importance for "defending claims in court and for protecting oneself from lawsuits" (Aho, 25) to the English treatises, including Peele on its usefulness in making it possible "to saie (with a cleare conscience)" whether an account should be free of "suspicion," in a "triall" at "lawes" (Peele, Aiii). Recorde – who himself refers to "accompts for merchants by order of Debitor and Creditor" (Sullivan, 36) – stresses the accuracy of bookkeeping and "Arithmetick" essential to the adjudication of a judicial "cause" (Murray, 271). A Venetian double-entry treatise published in the same decade as *Othello* compares this method of accounting to "a judge before whom the merchant comes as litigant. With Arithmetic as his assessor,

the case is argued by the rules of the ledger; and after hearing both parties – debtor and creditor – judgment is given" (Moschetti, 4, in Murray, 187).

The rhetorical "circumstances" central to a judicial case provided the very basis of double-entry as influentially described by Pacioli – the "interrogatory questions" of "the classical procedure in rhetoric, by which material for discourse was to be generated: *quis* (who), *quid* (what), *quare* (where), *quando* (when), *quantum* (how many), *cum quo* (in whose presence), and *cur* (how)" to be provided in the account books themselves (Aho, 26). But at the same time, the "circumstances" foundational to double-entry had their counterpart in "the confessional interrogation of the penitent," bringing together the "business account" and the "confessional account" in ways reflective of Pacioli's own training in rhetoric as well as his education in "a Franciscan monastery where weekly confession was the rule" (Aho, 26).

Keith Hoskin and Richard Macve have stressed in even more detail the dependence of double-entry on the disciplines of accountability and "examination" (including confession and inquisition), making the "audit" itself a "power-knowledge apparatus" that embodied "the new critical practice of *inquisitio*," in a process through which "the auditor through careful examination" of the books "got them to yield up their hidden truth" (Hopwood and Miller, 75)– a description that resonates with the foregrounding of both inquisition and torture within *Othello* itself, as part of its own "epistemology" of bringing to light a "hidden truth," in a way that makes "knowledge and sight seem equivalent" (Hanson, 54).

The "circumstances" that promise to bring "truth" (though "hid") to light are repeatedly summoned in *Othello*, in Iago's promise of "strong circumstance" enabling the Moor to "see and know" in the absence of ocular proof (3.3.406–8) – and his illusory fulfilment of that promise ("I will make him tell the tale anew: / Where, how, how oft, how long ago, and when / He hath, and is again to cope your wife" (4.1.84–6) – and they are reiterated in Emilia's reaction to Othello's charge against her mistress ("Why should he call her whore? Who keeps her company? / What place? what time? what form? what likelihood?," [4.2.137–8]) in the scenes in which he becomes both judge and executioner in a final "cause" (5.2.1–2). But the connection in *Othello* to the language of accounting is made retrospectively even clearer in its reprise in *Cymbeline* – where what Iago's counterpart calls "the contents o' th' story" (2.2.27) – both narrative and "inventory" (2.2.30) – are described as "circumstances" so "near the truth" that they induce another husband to "believe" (2.4.61–3) his wife a "whore" (2.4.128), before he responds to "Will you hear more?" with "Spare your arithmetic, never count the turns" (2.4.141–2).

VII

put at the head of the Inventory a Cross and the name of Jesus or some other Christian symbol to distinguish you from Turks, Jews and others.

Jan Ympn Christoffels (Antwerp, 1543)

Be most faithful & iust in all your accompts

The Merchants Auizo (1589)

Double-entry itself, finally, was inseparably bound up with the issue of fidelity as well as "the rhetoric of credit" (Sullivan) – in a period when "infidel" evoked not only religious apostacy but the lack of "credit" to be given to "faithless infidels" (Knolles, 426), described repeatedly as "violating the faith" of their "word" (Barleti, 184) through "dishonesty" and "fraud," an atmosphere of "distrust and uneasiness" that also meant (for example) that the account books of a prominent merchant of Venice with "commerce in Constantinople" underscored that "credit terms, where the Turks are concerned, are cash" (Nobes, 79).

At the same time, the suspicion of and resistance to arithmetic's new "infidel" numbers was magnified within the history of accounting or bookkeeping because of their own association with dishonesty and fraud. Though double-entry itself "grew out of algebra" after "Europe began to learn arithmetic from the Arabs" (Littleton, 5, 20) and was indebted to "Moorish influence," including for the "system of equations" (Nobes, 151) and its "zero balance" (Rotman, 78) – the actual history of its bookkeeping was dominated by fear that these "Arabic" or alien arithmetical numerals might lead to "deceit and fraud" (Struik, 292) since they were deemed easier to "falsify" than Roman letters (Menninger, 427; Swetz, 182; Crosby, 115). The "6" and "9" of these "fygures of Algorisme" could be "contrary turned" (More, 772), the "1" could be "readily converted into a 4, 6, 7, or 9" (Bernstein, 35), and the "infidel 0" was particularly suspect (Kaplan, 102) because it could not only be easily altered but could fraudulently multiply by its strategic insertion.

Identification of the new arithmetic's "infidel symbols" with the production of dishonest or unfaithful accounts has been given by historians as the reason why the *Arte del Cambio* (or Guild of Money Changers) of medieval Florence famously prohibited any member from the "use of Arabic numerals" in "account books and ledgers or in any part of it in which he writes debits and credits" (Struik, 292) but also why even sixteenth-century Italian treatises still urged the more "secure" Roman letters (or "imperial figures") over "Arabic" or "mercantile" figures "nella posta del debito e credito" (Edler, 120). In England, concern that the "Arabic figures could more easily be forged" meant that they continued to be "distrusted" and Roman numerals used for important purposes to avoid "mistaking" (Thomas, 120), while strictures were repeated that there must be no "alteration of Cyphers . . . otherwise the books are of no credit in Law" (Nobes, 110). In the same text that cites the "Discourse of Debitor & Creditor," Nashe derides "Arithmetique figurers" as "iugling transformers" (Nashe, sig. S3v) – a juggling identified in the period with a trickery, conjuring, or witchcraft that could deceive the eye (*OED juggling* vbl n.) – and disdains to have his "margent bescratcht (like a Merchants booke)" with these "roguish" arithmetical figures and "cyphers or round oos" (Nashe, sig. G3v). And in the opening lines of *Henry V* on the "ciphers" to a "great accompt," the zero or "0" that can "Attest in little place a million" is called a "crooked figure," not just (I would argue) for the reasons that have been

suggested but because of the association of the "0" itself with the falsifying of accounts of various kinds.[4]

Treatises on double-entry not only emphasized the accountant's "scrupulous fidelity to his own word" (Sullivan, 28) – or the "credit" from "*credere* (to believe, to trust, to put credit in)" (Turner, 280) and "*bonafides*, or good faith pledges . . . borrowed from religion" (Jaffe, 22) – but the importance of distinguishing its accounts from the "infidel." The "name of Jesus" or "sign of the Cross" that Pacioli instructed be put at an account's beginning – reflecting not only the "good credit" of an "unblemished reputation" but a pledge of "trust and fidelity," "[for] truly everyone is saved by faith" (Aho, 29) – was underscored in Ympyn's influential Brabantian treatise by "it is proper to follow the laudable custom of Italy and to put at the head of the Inventory a Cross and the name of Jesus or some other Christian symbol to distinguish you from Turks, Jews and others" (Murray, 205). And such "Pious Inscriptions" (Yamey, 143) were repeated in England (Nobes, 109; Sullivan, 40, 155), including in Mellis's emphasis on "Fidelitie" and "Fayth" as well as "honesty" and "truth" (Mellis, 10: Poovey, 41).

But at the same time as the treatises stressed the "fidelity" of the accountant as a "faithful steward" (Murray, 190) producing an honest and "faithful account" (Aho, 32) – in ways echoed in *Timon of Athens* and elsewhere – what double-entry generated was an "impression of honesty" or credibility that could be only "a show of religiosity" (Aho, 32, 29), producing what was ultimately a credible substitute for ocular proof. Though its "formal precision" made its figures "seem accurate" (Poovey, 56), "double-entry bookkeeping guaranteed clarity but not honesty" (Crosby, 208). If (with its "balances") "the ledger was open for all to see," yielding a "fiction of total disclosure" through an accounting that texts such as *The Merchants Avizo* promised would make it possible to "see and know" (Browne, 5–6; Poovey, 59–60), both "the inventory and the journal were secret books" (Poovey, 58), like the "inventory" described as Wolsey's "main secret" in *Henry VIII* (3.2.215) or the deceptive "inventory" (and "story") of Iago's counterpart in *Cymbeline*.

Othello itself is literally filled with the language of "credit," "reputation," "faith" and "trust" – including in relation to the honesty or credibility of a particular word – throughout the tragic process in which Iago manages to "undo" Desdemona's "credit" with the "Moor" (2.3.359). Iago himself invokes the sense of "credit" as the credible – "That Cassio loves her, I do well believ't; / That she loves him, 'tis apt and of great credit" (2.1.286–7) – in the very lines in which he describes himself as "accomptant" or "accountant" (2.1.293). And the juxtaposition of the language of accounting and "credit" is sounded, in the earlier scene of Othello's "story," in the Duke's comment on the conflicting reports of the Turk ("There's no composition in these news / That gives them credit," (1.3.1–2) and Second Senator's response that "they jump not on a just accompt" (1.3.5). The play's pervasive language of "credit" is itself racially inflected in a "fair" that can mean both "white" and a reputation that is unsullied (Neill 2006, 213), a "report" that by being "foul" can undo "trust" (1.3.117–18), and a "name" that can become "begrim'd and black" (3.3.387).

But it is finally not a "Moor" accused of witchcraft and of telling "fantastical lies" (2.1.233), or the "infidel 0" of a suspect female sexuality, or the "lieutenant" called "debitor and creditor," "counter-caster," and "arithmetician," but the play's infidel within who (in the cultural commonplace) is "unfaithful like the Moors" (Neill 2000, 40), promising the "strong circumstance(s)" of a judicial "cause" attesting to Desdemona's infidelity, though it is finally the account itself in which no faith or trust should be put.

Double-entry's "impression of honesty" (as a sign-system) thus provides the commercial counterpart to the "Ensigne" who is to be a "man of good accompte, honest, and vertuous, that the Captayne may repose affiance in" (Digges, 88), literally rendered in Iago's "I must show out a flag and sign of love, / Which is indeed but sign" (1.1.156–7), and the "faithless infidel" is the "man . . . of honesty and trust" to whose "conveyance" Othello assigns his wife (1.3.284–5),[5] the "accountant" who manipulates the credit market of the play, until it is too late.

Notes

1 "Counter-caster" for Cassio in the context of battlefield arithmetic is, however, less likely to be a literal use of the counting board than the familiar transfer of this older terminology to the new pen-and-ink "arithmetic" used to cast accounts.

2 On place, lieutenancy, and occupation in *Othello*, see Neill (2000, 207–36; 2006, 147–58). Except where otherwise noted, all quotations from Shakespeare's works are from *The Riverside Shakespeare*. Ed. G. Blakemore Evans et al. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974).

3 I am grateful to John Lavagnino for suggesting multiple places this wordplay appears in Middleton. For the gloss on Haughton's wordplay on books of account and "cunt," see Kermode, 172. The Quarto passage appears in Haughton (1616, sig. A4r).

4 I would add this sense of the "crooked figure," therefore, to the analysis in Ostashevsky. The book-in-progress from which my contribution to this volume is taken includes *Henry V* in relation to this sense of "crooked figure," the falsification of "numbers" and the importance of numerical (as well as other) "figures in all things" as well as a much fuller treatment of military arithmetic and "credit" in both *Henry V* and *Othello*.

5 Though there is not space to develop the connection here, "conveyance" in this line (as elsewhere in Shakespeare) is a term itself charged with the legal language of debtors, creditors, and potential fraud. See Parker (1996, 116–84); Ross (2003).

References and Further Reading

Aho, James. "Rhetoric and the Invention of Double-Entry Bookkeeping," *Rhetorica* 3/1(1985): 21–43.

Bady, David. "The Sum of Something: Arithmetic in *The Merchant of Venice*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 36 (1985)1:10–30.

Baker, Humfrey. *The Well spring of Sciences. Which teacheth the perfect worke and practise of Arithmeticke . . . once again perused, augmented, and amended*. London, 1598.

Barleti, Marin. *The historie of George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg . . . Containing his famous actes, his noble deedes of armes, and memorable victories against the Turke . . . Newly translated out of French into English by Z.I. Gentleman*. London, 1596.

Bernstein, Peter L. *Against the Gods: The Remarkable Story of Risk*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996.

Biagioli, Mario. "The Social Status of Italian Mathematicians, 1450–1600," *History of Science* 27/1 (1989): 41–95.

Blundeville, Thomas. *Exercises*. London, 1597.

Booth, Stephen, ed. *Shakespeare's Sonnets*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

Boyer, Carl B. *A History of Mathematics*, second edn., rev. Uta C. Merzback. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1968.

Browne, John. *The marchants avizo.* London, 1589.

Caesar, Philipp. *A general discourse against the damnable sect of vsurers*. London, 1578.

Cahill, Patricia. "Killing by Computation: Military Mathematics, the Elizabethan Social Body, and Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*," in *Arts of Calculation*. Ed. David Glimp and Michelle R. Warren. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004: 165–86.

Cotgrave, Randle. *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*. London, 1611.

Crosby, Alfred W. *The Measure of Reality: Quantification and Western Society, 1250–1600.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Daileader, Celia R. *Eroticism on the Renaissance Stage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Dee, John. *The elements of geometrie of . . . Euclide . . . With a very fruitfull praeface made by M. I. Dee*. London, 1570.

De Roover, Raymond. *Business, Banking, and Economic Thought in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Ed. Julius Kirshner. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Digges, Leonard and Thomas. *An arithmeticall militare treatise, named Stratioticos*. London, 1559.

Edelman, Charles. *Shakespeare's Military Language*. London: Athlone Press, 2000.

Edler, Florence. *Glossary of Mediaeval Terms of Business.* Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1934.

Evans, G. Blakemore et al. *The Riverside Shakespeare*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974.

Evans, Gilliam R. "From Abacus to Algorism: Theory and Practice in Medieval Arithmetic," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 10/2/35 (1977): 114–31.

Florio, John. *A Worlde of Wordes*. London, 1598.

Gardiner, Stephen. *De vera obedientia . . . translated in to Englishe*. London? 1553.

Geijsbeek, John B. *Ancient Double-Entry Bookkeeping: Lucas Pacioli's Treatise . . . reproduced and translated with reproductions, notes and abstracts from Manzoni, Pietra, Mainardi, Ympyn, Stevin and Dafforne.* Denver, CO: John B. Geijsbeek, 1914.

Goldthwaite, Richard A. *Banks, Palaces, and Entrepreneurs in Renaissance Florence.* Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1995.

Gray, Dionis. *The store-house of breuitie in vvoorkes of arithemetike*. London, 1577.

Griffin, Eric. "Un-Sainting James: Or, *Othello* and the 'Spanish Spirits' of Shakespeare's Globe," *Representations* (1998) 62: 58–99.

Hadden, Richard W. *On the Shoulders of Merchants*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994.

Hanson, Elizabeth. "Torture and Truth in Renaissance England," *Representations* 34 (1991): 53–84.

Haughton, William. *English-men for my money: or, A pleasant comedy, called, A woman will haue her will*. London, 1616.

Heywood, Thomas. *The fayre mayde of the Exchange*. London, 1607.

Hopwood, Anthony G. and Miller, Peter, eds. *Accounting as a social and institutional practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1994.

Hylles, Thomas. *The arte of vulgar arithmeticke.* London, 1600.

Jaffe, Michele. *The Story of 0.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Jonson, Ben. *Every Man in His Humour: A Parallel-Text Edition of the 1601 Quarto and the 1616 Folio*, ed. J.W. Lever. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1971.

Kaplan, Robert. *The Nothing that Is: A Natural History of Zero*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Kermode, Lloyd, ed. *Three Renaissance Usury Plays*.Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008.

Knolles, Richard. *The generall historie of the Turkes.* London, 1603.

Littleton, A. C. *Accounting Evolution to 1900*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1966.

Lupton, Julia R. "Othello Circumcised: Shakespeare and the Pauline Discourse of Nations," *Representations* 57 (1999): 73–89.

McEachern, Claire, ed. *Much Ado About Nothing*. London: Thomson Learning, 2006.

Mellis, John. *A Briefe Instruction and maner how to keepe bookes of Accompts after the order of Debitor and Creditor*. London, 1588.

Menninger, Karl. *Number Words and Number Symbols*. Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 1969.

Meres, Francis. *Gods arithmeticke*. London, 1597.

Middleton, John. *The Collected Works.* Ed. Gary Taylor, John Lavagnino et al. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Middleton of York, Richard. *Epigrams and satyres*. London, 1608.

Miller, Peter and O'Leary, Ted. "Accounting and the Construction of the Governable Person," *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 12/3 (1987): 235–65.

More, Thomas. *The workes of Sir Thomas More*. London, 1557.

Murray, David. *Chapters in the History of Bookkeeping, Accountancy, & Commercial Arithmetic*. New York: Narno Press, 1978.

Nashe, Thomas. *Haue with you to Saffron-walden*. London, 1596.

Neill, Michael. *Putting History to the Question*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Neill, Michael, ed. *Othello, the Moor of Venice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Nobes, Christopher, ed. *The Development of Double Entry: Selected Essays.* New York: Garland Publishing, 1984.

Ostashevsky, Eugene. "Crooked Figures: Zero and Hindu-Arabic Notation in Shakespeare's *Henry V*," in *Arts of Calculation*. Ed. David Glimp and Michelle R. Warren. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. 205–28.

Parker, Patricia. *Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property*. London: Methuen, 1987.

Parker, Patricia. *Shakespeare from the Margins*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Parker, Patricia. "Temporal Gestation, Legal Contracts, and the Promissory Economies of *The Winter's Tale*," in *Women, Property, and the Letters of the Law*. Ed. Margaret W. Ferguson and Nancy E. Wright. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004, 25–49.

Peele, James. *The maner and fourme how to kepe a perfecte reconyng, after the order of the moste worthie and notable accompte, of Debitour and Creditour*. London, 1553.

Poovey, Mary. *A History of the Modern Fact.* Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Pullan, J. M. *The History of the Abacus.* New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968.

Recorde, Robert. *The Ground of Artes, teachyng the worke and practise of Arithmetike.* London, 1543.

Recorde, Robert. *The Whetstone of Witte, whiche is the seconde parte of Arithmetike.* London, 1557.

Ridley, M. R. ed. *Othello*. London: Methuen, 1958.

Roberts, Lewes. *The Merchants Mapp of Commerce*. London, 1638.

Robson, Keith. "Accounting Numbers as 'Inscription': Action at a Distance and the Development of Accounting," *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 17/7 (1992): 685–708.

Ross, Charles. *Elizabethan Literature and the Law of Fraudulent Conveyance.* Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2003.

Rotman, Brian. *Signifying Nothing: The Semiotics of Zero*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

Seife, Charles. *Zero: The Biography of a Dangerous Idea.* New York: Penguin, 2000.

Smith, David Eugene and Karpinski, Louis Charles. *The Hindu-Arabic Numerals.* Boston: Ginn and Company, 1911.

Spiller, Elizabeth A. "From Imagination to Miscegenation: Race and Romance in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*," *Renaissance Drama* n.s. 29 (2000): 137–64.

Steele, R., ed. *The Earliest Arithmetics in English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Struik, D. J. "The Prohibition of the Use of Arabic Numerals in Florence," *Archives Internationales d' histoire des sciences* 84–5 (1968): 291–4.

Sugden, Edward H. *A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists.* London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1925.

Sullivan, Ceri. *The Rhetoric of Credit*. London: Associated University Presses, 2002.

Swetz, Frank J. *Capitalism and Arithmetic*. La Salle, IL; Open Court Publishing Co., 1987.

Thomas, Keith. "Numeracy in Early Modern England: The Prothero Lecture," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, 37 (1987): 103–32.

Turner, Henry S., ed. *The Culture of Capital*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Vitkus, Daniel J., ed. *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*. New York: Columbia Univerity Press, 2000.

Vitkus, Daniel J. "The '0' in *Othello*: Tropes of Damnation and Nothingness," in *Othello: New Critical Essays*. Ed. Philip C. Kolin. New York: Routledge. 2002, 347–62.

Williams, Gordon. *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, 3 vols. London: Athlone Press, 1994.

Williams, Gordon. *A Glossary of Shakespeare's Sexual Language.* London: Athlone Press, 1997.

Yamey, B. S. "Pious Inscriptions: Confused Accounts; Classifications of Accounts: Three Historical Notes," in *Debits, Credits, Finance and Profits*. London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1974, 143–4.

14

Seeds of Sacrifice: Amaranth, the Gardens of Tenochtitlan and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*

Edward M. Test

In the same year Edmund Spenser published his first three books of the *Faerie Queene* (1590), José de Acosta published his monumental *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, which categorizes the flora of the New World through a notably Christian European moral system – on the one hand, an admirable example of the new historical ethnographies, and, on the other, a catastrophic occlusion of the Native American mythic world-view. In Western Europe, the mythic power of working with plants had largely become desacralized with Christianity's displacement of pagan religions: "Emptied of religious symbolism," writes Mircea Eliade, "agricultural work becomes at once opaque and exhausting; it reveals no meaning, it makes possible no opening toward the universal, toward the world of spirit" (96). Early modern poets recaptured the "sacred meaning" of plant life through the pagan poetics of Greco-Roman myth, the poetry of pastoral shepherds and georgic laborers (the literary inheritance of Virgil and Ovid), and through the lesser observed mythic influence of *las Indias*. Indeed, *las Indias* literally brought Ovid out of fiction and into real life; European explorers and writers repeatedly refer to the Native Americans as those who lived in the golden age of Ovid.[1] When Spenser writes an Ovidian overture to "Sad *Amaranthus*, made a flowre but late" (3.6.45.6), he not only re-creates the transformation of human to plant typical of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, but also addresses a recently discovered plant sprouting in Renaissance gardens throughout Europe: Mesoamerican amaranth, which was integral to the Native American diet, ecosystem, and religious rituals. By giving voice to the relatively unknown and culturally induced ignorance of the newfound flower amaranth, this essay reverses the traditional Eurocentric template: rather than view the New World through the eyes of Greco-Roman culture, it views Spenser's Faerie Land through the cultural template of Mexica society.[2]

Because of his religious bias, Acosta denounced the cosmological vision of the Mexica as devilish superstition, especially with regards to the sacred function of amaranth, which was used in ceremonies of human sacrifice celebrating the god Huitzilopochtli.[3] Nothing from *las Indias* was more horrifying to early modern

England (indeed, to all of Europe) than the Mexica's reported penchant for heart-rending human sacrifice. A semblance of the ritual appears in Book 3 of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, where the allegorical character of *Fancy* (dressed in Indian plumes) leads Amoret to an altar to have her chest opened with a knife and the heart withdrawn. Likewise, in Book 6, Serena is saved just prior to having a "naked knife" launched into her breast by cannibalistic savages. While these troubling passages have been variously interpreted as allegorical images of lust, cupidity, rape, or biblical and Greco-Roman representations of sacrifice, these particular scenes also resonate with the "real" sacrifice of the Mexica, which was widely popularized in the Latin, Spanish, and English ethnographic texts circulating throughout sixteenth-century Europe. Clearly, this "culture of terror" (to borrow Michael Taussig's phrasing) existed on both sides of the Atlantic; there were European equivalents to Mexica sacrifice: state-condoned methods of torture (breaking wheels, iron maidens), capital punishment (hanging, gibbets, drawing and quartering), and massacre (St Bartholomew's Day in 1572, the Irish at Smerwick, and many other colonial escapades). Significantly, according to the *OED*, the word "massacre" first entered the English language in 1578; thus, Spenser composed the *Faerie Queene* at a time when the English first made a lexical distinction between human and animal slaughter. Book 5 of *The Faerie Queene*, for example, reflects this European "culture of terror" via the new technologies of early modern mass slaughter, artillery, in the "iron man," Talus, an early modern "Robocop," who in the name of justice slays the Amazonians with merciless speed and efficiency. Spenser's Talus embodies a new form of corporal violence – massacre by machine – displacing ritual violence with a deadlier, less chivalrous, and far more destructive option.

Two worlds, two cultures; both employing brutal methods of social control, separated by the Atlantic and by methodology: the Mexica practiced sacred immolation, while the Europeans practiced profane violence. In Spenser's *Faerie Queene* these worlds join, the binaries of the New World and the Old collapse into a new syncretic myth and through the religious element of Mexica sacrifice – giving the heart to the gods – Spenser adopts and incorporates the myths of an alternative society. The peripheral reach of Mesoamerican botany and culture into the heart of Europe places the New World across the ocean on the same tableau as Europe – the global becomes local, and the periphery comes to the core. This mixture is symptomatic of the developing globalism of the early modern age, as Mary Pratt's study of "contact zones" implies: "While the imperial metropolis tends to understand itself as determining the periphery . . . it habitually blinds itself to the ways in which the periphery determines the metropolis" (6). Focusing on this Eurocentric blind spot, this essay contends that the plants and gardening techniques of Mesoamerica played an important role in determining the concept of European horticulture. The private enclosed gardens of England become the locus for cultivating New World plants, the printed herbals become the repository for new scientific knowledge, and Spenser's *Faerie Queene* becomes the mythic register for the appropriation of the Americas, and the material register for botanical miscegenation. Unmoored from Greco-Roman derivative readings, which

are readily accepted as part of Spenser's literary inheritance, this essay fuses together and collapses the binary of "primitive" New World and "civilized" Europe by sidestepping the postcolonial projection of the foreigner as a victim of colonization (a sorely true aspect of European expansion), and instead esteems Mesoamerican society as an active participant in shaping the culture of the early modern world.

The explorers, merchants, and sailors who crossed the Atlantic with seeds from faraway lands sold the foreign cargo to botanists who cultivated the alien flora in aristocratic gardens throughout Europe, helping to initiate the great age of Renaissance gardens and herbal literature. At the time of Columbus's first voyage across the Atlantic, Europeans relied on Dioscorides' Greek herbal from the first century AD, which contained only 500 plants; by 1623, notes Peter Mancall, Caspar Bauhin's herbal listed over 6,000 species, most from the New World (650). The first modern botanic garden in Padua, Italy (1545), reportedly collected "the whole world in a chamber" (Prest, 44), the seed beds divided into four quadrants, each containing plants from the four continents: Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. In the same year, Leonhart Fuchs published one of the earliest European herbals, *de stirpium historia*, dedicating it to the capitalist juggernaut, Anton Fugger. Anton's father, "Jakob the rich," had controlled a monopoly on the American plant Guaiacum, which replaced mercury as the popular treatment for syphilis in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Not only did the Renaissance garden have a scientific and monetary objective, but religiously these gardens were viewed as recreations of Paradise, which, as Milton clearly suggests in *Paradise Lost*, should contain "Whatever Earth all-bearing mother yields / In India east or west, or middle shore" (V: 338–9).

The private Christian enclosed garden, a symbol of resurrecting "the lost earthly Paradise," writes Richard Drayton in *Nature's Government*, "became a task connected with the scientific ideal of comprehending universal nature" (6). These were no longer the flowery walks and arbors of common indigenous flora enclosed within the walls of medieval castles, but an elaborate scientific enterprise, a "horticultural encyclopedia," writes Roy Strong, "a centre for botanical and medical research" (20). In this manner, the Renaissance garden achieved what the Mexica, who studied medical botany as a science, had already perfected in the fifteenth century. Extraordinary gardeners, the Mexica did not merely domesticate corn (as Europeans did with wheat); rather they *created* it through conscious biological cross-breeding and many, many years of purposeful selection (Mann, 194–6). "There can be no doubt whatever," writes Edward Hyams, "that [Mexico's] botanic garden was the first of its kind in the world" (121). The people of Tenochtitlan understood the medicinal and nutritional value of their plants in ways that European herbalists were striving to document: they had botanical libraries, or *amoxcalli*, and a complex system of morphology that predated the comparable Linnaean classification system in Europe by at least 200 years.[4] At the time when Mexica gardens were scientifically arranged in regular squares (or *chinampas*) similar horticultural establishments were unknown in Europe. The European system for botanical identification in the sixteenth century amounted to an inconsistent folk

taxonomy, grouping species in simplistic categories such as pine, palm, and oak. Just as the exploration of the New World influenced the development of early modern cartography, so the discovery of new plants – especially the horticultural knowledge of Mesoamerica – influenced the early modern garden and the study of botany in Europe.

Not surprisingly, in England, John Gerard's *New Herball* (1597) places the study of plants in the context of the New World (indeed, he holds a potato flower on the frontispiece etching). In his preface to the reader, he suggests that the discovery of new plants did not carry the vulgar weight of discovering "golden mynes" in the Americas; rather, such study of "wise men" describes what "the earth frankly without violence offerth" – an obvious stab at the greedy Spaniard's violent extraction of gold (the "excrement of earth") from the Indies. The pursuit of this new knowledge and the acculturation of new plants became an aristocratic pastime. "It is a world also to see, how manie strange hearbs, plants, and annuall fruits, are dailie brought vnto vs from the Indies, Americans . . . and all parts of the world" writes William Harrison in the *Holinshed Chronicles*, "There is not almost one noble man, gentleman, or merchant, that hath not great store of these floures, which now also doo begin to wax so well acquainted with our soiles, that we may almost accompt of them as parcell of our owne commodities" (I: 209). By crediting these new flowers as "parcel of our owne," Harrison emphasizes the level to which the periphery was grafted to the local. John Gerard acknowledges as much in his preface: "I haue added from forren places all the varietie of herbes and flowers [and] laboured with the soile to make it fit for the plants . . . so they might liue and prosper vnder our climate, as in their natiue and proper countrie." The physical integration of plants from far-away lands into local London gardens reverses the traditional spheres of Eurocentric influence. The very soil of Gerard's garden is altered – even determined – by the presence of plants from afar and it becomes a site for cross-breeding, or the botanical miscegenation of the European with the New World.

Spenser's Garden of Adonis arises from this context of early modern gardeners collecting, grafting, and mixing seeds, plants, and soil from overseas lands with the native terrain of England. Spenser's "first seminarie of all things" (3.6.30.4) is clearly reminiscent of the book of Genesis, where God provides "every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed" (Genesis 1:29), but Spenser's seed plots also recall the arrangement of the typical Renaissance garden: "Infinite shapes of creatures there are bred, /And vncouth formes, which none yet euer knew, /And euery sort is in a sundry bed" (3.6.35.1–3). Here, the strange ("vncouth") shapes of new plants that were previously unknown are settled in "sundry" beds, like the classified landscape of Renaissance gardens in Europe, or Mexican *chinampas*. Spenser's garden is far removed from the original gardens of Adonis of antiquity, which were small pots of quick growing herbs used in festivals as a symbol for the transitory nature of life. Likewise, elsewhere in the *Faerie Queene* Spenser mentions the now infamous "divine tobacco" (3.5.32), a clear move away from antiquity (they never knew tobacco), and places the character of

Belphoebe (who administers the divine herb to a wounded Timias) squarely in the forests of the Americas. Jeffrey Knapp's outstanding study of Elizabethan tobacco, for instance, considers the adjective "divine" as an oxymoron and its cultural weight as little more than an Indian trifle.[5] To be sure, tobacco had a notably pejorative connotation by the early seventeenth century and "divine" indeed seemed an oxymoronic adjective (especially in the satirical works of Ben Jonson), but from the time of its arrival in Europe in the early 1500s until Spenser's first mention of tobacco in English poetry, physicians, herbalists, apothecaries, and poets considered the Indian herb a gift from the gods, a veritable panacea, and understood its use as a customary greeting among indigenous people.[6]

Of all the New World references to seep into Spenser's poetry, the most readily identifiable occur in the proem of Book 2, where "*Peru*," "*Virginia*," and the "*Amazons* huge riuer" appear. The name *Virginia* supplants Spanish colonial reality with a fictional desire for "planting" a colony in the New World. Indeed, Spenser begins his fictional possession of the Americas on the very title page of the *Faerie Queene* by dedicating it to "Elizabeth . . . Queen of England . . . and Virginia." In 1596, after two failed colonies, Virginia was no more than a name on a map, a bad idea, and an even worse investment. By transcribing the New World into English historical memory, Spenser uses his "historical fiction" (a term mentioned in his prefatory "Letter to Raleigh") to occlude the Amerindian cultural landscape, transforming the land into a recognizable English myth, effectively effacing the indigenous societies that already inhabited the land. This textual erasure occurs in Book 2 of the *Faerie Queene* where Sir Guyon enters the chamber of *Eumnestes* (Good Memory) and discovers two ancient books: the *Briton Moniments*, which relates a "translatio imperii" of British genealogy from Brutus to King Arthur's father, and the *Antiquitie of Faerie Lond*, which curiously recounts the ancestry of the elves and faeries, who:

> to them selues all Nations did subdew:
> The first the eldest, which that scepter swayd,
> Was *Elfin*; him all *India* obayd,
> And all that now *America* men call.
> (2.10.72.3–6)

Elfin, the ancient ruler of all India and America, is not a descendant of any recognizable Indian noble like Mexico's Moctezuma, or Peru's Atahuallpa; rather, he is a mixture of English folklore and biblical myth, whose ancestors, like Adam and Eve in paradise, engender the entire race of faeries in the Garden of Adonis (2.10.71). Just as the Renaissance garden was materially conceived as the equivalent to Paradise, Spenser's Garden of Adonis is textually equivalent to the biblical Garden of Eden, transforming Adam and Eve into the elves and faeries of England's mythic origins. Spenser's fictional history not only encompasses a classical and biblical past, but also an American present, suggesting that it operates on two mythic registers: one classically European, the other American.

In the very "middest of Paradise," Spenser's Garden of Adonis alludes to the Ovidian transformation of unfulfilled lovers into the flowers "Narcisse," "Hyacinthus," and "Amaranthus." The first two flowers, while existing in the Old World, now had their names applied to an abundance of New World flowers; Antonio de Herrera notes in his *Novi Orbis* (1584) that many flowers are imported from Mexico, including "hiacynthi, Narcissi" (Folio 101r), emphasizing how Europeans viewed New World flora as an extension of Greco-Roman mythology. Like Spenser's use of "historical fiction" to stake a colonial claim to an imaginary (though mapped) Virginia, so the act of renaming American plants after European myth is a form of material conquest. Michel de Certeau acknowledges this process in *The Writing of History*, stating that "the conqueror will write the body of the other and trace his own history there" (213). While this is true of Spenser's "historical fiction," I wish to unsettle this dominant paradigm of conqueror and victim by retrieving from the annals of ethnological history a forgotten referent to Mexica myth and culture in the amaranth plant, suggesting rather how knowledge of the colonized was inscribed upon the body of the colonizer. Consider the complete stanza:

> And all about grew euery sort of flowre,
> To which sad louers were transformd of yore;
> Fresh *Hyacinthus*, *Phoebus* paramoure,
> And dearest loue:
> Foolish *Narcisse*, that likes the watry shore,
> Sad *Amaranthus*, made a flowre but late,
> Sad *Amaranthus*, in whose purple gore
> Me seemes I see *Amintas* wretched fate,
> To whom sweet Poets verse hath giuen endlesse date.
> (III.vi.45)

In pre-Columbian Europe, Dioscorides mentions amaranthus as a secondary name for the Gold-Flower (*Helichrysum Staechas*), also acknowledging its pagan connection: "some also call this Amarantum, wherewith also they crown their idols" (448).[7] Dioscorides applies the Greek origin of the name, ά-μάραντ-oS (not fading or everlasting), to a plant whose inflorescence retained its color when cut and dried. After the conquest of Mexico in 1521, however, Dioscorides' secondary name steps to the forefront as a primary term for a veritable plethora of new found amaranths arriving from Mesoamerica. While not as famous as New World potatoes, tobacco, or corn, Mexican amaranth was widely documented in European and Mexican ethnographic literature and herbals of the sixteenth century (see table 14.1).[8] Many of these texts found their way to English libraries, including the 1552 Badianus manuscript, popularly called the "Aztec Herbal" (written in Nahuatl), which references amaranth by its native name, *michihautli*, a type of amaranth whose seeds the Mexica use as "a very pleasant food."[9] The Codex Mendoza, a document produced by Mexica natives in New Spain under the authorization of Viceroy Mendoza in 1541, concurs with the use of amaranth as a food crop, stating that 4,000 tons of amaranth seeds were brought

Table 14.1 Chart showing the representation of amaranth in herbals and some ethnographic literature

					Amaranth described				# of species listed
Date	Author	Title	Language	Published	Spanish	Nahuatl	Common Name	Latin	
1535	Oviedo y Valdes, Gonzalo Fernandez de	*Historia General y Natural de las Indias*	Spanish	Seville	bledo				1
1545	Fuchs, Leonhard	*de stirpivm historia commentariorvm . . .*	Latin	Basil				Amaranthus purpureus	1
1550	??	*Codex Mendoza*	Nahuatl/ Spanish	Mexico	bledo	huautli			1
1552	Cruz, Martin de la	*Codex Barberini (Aztec Herbal* or *Badianus Manuscript)*	Nahuatl/ Latin	Mexico	bledo	michihuautli			1
1555	Andres de Laguna	*Dioscorides de Materia Medica* (from 55 A.D.)	Spanish	Antwerp	Amaranto purpurea, Elichryso		Flor Amor		1
1568	Turner, William	*Herball*	English	London			flour amor, purple velvet floure,		2
c. 1570*	Hernandez, Francisco	*Rerum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae.* (Published in 1651)	Latin / Nahuatl	Rome		huautli, tlapalhoaquilitl, nexahuautli, chichichoautli, michihahutli (and many others)**			10+

c. 1570*	Bernardino de Sahagún	*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Florentine Codex- published in 1829)	Nahuatl/ Spanish	Mexico City	uauhtli, michioauhtli, totoloauhtli, tlapaloauhtli, tezcaoauhtli, vei oauhtli, iacacolli, xochioauhtli			12
1570	L'Obel, Matthia de	*Nova Stirpum Adversaria*	Latin	London / Antwerp			Amaranthus tricolor, Amaranthus purpura satura coccinea, Amaranthus major floribus & pannulis caudatis purpureis	4
1578	Doedens, Rembert.	*A New Herball, or History of Plants*	Dutch/ English	London		Floure Gentill, purple velvet floure	Amaranthus purpureus	3
1597	Gerard, John.	*Herball or General Historie of Plantes*	English	London		purple velvet flour, flour amor	Amaranthus purpureus, Amaranthus citrinus	2
1612	Emanuel Swerts	*Florilegium*	Latin	Antwerp			Amaranthus major floribus spicatus purpure, Amaranthus holofericus sanguine, reticulus floribus, Amaranthus purpurea saturo coccinea, Amaranthus tricolor, Amaranthus crantosino color	5

Table 14.1 *Continued*

Date	Author	Title	Language	Published	Amaranth described				# of species listed
					Spanish	Nahuatl	Common Name	Latin	
1629	Parkinson, John	*Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*	English	London			Flower-gentle, small purple flower, scarlet, variable, carnation, Great Floramour, or purple,	Amaranthus purpureus minor, Amaranthus coccineus, Amaranthus tricolor, Amaranthus carnea spica, Amaranthus purpureus major panniculis sparsis	5
1633	Gerard, John.	*Herball or General Historie of Plantes*	English	London			Floure-Gentile, purple, scarlet, tricolor, branched, velvet,	Amaranthus pupureus, Amaranthus coccineus, Amaranthus pannicula sparsa, Amaranthus pannicula incurua holoferica	5
1640	Parkinson, John	*Theatrum Botanicum*	English	London			great scarlet tufted Amaranthus	Amaranthus coccineus, Amaranthus tricolor, Amaranthus coccineus elegans maximus	6
1737	Carolo Linneaus	*Hortus Cliffortianus*	Latin	Amsterdam				Too Many to list	29

*These two texts were compiled in the 1570's. Hernandez's drawings and Sahagun's manuscript began circulating in Europe in the 1580's.

**I use 10+ as an estimate because Hernandez states that there were "many others" in addition to the 5 he names.

***In 1601, Carolus Clusius, Rariorum plantarum historia, defines "Quinua sive Blitum majus Peruanum, blitum" from Peru not an amaranthus.

yearly as tribute to Moctezuma, virtually equal in quantity to maize and frijoles. (Today, you mostly find amaranth in health-food stores, its protein content recognized as superior to any European grain). Remarkably, the Codex Mendoza came to England in the late 1580s when Richard Hakluyt purchased it from French Cosmographer, Andre Thevet. Edmund Spenser's patron, Sir Walter Raleigh, urged Hakluyt to translate the Spanish text written beside the Nahuatl (written in Latin phonic pronunciation), but it wasn't until 1622 that Samuel Purchas published a translation of the text by Michael Lok, who, by labeling amaranthus with its native name, *Guautli*, or the Spanish name *bledo*, elides any relation between the Mexican plant and English amaranths. Despite Lok's occlusion of knowledge, in 1578 the newfound amaranth was extremely popular, as Rembert Dodoens testifies in his *New Herball*: the "wemen of Italy make great accoumpt of [American amaranth] bycause of his pleasant beautie, so that ye shall not lightly come into any garden there, that hath not this herbe in it" (168).

Unlike Hyacinth and Narcissus, the well-documented Mexican amaranths traveled to Europe with cultural baggage that could not be erased so easily by the dominant European print publications. Acosta's *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* describes the use of amaranth in sacrificial rituals of the Mexican god, *Huitzilopochtli*, who Antonio de Herrera describes as the "crafty" arch-leader of the Mexica (Folio 134r) – a sort of Spenserian Archimago. Acosta writes that several days prior to this sacrificial ceremony, virgins gathered in a temple to grind amaranth seeds and roasted maize, using the dough to make an idol of *Huitzilopochtli*:[10]

> This done, all the maidens came out, adorned as has been described, and took from their place of retreat pieces of dough made of toasted maize and amaranth, the same material of which the idol was made, kneaded into the shape of large bones. . . . These pieces of dough were called the bones and flesh of Huitzilopochtli. . . . Then the sacrificers came forth and performed the sacrifice of men. . . . When the ceremonies, dances, and sacrifices were finished they . . . took the idol made of dough and stripped it of its adornments and made many fragments out of the idol. . . . Then, beginning with the eldest, they distributed them and gave them in a sort of communion to all the people.[11]

Europeans struggled to understand how the supposed human-sacrificing cannibals of Mexico – a historical stereotype I wish to challenge – could be so barbarous and yet have such an advanced civilization: zoos and aviaries when England had none; immaculately clean streets, fresh-water aqueducts, enormous public markets, and canals reminiscent of Venice. On the other hand, Europeans were at least as brutal despite the trappings of Western civilization. Torture and punishment occurred in the form of pillories, gibbets, and public hangings, which were all part of a deadly arsenal of corrective measures in early modern Europe, and, like Mexica sacrifice, these spectacles of cruelty were meted out before a public audience "so that the state's power to inflict torment and death could act upon the people as an edifying caution" (Greenblatt, 201). Some Europeans acknowledged the hypocrisy of European

Christians: Montaigne, for instance, recognized how "we gratify heaven and nature by committing massacre and homicide, a belief universally embraced in all religions;" and Nathaniel Baxter writes in his popular work commending the deeds of various aristocrats, *Sir Philip Sidney's Ouránia* (1606): "we brag of Christianity, but our hands are full of blood" (2052).[12] Public spectacle and institutional violence, whether in the form of torture or sacrifice, were crucial to maintaining authority in the early modern period. In Europe they marched victims up the scaffold and in Mexico they marched them up a pyramid, both ending in a gruesome public display of death. Let me stress that I do not mean to romanticize the Mexica, but rather emphasize an alternative method of social control.

While Michel Foucault (*Discipline and Punish*) and René Girard (*Violence and the Sacred*) have opened exciting paths into the understanding of human punishment and violence, scholars still skirt around the issue of human sacrifice, or, if they do take up the taboo subject, as David Carrasco notes in *City of Sacrifice*, a caveat must be issued. With that disclaimer, let me begin by comparing two distinct approaches to human violence: the first, a graphic depiction (much abridged) of the European execution of Zadoch, a Jewish character from Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594). This example of European demonization of the Jew, albeit fictional and full of standard Nashian hyperbole, suggests that Europeans sustained what Michael Taussig labels a "culture of terror:"[13]

> To the execution place was he brought, where first and formost he was stript, then on a sharpe yron stake fastened in the ground, had he his fundament pitcht, which stake ran vp along into his bodie like a spit. . . . euerie one of his fingers they rent vp to the wrist: his toes they brake off by the rootes, and let them still hang by a little skinne. In conclusion, they had a small oyle fire . . . and beginning at his feet, they let him lingringly burne vp limme by limme, till his hart was consumed, and then he died. (98–9)

The gruesome torture used to exact a punishment is, in Foucault's words, a ceremony "by which a momentarily injured sovereignty is reconstituted" (48). In an analysis of execution and sacrifice in *Titus Adronicus*, Francis Barker performs a careful study of assizes between 1559 and 1639, concluding that England executed at least 60,000 citizens, although he qualifies this estimate by stating that it is probably a gross underestimation due to incomplete records and that the aggregate figures are probably much higher.[14] In another similar study of between 1530 and 1630, England executed approximately 75,000 criminals in such ceremonies of justice.[15] The Mexica, Charles Mann writes, sacrificed half as many per capita with six times the population.[16] The second example, written by the famed conquistador, Hernan Cortés, describes the swift Mexica sacrifice:

> They take him who they are to sacrifice and first lead him well adorned through the streets and plazas, with a big ceremony and festivity. . . . Later, the priest removes the victim's clothes and leads him up the steps to the [pyramid], where there is a stone idol and he lays down the victim

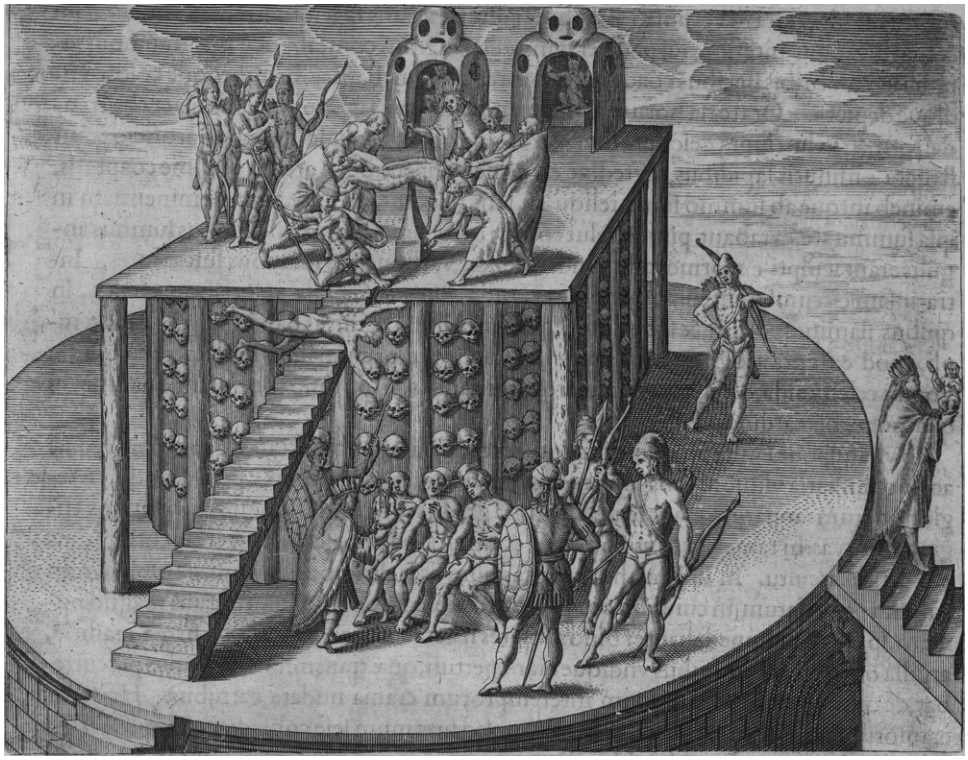

Figure 14.1 Mexican Sacrifice based on José de Acosta's descriptions. Theodore De Bry, *Americae, Pars Dvodecima* (Frankfurt, 1624); © Huntington Library.

> on his back. . . . With a stone knife, which cuts as if it were steel . . . he stabs the chest and takes out the still warm and palpitating heart . . . with the blood he smears the mouth of the idol. . . . Afterwards they burn the heart, conserving the ash in a large reliquary, and they burn the body of the victim (See figure 2 [figure 14.1 in this volume]).[17]

While Nashe's torture and Acosta's sacrifice are equally terrifying, I want to make a crucial distinction between the role of the victim in each. In *Violence and the Sacred*, René Girard writes that the sacrificial victim in any society is "a substitute for all the members of the community, offered up by the members themselves. The sacrifice serves to protect the entire community from *its own* violence. . . . to reinforce the social fabric" (8). European torture or execution of a criminal, however, is based on a principal of revenge – an eye for an eye.

Unlike sacrifice, the European concept of corporal punishment, then, seeks to end a cycle of revenge, which if not held in check would only lead to more violence. Sacrifice, on the other hand, serves to prevent violence from erupting in the community. In this sense, the victim is equivalent to the Greek *pharmakos*, which is commonly translated as a "scapegoat," or the one who is sacrificed to expiate the sins of society.

This translation, however, overlooks the medicinal quality of the word, "pharma," from which the word "pharmacy" is derived. In this sense, the original Mexica myth of sacrifice and consumption of amaranth "wafers" entails a purging of illness from society.[18] Both sides of the Atlantic employ sacrifice and punishment as a medicine to maintain the health of society. Sacrificial societies (like the Mexica), however, seek to regenerate, while "massacre-societies" (to borrow Todorov's term for Western European civilizations) seek to (ex)terminate.[19] Though Indians also used sacrifice as a form of capital punishment for criminals like the "civilized" Europeans across the Atlantic, it still served as a communal cleansing of social contagions.[20]

Acosta's description of Mexica sacrifice above bears many similarities to the sacrifice of Amoret in Spenser's "masque of cupid." Presiding over the masque, Cupid sits atop an altar to which people commit "fowle idolatree" (3.11.49.5). Significantly, textual accounts of the sixteenth century depict the Mexican god Huitzlipochtli as a cupid-like figure. The mere fact that Indians used bow and arrow suggests this ethnographic to mythologic comparison.[21] Spenser's cupid holds "in his cruell fist / A mortall bow and arrowes keene . . . / A wounded Dragon vnder him did ly," (III.xi.48.1–2, 6). Similarly, the conquistador Bernal Díaz de Castillo writes of the Mexican god Huitzlipochtli: "The body was girdled by great snakes . . . and in one hand he held a bow and in the other some arrows" (219). Leading Spenser's masquers, Fancy dances forward dressed in "painted plumes . . . / Like as the sunburnt *Indians* do array / Their tawney bodies" (3.12.8.2–4). The feather garment indicates an Indian procession, and the dancing recalls the festivity surrounding the description of Mexica sacrifice above. Here is Spenser's description of the ritual:

> At that wide orifice her trembling hart
> Was drawne forth, and in siluer basin layd,
> Quite through transfixed with a deadly dart,
> And in her bloud yet steeming fresh embayd.
> (3.12.21.1–4)

The violent and sadistic act of penetrating Amoret's body and extracting the heart has been viewed by Eggert and Frye as an allegorical representation of rape; the victimization of Serena in Book 6 is similarly a violent (and pornographic) treatment of the female body. Joseph Parry, on the other hand, takes a more emblematic approach and argues that Petrarch's canzoniere "Nel dolce tempo de la prima etade," which depicts a woman opening the chest of her lover and holding the heart in her hand, is the probable source for Spenser. But several elements are lacking from the Petrarch poem: the heart is not withdrawn, it is not considered a sacrifice, there is no altar, and no priests attend the ceremony (Parry. 26). By concentrating on the literal qualities of the passage, we can see that this scene reveals a crucial element unique to Mexica sacrifice: withdrawing the palpitating and "yet steeming" heart from the chest. There were ample myths, legends, and histories of sacrifice available to Spenser, but all Greco-Roman, Gaelic, or Egyptian sacrifice entail burning the victim

in a pyre, cutting the throat, or disembowelment. Only the Mexica withdrew the heart from the victim, and the coterie of *Faerie Queene* readers in the sixteenth century would likely think of the Mexica version of human sacrifice when reading this passage.

Despite amaranth's connection to this bloody overture, which Spanish conquistadors viewed and documented (sometimes first hand with deadly consequences), the beauty of Mexican amaranths was so striking that they carried seeds home to Europe to be grown as ornamentals. Given the easy transportability of amaranth (the seed is the size of a pinhead), its ability to adapt to many soils (it has shallow roots and grows as fast and hardy as a weed), it is not surprising that herbals testify to a steady increase in the variety of amaranths in European gardens. By 1629, John Parkinson lists five types of amaranth in his *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, calling the large Mexican grain plant "Great Floramor" or "purple Flower Gentle" (*Amaranthus purpureus major panniculis sparsis*), noting that it "hath been sent from the West Indies" (372). By the early eighteenth century, Linnaeus identifies no fewer than 29 types of amaranth (see chart), the majority of which grow in "America *meridionali*," or Mesoamerica (443). The inescapable conclusion is that the newfound and popular ornamental flower of European gardens – grain amaranth – is of New World origin (Sauer, 614).

The material presence of Mexican amaranths flourishing in Renaissance gardens, combined with the abundance of texts referring to its use in Mesoamerican culture, suggest that Spenser was well aware of its connection to Mexica rituals of sacrifice when he writes "Sad *Amaranthus*, in whose purple gore / Me seemes I see *Amintas* wretched fate." Significantly, the Ovidian transformation has no precedence in Greco-Roman literature. Ovid does not mention *Amaranthus* in his works, and although the plant appears in Virgil's *Culex* (a poem Spenser translated into English as *Virgil's Gnat*), it has no metamorphosing attributes. The Italian Jacopo Sannazaro describes amaranthus in his pastoral poem *Arcadia* (1502): "The ruddy stalks of immortal amaranth, most pleasant crowns in rough winter," continuing Clement of Alexandria's "fair crown of amaranth" mentioned in Book II of *Paedagogus* (*c.*200 AD). Unlike Sannazaro and Clement of Alexandria, however, Spenser does not write of "crowns of amaranth," rather he imagines a living plant symbolizing the everlasting love and undying devotion of *Amintas*, whom John Upton first identified as Sir Philip Sidney in his 1758 edition of the *Faerie Queene*.[22]

Abraham Fraunce alludes to Spenser's "sad *Amaranthus*" and to Upton's Sidney as *Amintas* in *The Third part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch* (1592). The book opens significantly:

> Now that solemne feast of murdered *Amyntas* aproached:
> And by the late edict by *Pembrokiana* pronounced,
> Yuychurches nymphs and pastors duely prepared
> With fatall Garlands of newfound flowre *Amaranthus,*
> Downe in *Amyntas* dale, on *Amyntas* day be assembled.
> Pastymes ouerpast, and death's celebration ended,

> Matchles Lady regent, for a further grace to *Amyntas*
> Late transformed to a flowre. . . .
>
> (1–8)

Pembrokiana refers to the Countess of Pembroke (Sir Philip Sidney's sister Mary), and if we are to take the contents of this passage from the *Yuychurche* literally, as Jon Quitslund argues, it "seems to have been an annual event for the Sidney circle, marking the death and transfiguration of their lost leader" (28). The correlation between *Amyntas* and *Amaranthus* in both Fraunce and Spenser is no mere coincidence, and suggests that both poets associated a "newfound flowre *Amaranthus*" with Sidney. While Spenser may only refer to Sidney's recent transformation, *Amaranthus* "made a flower but late" may also refer to its recent discovery and addition to the Renaissance gardens of Europe. It seems fitting to honor one of Europe's most dynamic poet courtiers and supporters of New World botanical knowledge with garlands made from a prominent and beautiful New World ornamental flower.

The relation between Amyntas and Amaranthus is an English invention by Spenser and Fraunce, signifying the use of Mexican symbolism in European poetry: amaranth, the sacred plant of extreme religious devotion in ancient Mexico, is transformed into a symbol of devotional love in England. Thus, while giving one's heart away to a lover may have Greco-Roman resonances, the devotional aspect of Mexica sacrifice is more relevant to this popular Renaissance emblem of sacrificing one's heart. The cross-cultural exchange is preserved in the common folk name for amaranth: *flor-amor*, or "flower of love." Just as giving your life for the god was the epitome of devotion to the Mexica, so was giving your life for your lover in Renaissance poetry. Significantly, this trope appears in Spenser's Sonnet 22 from *Amoretti*. Spenser writes of paying service to his love on the Lenten holy day

> Lyke sacred priests that neuer thinke amisse.
> Ere I to her as th' author of my blisse,
> Will builde an altar to appease her yre:
> And on the same my hart will sacrifise,
> Burning in flames of pure and chast desire.
>
> (8–12)

The image resembles the Mexica heart-rending ritual, and recalls the sacrifices of Amoret and Serena. Likewise, Mary Wroth writes in her "Sonnet 22" of *Pamphilia and Amphilanthus* (curiously the same number as Spenser's sonnet) of "Indians scorched with the Sunne" who perform sacrifices. In the context of these love sonnets, Spenser's use of the Mexican plant amaranthus as a symbol "to which sad louers were transformd of yore" becomes more apparent – the flower of love derives its mythological meaning not only from Ovid, but also from Mexico; what at first appears as merely the trumping of Mexica culture with Greco-roman names and myth, actually becomes quite the reverse, and reveals the use of Mexica myth in English poetry – the periphery determines and miscegenates with the local.

While scholarly tradition has classified the "primitive" cultures of the Americas as less advanced than civilized Europe, clearly the gardens of Tenochtitlan propelled the study of botany in Europe and Mesoamerican culture participated in the development of the early modern world. Despite the occlusion of entire histories, the inhabitants and societies of the New World offered what anthropologist Dennis Tedlock calls, "alternative human worlds," similar to what the social critics Montaigne and Sir Thomas More envisioned in their works. At a time when populations were burgeoning, the newly formed nation-states of Europe used the violence of public executions to maintain social order; the Aztecs employed human sacrifice. The Mexica valued ritual and regeneration; Europeans valued extermination and planted anew (Spenser's *Present State of Ireland* is case and point). By placing pre-Columbian Mexico on the same tableau as Europe, and excavating through years of historical prejudices, I have sought to reverse the Eurocentric template by revealing the use of Mexica sacrificial imagery in Renaissance literature. As Francis Barker notes, "Cultural criticism becomes complicit with [the European culture of] violence if it does not free itself from the same strategies" (260). By emphasizing the sacred of Mexico in contrast to the profane of Europe, my criticism seeks to break away from this complicity.

The profound reach of peripheral Mesoamerica culture and botany into the intellectual and literary centers of Europe loosens the traditional tether of Greco-Roman derivative readings of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, giving rein to the "purple gore" and "fatall garlands" of Mexica sacrifice to emphasize the "New Globalism" of the early modern period. Not only did the abundance of Mesoamerican plants growing in the gardens of Europe lead scientific nomenclature to become more specific, influencing the very concepts of botanical knowledge, but their myths were also "transplanted" to European culture. Amaranthus, the sacred plant of extreme religious devotion in ancient Mexico, is transformed into a symbol of devotional love in England by virtue of the name, *floramor*, or "flower of love," giving the unique relation between *Amyntas* and *Amaranthus* of Edmund Spenser and Abraham Fraunce an Ovidian *and* Mesoamerican root. In this manner, Spenser's *Faerie Queene* represents textually what the Renaissance gardens of Europe were physically: sites of transatlantic acculturation where peripheral knowledge and material from Mesoamerica invigorates local London with a new mythic register of the natural world from the Americas, creating a garden space (literally and literarily) where the New World cross-breeds with the Old.

Notes

1 Upon first seeing the Virginian Indians in 1584, Arthur Barlowe writes, "We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of guile and treason, and such as live aftger the manner of the golden age" (Norton, 900). Peter Martyr writes, "They lyue without any certaine dwellynge places, and with owte tyllage or culturynge of the grounde, as wee reade of them whiche in oulde tyme lyued in the golden age" (Arber, 134r). Richard Eden glosses in the margins of his translation of Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* in Richard Arber's *The First Three English Books on America*: "Fables muche lyke ovide his transformations" (Arber, 51r).

2 I use the term *Mexica* because the popular term Aztec is derived from William Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico* and was not a name used by the pre-Columbian natives of Mesoamerica.
3 Acosta, *Historia Natural* (301–3); Sahagún, *Florentine Codex* (I, 156, and xii, 51); Durán, *Historia* (I, Chs. 2 and 4 (these from Thomas Conquest)).
4 Herrera, *Breve Historia* (21–4).
5 Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere* (135).
6 For a complete analysis of tobacco, see chapter 3 of my dissertation.
7 Herbals do note two Old World amaranths, which botanists today believe were *celosia argentea* and *gomphrena globosa*, which originated in either Africa or Asia.
8 In his edited book of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, A. C. Hamilton notes that *Amaranthus* refers to "loves-lies-a-bleeding," or *Amaranthus Caudatus*, a plant whose supposed origin is Peru, although Sauer (and current botanists) doubt this singular origin because this species also populated Mexican gardens.
9 Hernandez, *Rerum Medicarum* (269 (Michael O'Connell translation)).
10 This ritual use of amaranth in the sacrificial ceremony of *Huitzilopochtli* appears in many ethnographic accounts of Mexica culture. For documentation of amaranth in ethnographic sources, see Sahagun, *Historia General* . . . , (I: 30, I: 32–4; I: 36, I: 48–9, I: 89–90, I: 97–9, I: 102–22), Hernández, *Rerum Medicarum* . . . , (2: 129–31, 2: 340–1), Durán, *Historia de las Indias* . . . , (2: 85–90, 2: 166, 2: 204). Other texts include two anonymous authors of the conquest in 1540 and 1550, and an assortment of personal correspondences. For a complete list, see Sauer, "The Grain Amaranths," appendix.
11 Acosta, *Historia Natural* (5: 24, 361–4). The text is my translation.
12 Montaigne (149).
13 Taussig, "Culture of Terror" (135).
14 Barker, "Treasures of Culture" (241–9).
15 For execution estimates, see Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree* (7), and Jenkins "From Gallows to Prison."
16 Mann's *1491* argues (with scientific support) that the population of the Americas was actually larger than that of Europe, containing anywhere from 90 to 120 million people, 90 percent of whom were wiped out by smallpox. Early travel accounts suggest extremely large populations in the villages of the Americas; see: Parker (122); Arber (189–94).
17 Cortés (55–6 (my translation)).
18 David Carrasco, in *City of Sacrifice*, notes that the first mythic sacrifice in Mexico originates from a medical curing of society via the sacrifice of a god covered with "sores" or "pustules" (79).
19 Todorov, *The Conquest of America* (143).
20 The exaggeration of sacrifice in Mexico has long been a debatable topic since all the documentation comes from Europeans, or is produced by indigenous scribes after the conquest and under supervision of Franciscan missionaries. Patricia McAnany, *Living with the Ancestors*, (62) argues that archaeologists frequently have no evidence to derive conclusions of systemic sacrifice, but that they sensationalize their work with such attractions. In an unpublished manuscript, *Calmecac*, Doctor Genero Medina Ramos (an indigenous speaker of Nahautl) argues not only against the exaggeration of sacrifices, but also that they were primarily used as a form of criminal punishment.
21 Roland Greene makes an argument for the Indians as cupids in Unrequited Conquests. The Longview map of England, 1647, depicts cupids dressed in Indian plumes.
22 Upton's argument has not gone uncontested. William Ringler ("Spenser and Thomas Watson," *Modern Language Notes*, vol LXIX, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1954) and Harry Morris ("Richard Barnfield, 'Amyntas,' and the Sidney Circle," PMLA 74/4 (September 1959): 318–24) have argued that Spenser's *Amyntas* is merely a reference to either Thomas Watson's poem *The Lamentations of Amyntas* or Abraham Fraunce's English translation of that Latin text. Tasso's *Amyntas* is also labeled as a source, but it is important to note that *Amaranthus* does not appear in Tasso's version.

References and Further Reading

Acosta, José de. *Historia Natural y moral de las Indias*, ed. José de Alcina Franch. Madrid: Cronicas de America, 1988.

Anghiera, Pietro Martire d'. *The decades of the newe worlde*. Londini: In aedibus Guilhelmi Powell [for Edwarde Sutton], Anno. 1555.

Anonymous, *Codex Mendoza*. Mexico, 1541.

Arber, Edward, ed., *The First Three English Books on America {?1511}–1555 A.D*. New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1977.

Barker, Francis. "Treasures of Culture: *Titus Adronicus* and Death by Hanging," in *The Production of English Renaissance Culture*. Ed. David Lee Miller, Sharon O'Dair, and Harold Weber. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994, 226–61.

Barlowe, Arthur. *Amadas and Barlowe's Voyage to Virginia, 1584*, as quoted in *The Norton Anthology of Literature*, vol. 1, 7th edn. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000.

Bauhin, Caspar. *Pinax Theatri Botanici.* Basel: L. Regis, 1623.

Baxter, Nathaniel. *Sir Philip Sydney's Ourania, that is, Endimions song and tragedie*. London: E. White, 1606.

Bennett, Josephine Waters. "Spenser's Garden of Adonis," *PMLA* 47/1 (March 1932): 46–80.

Carrasco, Davíd. *City of Sacrifice: The Aztec Empire and the Role of Violence in Civilization*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1999.

Columbus, Christopher. "Letter of Columbus on the Third Voyage," in *Select Documents Illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus*, vol. 2, trans. and ed. Cecil Jane. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1933, 2–47.

Cortés, Fernando. *Relación de Algunas Cosas de La Nueva España*. Mexico: Jose Porrua e Hijos, Sucs, 1961.

Cruz, Martin de la. *Aztec Herbal*. Mexico, 1552.

Dee, Dr. John. *Private Diaries of Dr. John Dee*. Ed. James Orchard Halliwell Esq. F.R.S. Montana: Kessinger Publishing Company, 1998.

Dee, Dr. John. Ms 255. Oxford: Corpus Christi College, *c.* mid-sixteenth century.

Diaz del Castillo, Bernal. *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico: 1517–1521*, trans. A. P. Maudslay. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1956.

Dioscorides. *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides*. Ed. Robert T. Gunther. New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1959.

Dodoens, Rembert. *A New Herball, or History of Plants*. London: Edmund Bollifant, 1595.

Drayton, Richard. *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the "Improvement" of the World*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

Durán, Diego de. *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España*, 2 vols. Ed. Ángel María Garibay Kintana. Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1967.

Durán, Fray Diego. *Book of the Gods and Rites and the Ancient Calendar*, trans. Fernando Horcasitas and Doris Heyden. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.

Eggert, Katherine. "Spenser's Ravishment: Rape and Rapture in *The Faerie Queene,*" in *Representing Rape in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*. Ed. Elizabeth A. Robertson and Christine M. Rose. New York: Palgrave, 2001: 381–410.

Eliade, Mircea. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. William R. Trask. New York: Harcourt, Inc., 1959.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.

Frampton, John. *Joyfull Newes Out of the New Founde Worlde*. New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1967.

Fraunce, Abraham. *The Third Part of Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurche*. London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1976.

Frye, Susan. "Of Chastity and Rape: Edmund Spenser Confronts Elizabeth I in 'The Faerie Queene,'" in *Representing Rape in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*. Ed. Elizabeth A. Robertson and Christine M. Rose. New York: Palgrave, 2001, 353–80.

Fuchs, Leonard. *De historia stirpium commentarii insignes.* Basel: In officina Isingriniana, 1542.

Gatrell, V. A. C. *The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English People, 1770–1868*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Gerard, John. *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes*. London: Iohn Norton, 1597.

Girard, Renee. *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. Patrick Gregory. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Greenberg, Peter. *The Eye of the Lynx: Galileo, His Friends, and the Beginnings of Modern Natural History*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Greenblatt, Stephen. *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Hakluyt, Richard. *Discourse of Western Planting*. Ed. David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn. London: Hakluyt Society, 1993.

Harrison, William. *The Holinshed Chronicles*. London: Henry Denham, 1587.

Helgerson, Richard. *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Hernández, Francisco. *Rerum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae.* Rome: Accademia dei Lincei, 1651.

Herrera, Antonio de. *Novi Orbis pars duo-decima*. Frankfurt: Theodori de Bry, 1624.

Herrera, Teofilo. *Breve historia de la botánica en México*. Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico, 1998.

Hulme, Peter. *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797.* New York: Methuen, 1986.

Hyams, Edward. *A History of Gardens and Gardening*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.

Jenkins, Philip. "From Gallows to Prison: The Execution Rate in Early Modern England," in *Crime, Police and the Courts in Early Modern England*. Ed. Louis A. Knafla. Westport, CT: Meckler, 1990, 129–49.

Keen, Benjamin. *The Aztec Image in Western Thought*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1971.

Knapp, Jeffrey. *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992.

Linnaeus, Carl. *Hortus Cliffortianus*. Amsterdam, 1737.

Mancall, Peter C. "Tales Tobacco Told in Sixteenth-Century Europe," in *Environmental History* 9/4 (October 2004): 648–78.

Mann, Charles. *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.

Marlowe, Christopher. *Doctor Faustus*. Ed. Simon Trussler. London: Nick Hern Books, 1996.

Milton, John. *Paradise Lost*. Ed. Philip Pullman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Montaigne, Michel. *The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Donald M. Frame. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958.

Nashe, Thomas. *The Unfortunate Traveller*. New York: Penguin Classics, 1972.

O'Gorman, Edmundo. *The Invention of America: An Inquiry into the Historical Nature of the New World and the Meaning of its History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961.

Pagden, Anthony. *Lords of all the Worlds: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500–c.1850.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.

Parker, John. *Books to Build an Empire*. Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965.

Parkinson, John. *Paradisi in sole paradisus terrestris*. London: Printed by R.N., 1656.

Parry, Joseph. "Petrarch's Mourning, Spenser's Scudamour, and Britomart's Gift of Death," *Comparative Literature Studies* 42/1 (2005): 24–49.

Pliny, the Elder. *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham, 10 vols., Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938–86.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Prescott, William Hickling. *History of the Conquest of Mexico.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1843.

Prest, John. *The Garden of Eden: The Botanic Garden and the Re-Creation of Paradise*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988.

Quitsland, Jon A. "The Work of Mourning in Spenser's Garden of Adonis," in *Renaissance Papers*. Ed. Trevor Howard-Hill and Philip Rollinson. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1997, 23–31.

Raleigh, Sir Walter. *The Discoverie of the Large and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana*, ed. V. T. Harlow. London: Argonaut Press, 1928.

Read, David T. *Temperate Conquests: Spenser and the Spanish New World*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000.

Roberts, Julian and Andrew G. Watson. *John Dee's Library Catalogue*. London: Bibliographical Society, 1990.

Roze, Ernest. *Charles de L'Escluse: Le Propagateur de la Pomme de Terre*. Paris: J. Rothschild, Librarie, 1899.

Sahagún, Bernardino de. *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain*, ed. and trans with notes and illus., Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson; translation of *Historia General de las Cosas de la Nueva España*, vols. I–XII, Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Salt Lake City: School for American Research and the University of Utah Press.

Sauer, Jonathan Deininger. "The Grain Amaranths: A Survey of Their History and Classification," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* 37/4 (November 1950): 561–632.

Sannazaro, Jacopo. *Arcadia, & Piscatorial eclogues*, trans. and ed. Ralph Nash. Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1966.

Spenser, Edmund. *A View of the Present State of Ireland*. Ed. W. L. Renwick. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene*. Ed. A. C. Hamilton. New York: Pearson Education Inc., 1999.

Strong, Roy. *The Renaissance Garden in England*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1979.

Tedlock, Dennis. "Dialogues between Worlds: Mesoamerica after and before the European Invasion," in *Theorizing the Americanist Tradition*. Ed. Lisa Philips Valentine and Regna Darnell. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999: 163–80.

Taussig, Michael. "Culture of Terror – Space of Death: Roger Casement's Putumayo Report and the Explanation of Torture," in *Colonialism and Culture*. Ed. Nicholas B. Dirks. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992, 135–73.

Test, Edward M. "Consuming the Americas: New World Flora and Fauna in English Literature, 1580–1620," PhD Dissertation. Santa Barbara: University of California, 2008.

Todorov, Tzvetan. *The Conquest of America: The Question of Other*, trans. Richard Howard. Norman: The University of Oklahoma, 1999.

Yates, Frances A. *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age*. London: Routledge, 1979.

15

"So Pale, So Lame, So Lean, So Ruinous": The Circulation of Foreign Coins in Early Modern England

Stephen Deng

In his recent book *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism and Disease in Shakespeare's England*, Jonathan Gil Harris traces the connection in early modern England between mercantilist discourse and the emergent model of disease spread through "foreign bodies," which opposed the dominant Galenic model of humoral imbalance. "By provisionally reimagining disease as a foreign body," Harris writes, "people in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced new epistemologies within which objects such as the national economy and the global laws of trade could be preliminarily conceived" (21). He therefore argues for the "pathologization of foreign bodies as the enabling discursive condition for the globally connected nation-state" (2). In this chapter, I build on Harris's analysis by considering a certain predominant class of "foreign bodies" circulating within England: *foreign coins*, which played an essential role in global trade as well as contributing to the emergence of national identity. Frequent puns on foreign coins as foreign diseases represent a productive site for the discursive "enabling" of the nation-state. For example, in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, Lucio and two gentlemen connect venereal disease to specific continental coins:

> [*1. GENT*]: I have purchas'd as many diseases under her roof as come to –
> *2. GENT*: To what, I pray?
> *LUCIO*: Judge.
> *2. GENT*: To three thousand dolors a year.
> *1. GENT*: Ay, and more.
> *LUCIO*: A French crown more.
>
> (1.2.46–52)

I would like to thank Jyotsna Singh, Matthew Dimmock, Gil Harris, Dan Vitkus, Ben Robinson, Amanda Bailey, David Baker, Hilary Eklund, and all the other participants of the "Foreign Objects" seminar at the 2007 Shakespeare Association of America meeting in San Diego for their helpful feedback.

The second gentleman's pun links the "dolors" of disease from frequenting prostitutes to the "dollar" coin – the English name for the German "thaler" as well as for the Spanish "piece of eight" prior to the Scottish and later American adoption of the denomination. And Lucio's added "French crown" signifies coins current in England in addition to the bald heads of syphilitic Frenchmen. Although such puns seem to be mere linguistic play, they intimate genuine national concern about the dangers from foreign coins circulating within England.

However, as I argue in this chapter, not all English experienced foreign coins in the same way. Foreign coins in England, especially the internationally respected "prestige coins," tended to be higher-valued coins circulating mostly among aristocrats and wealthy merchants. From the perspective of commoners, coins like French crowns, worth approximately a week's wages for unskilled laborers in 1600, would be considered "aristocratic" in contrast to their hardworking domestic pennies. Perceptions of their corrupting influence could thus signal class tensions as much as xenophobia. Yet concern about foreign coins existed even among the elite. I suggest in the final section of this chapter that, in addition to general xenophobia, this apprehension regarding foreign coins partially reflects anxiety about *English* coins circulating abroad. An influx of coins resembling domestic coin, but with lower specie content, ironically a by-product of England's success in producing its own "prestige coins," was symptomatic of an inability to maintain full control over the national currency. Moreover, while England had produced enviable coins for 400 years during the Middle Ages, Henry VIII's debasement in the 1540s immediately destroyed their reputation abroad. Elizabeth's ultimate restoration of the coin became one of her greatest accomplishments, but English monetary pride under Elizabeth, especially in its contrast to comparable foreign coins, merely suppressed memories of debasement that nonetheless re-emerged on occasion within national consciousness. Thus, the "pathologization" of foreign coins, made explicit in their association to disease, should be read within a broader context of the coins' significance to both class relations and English monetary history. England's experience of the "global," in the case of foreign coins circulating in England and English coins circulating abroad, displays a complex dynamic of internal tensions among subjects as well as between subjects and the state. English critique of foreign coins should be considered not only as a xenophobic expression of English nationalism, but also as representative of domestic concerns about social relations and a history of economic exploitation by the state.

I

Benjamin Cohen argues that the idea of "One Nation/One Money" is a relatively recent phenomenon. He identifies the foundation of the concept in the 1648 Peace of Westphalia, the treaty that ended the Thirty Years War and, more importantly, created the convention of state sovereignty within geographical boundaries, in effect establishing "territoriality as the sole basis for Europe's political map" (14). Yet the

idea of *monetary* sovereignty took even longer to establish. Not until the nineteenth century, when states permitted only their own currency to circulate within their boundaries, did national governments start to secure monopoly control over the production and distribution of money, a development Cohen calls the "Westphalian model of monetary geography" (4). Nations began revoking the privilege of foreign coins to serve as legal tender and limited to domestic currency "public receivability," the payment of taxes or other contractual obligations to the state (34). Cohen sees the modern situation of global competition between forms of money within transactional networks as a re-emergence of the past situation, so, in addition to being a late development, the Westphalian model of monetary geography did not persist for very long (6). While governments still attempt formally to preserve their monopoly over monetary production and dissemination, they have limited control over monetary *demand*, which influences how money actually circulates (17).

Before the nineteenth century, multiple currencies flowed within any given political space: in Cohen's terminology, money was in effect "deterritorialized" (6). B. E. Supple cites a British Museum manuscript that claims that, in 1614, 400 different coins circulated within the Low Countries while 82 types of coins circulated in France (240 n.1). In order to manage the numerous denominations, countries tended to translate "real" money, the various coins that served as media of exchange, to a standardized system of "imaginary" money – or what Carlo Cipolla calls "ghost money" – the units of account typically related to a pound of pure silver but not usually existing as a particular coin: the "pound sterling" in England, the Latin "libra," or the French "livre."[1] Carolingian monetary reform established a precedent for the relation between pound, shilling, and penny: 240 pennies or 20 shillings were produced from a pound of silver, although for three centuries following the reform, the silver penny was the only coin actually produced – "shilling" and "pound" maintained mere ghostly existences.[2] Not until the end of the twelfth century did states begin to produce coins of higher denominations, whose values nevertheless were convertible to a given number of pennies. Any coin could then be converted in England into a certain number of shillings and pence. For example, in 1522, Henry VIII proclaimed that the Venetian ducat would henceforth be worth four shillings and six pence sterling, so even gold coins like the ducat could be translated into a certain (though "imaginary") quantity of silver.[3] Accounts were also maintained according to the quantity of pounds, shillings, and pence, denoted *l.* (or *li.*, for *libra*), *s.* (for *solidus*) and *d.* (for *denarius*, the old Roman coin) respectively, even though the actual coins used to pay accounts did not necessarily exist in these denominations.[4]

Participants within a domestic economy, then, could translate the value of individual foreign coins into recognizable denominations.[5] According to Cipolla, the foreign coins that tended to circulate internationally were "big, full-bodied coin, the so-called *moneta grossa*," and not the "small fractional coins," often tokens made of a base metal, which circulated only around the area of their issue.[6] While many full-bodied coins circulated beyond national borders, certain coins – what Cipolla refers to as "super money" (13) and Rupert Ederer as "prestige-coins" (85), the latter of

which terms I will adopt – tended to be more prominent in international circulation because they were in high demand and readily accepted. Typically, there was only one coin at a given time which held this distinction, but other countries would often imitate them, producing a coin with similar weight, fineness, and even design and inscription.[7] Cipolla identifies certain characteristics of these prestige coins: they tended to be relatively valuable, ranging in weight from 3.5 to 4.5 grams of gold; they maintained a stable intrinsic value for a long period after their first issue; and the issuing state tended to have a strong economy extensively engaged in international trade (23–4).

Versions of prestige coins date all the way back to ancient Greece, shortly after the Western invention of coinage.[8] Benjamin Cohen singles out as the "first genuinely international currency" the silver *drachma* of Athens, a coin with the head of Athena on its obverse and an owl on its reverse, which became predominant in the fifth century BCE (29). Elgin Grosclose points out that the Athenian *drachma* could be found as far as India and Northern Europe, and it later became the model for the Roman *denarius*, which initially imitated its weight and fineness. However, the *denarius* was less stable than the *drachma*, especially within the Indian trade, so Roman authorities continued to mint *drachmae* for trade purposes (20–1). From the fifth to seventh centuries, the gold *solidus* of the Byzantine Empire – known as *nomisma* by the Greeks and *bezant* in Western Europe – became the prestige coin around the Mediterranean.[9] Arabs soon after adopted and adapted the *solidus* into their own *dinar*, even inscribing on them the words of Allah,[10] and the *dinar* eventually replaced the *solidus* as the dominant coin circulating in the Mediterranean.

In 1252, Florence began producing its own gold coin, the *fiorino* (florin), named for the city-state's emblem – the lily – depicted on the coins, and in 1284 Venice first issued the ducat, named after its dukes (Cohen, 30). The florin dominated Mediterranean commerce from the middle of the thirteenth century to the end of the fourteenth, and the ducat rose to prominence in the fifteenth (Cipolla, 20–1). The ducat became so influential that areas of Northern Europe began producing their own ducats, first in Hungary in 1325, and more importantly in the Low Countries in 1586; Dutch ducats soon circulated widely as the country became a dominant player in global trade.[11] After the colonization of the Americas the Spanish-Mexican silver *peso*, a "piece of eight" *reals*,[12] which was later called the Spanish or Mexican "dollar," began to dominate international trade, primarily because most of the world's silver supply came from Mexico and South America after the first Mexican mint was created in 1535. *Pesos* circulated throughout the Western Hemisphere and much of the Far East via the Philippines and Goa. In the English New World colonies, these were almost the only coins in use, and they became the model for the first American dollar following the Revolutionary War.[13]

Prestige coins circulated relatively freely in England as in most territories. Nicholas Mayhew points out that although the florin was technically illegal in England in the thirteenth century, it gradually became more common there (31). By the 1340s, England even issued its own florin, similar to the French version, in an attempt to

produce gold coinage primarily for international trade, but it was soon replaced by another gold coin, the noble, whose denomination at a third of a pound was more practical for English needs. The issue of its own gold coin was partly an attempt by England to control the currency employed within the country. During the Middle Ages, England was more successful than other countries in keeping foreign coins from circulating within its boundaries, partly because of its relatively strong trade position. In the thirteenth century, Flemish merchants coming to England to buy wool needed to exchange their own coin and bullion for English sterling. Mayhew finds in mint records several foreign merchants who brought their silver to the mint, where it was melted down and turned into English coin; the rules seem to have been observed for most transactions (25).

By the time of the Renaissance, however, the state explicitly authorized many foreign coins, even less prestigious ones. In a 1522 proclamation, Henry VIII permitted florins and unclipped crowns "not soleil" (that is, not French "crowns of the sun" but those from other regions, most often Burgundian or Flemish crowns) to circulate at given values in sterling (Ruding, 302). A 1525 proclamation also made current the crown-de-soleil; the carolus, presumably a silver coin of four *reals* struck by Charles V of Spain; "base" florins at a lower exchange than regular florins; "porpynes," most likely the *ecus au porcepic*, gold coins struck by Louis XII, which depict a porcupine and two ermines or the Dauphin flanked by two porcupines;[14] "and all other crowns being of like fineness, of weight, as the crowns of the sun be" (Ruding, 303). Earlier, in 1469, Edward IV made an agreement with Duke Charles the Rash of Burgundy for English groats and Burgundian double *patards* to be interchangeable in England and the Low Countries. Mayhew points out that the Burgundian coins circulated alongside English coins for at least 45 years after the time of the agreement (33–4).

Despite, or perhaps because of, the state's authorization of these foreign coins, English commentators frequently criticized their corrupting influence. For example, in "Elegy XI. The Bracelet," Donne contrasts his pure English angels, gold coins that had become prestigious in Northern Europe, to French crowns that "their natural country's rot . . . possesseth" and that "come here to us/ So pale, so lame, so lean, so ruinous" (24–6). The (supposedly gold) crowns described by Donne are "pale" from having a high content of base metal, possibly from the French state's own debasement, and they are "lame" and "lean" from clipping (cutting metal from the ends of the coins), washing (using a chemical to remove precious metal content), sweating (shaking coins together in a bag to remove gold dust), or any other means of reducing the precious metal content. The coin on the left of figure 15.1 is a French crown that has been badly clipped.

The latter adjectives point to the fact that English subjects were more likely to alter or counterfeit foreign coins because there was a long-standing belief that "coining" laws, which designated the crime as treasonous, did not pertain to foreign coins. In *Henry V*, a disguised King Harry speaking with his soldiers claims that "it is no English treason to cut French crowns, and to-morrow the King himself will be a

Figure 15.1 A clipped French crown (left) and a counterfeit portague (right). Reproduced by permission of the British Museum.

clipper" (4.1.227–9). While the law may have remained murky during the time of Henry V, by Shakespeare's period Elizabeth had clarified the law in a 1575 statute, declaring treasonous alteration of any coins current in England (*18 Eliz.*, c. 1).[15] Other statutes under Mary and Elizabeth persistently attempted to dispel the false belief that forgery of foreign coins was acceptable (see the counterfeit portague on the right of figure 15.1). For example, a 1554 statute tells how "many ill disposed p[er]sons"

> have nowe of late brought into this Realme from the parties of beyonde the Sea greate quantitie of forged and counterfeit money like to the sayd Coine of other foreine Realmes . . . because the sayd yll disposed p[er]sons have perceyved and understanded that ther was not nor yet is anye sufficient Lawe or Statute made or provided for the condigne punishement of thoffenders in that behalfn. (1*&2 Phil & Mary*, c. 11)

The statute attempts to fill this lack of "sufficient Lawe or Statute" against the forgery of foreign coins and makes clear that such offenses are as treasonous as the forgery of English coins. Still, there remained uncertainty about whether this statute covered foreign coins *not* legally current in England. In 1572 an Elizabethan statute protests

that subjects perceived "small or no condigne Punyshement" for forging non-current foreign coins and were therefore "encouraged and bouldened to counterfayte or forge such kind of Gold and Sylver and utter the same in this Realme, in great Deceipte of her Majesties subjectes."[16] Once again, a statute had to close a loophole by stating explicitly that the forgery of *any* coins, no matter their legal status as currency in England, would be considered a treasonous offense.

Even "pure" foreign coins might possess a corrupting influence by supplying the "sinews of war" (a common epithet for money from Cicero) to subversive causes, especially that of Catholics. Spanish coins in particular were believed to have corrupted and destroyed several states. In "The Bracelet," Donne puns on Spanish coins as military arms when he describes "unfiled pistolets/ That (more than cannon shot) avails or lets" (31–2).[17] According to Donne, these deadly coins:

> Visit all countries, and have slyly made
> Gorgeous *France*, ruined, ragged, and decayed;
> *Scotland*, which knew no state, proud in one day;
> And mangled seventeen-headed *Belgia*.
> (39–42)

Spanish coins have led to the ruin of certain potential allies like France before the conversion of Henri de Navarre and the Protestants in the Low Countries, as well as to the empowering of enemies like Scotland under Mary Stuart. We can understand then why the mere presence of several foreign coins together might indicate treason. In an account of the 1600 Gowrie conspiracy against James, then king of Scotland, Gowrie's brother lures the king to the Earl's castle by telling him that a suspicious "base-like fellow" was seen to have "a great wide pot . . . under his arme, all full of coyned golde in great peeces" (*Earle*, sig. A2r). James suspected that "it had bin some forraine gold brought home by some Jesuites for practicing Papistes (therewith to stirre up some new sedition, as they have oftentimes done before)" (sig. A3v). Importing foreign gold proved much easier than transporting foreign troops, and yet it could pose as immediate a threat to the state.

Foreign coins threatened to contaminate the English money supply just as foreign elements, especially Catholicism, threatened to adulterate the English Church. While the two were practically linked by the ability of foreign coins to fund political subversion, they also became rhetorically linked with the idea that both involved foreign corruption. Again in "The Bracelet," Donne fears the Catholic influence from foreign coins, the "Spanish stamps, still travelling,/ That are become as Catholic as their king" (29–30). Such an association between coins and religion sheds light on Raphael Holinshed's categorization of Elizabeth's restored English coin with her successful defense of the English Church. In his *Chronicles*, Holinshed praises the queen for having achieved "a certeine perfection, purenesse, and soundnesse, as here in hir new stamps and coines of all sorts; so also in Gods religion, setting the materiall churches of hir dominions free from all popish trash" (sig. Aaaaaa2r). Restoring the purity of

English coins by eliminating all base matter is for Holinshed akin to eliminating "all popish trash" in order to purify the Church. Holinshed's praise of Elizabeth's coin points to Henry VIII's earlier debasement (a topic I will return to in the third section), but there may also be an implicit critique of Mary I, who appears to have actually produced Spanish coins within England. A commission on August 19, 1557, refers to coinage of the "king's" (Philip II's) bullion, and C. E. Challis hypothesizes that the "brief experiment was ended by the accession of Elizabeth, who ensured that the coinage dies and other equipment belonging to Philip II were returned by the mint to their rightful owners," as early entries for Elizabeth's reign in the *Acts of the Privy Council* suggest (117–18). Elizabeth's reform of the coin and cessation of Spanish coin production within England implied national purification and restoration.[18] Upholding "Englishness" both materially and symbolically partially required maintaining the purity of English coin while curtailing the pernicious influences of foreign coin circulating within England.

II

But while the circulation of foreign coins had the potential to unite all English against the corruption of foreign influence, it could also strain relations between domestic social groups. Cipolla points out that most of the populace lacked significant purchasing power during the Middle Ages to use high-valued prestige coins, so they tended to circulate only among the wealthy; consequently they were construed as "aristocratic coins" (26). However, in Italy during the sixteenth century, prices and wages increased such that it became more common to see gold and large silver coins among wage earners being used for smaller transactions; as a result, these coins started becoming more "democratic" (37). Nevertheless, I would argue, in England around 1600 at least, lower-value domestic silver coins continued to be symbolically associated with commoners while gold and higher-denomination silver coins, especially foreign ones, were linked to nobles and rich merchants. Therefore, the facilitation of foreign coin circulation among the elite bred distrust and resentment among commoners generally excluded from the benefits of direct engagement in foreign trade.

Given the values of foreign coins commonly circulating in England relative to typical wages, it becomes clear why such coins might be considered "aristocratic." Consider, for example, the French crown frequently mentioned in early modern drama. The crown was valued from 4–6*s*. during the reign of Elizabeth, most of the time closer to 6*s*. Meanwhile, according to Nicholas Mayhew's wage estimates, in 1600 a skilled carpenter earned around one shilling or 12*d.* per day while an unskilled laborer earned about 8*d.* per day (72). Therefore, the French crown would be worth approximately a week's wages for a skilled carpenter and a week and half's wages for an unskilled laborer. It is not inconceivable that such individuals would have had experience handling these coins, but it is not likely they were of much use to them in general: silver pennies would be more effective for daily transactions.

The social hierarchy implicit in the use of gold versus silver coins materializes within plays of the period as well, such as in the opening scene from *The Jew of Malta*. Barabas refers to the "needy groom that never fingered groat" (a silver coin worth four pence) who "Would make a miracle of thus much coin" as the merchant has in his coffers (1.1.12–13). The suggestion is that the "needy groom" would only have handled at most one or two pence silver coins, small change for someone like Barabas. He complains that employment of these "paltry silverlings," which he calls "trash," is not worth the burden of counting them so that a man such as himself would "in his age be loath to labour so, / And for a pound to sweat himself to death" (6–7, 17–18). The wealthy merchant Barabas, for whom silver becomes burdensome, clearly distinguishes himself from the commoner who would be astounded at his wealth and quite delighted to be able to count it. While Barabas admires the "Arabians, who so richly pay / The things they traffic for with wedge of gold" (8–9), he believes those who employ silver are beneath him. Similarly, in *Merchant of Venice*, the "needy" aristocrat Bassanio calls silver "thou pale and common drudge / 'Tween man and man" (3.2.103–4) even as he seeks the financial rewards from marrying the wealthy Portia. From the perspective of the aristocrat and wealthy merchant, laboring silver should be employed only within common transactions among common people.

From the perspective of the commoner, on the other hand, gold, and particularly gold *foreign* coins, assume an air of aristocratic pretension, as in Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday*. In the first scene, Lord Mayor Sir Roger Oatley promises Roland Lacy 20 pounds as remuneration for serving his country against France (64–8), though as we find out in scene three, Lacy subsequently shirks his duty by posing as Hans the shoemaker to remain near his love Rose. While Oatley designates the denomination of the gift in "pounds," the actual medium of exchange could be in any number of coin types. Yet Oatley later offers to Dodger "a dozen angels" (gold English coins) in order to be "the means to rid [Lacy] into France" (9.96–7) and another angel to Firk for information on Rose and Lacy's whereabouts toward the end of the play (16.93). In the same first scene, Lacy's uncle Lincoln gives him 30 "portagues," Portuguese gold coins also known as "cruzadoes," which would be considered prestige coins of the period alongside Spanish dollars. The coin on the right side of figure 15.1 is a counterfeit portague, in which the base metal clearly shows through. The subtle distinction made between Oatley's angels and Lincoln's portagues are symptomatic of the class tensions that make the proposed marriage of Lacy and Rose so despicable for the two fathers. Oatley dislikes the pretensions and prodigality of aristocrats like Lincoln and Lacy while Lincoln believes Rose and Oatley are socially inferior. Although Oatley, the former grocer turned Lord Mayor, has acquired prestige through social mobility, he remains partial to prestigious *English* coins like the angel and eschews the pretentious cosmopolitanism of the foreign.

This distinction between social positions through coin use becomes more apparent when, in the same scene, the shoemakers, seeing their fellow Ralph off to war, mimic Lincoln and Oatley's gifts for military service. The amounts given to Ralph reflect

the hierarchy within the shop: the master Simon Eyre offers five sixpences (30*d.*), Eyre's foreman Hodge offers a shilling (12*d.*) and the journeyman Firk gives three twopences (6*d.*). Like the former grocer Oatley, the shoemakers proffer domestic coin. Eyre makes the symbolic association between coins and men explicit a few lines earlier, when he calls his men "you cracked groats, you mustard tokens" (206), referring respectively to damaged four pence coins and base tokens used as currency in local neighborhoods, the "small fractional coins" described by Cipolla. Moreover, the coin denominations and total amounts given to Ralph are far below those extended to Lacy. Eyre's gift is 1/160th of the amount Oatley gives to Lacy, and, assuming that Oatley uses angels to pay Lacy, the silver shilling Hodge gives, the highest valued coin among the lot, is only 15 percent of the value of the gold angel at its initial value of 6*s*. 8*d*. When we recall that Eyre soon after replaces Oatley as Lord Mayor, we get a sense of the extent of Eyre's meteoric rise, even if we allow that Eyre tends not to be very generous with his men despite his rhetoric of magnanimity.[19]

Of course Eyre's rise depends on the gift of 20 of the very portagues Lincoln had given to Lacy. In the guise of Hans the shoemaker, Lacy lends him the money to make a down payment on a shipment of Dutch cargo "worth," according to Firk, "the lading of two or three hundred thousand pounds" (7.13–14). Hodge adds the detail that "the merchant owner of the ship dares not show his head, and therefore this skipper, that deals for him, for the love he bears to Hans offers my master Eyre a bargain in the commodities" (16–19). A note in the New Mermaids edition suggests that the merchant "dares not show his head" because, in 1597, Hanseatic merchants were expelled from England, so the merchant may have been forced to sell his goods quickly at a loss. Late in the play, after Lacy has revealed himself, Eyre acknowledges Lacy's loan as the source of his rise: "Simon Eyre had never walked in a red petticoat, nor wore a chain of gold, but for my fine journeyman's portagues" (17.17–19). It is a moment of apparent nationalistic unity as aristocrat and commoner cooperate to acquire wealth at the expense of the foreigner, even using foreign coins to do so.

However, this sense of unity quickly dissolves when we realize that the transaction remains dependent on the disguised aristocrat Lacy's cosmopolitan knowledge of foreign coins and goods. Lacy's experience contrasts with the commoner Firk's ignorance of foreign coins when he asks Hodge, "can my fellow Hans lend my master twenty porpentines as an earnest-penny?" (7.22–3). Firk's mistake of "porpentine" for "portague" may be based on a confusion between two foreign coins, French (the "ecu au porcepic" discussed above) and Portuguese, but the error is more likely linguistic given the comical characterization of Firk. While the reading English public had access to works such as Andrew Boorde's *Introduction of Knowledge* (1542), which provided information on the "maner of coynes of money, the which is currant in euery region," and Richard Verstegan's *The Post of the World* (1576), which offered English readers a useful account of the "value of the coyne vsed in sundry Regions" by listing the relative values of the coins produced in various European mints, an average shoemaker like Firk would not likely have had knowledge of relatively obscure coins such as the *ecu au porcepic*.[20]

Moreover, this temporary fantasy of social mobility and unity between aristocrat and commoner represented in *The Shoemaker's Holiday* stands in stark contrast to accusations included in the Dutch Church Libel, a poem affixed, during anti-immigrant riots in 1593, to a London church frequented by Dutch immigrants. Unlike the narrative of *Shoemaker's Holiday*, which depicts the upward mobility of a commoner with the help of an aristocrat and at the expense of a foreigner, the final lines of the Dutch Church Libel accuse English aristocrats of complicity with foreigners, especially because of their gold, at the expense of English commoners:

> With Spanish gold, you all are infected
> And with yt gould our Nobles wink at feats
> Nobles said I? nay men to be reiected,
> Upstarts yt enioy the noblest seates
> That wound their Countries brest, for lucres sake
> And wrong our gracious Queene & Subiects good
> By letting strangers make our harts to ake.[21]

The poem accuses Dutch merchants of importing into England the Spanish gold that flowed freely throughout the Low Countries, that according to Donne "mangled seventeen-headed *Belgia*." But while it is foreigners who are "infected" by this Spanish gold, the libel suggests that this infection has extended to English nobles benefiting from foreign gold and therefore turning a blind eye to the harm foreigners are doing to England, including its "gracious" queen. Significantly, the Libel specifies that corruption of English nobles comes from *Spanish* gold, recalling Donne's complaint that Spanish gold has destroyed numerous states. But while Donne's invective might be considered a rallying cry for all English to eschew deadly foreign coins, the Libel suggests that English nobles have already been corrupted or "infected" by the gold, and only commoners, who have had little experience with the coins, remain free from their corruption.

The sense of nationalism that we find in English ridicule of foreign coins should then be considered in relation to discrepancies between various social groups' experience with them. In the same first scene when the shoemakers see Ralph off, Eyre employs such a jingoistic joke when he tells Ralph to "Crack me the crowns of the French knaves, a pox on them – crack them" (1.218–19), alluding to damaged French coins and heads in the same breath as the so-called "French disease."[22] Hodge extends the joke when he offers a "blessing" to Ralph: "God send thee to cram thy slops with French crowns" (1.225), which links the opportunity of war looting to collecting bald heads of syphilitic French soldiers. The shoemaker's potential for experience with foreign coins lies in military looting or gifts from disguised aristocrats rather than in trade or everyday transactions. Moreover, rather than returning home wealthy, Ralph brings back a lame body and loses his wife, while Lacy appropriates Ralph's position and woos his future wife, all the while keeping the exorbitant quantity of money, partly foreign, he has been given for his "service."

III

Since, as the Dutch Church Libel suggests, commoners saw themselves as excluded from the benefits (or "infection") of foreign trade, we can understand their criticism of foreign money circulating within England. But why then were elite merchants and aristocrats also frequently critical of foreign coins? One reason may be a general sense of national pride and concern about corrupting foreign influence that I outlined in the first section of this chapter. But another possibility is that such critiques reflect self-conscious concerns about English coins circulating abroad, especially after a recent history of debasement. Implicit in xenophobic attitudes toward foreign coins, then, may be a critique of an English state that has the capacity to exploit the coinage for its own profit.

Although it was not until the nineteenth century that the pound sterling began to rule the waves, primarily because of England's role in international trade and the importance of London as a financial center, English coins during the Middle Ages, and at times in the early modern period, did carry a certain amount of prestige abroad. Nicholas Mayhew cites documentary evidence that during the late Middle Ages English silver coins were popular in France, the Low Countries, and Germany, because they had a reputation for stable purity and weight, which made them suitable currency for recording debts and payments (25–6). England's trade position contributed to sterling's prestige; in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, sterling circulated freely on the continent because it was needed for the purchase of English wool. As I mentioned earlier, England also felt pressure to produce gold coins, which were being employed more for international trade. In 1344, the state decided to produce an imitation of the Florentine coin, the English gold florin worth 6*s*., which was quickly replaced by the English noble, worth 6*s*. 8*d*., or a third of a pound sterling. Like the silver coins, the noble developed a reputation for stable weight and purity, and because of the importance of English wool, it soon became predominant in international trade.

One peculiar problem English authorities faced as a result of its coins' prestige was the tendency of foreign mints to produce coins resembling current English coins but with less precious metal content than their English counterparts, so what appeared to be English coins were in fact lower-quality foreign coins. Mayhew points to the practice among continental mints in the late Middle Ages, especially in the Low Countries and Germany. The coins caused financial problems when they eventually made their way into England (25–6). A 1335 statute under Edward III laments the fact that "divers People beyond the Sea do endeavour themselves to counterfeit our Sterling Money of England, and to send into England their weak Money, in deceit of us, and Damage and Oppression of our People" (*9 Edw. III* s. 2). The gold noble, which had initially been an imitation of the florin, itself began to be imitated abroad as well (Mayhew 32). And, in the sixteenth century, mints in the Low Countries produced their own versions of the English angel, identical in everything but their

gold content. According to a proclamation under Elizabeth, English subjects tended to pass these lower-valued coins, which led to "the derogation of the dignity of this crown and to the manifest deceit and colorable robbery of her highness' people" (Hughes and Larkin, 2: 271).

However, the prestige of English coin quickly disintegrated in the sixteenth century with Henry VIII's "great debasement." With rapid population growth in the early sixteenth century placing pressure on the money supply, and Henry's military endeavors in France, Scotland, and Ireland producing fiscal pressure, Henry turned to exploitation of his coinage after he had already exhausted the bounteous resources he had acquired from the dissolution of the monasteries. Debasement, technically the reduction in fineness, especially by replacing precious metal with brass, but more commonly used to describe any reduction in precious metal content of coins (fineness or weight), had been common and quite severe throughout much of medieval Europe, especially in France, but it had been essentially non-existent in England from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century (Mayhew, 30, 44). For approximately 400 years, England had maintained 92.5 percent purity for sterling, but with Henry's debasement in the 1540s, the purity of coins gradually dropped to 75 percent, then to 50 percent, to 33 percent, and finally to 25 percent. A 1551 issue under Edward VI contained only 17 percent of the silver contained in pre-debasement issues (Mayhew, 46). In his epigram from the period, "Of redde Testons," John Heywood decries such "testons [that] looke redde," because of the dominance of brass within the coins, which is "a tooken of grace: they blushe for shame" (sig. AA3r).[23] Mayhew estimates profits from debasement at about 10 percent of gross domestic product and describes the debasement as "the single greatest fraud deliberately carried out by any English government on its own people," adding that the "trauma scarred the collective memory for generations to come" (46). Significantly, debasement tended to be more prominent for silver than for gold coins. The state exploited hardworking silver coins, associated with commoners as I pointed out in the previous section, more often than its aristocratic gold coins.[24]

Following the debasement, the English state literally had to force subjects to use its coins. In 1556 Henry Machin describes a proclamation of December 23, stating:

> that what man so ever they be that does forsake testoons and do not take them for 6d a piece for carne or vitals or any other things or ware, that they to be taken and brought afore the mayor or sheriff, bailie, justice of the peace, or constable, or other officers, and they to lay them in prison till the queen [Mary] and her council, and they to remain [at] their pleasure, and to stand both body and goods at her grace's pleasure. (Quoted in Mayhew, 50)

In addition to damaging money's dependability as a medium of exchange, debasement destroyed its role as a store of value. In 1551 the Clerk of the Council, in a meeting about coin reform, said that people "esteem [the current money] so little that they will employ it to great disadvantage rather than keep it" (quoted in Craig. 110). Moreover, according to J. D. Gould, debasement contributed to the so-called "Price

Revolution," during which England experienced inflation for the very first time (2). Inflation persisted even after reform of the coinage; Mayhew attributes the continuing high prices to a general flight from distrusted money to goods, but he also points out that the "restored" coinage under Elizabeth still had an intrinsic worth equal only to the base 1547 issues so that "some of the inflationary effects of the debasement lingered" (50).

Not surprisingly, the reputation of English coins suffered abroad. On January 18, 1551, William Lane wrote to Cecil: "The exchange as well for flandars, france as spayne amonge the mercha[n]tes ys fallyn abowte vij in C {7 percent} by Resonn of the newys of the new quyne commy[n]ge furthe" (Tawney and Power, 2: 182–3). Even Englishmen abroad did not want to be paid in sterling. In 1546, Stephen Vaughan, the royal agent in Antwerp, wrote to Lord Cobham:

> if ye send me any money, let it not be neither in new crowns nor new angels, for I can put neither of both away without great loss. I have much money even now to be paid here for the king, and I would fain have you send it me in such money as I may pay again, or else I must take up so much by exchange here to great loss, the exchange going now very evil. (Quoted in Mayhew, 46)

Henry should not have been surprised that the reputation of English coin suffered so quickly. Participants in foreign trade had maintained careful watch over the quality of various countries' coins as a result of historical debasement in Europe, and even the respected English could not fool them.

In order to restore England's reputation abroad, as well as to curb economic problems at home, Elizabeth quickly instituted coin reform. On September 27, 1560, the queen proclaimed, "nothyng is so grevous, ne lykely to disturbe and decaye the state and good order of this Realme, as the suffraunce of the base monies . . . to be so aboundantly currant within this Realme, which have ben coyned in the same, before her Maiesties raigne, and no parte sence" (Tawney and Power, 2: 196). She therefore announced a devaluation of the debased coinage and plans for producing "fine monies," giving as reasons not only the "impoverysh[ment]" of various parties within England, the motivation to counterfeit English coin abroad, and the problems of inflation, but also the fact that "the auncient and singuler honour and estimacion, which this Realme of Englande had beyond all other, by plentye of monies, of golde, and sylver, onely fine and not base, is hereby decayed and vanyshed away" (2: 196). The recoinage was finished by September 1561, and the reputation of English coin abroad was soon after restored. Mayhew points out that Elizabeth's monument at Westminster Abbey mentions the restoration of money "to its just value" among her principal achievements, in a list that includes the defeat of the Spanish Armada and establishment of religious peace in England (56).[25]

The national pride in these achievements returns us to Holinshed's praise for Elizabeth's "perfection, purenesse, and soundnesse" in coins and Church. In light of the historical experience of debasement, Holinshed's praise and Elizabeth's monument should be considered not only as expressions of monarchical achievement, but also as

attempts to repress the disastrous past from which the English nation had emerged, both its religious conflict and its fiscal mismanagement. English critique of foreign coins constitutes an expression of unity that hides the reality of internal division between state and subject as well as between elite and commoner. As with political concerns about globalization today, we should take into consideration domestic divisions in early modern England over experiences, whether thought of as "inclusion" or "infection," with global trade. Moreover, the image of English purity threatened by the corruption of foreign influence belies not only the inevitable reality of interconnectedness by global commerce – for which the "pathologization of foreign bodies" served as an enabling model, according to Jonathan Gil Harris (2) – but also the reality that *English* coins might themselves be a corrupting influence abroad. Despite Elizabeth's "purification" of the coin, foreign countries would remain vigilant for the threat of English coins becoming "so pale, so lame, so lean, so ruinous" as they were under Henry VIII. Infection, of course, spreads in both directions.

Notes

1 See Supple (239); Cipolla (38–51); and Cohen (32). The pound sterling was initially based on the Roman pound of 12 ounces. The current symbol for the pound (£) derives from the Latin term "libra."
2 See Cipolla (39–40). According to Cipolla, the shilling or *solidus* was "an old name and unit introduced into the reform to link the new money with the immediate past and to facilitate its insertion into the system of already established debts" (40). Even when pennies were debased, a "pound" or "pound-tale" was equated to 240 pennies, so eventually it did not necessarily equal a "pound-weight" of silver (42).
3 Ruding (302). However, because of fluctuating price ratios between gold and silver and problems of debasement, the value in "imaginary money" was not stable. See Cipolla (43–9).
4 Throughout the rest of this chapter, I will use these abbreviations for shillings and pence.
5 Marie-Thérèse Boyer-Xambeau, Ghislain Deleplace, and Lucien Gillard posit that, in general, coins circulated in all regions "while territorial units of account were not directly convertible" (105).
6 Cipolla points out, however, that fractional coins constituted only a small percentage of the total value of circulation (14–15).
7 See Cipolla (15).
8 Most economic historians attribute the Western invention of coinage to Lydia, around 670 bce. See, for example, Cohen (28).
9 See Cipolla (15). Lopez calls the *solidus/bezant* the "dollar of the middle ages."
10 In addition to *dinars*, Arabs adopted Persian "*dirhems*" (Cipolla, 16). See Cipolla (18–19) for an amazing story about the political implication of the words of Allah inscribed on *dinars*.
11 See Pond ("Ducat," 18–19).
12 The *real* ("royal") was a denomination that had been instituted in 1442 and later confirmed, in 1497, by Ferdinand and Isabella (Pond, "Spanish Dollar," 12).
13 See Cohen (30–1); Pond ("The Spanish Dollar," 12–15).
14 The *ecu au porcepic de Bretagne* and the *ecu au porcepic du Dauphin*, respectively.
15 In *Statutes of the Realm* – all cited statutes are from this source.
16 *14 Eliz.*, c.3. According to William Fulbecke, though, the punishment for counterfeiting foreign coins continued to be less severe: "But he that coineth mony with the impression of a strange prince

is not punished with a natural, but with a civill death: for he is punished with perpetual exile, & his goods are confiscated" (sig. L5v–sig. L6r).

17 Challis calls these coins "the ubiquitous pistolets" during the early 1560s. Between 1576 and 1582 they accounted for about 35 percent of all the bullion bought and stored in the Exchequer (193–5).

18 Clipping and other forms of alteration of English coin had also been associated with foreigners, especially Jews, even though, as Malcolm Gaskill points out, it constituted a "mundane cottage industry" among the English (139). Recollection of Edward I's execution of several Jews for clipping coins in 1278 persisted in the early modern period in works such as Holinshed's *Chronicles*, where it is recorded that of the 297 people condemned "There were but 3. Englishmen among them, all the residue were Jewes" (sig. Dd6r).

19 See, for example, 7.71–7.

20 I would like to thank Matthew Dimmock for referring me to these sources.

21 Quoted in Harris (62–3), based on Arthur Freeman's transcription in his essay "Marlowe, Kyd, and the Dutch Church Libel" (*English Literary Renaissance* 3 (1973): 44–52). I would again like to thank Matthew Dimmock for referring me to this source.

22 Similarly, in the A-text of Doctor Faustus, Wagner asks Robin to become his servant and proffers him money as payment for the services. Wagner offers Robin "guilders," apparently a common term for any foreign coin such as in *The Comedy of Errors* (1.1.8), which Wagner calls "gridirons," a linguistic pun and also a reference to the poor shape of the coins. Wagner clarifies that they are French crowns, which Robin does not seem to recognize, and Robin comments, "Mass, but for the name of French crowns a man were as good have as many English counters," base and therefore valueless coins (4.31–6).

23 References to "bloody noses" point to some of these coins: the *testoons* of Henry VIII, which displayed a prominent and unflattering profile of the king with a large nose and hid a high copper or brass content under a silvered surface. See Sandra Fischer's entry for "nose" in *Econolingua* 99.

24 See Cipolla (34–6) on class resentment about debasement in medieval Florence. Purportedly, Henry's advisers had said of the debasement: "That office hath marvellously served the King's Majesty" (quoted in Mayhew, 47).

25 For more on Elizabeth's restoration of the coin, see Hughes and Larkin (2: 8, 2: 51–2; and 2: 67–8).

References and Further Reading

Boorde, Andrew. *The fyrst boke of the Introduction of knowledge*. London, 1555.

Boyer-Xambeau, Marie-Thérèse, Ghislain Deleplace, and Lucien Gillard. *Private Money and Public Currencies: The 16th Century Challenge*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1994.

Challis, C. E. *The Tudor Coinage*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978.

Cipolla, Carlo. *Money, Prices, and Civilization in the Mediterranean World: Fifth to Seventeenth Century*. New York: Gordian Press, 1967.

Cohen, Benjamin. *The Geography of Money*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Craig, John. *The Mint*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953.

Dekker, Thomas. *The Shoemaker's Holiday*. Ed. Anthony Parr. London: A & C Black, 1990.

Donne, John. *John Donne's Poetry*, 2nd edn. Ed. Arthur L. Clements. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1992.

The Earl of Gowries Conspiracie Against the Kings Majestie of Scotland. London, 1600.

Ederer, Rupert J. *The Evolution of Money*. Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1964.

Fischer, Sandra K. *Econolingua: A Glossary of Coins and Economic Language in Renaissance Drama*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985.

Fulbecke, William. *A parallele or conference of the ciuill law, the canon law, and the common law of this realme of England*. London, 1601.

Gaskill, Malcolm. *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Gould, J. D. *The Great Debasement*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

Grosclose, Elgin. *Money and Man: A Survey of Monetary Experience*, 4th edn. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.

Harris, Jonathan Gil. *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism and Disease in Shakespeare's England*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Heywood, John. *Iohn Heywoodes Woorkes*. London, 1562.

Holinshed, Raphael. *The Third volume of Chronicles*. London, 1586.

Hughes, Paul L. and James F. Larkin, eds. *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 3 vols. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1964–9.

Lopez, Robert S. "The Dollar of the Middle Ages," *Journal of Economic History* 11/3 (summer 1951): 209–34.

Marlowe, Christopher. *The Complete Plays*. Ed. Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey. London: Penguin Books, 2003.

Mayhew, Nicholas. *Sterling: The History of a Currency*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1999.

Pond, Shepard. "The Ducat: Once an Important Coin in European Business," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* 14/2 (April 1940): 17–19.

Pond, Shepard. "The Spanish Dollar: The World's Most Famous Silver Coin," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* 15/1 (February 1941): 12–16

Ruding, Rogers. *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies*, 3rd edn., vol. 1. London, 1840.

Shakespeare, William. *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd edn. Ed. G. Blakemore Evans and J. J. M. Tobin. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997.

The Statutes of the Realm, 4 vols. London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1810–28 (reprint 1963).

Supple, B. E. "Currency and Commerce in the Early Seventeenth Century," *The Economic History Review* 10/2 (1957–8): 239–55.

Tawney, R. H. and Eileen Power, eds. *Tudor Economic Documents*, 3 vols. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924.

Verstegan, Richard. *The Post For divers partes of the world*. London, 1576.

16

Canary, Bristoles, Londres, Ingleses: English Traders in the Canaries in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Barbara Sebek

Many terms have been used to figure the relation of the Canary Islands to Europe, the Americas, and the transatlantic world in the early modern period, among them "trampoline," "laboratory," "distorting mirror," and "crucible." According to Eyda Merediz, the Canaries (also known as the Fortunate Islands) were a complex "contact zone" in Mary Louise Pratt's sense of the term, serving as a "conceptual and practical halfway house" for Europeans embarking on ventures across the Atlantic, and as a crucial filter for understanding questions raised by new world encounters (3). Although its exact location shifted, the prime meridian intersected the Canaries on various maps, sea-charts, globes, and atlases, from Ptolemy's *Geographia* in the second century CE to Mercator's 1538 terrestrial globe and Blaeu's world wall map of 1619. In addition to being located as a (shifting) cartographic center, the Canaries are identified with temporal origins. It is a "historiographic commonplace," according to one critic, to locate the islands' fifteenth-century history "at the origins of the period of European discovery, exploration and conquest" (Cachey, 46). According to one popular bit of lore, the first sugar cane cuttings to be planted in the New World came from Gran Canaria (one of the seven islands) on Columbus's second voyage (Even, 47). If we regard the islands as the remains of Plato's sunken continent of Atlantis – as the English factor Thomas Nichols does in his 1583 text devoted to them – they are complexly implicated in the epistemological and temporal re-orderings traditionally ascribed to the Renaissance and the "age of discovery." To add another figure to the list: the Canaries open a window onto the expanding geographies, competing temporalities, and shifting identities contained within the early modern "moment." As we will see, seventeenth-century English factor Marmaduke Rawdon's experience in the islands illustrates these shifts.

This essay has benefited immensely from the knowledge, curiosity, and friendly assistance of Shane Bondi, John Gerlach, Sarah Sloane, Roze Hentschell, and Jyotsna Singh.

For scholars of English Renaissance culture, mentioning the Canaries likely triggers thoughts of Shakespeare's Canary wine-consuming Falstaff, or perhaps the spirited effusions of Herrick's poems about sack (a term for various sweet wines imported from mainland Spain and the Canaries) in *Hesperides*, a mythological site that was one of many with which the Canary islands had been identified. The links between this region, its wine, and English literary culture are also evinced in letters patent of 1630, in which King Charles granted Ben Jonson's petition for an increase to the annuity of 100 marks that he had been receiving from the Crown since 1616:

> in consideration of the good and acceptable service . . . and especially to encourage him to proceede in those services of his witt and penn, which wee have enjoined vnto him, and which we expect from him, [we] are graciously pleased to augment and increase the said annuitie or pension of Ioo marks, vnto an annuitie of Ioo pounds of lawful money of England for his life. . . . And further know yee, that wee of our more especial grace . . . do give and graunt unto the said Benjamin Johnson, and his assigns, one terse of Canary Spanish wine yearly; to have, hold, perceive, receive, and take the said terse of Canary Spanish wine . . . out of our store of wines yearly. (Quoted in Hamilton, 31–2)

The reward for the poet's services of "witt and penn" was upgraded to measured amounts of *English* specie and *Canary* wine from the English monarch's cellars.[1] "A marvellous searching wine" (*2H4* 2.4.21), according to Shakespeare's Mistress Quickly, sack is honored by Falstaff as the sole source of all wit, warmth and valor (*2H4* 4.2.79–111). In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, the Host suggests that the enjoyment of warmed sack will serve as the means to reconcile the antagonisms between the French Dr. Caius, the Welsh Hugh Evans, and the Englishmen who have duped them into dueling. In a tense gesture of cross-national reconciliation that resonates with the international space of the actual Canaries, the Host joins the rival foreigners' hands as he invites them to drink together at the Garter Inn: "Your hearts are mighty, your skins are whole, and let burnt sack be the issue" (3.1.90–2). Repeatedly, Canary – and the Canaries – seep into these English plays and into English literary culture.[2]

By the end of the sixteenth century, sack wine had become the chief export of the Canaries, supplanting "white gold" after the Canary sugar trade lost to competition from Brazil and the West Indies. Contrary to earlier in the century, when the islands exported wine to three different regions – northern markets (including France, England, and the Netherlands), Portugal and Cape Verde, and Spanish and Portuguese America – the prosperity of the Tenerife wine trade at century's end relied increasingly on one export market: England. The vast quantity of wine consumed by the English was described hyperbolically by the English traveler, trader, and epistolarian James Howell in 1634: "I think there is more canary brought into England than to all the world besides. . . . When sacks and canaries were brought in first among us they were used to be drunk in aqua-vitae measures . . . but now they go down every one's throat, both young and old, like milk" (201–2). George Steckley offers numbers that corroborate Howell's vivid claim: in 1644, London customs officials taxed 5,508

pipes (694,000 gallons) of Canary wine, and, in 1681, at the peak of the trade, London customs were charged on 4.5 million quart bottles. We might say that the bodies and port books of the English are like the body and tavern receipts of Falstaff: replete with an "intolerable deal of sack" (*IHIV* 2.5.492–3). Rather than studying those in England who consumed (or wrote about) Canary wine, I focus in this essay on the economic and cultural activity of English traders who visited or lived in the Canaries.

Except for sailors, merchants' factors – the agents who traveled on behalf of a trading company or individual merchant – practiced the most global of occupations in the early modern period. (Columbus himself cut his teeth in Madeira as a factor for an Italian sugar-trading firm.) At the vanguard of travel and trade abroad, English factors came to be associated with a diverse array of anxieties about social change and moral decay. To flesh out his attack on "play-poets and common actors" in *Histriomastix* (1633), for example, William Prynne refers to them as "the divels chiefest factors" who "travell over Sea and Land; over all Histories, poemes, countries, times and ages, for unparalleled villainies" (sig. N2v). Here, Prynne draws on a familiar cluster of concerns that typically attend factors when they appear figuratively or as full-blown literary characters. In this essay I will focus on actual English factors in the Canaries, particularly the tremendously successful Marmaduke Rawdon (1610–69). Focusing on English traders in the Canaries across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will reveal the variability of Englishmen's experiences as the "other" in the global arena, destabilizing a simple binary between English and non-English. The commercial ventures in which factors participate create shifting but very real alliances across religious and national lines. Living for extended periods in this trans-cultural space, Rawdon had to negotiate and resist pressures from back home, while also accommodating and ultimately mastering the practices and priorities of the local culture where he resided, priorities that themselves were inflected by complex dynamics among and between competing authorities in the islands and in peninsular Spain.

The first European colonies in the Atlantic world, and the launching point and training ground for expeditions of discovery and conquest farther west, the Canary Islands were visited and inhabited by the English long before the development of English colonialism. Raided periodically by Majorcans and Genoese from at least the 1340s, and declared a papal principate in the mid-fourteenth century, the Canaries were conquered gradually over the course of the fifteenth century, first by the Normans and then the Spanish, with the last of the islands finally taken in 1496, followed by a period of intense settlement and colonization (1496–1525).[3] The Canaries long played a pivotal role in the transatlantic slave trade, first as a source of slaves, and later as a port of call between Africa and points farther west in the Atlantic and Caribbean.[4] The archipelago is comprised of seven main islands extending 312 miles from east to west: Lanzarote, Fuerteventura, Gran Canaria, Tenerife, Gomera, La Palma, and Hierro. Following Ptolemy's *Geographia*, the latter was considered the end of the known world until the time of Columbus. Tenerife usually hosted over half the

combined population of the seven islands, which was approximately 35,000 in 1587 and 93,000 in 1678. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Gomera and Gran Canaria, rather than Tenerife, were the most common ports of call for ships bound for the islands or using them as a way-station as they headed to the Americas. The islands' strategic location meant that they were subject to regular and sometimes devastating raids. Drake's aggressive though unsuccessful attempts to capture the islands in the mid-1580s and in 1595 exemplify one way that the English approached the islands, but we will see that English traders interacted quite differently with their culture and economy.

Notwithstanding the commonplace that the Canaries were the point of departure for New World exploration and colonization, these islands, especially Gran Canaria and Tenerife, outgrew their role as victuallers for American-bound ships, surpassing Madeira by the 1540s as the primary producers and exporters of sugar. As an entrepôt linking markets of the Mediterranean, Northern Europe, North-west Africa, the Caribbean, and South and North America, the prosperity of the islands' economy hinged on the presence of visiting and resident foreigners and their capital, making them a multicultural place. The establishment of the Inquisition in the islands in 1504 was both a response to and a record of the diverse religious and national groups who settled and thrived there. The Inquisition courts relied, in fact, on evidence from shippers and traders from the countries of the accused in building their cases (Wolf, xxxii). A surge of denunciations of Jews presented to the Inquisition in the 1520s reveals a thriving Jewish community, one so well established that Wolf posits that the settlement must pre-date the 1492 expulsion of the Jews from Spain. A public Auto de Fe in 1526 forced practicing Jews underground until a revival of crypto-Judaism in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, but the Jewish heritage of these *conversos* remained an "open secret" in the intervening century, and Wolf claims that there was a an exceptional absence of anti-Semitism in the culture of the islands generally (xxiv).

After the Inquisition was established, traders did their best to circumvent religious antagonisms; "on all these islands," as Vieira notes in his study of the sugar economy of Madeira and the Canaries, "the communities overlooked religious differences to unite for the common cause of selling sugar, and together they dominated the sugar trade" (72).[5] Focusing on the centrality of foreign merchants and capital, and the encouragement of foreign settlement, Fernandez-Armesto points out that foreign capital "lubricated every aspect of the islands' economy" in the early colonization period: "not only was the Canary archipelago the only part of Castile's overseas empire which was virtually open to foreigners without serious legal restraint, but it was also an ideal entrepot of transatlantic trade" (169). Perhaps the international character of the place is best attested to in a 1554–5 decree insisting that all books must be kept in Spanish only (Alberti and Chapman, xiv–xv). Anti-alien movements did crop up intermittently, but, as Fernandez-Armesto points out, it was not foreigners' dominance of commerce that aroused unrest, but their "productive settlement . . . and the concentration of property in their hands" (29). Spanish Crown responses to popular

resentment of foreign ownership were often determined by the island economy's dependence on foreign skill and capital (29). Alberti and Chapman, upon reviewing the archive of Inquisition records, stress the "difficulties governments have in repressing trade, when the general interests of the traders is against them" (xi). That archive reveals a complex set of "interdependent private interests which existed apart from the wars and policies of states" (xviii). Addressing the Anglo–Spanish crisis of 1568–72, Kenneth Andrews says that most English merchants were interested in amicable relations with Spain, although this desire to preserve amity confronts an opposing strand of more aggressive, anti-Spanish policy, in part a consequence of those who ran afoul of the Inquisition (10–15). Often, foreign merchants residing in or visiting the islands worked with local authorities to skirt Crown attempts to constrain international trade, or, conversely, mainland Spanish authorities attempted to curtail local practices, inquisitorial or otherwise, that were detrimental to prosperous commerce.[6]

Given the great quantity of Canary wine imported into England in the seventeenth century, as well as the region's encouragement of foreign traders and dependence on foreign capital, it is not surprising that English traders were quite well established in the islands in the Renaissance. The regularity and pervasiveness of Anglo–Canary relations can be discerned linguistically: just as the English word "Canary" designated both a geographical site and a commodity that it produced and exported, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, "Londres" and "Bristoles" were the words used for different kinds of English cloth among traders in the islands (Fernandez-Armesto, 158). In the first text devoted exclusively to the archipelago (discussed at greater length below), the former factor Thomas Nichols claims that "divers English Gentlemen" accompanied the Spanish during the late-fifteenth-century conquest, and that the descendants of these Englishmen still lived in the islands in the 1560s (Nichols, sig. Bii). An English merchant is on record buying sugar in Tenerife as early as 1512, and Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* mentions a 1526 voyage to the Canaries by English factors in Bristol merchant ships ultimately bound for the West Indies. In that same year, Nicholas Thorne of Bristol had resident factors in Santa Cruz (Fernandez-Armesto, 168–9), the second largest city in Tenerife at that time. Attesting to perhaps an even more extensive English population resident or visiting the islands than written records indicate fully, Fernandez-Armesto cites a Tenerife scribe who wrote "ingleses" mistakenly for "italianos" (169). In 1538, Charles V succeeded in opening trade from Bristol merchants to all Spanish dominions (except the New World), including the Canaries; steady traffic between the port of Bristol and those in the islands was continuous thereafter. In 1555, the English factory – or trading post – in Gran Canaria hosted a thriving market of English textiles for Canary sugar, wine, and drugs. By 1559, the Canary business of London merchants Hickman, Castelin (or Casklin), and Lock, conducted by their factor Thomas Nichols, was worth 30,000 ducats annually.[7]

These merchants first dispatched Nichols to the Canaries in 1556. In 1583 – over 20 years since his departure from the islands and the same year of the first English

translation of Bartolome de las Casas's *The Spanish Colonie, or a Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and Gestes of the Spaniardes* – this erstwhile factor and inmate in the inquisitorial prisons in the Canaries and Seville, published what was likely the first text in any language devoted exclusively to the Canaries. Written from Winchelsea Debtor's Prison, *A Pleasant Description of the fortunate ilands, called the Ilands of Canaria, with their Straunge Fruits and Commodities, Composed by the Poore Pilgrim* partakes of the conventional trope of traveler as religious pilgrim, even as it makes truth-claims about actual lived experience and offers information that is of strategic value to the state. Nichols counts each island's sugar mills, lists commodities and natural resources, explains the jurisdictions of peninsular royal judges, and describes the native islanders whom the Spanish had conquered. Like Nichols's career overall, this text, which was later edited by Hakluyt, reveals that resisting the "black legend" discourse was not only possible but characteristic of English traders in the Canaries throughout the period. While the dedicatory epistle to John Woolley, one of Elizabeth's secretaries, offers a conventional nod to anti-Hispanism, Nichols mentions his suffering in the inquisitorial prison primarily as a strategy for asserting the superiority of direct experience in the islands over and above received truths or "hearesay." In fact, correcting the misinformation of those who have not actually been in the Canaries serves as the main impetus for writing his "little pamphlet." Unlike the Frenchman Andrew Thevet, who "wrote of the Fortunate Ilandes by hearesay," Nichols appeals to his hard-earned experience:

> But I poore Pilgrime maie call those Ilands infortunate: for there was I apprehended for an heretike and an open enimie to the Romish Churche, and there deteyned in that bloudie Inquisition, the space of five yeares. (sig. Aii v)

Having dispensed with this gesture to the "bloudie" Inquisition, Nichols offers a rich description of the islands that is devoid of anti-Spanish sentiment, even claiming that Englishmen accompanied the Spanish in conquering the islands (sig. Bii).[8]

In order to circumvent the official ban on trade between England and Spain during 1585–1604, Englishmen in the Canaries feigned other national identities, traveling under the "color" of "Scotch" or "Irish." The case of Bartholomew Cole in the Inquisition archive illustrates this practice, and provides a glimpse of elaborate global trade networks that went through the islands. A native of Barnstable, Cole went to the Canaries in 1591 as the supercargo of the *St. James*. In his first two confessions he declared himself a Scot, but later confessed that he, the ship, and "all the rest" aboard it, except the pilot, were English. During his imprisonment, Cole converted to Catholicism, thereafter sharing valuable trade secrets with his captors. In an attempt to speed his legal proceedings, he offered information of strategic political and commercial value to the King of Spain. Revealing the secret alliance between Elizabeth and the Ottomans, Cole claims to have intercepted a letter in which the Sultan promised to forbid any exports from his kingdom that might harm Elizabeth or benefit Philip (Alberti and Chapman, 60–3). In addition to reporting on these machinations,

Cole addresses the intricacies of trade networks between Seville and "all parts" of England, especially Bristol, London, and Southampton, as well as other Northern European ports. He reports that "English men hold commerce with Spain and these islands by means of the Scotch" (73) – the very nationality Cole claimed initially for himself and his ship. Thus, active traffic between Bristol, London, the Canaries, and mainland Spain simply went underground during the war. The 1604 Treaty of London, then, legalized trade that already existed.

Anglo-Canary commerce continued to flourish in the seventeenth century. Steckley identifies at least 158 English merchants resident in the islands at one time or another between 1600 and 1730. One of them, Marmaduke Rawdon, arrived in Tenerife about 50 years after the publication of Nichols's *Pleasant Description* and lived there twice between 1631 and 1655. His memoir, *The Life of Marmaduke Rawdon of York, the Second of that Name*, was "printed from the original manuscript" for the Camden Society in 1863. This text is an intriguing combination of biography, travelogue, and "life writing" that smacks of the picaresque novel, or that at least demonstrates a distinctive, if intermittent, "literary" quality.[9] The narrator/compiler self-consciously inserts himself when the narrative departs from strict chronology to digress with a flashback or other material. The nineteenth-century editor of the manuscript, Ralph Davies, suggests that the memoir was compiled from Rawdon's own memoranda and writings. Davies further speculates that the compiler was probably in the Canaries with the titular Marmaduke Rawdon for at least some of the incidents that the memoir relates.[10] There are numerous features of Rawdon's life – and of *The Life* as Davies gives it to us – of interest to students of the global Renaissance. An ample source of information about the Canary islands in the seventeenth century,[11] it recounts Anglo–Spanish interactions "on the ground," thus illuminating the complex dynamics of alliance and negotiation that complicate religious and national categories. In some instances, Rawdon out-maneuvers local judges and other island authorities by appealing to the Spanish Crown (45); on other occasions, by contrast, he uses his local connections to bypass crown policies. The memoir gives a glimpse into the minutiae of global trade networks from the perspective of a particular individual and his cohort, revealing how appealing life abroad could be for a wealthy, well-connected foreigner in the archipelago in the period. The specific circumstances surrounding his various travels and residences in the islands force us to revisit categories such as visitor, resident, or settler, and to acknowledge the fluidity and overlaps between them.[12]

The son of a member of the Merchant Adventurers Company, Rawdon was born in 1610 in York, an active commercial community. Upon his father's death in 1626, he moved to London to live with his uncle Sir Marmaduke Rawdon, who had risen to prominence as a merchant in London and whose transactions "extended to almost all parts of the known world" (Davies, xvii), including investment in sugar plantations in Barbados and the formation of an important wine factory at Tenerife. Uncle Marmaduke was esteemed by the royal favorite Buckingham and was on friendly terms with Charles I. (During the Civil War, he remained a staunch royalist, serving

as governor of Basing House during a siege.) After serving one year in his uncle's residence in London, Rawdon worked as his factor in the Netherlands and Bordeaux. His acumen and diligence as a factor prompted his uncle to entrust him with the management of affairs in Tenerife when he was barely 21 years old. His first residence in the Canaries was for seven years, 1631–8. After begrudgingly but dutifully obeying his uncle's order to return to England to "even some long accounts which could nott well be done att soe greate a distance" (17), he then returned to the islands in 1639 where he would remain for 16 years. Like his return to England in 1638, this return to the islands was spurred by his uncle's reliance on Rawdon's skills as a factor. His uncle needed him to "call to account" the wayward factor Marmaduke (sic) Squier who "did behave himselfe very extravagantly, spendinge and consuminge his estate without controule" and who had engaged Uncle Marmaduke's son in troubling debts (27). Only in 1655 was our Rawdon again forced to depart the Canaries, this time for good, when Cromwell's war with Spain ushered in an embargo on English ships and an order for local authorities to confiscate all English property. Given his connections on the islands, Rawdon evaded the latter order, an episode the narrator recounts in elaborate detail (39–41).[13] Although he never returned to the islands after his 1655 departure, Rawdon invested 1,500 pounds in the short-lived Canary Company in 1664. He died wealthy in 1669, leaving numerous legacies to the city of York and its charitable institutions. As with other successful factors, the wealth gained in far-flung pursuits later served civic charitable functions back home.

Given that he spent 24 of his 58 years in the islands, one might wonder where Rawdon's "home" really was. We cannot quite call him a visitor, traveler, or even a temporary resident there. Both of his departures from the islands were pointedly unwanted, indicating his desire to settle there permanently. Upon his uncle's order to return to England in 1637, the narrator tells us, "Mr. Rawdon beinge then in the hight of his imployments, and gettinge of mony, was looth to goe for England" (17). Only loyalty to his uncle compelled him to do so. The lavish public leave-taking he orchestrated shows the power and prominence that he had achieved in his new home. Accompanied by a retinue of English merchants and Spanish military officers and local Dons, "to the number of about 40, most of them with thir gold chaines about their neckes" (17), he was sumptuously feasted and ceremonially bid farewell. The narrator pauses admiringly over the feasts and rich garments Rawdon enjoyed, as well as the public salutes he ordered as his ship passed each town (18–19). His garments and provisions – recounted in minute detail – are so magnificent that the islanders "reported he went for England to be made a bishop, thinkinge thosse provisions could belonge only to some greate churchman" (20). In order to account for the great renown Rawdon enjoyed in the islands – and to revel in his skills as a negotiator and a showman – the narrator shares an anecdote about how Rawdon redeemed the reputation of "the English nation" from the scandal that ensued when an unscrupulous group of English merchants defaulted on loans. I quote the passage at length, which comes just as Rawdon and his fellow travelers are departing for England the first time:

> they presently sett saile, givinge three pece of ordnance as a farewell to the port of Oratava, salutinge every towne as they sail'd downe the iland, which was done by Mr. Rawdon's order, and uppon his cost, which did move the inhabitants, who knew who was abord, to pray for thir good voyage. The reason I say they knew who was abord is this: itt hapned not longe before, some English marchants had taiken up some quantitie of goodes to the vallew of six or seaven thousand powndes, and had gon, or rather run away, in the Spaniards' debts without leaving them aney order of satisfaction, much to the disrepute and scandall of the English nation. To repaire in some part that discreditt, Mr. Rawdon did by order of justice cause a proclamation to be made by the common crier in all the port townes of the iland, and in the cittie of Lalaguna , that within twentie days he was to imbarke for England; soe that if aney had aniething dew to them from him, his factors, or sarvants that he did imploy, that they should repaire to his howse in Lalaguna and receive satisfaction.. . . This faire proceedinge got Mr. Rawdon much creditt amongst the ilanders, and made them believe, though one or tow had plaid them a slippery tricke, yet that itt was nott a generall distemper of the nation, and that they might expect more honourable proceedings from the rest that remaind. (19)

Having accomplished this public relations campaign, Rawdon then stops in Gomera to be "hansomly feasted" by its governor and to lade his ship with some commodities from the West Indies to bring back to England.

In contrast to his celebrity status in the Canaries, once back in England Rawdon is misrecognized as a foreigner by an angry officer. Rawdon reassures him: "my outward habitt is accordinge to the coustome of the country from whence I come, but they have English linings and an English heart within them" (21). In this echo of Elizabeth's Tilbury speech – in which national rather than gender identity is at issue – Rawdon demonstrates his agility in touting his essential Englishness when circumstances require. Only once he reaches London (via Portsmouth and Hodsden) does he undergo a change of garments where he is "new clothed after the English fashion" (24). In this voyage from La Laguna in Tenerife to London, we see how Rawdon's national(ist) identifications are both asserted and undercut. During his relatively short return to England, Rawdon spends time networking with associates he knew in the Canaries (28–9), just as he generously hosts and assists his fellow English when he is in the islands (38–9, 44, 53–4).

But it is not Englishmen only whom Rawdon entertains and supports. He is depicted repeatedly doing favors for Spaniards, from "great prelates" and merchants to ordinary subjects (42–3). Indeed, Rawdon's services to Spanish authorities were so welcome, that he came to have sway over the Bishop of the Canaries, occasionally intervening on behalf of local priests. His sway with the Bishop was such that one "grave Spaniard" remarked that "the world was come to a good passe that the bishopricke of the Canary Ilands must be governd by an English heriticke" (43). The narrator marvels at Rawdon's "greate strooke" with all the generalls, governours, and judges." His "exelent way of oblidginge them" meant that:

> he could allwayes obtaine aney resonable cortosie either for him selfe or friends, in soe much that a Spanish gentleman told him one day he governd both church and state in thosse

> ilands, and, if he could but obtaine heaven with soe much happinesse, thir was noe more to be desiered. (43)

These particular anecdotes are presented in a separate, highly episodic section of the memoir in which the narrator purposely abandons chronological order in order to tarry in the islands once the protagonist himself has been forced out for good. The narrator dispatches Rawdon and his cohort aboard the *Elizabeth of London*, "where we will leave them a while to follow thir voyage, and give you an account of some actions and accidents done by and hapned to Marmaduke Rawdon . . . whilst he lived on the Canary Ilands" (41). Just as Rawdon himself was "looth to goe for England" when his uncle called him home the first time, and just as he stayed beyond his "imployments" on the second trip, *The Life of Marmaduke Rawdon* stays in the Canaries when its protagonist is called away. Rawdon spent over one third of his life in the islands; *The Life* spends almost half of its pages recounting that period of his life.

At the outset, the narrative reads like a kind of commercial hagiography, as Rawdon's diligence and acumen single him out, win him renown, and spur his uncle to charge him with such great responsibilities in the Canaries in the first place. The narrator touts Marmaduke's keen skills in trade, the integrity of his honorable dealings, and celebrates the wealth and power that they win for him. And, as we just saw, the narrator lingers in the islands, ignoring chronology in order to do so. Yet the memoir registers ambivalence about Rawdon's staying there. Interestingly, this criticism emerges most explicitly at the point at which Rawdon stays in the Canaries "following his imployements" (32) – the specific task of calling the malfeasant factor Squier to a reckoning. Instead of returning home once he has dispatched the business with Squier, he sends his cousin to inform his uncle about how matters unfolded with him. The chronology suddenly jumps ahead three years in three sentences, from 1640 to 1643, the only occasion in the entire narrative that time is thus compressed. At the end of 1643, Rawdon sends cousin Marmaduke back to England yet again, laden with "a cargason of wines for booth thir accounts" and with rich gifts for his uncle – a "curious gold hat band of goldsmith worke," a gold chain, and five hundred pounds of Barbary gold (32). Rawdon dispatches his cousin and these gifts, instead of going himself. Back at Basing House, under siege from Parliamentary forces, Uncle Marmaduke accepts only a portion of the Barbary gold, using it to finance a portrait of King Charles to wear on the gold chain that his nephew sent in lieu of returning to England himself. A brief paragraph recounts cousin Marmaduke's successful wine dealings in England and in Seville before he again returns to the islands to reveal that "their goods came to a very good market" (33). At this moment, the narrator inserts the text of a poem from an English vicar, self-consciously explaining his reason for doing so: "beinge thir is somethinge of varietie in itt" (33). The poem, "To his honoured friend, Mr. Marmaduke Rawdon, in the Canaries," overtly rebukes our Rawdon for remaining "saife in the Canaries /Whilst England's vexed with contraries." The poem's speaker forthrightly asserts that Rawdon has "left us in the lurch" whilst a jingle-jangle of puritan factions "conspire /To sett this wofull land on fire" (34). The

vicar laments that the great Church of England, the greatest of all reformed churches "now must fall . . . to rude Prisbetery" (35). After presenting the entirety of this 50-line poem, the narrator returns to chronological order, self-consciously stating "But now to come to our former discourse" (35), a gesture comparable to the one he made after the episodic section that kept the narrative the Canaries when the "protagonist" of the story was on his voyage to England.

Thus, the memoir includes material touting Rawdon's great successes as a trader as well as material rebuking him for being a bad Royalist, a prodigal of sorts who fails to return to his vexed, blood- and tear-washed homeland to aid in the Royalist cause. Although Rawdon initially set out as a loyal, obedient agent of his dear uncle – a point that is repeatedly stressed early in the memoir – his extended second residence in the islands turns into a 16-year absence from England, during which interval his uncle, whose affairs he was conducting in the first place, dies. We learn of this death when the narrator, recounting Rawdon's 1639 departure from England that commences his 16-year absence, proleptically announces that this was the last time Marmaduke would see his dear uncle alive (29). Not only does he abandon his king and his fellow Royalists in England, but also his family. Ties of politics and kin in England lose out to the prosperity and pleasures of life in the Canaries. The narrator both censures and extols, and even participates in, this extended stay abroad.

Rawdon's resistance to repatriation is perhaps mirrored in his refusal to marry, despite many proposed matches over the course of his life. The first proposal came when Marmaduke was 28, during his unwanted hiatus between residencies in the Canaries. Rawdon dodges marriage to the daughter of the merchant Nicholas Pescod – "one of the greatest marchants, nott only of Hampton but of all the West Country" (28) – because he was "engaged to his unckle" to return to the Canaries, "to call an idle factor of his, who went consuming his estate, to account" (28). After Marmaduke's refusal, our narrator brags that the woman later married a French Marques. When Marmaduke was 48, three proposed matches came fast on the heels of each other, all of which he dodged. At least two of his refusals were effected by politely telling his would-be fathers-in-law that he had or might have to travel for business. He describes himself to the third would-be father-in-law as likely "to goe abrood againe," and "not as yet resolved to settle him selfe" (78) in marriage. The would-be Canary island settler refuses domestication. Finally forced "home" to England by the outbreak of war in 1655, he will not set up house with a wife. According to our narrator: "the treweth is, though he naturally loved the company of woemen, yet he was allwayes naturally averse to marriage, and some times, dreaminge he was married, haith wept in his sleep very much" (78). The narrator follows the story of the three rejected marriage offers and this claim about Rawdon's "natural" aversion to marriage with a reference to Marmaduke's continued "civill friendship" with "one Madam Ireland" (78–9). Defensively insisting on Marmaduke's desire for women, the narrator points out that this woman was a "yonge bewtie . . . of exelent parts, and sunge most incomparably well" (78). Rawdon "seldom went abrood" without her company until she herself

was married to someone else.[14] Madam Ireland was not alone in Rawdon's various entourages when he was back in England. A "blacamore" footboy came to England from the Canaries in Rawdon's service in 1638. He is featured prominently as a servant in Rawdon's party and the narrator offers anecdotes that convey the intimacy of their relationship (18, 21–2). However, the footboy disappears from the narrative without comment. (Such disappearances are characteristic in the memoir, so this is not necessarily of particular interpretive interest). Later, in 1658, Rawdon's sister has a "blacamore foote-boy" who is part of a mini-procession that also includes a Spanish footboy who "beinge prettie well sun-burnt," was taken for "a tawnie Moore" (78). In addition to these "others" in his Yorkshire entourage, Rawdon seldom goes "abrood" without women accompanying him (one of whom is the Madam Ireland mentioned above). Black boys, brown boys, and women comprise Marmaduke's England-based entourage, an interesting counterpart to the English merchants and Spanish Dons who participated in the leave-taking ceremonies in Tenerife.

As an occupational group, merchants' factors – in their geographical dispersal – defy a homogenizing view of "the English abroad" or of the global paradigm. Specificities of locale, particularly a locale as rich as the Canary Islands, and specificities of political and trading conditions combined with occupational group serve as my central categories of analysis. Studying a particular set of international traders in the Canaries has, I hope, hinted at the value of the transatlantic paradigm, with its stress on international and intercolonial crossings, in approaching the global Renaissance. By focusing on the English presence in the Canaries (not to mention using sources in English), I fear that I have done what Merediz says the English ambassadors of Edward III did in 1342 when Pope Clement VI announced the formation of the papal principate of Fortunia out of certain "western islands": assuming that the subject is England (Merediz, 1–2; Even, 31). In thus Englishing the Canaries I have taken my cue from that public scribe in Tenerife, whose slip of the pen inserted the "ingleses."

Notes

1 A "terse" is about 42 gallons, roughly one third of a "pipe." This continued to be awarded to English poets laureate into the eighteenth century. Steckley and Hamilton discuss the gift of Canary wine to the poets laureate. The conjunction of a certain amount of wine and a certain amount of money in Charles's grant tempts me to mention that another principal product and export commodity from the Canaries, sugar, was in fact often used as currency in the sixteenth century because of a chronic lack of specie in the islands. The idea of wine as a unit of measure calls to mind Prince Hal's sardonic notion of "cups of sack" as a unit of time when he mocks Falstaff's indifference to clock time – "unless hours were cups of sack . . ." (*Henry IV*-1 1.2.6). On the crucial role of the trade of sack wine and Newfoundland codfish in England's emergence as a global player, see Edward M. Test (205–11). Test foregrounds this trade as a context for Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. All references to Shakespeare's plays are from *The Norton Shakespeare*.

2 See, for example, Quickly's misuse of "canaries" and "canary" for "quandaries" and "quandary" (*Merry Wives of Windsor* 2.2.57–60). The pervasiveness of sack in this play and in the Henry IV plays are too familiar to need more discussion here.

3 For thorough discussion of the natives who inhabited the islands before the conquest, see Merediz and Cachey.

4 There is much more to be said about the practice of slavery in the islands and the role of the islands in the global slave trade. See Andrews's discussion of the contraband slave trade to the Caribbean that was conducted by way of the Canaries (116–21). For further discussion of the use of slaves in sugar cultivation and in homes in the islands, see Vieira (especially 58–60). Vieira's discussion of the merchant Diogo Fernandes Branco is particularly interesting. Branco exported Canary and Madeira wine to Angola in exchange for slaves that he sold in Brazil for tobacco and sugar. Many Madeiran women made conserves out of this Brazilian sugar which then went to Northern European ports such as London, Hamburg, Bordeaux, and St. Malo. Branco served directly in all of these ports, sending wine and sugar products for manufactured goods. Branco is an exemplary instance of global networks between Lisbon, Brazil, Angola, and ultimately European dining tables. Eventually, the central role of Madeira in these networks would give way to that of Barbados as the English established commercial hegemony in the Atlantic (Vieirra 67–8). Fernandez-Armesto offers a thorough discussion of the variety of practices of slavery on the islands: the tendency to use African slaves in sugar cultivation and native islanders in the home; the export of native islanders to Madeira or the Mediterranean market; and the instances of sufficiently wealthy natives buying freedom for their enslaved compatriots (37–41).

5 On trade trumping antagonisms of nation and creed, see Alison Games (24–31).

6 For example, see the 1594 letter printed in Alberti and Chapman from a member of the Council of the Holy General Inquisition addressed to the Holy Office on the island, ordering the cessation of proceedings against shipmasters, mariners, or any foreigners "unless you have previously received information they have offended against the faith" (52–3).

7 The spelling of Nichols's name varies. The *ODNB* has "Nicholls" and Hakluyt "Nicholas." Useful discussions of him, other notable English factors, and English trade generally in the Canaries include the introduction in Alberti and Chapman, Castillo, Steckley, and Fernandez-Armesto, particularly his "Trade" chapter. Matthew Steggle's excellent discussion of the case of Andrew Barker and Charles Chester in the 1570s addresses how Hakluyt's account of Chester offers a rare instance of Hakluytian sentiment against an English voyager (65–81).

8 Nichols translated three other texts from Spanish into English, including an intercepted dispatch to Philip II on China and histories of the conquests of New Spain and Peru. William Maltby has shown how these texts do not necessarily foment anti-Hispanism: one of them even enjoins emulation of the Spanish in its dedicatory epistle to Walsingham (20–1).

9 My association of this text with the history of the novel might be prompted by the fact that Lawrence Sterne is a distant descendant of the Rawdons. Davies's thorough introduction, annotations and other textual apparatus perhaps contribute to my sense of the text's "literariness."

10 Confusingly, the two candidates Davies suggests for this role are both named Marmaduke: Marmaduke Harrison, a boyhood friend from York who later worked for our protagonist, and our Rawdon's cousin, son of Uncle Marmaduke Rawdon for whom our Rawdon served as factor. When necessary, I use the terms "our Rawdon," "Uncle Marmaduke," or "Cousin Marmaduke" to distinguish between these three.

11 It does not appear on Gonzalez-Cruz's "English Bibliographical List" (221–39).

12 I am indebted to Mark Aune's discussion of the shiftiness of English travelers' identity categories over the course of a particular voyage or a particular piece of travel writing. Stoye's passing references to Rawdon and treatment of James Howell likewise convey this point (374–6).

13 The narrator later re-emphasizes Rawdon's success in retaining some of his possessions by mentioning that he went to London to sell some "Canaria wines" still in his possession in 1655 (72).

14 It is possible that Rawdon would have been even better set up in the Canaries if he were married: according to Fernandez-Armesto, in the years just after the conquest, Spanish New World settlement was encouraged by land grants being contingent on married status and residence in a household, a

strategy for creating fixed, permanent residents that was modeled on that already in place in the Canaries (42–3).

References and Further Reading

Alberti, L. and A. B. Wallis Chapman. *English Merchants and the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries: Extracts from the Archives in Possession of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Bute*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1912.

Andrews, Kenneth. *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering during the Spanish War, 1585–1603.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964.

Aune, M. G. "Passengers, Spies, Emissaries, and Merchants: Travelers and Identity in Early Modern England," in *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature*. Ed. Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009: 129–44.

Cachey, Theodore. "Petrarch, Boccaccio, and the New World Encounter," *Stanford Italian Review* 10/1 (1991): 45–59.

Castillo, Francisco Javier. "The English Renaissance and the Canary Islands: Thomas Nichols and Edmund Scory," *Proceedings of the Spanish Society for English Renaissance Studies*. Universidad of Oviedo, 1992: 57–69.

Davies, Ralph, ed. *The Life of Marmaduke Rawdon of York, the second of that name*. Camden Society, 1863.

Even, Yann. *Canary Islands: Mythical, Historical, Present*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1963.

Fernandez-Armesto, Felipe. *The Canary Islands after the Conquest: The Making of a Colonial Society in the Early Sixteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Games, Alison. "England's Global Transition and the Cosmopolitans Who Made It Possible," *Shakespeare Studies* 35 (2007): 24–31.

Gonzalez-Cruz, Isabel. "Towards an English Bibliographical List on the Canary Islands," *Atlantis* XII/2 (December 2000): 221–39.

Greenblatt, Stephen, et al., ed. *The Norton Shakespeare*, 1st edn. New York: W.W. Norton, 1997.

Hamilton, Walter. "The Origin of the Office of Poet Laureate," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1880): 20–35.

Hatfield, April Lee. "Intercolonial and Interimperial Relations in the Seventeenth Century," *History Compass* 1 (2003): 1–5.

Howell, James. *Familiar Letters, or Epistolae Ho-Elianae*, vol. 2 London: J. M. Dent, 1903.

Maltby, William S. *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558–1660.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1971.

Merediz, Eyda M. *Refracted Images: The Canary Islands through a New World Lens.* Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004.

Nichols, Thomas. *A Pleasant Description of the fortunate ilands, called the Ilands of Canaria, with their Straunge Fruits and Commodities, Composed by the Poore Pilgrim.* London, 1583.

Prynne, William. *Histriomastix. The players scourge, or, actors tragœdie*. London: 1633.

Sacks, David Harris. *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450–1700.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Steckley, George F. "The Wine Economy of Tenerife in the Seventeenth Century: Anglo-Spanish Partnership in a Luxury Trade," *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 33/3 (August 1980): 335–50.

Steggle, Matthew. "Charles Chester and Richard Hakluyt," *Studies in English Literature* 43/1 (winter 2003): 65–81.

Stoye, John Walter. *English Travellers Abroad, 1604–1667.* New York: Octagon Books, 1968.

Test, Edward M. "*The Tempest* and the Newfoundland Cod Fishery," in *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700*. Ed. Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, 201–20.

Vieira, Alberto. "The Sugar Economy of Madeira and the Canaries, 1450–1650," in *Tropical Babylons: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450–1680*. Ed. Stuart B. Schwartz, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004, 42–84.

Wolf, Lucien. *Jews in the Canary Islands: Being a Calendar of Jewish Cases Extracted from the Records of the Canariote Inquisition in the Collection of the Marquess of Bute*; rpt. of 1926 edn. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

17

"The Whole Globe of the Earth": Almanacs and Their Readers

Adam Smyth

> *And can any thing bee more comodious for Schollers and Travellers, then little maps in which are perfectly delineated the* Greatest Kingdomes.?
>
> *The New-Yeeres Gift* (1636), sigs E4v–E5

In this article I wish to consider the collision between an early modern preoccupation with small objects, and a contemporaneous interest in travel, overseas expansion, and, more generally, a sense, in Coriolanus's words, of "a world elsewhere." One response to an increasing awareness of vast foreign lands was, paradoxically, an interest in diminutive things, and one answer to the question of how to render, textually, the expanding globe, was a turn to little books. I will focus in particular on one variety of small book, the almanac, in an attempt to pursue this relationship between the very large and the very small – as a way of mediating the global and the local.

Smallness generated a particular fascination in early modern culture, whether the little self-enclosed rooms of sonnets by Sidney, Shakespeare, Spenser, Drayton, and Daniel; or the miniature portraits of Hilliard and Oliver; or the many miniature books – like Matthew Parker's *An Abstract of the Historie of the renouned Maiden Queene Elizabeth* (1631), a tiny volume of rhyming couplets, set "To the Tune of *Aime not too high*," printed by Thomas Cotes. Indeed, miniature books constituted a minor sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century publishing phenomenon. Peter Bales, a flamboyant Elizabethan writing master with a talent for self-promotional stunts, produced a complete, handwritten English Bible sufficiently tiny to be enclosed within a walnut shell – an echo of Cicero's claim, reported by Pliny, that he had seen a similarly compressed copy of Homer's *Iliad*. Bibles were the most common kind of text subject to shrinking: John Taylor's "Thumb Bible" (*Verbum Sempiternae* (1614)) offered a series of verse summaries of the books of the Bible in a volume measuring 3 centimetres by 3; John Weever's life of Christ, *Agnus Dei* (1603), was about the same size; and there were many others.

In part these tiny books were an expression of technical mastery: they showed what a writing master like Bales, or a printer like Cotes, could do, and advertised these skills to potential patrons and readers. But small books also reflected a broader sense of the potency of little things: early modern England was in many ways a culture of the commonplace, the epitome, the sententiae that summed up much in just a few words, even if that culture began to creak in the seventeenth century as the proverb started to become, in Hamlet's words, "something musty." There was an interest in the capacity of small forms, and, more particularly, a sense of an inverse correlation between size and potential: the smallest might carry most. As Susan Stewart suggests, "the miniature book speaks of infinite time, of the time of labor, lost in its multiplicity, and of the time of the world, collapsed within a minimum of physical space."[1] The Bible was thus a logical choice for miniaturization: as the book which held the past and the future of the world, its subject was the largest imaginable, and so, paradoxically, most deserving of a compressed form.

The New-Yeeres Gift: Presented at Court, from the Lady Parvula to the Lord Minimus (1636) is a small duodecimo that reflects these interests. The book is a celebration of the dwarf Jeffrey Hudson, an established figure at the Caroline court, and a favorite of Henrietta Maria from the moment he climbed out of a cold baked pie during a feast given in her honor. Hudson performed in court masques; converted to Roman Catholicism; took part in military campaigns; and was captured in 1630 by Dunkirk pirates: an event that inspired William Davenant's mock epic, *Jeffreidos* (1638). (Hudson's waistcoat, breeches, and stockings survive today in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.) *The New-Yeeres Gift* describes Hudson as the "most exquisite Epitome of Nature, and compleatest Compendium of a Courtier," and explains that his greatness stems in part from the fact that "those which are *little* have all their members contracted, and as it were closer knitted and ioyned together." But the text also provides, more broadly, a defense of the capacity of small things:

> Is not a *Microcosme* better then a *Macrocosme*, the *little-world*, Man, then the *Great world*, Earth? nay Man the *lesser world* is Lord of the *Greater*; and in the *Greater world*, which is the Creators Library, (the severall Creatures being as so many Bookes in it) have wee not rarer Documents from the *little decimo-sexto's*, the Ant and Dove, then from the *Great Folio's*, the Elephant and Whale?[2]

Many literary texts explore this theme of *multum in parvo*, or much in little. John Donne, in particular, turned repeatedly to the conceit of the tiny space containing something vaster – in "The Flea," where the mingling of the blood within the flea means "This flea is you and I, and this / Our marriage bed, and marriage temple is"; and in "The Good Morrow," where love, and the lovers's mutual gaze, "makes one little room an everywhere":

> Let sea discoverers to new worlds have gone,
> Let maps to others, worlds on worlds have shown;
> Let us possess one world; each hath one, and is one.[3]

The famous opening lines of Shakespeare's *Henry V* present a fuller meditation on this same theme, as the Chorus considers the gap between the poverty of the performer's theatrical resources, and the massive subject the actors wish to portray:

> Can this cockpit hold
> The vasty fields of France? Or may we cram
> Within this wooden O the very casques
> That did affright the air at Agincourt?[4]

The material stuff of theater is "flat," "unraised," "unworthy" – but the intended subject is "great," "swelling," "vasty." The Chorus's response to this disparity is to plead forgiveness ("But pardon, gentles all"), and to urge an act of collaboration between players and spectators: "Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts," the audience is told. "[Y]our thoughts . . . now must deck our kings."

The Chorus's speech is in part a confession of the slightness of the material theater, but it is also an assertion of the potential contained within that slightness: of "th' accomplishment of many years" compressed within "an hour-glass"; of "two mighty monarchies" confined "within the girdle of these walls." The coiled tension of these lines – where something vast is "Leash'd in" within a small space – creates a sense of both compression and expansion, of division and multiplication ("Into a thousand parts divide one man"), which lends the address its simultaneous quality of confession and celebration. And if these opening lines are interested in the capacity of "a crooked figure" to "Attest in little place a million," then the fact that this play was one of the first to be performed at the Globe Theatre must have intensified this movement between micro and macro: the theater was an "unworthy scaffold," but it was also, its title declared, the entire world. We might also read Shakespeare's opening meditation on the relationship between small spaces and mighty forms as an instance of the dynamic it describes – itself an expansion, across 34 lines, of six words from Christopher Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* which Shakespeare knew well: Barabas's "Infinite riches in a little roome."

If the early modern imagination drew a connection between small forms and a capacity to hold large subjects, then the text that represented this link, perhaps more than any other, was the printed almanac.

Printed almanacs in England flourished from the mid-sixteenth century to about 1700. Their peak years were 1640 to 1700, but across the course of the entire seventeenth century they were the most popular form of printed books in England, selling in quite incredible numbers: in 1666, 43,000 copies of Vincent Wing's almanac were printed; among other leading sellers, print runs for texts by compilers Rider, Saunders, Gallen, and Andrews were 18,000, 15,000, 12,000, and 10,000, respectively.[5] Almanacs were cheap, at twopence each, and the market was crowded, frantic, and profitable: in 1596, Thomas Nashe said selling almanacs was "readier money than ale and cakes."[6]

Almanacs were sold in the last months of each year and provided information about the year to come. They were diminutive volumes, generally octavo or duodecimo in form, since their portability was essential; but they made claims to a kind of totality of coverage: they included detailed monthly calendars; descriptions of local fairs; tables for calculating financial interest; pieces of husbandry advice ("In *March* you may graft; but in planting and grafting chuse a warme time");[7] chronologies of history which mix cosmological, biblical, social, meteorological, and political events ("The Creation of the World . . . Noahs Floud . . . Coaches first used in England . . . The great blazing Star . . . The Birth of Charles our Lord and King");[8] astrological and agricultural notes; medical advice (such as "Cautions in Phlebotomie and Blood-letting");[9] the "Disposition and Nature of the weather in every Moneth this year" ("January . . . frosty, serene, and clear"; "April. Cold blasts and sharp aire");[10] and detailed tables recording the cities of the world. To read through an almanac is to experience a series of dramatic shifts in scale, from the intensely local, to the national, to the global, and beyond: within the pages of an almanac, one finds diagrams of the contours of the human hand;[11] lists of journeys "from one notable Town to another, over al England" ("from York to London 150 miles. To Tadcaster 8. Wentbridge 12");[12] "An Alphabetical Catalogue of all the Places in *England* and *Wales*, where any Fairs are kept" ("St. Albans, *March* 25 . . . Blackburn, *May* 1 . . . Ludlow, *June* 24 . . . Kettering, Maundy Thursday");[13] tables recording distances from London to "some of the most famous Cities in the world" (Mexico 5,710 miles; "Calecut" 4,840; Virginia 3,703; Babylon 2,710; "Mosco" 2,620; Jerusalem 2,320; Alexandria 2,120; Constantinople 1,480; "Greeneland" 1,400; "Marrocco" 1,270; Rome 890; Lisbon 830; "Prage" 640; Dublin 290).[14] More expansively still, almanacs include "Tables of the Coelestial Motions" which ensured that readers "shall obtain the true places of the Planets, both in Longitude and Latitude, with other their Passions and Affections, in a moment, and by Inspection" – details, as another text puts it with greater elegance, "Of the Starres, and their supposed Twinkling."

With small almanacs containing such a range of material, readers were encouraged to draw connections between the very distant, and the very close: one of the most common inclusions was the "zodiacal body," a diagram explaining the flow of influence from distant astrological forces to the body parts of each reader: "Aries the head and face"; "Taurus Necke & throat"; "Cancer Breast stomach & ribs"; "Virgo bowels & belly"; "Scorpio secret members"; "Capricornus knees"; "Gemini Armes & shoulders"; "Leo heart & backe"; "Libra . . . loines"; "Sagitarius Thigh"; "Aquar. The legges".[15] Turning the pages of an almanac, a reader might look up to the heavens to track the movements of the stars; or she might contemplate the distance to "Mecha in Arabia"; or she might consider a journey "from Norwich to London. 86 miles"; or she might look down and trace the lines running across the palm of her hand.

What would a reader of almanacs have learned about the world? The most common global inclusion was a table listing dozens of international cities with notes on their location: in the words of John Gadbury's *Ephemerides of the Celestial Motions for X. years* (1672), a "Catalogue of . . . the most Eminent Places in the World, with the Latitude

of each place, and its . . . distance from London." Gadbury's list of 83 locations constitutes a canon of what he regarded as the most significant places on the globe: he includes "Aberdeen in Scotl."; Adrianople; "Aleppo in Syria"; "Alexandria in Eg."; Athens; "Babylon in Chald."; "Barbadoes Island"; "Bethelem in Judea"; "Boston in N. Eng."; Constantinople; Damascus; "Edenburgh"; "Ferraria"; Geneva; "Hierusalem"; Lisbon; "Mecha in Arabia"; "Naples in Italy"; "Noremberge"; Orleans; "Prague, Bohemia"; Smyrna; Thessalonica; "Weymar"; "Wittemberg"; and "New York in N. En.". Almanacs not only drew up lists of global significance; they also made predictions about the fate of countries around the world. An earlier almanac by Gadbury, *Merlinus Gallicus: Or, A prediction for the Year of Grace, 1660* (1659), predicted "the state and condition of all sorts of persons in Europe, from the crown to the clown. Deduced from the configurations of the luminaries, conjunctions and aspects of the planets, after a more certain manner then practised by English artists." The text includes notes on the future of Germany ("The Valiant Emperor (though young) is high and lofty in his Actions and Results; the world trembles to admire his Attempts"); Holland ("Noble Sea-men! This year the Heavens court you with a million of Happinesses. You are the Traders of the world"); Italy ("expect a treacherous year of this"); France ("Thy Clergy may be apt to insult over the Secular Power"); Spain ("That Proverb is true and certain, as ancient, – *Once a Knave, and ever so*"); Ireland ("Poor *Ireland*, my soul mourns for thee"), as well as Sweden, Scotland, Venice, and England ("A dire Cup is providing for thee, *Mercury* is in *Piscibus* . . . thy youth and young men die apace; thy Peace is disturbed by discontented sons of thy own").

While almanacs included a great range of information about the world, they also imagined their readers spread out across the surface of the globe. George Wharton's *An Almanack and Prognostication* (1645) "Referred properly to the latitude and meridian of Oxford," but the predictions might "aptly" serve readers in "all the adjacent townes and counties, indifferently the south parts of England, and generally the whole kingdome." More expansively still, Gadbury's 1672 almanac was, its compiler claimed, "of use . . . unto such as are abiding in any part of this Earthly Globe." Paul Felgenhauer's *Postilion. Or a New Almanacke and Astrologicke, Prophetical, Prognostication* (1655) was "Calculated for the whole world, and all creatures": "it will be found of good use also to such as inhabite the Famous Cities of Oxford, Bristol, Gloucester, Winchester, Chichester, Rochester, Canterbury . . . York . . . Derby, Lincoln, Nottingham," and, more exotically, for those in "New-York in New-England," or on "the Noble Island of Barbadoes." John Gadbury's *The Jamaica Almanack* (1672) was "calculated particularly for the noble island of Jamaica . . . with an astrological discourse touching the growing greatness of that excellent, temperate and fruitful island."

It is hard to know quite what readers did with this global information. The notion of readers turning to their twopenny Gadbury as they trotted off to "Aleppo in Syria," or "Thessalonica," seems implausible, but almanacs certainly deployed a rhetoric of practical application and imagined readers utilizing their information about foreign lands. Jacob Aertsz Colom's *The Lighting Colomne or Sea-Mirrour* (Amsterdam, 1667)

included "an almanack extending untill the yeare 1669" alongside details of "the sea-coasts of the northern, eastern and western navigation; setting forth in divers necessarie sea-cards all the ports, rivers, bayes, roads, depths and sands," and details of "the situation of the northernly countries, as island, the strate Davids, the isle of Jan-Mayen, Bear-Island, Old-Greenland, Spitsbergen and Nova Zembla." The small volume was explicitly the product of practical use ("Gathered out of the experience and practice of divers pilots and lovers of the famous art of navigation"), and was offered as a means to enable further foreign travel ("whereunto is added a brief instruction of the art of navigation"). And the wider genre of travel writing – "a confused Chaos of printed and written Bookes," according to Samuel Purchas – was at least theoretically predicated on the idea that writing would lead to travel: Thomas Hariot's *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588), and Walter Ralegh's *The Discovery of the Large Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guiana* (1596), made the case for further colonial expansion; and through his editing and publishing of past journeys, Richard Hakluyt celebrated the "valiant attempts in searching almost all the corners of the vaste and new world," and sought to "increase . . . fauour towarde these godly and honourable discoueries."[16] But others understood travel writing as a kind of surrogate for the experience itself: "for those who cannot travel farre," wrote Samuel Purchas in 1625 in his expanded version of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, "I offer a world of travellers for their domestic entertainment."[17] (Thomas Platter, a wide-eyed Swiss traveler who filled his 1599 diary with observations of London, noted that "the English for the most part do not travel much, but prefer to learn foreign matters and take their pleasures at home.") In Thomas Heywood's *The English Traveller* (1633), a bookish Dalavill describes the knowledge of foreign cities he has acquired through precisely the kinds of tables of distances and degrees of latitude included in almanacs:

> I have read Jerusalem, and studied Rome,
> Can tell in what degree each city stands,
> Describe the distance of this place from that
> [sig. A4.]

But this knowledge is figured as a pale substitute to the experience of travel: "but what I have," Dalavill confesses, comes "By relation only." His almanac reading is no comparison to proper knowledge "by travel, / Which still makes up a complete gentleman" (sig. A4).

But even if the notion of deploying almanacs in travel was, for most readers, a fiction, it was a potent fiction, nonetheless, and it heightens a connection between the almanac and the world, that sense of the almanac as a diminutive text which expands out toward foreign lands. We see these sudden shifts in scale in William Andrewes's *The Celestial Observator* (1655), which initially focuses its gaze on the reader's body by analyzing the influence of the 12 signs of the zodiac; before turning to "certaine havens, in and about *England*," and revealing "the time of high water in hours and

minutes in any of the places mentioned"; then widening its lens further to predict events "in all Cities, Countries and places of *Europe*" based on the "heavens at this revolution": according to Andrewes, "utter destruction, and nothing but miseries, calamities, and afflictions are designed to befall their inhabitants."[18] Andrewes also offered personalized astrological predictions: "all those which desire to have their Nativities calculated, or to be resolved concerning the state and condition of any sick party, *viz*. of what nature the Disease or distemper is, whether curable or not, by a Figure of Heaven . . . or any other Horary Questions; may now have recourse to him . . . at *Ashdon* neare *Saffron Walden* in *Essex*. The Art of Arithmetick is also taught by him."[19]

If almanacs presented these sudden shifts in scale – from tables of the heavens to diagrams of a hand; from predictions about European politics to invitations to visit a compiler's Saffron Walden shop – readers took this dynamic further by adding their own annotations to the text. Alongside information about the cities of the world, and the journeys of the stars across the sky, readers began to note down their everyday activities: their journeys; their health; their income and expenses. There were many catalysts for this mode of life-writing or self-accounting, but one was the emphasis the almanac placed on a flow of influence between the macro and the micro: by including information about the globe and the heavens, and by suggesting that what Gadbury called "Starry Energy" "act[s] mediately upon Human Bodies," almanacs encouraged readers to consider their place, and their actions, in the world. The global scope of almanacs encouraged readers to track the minutiae of their lives.

The practice of annotating printed almanacs was extremely common: about one in seven extant almanacs include some form of manuscript addition. Annotations were most often added to the printed calendar, or on blank pages inserted opposite the calendar, although notes might be liberally scattered throughout the whole text. Thus, typically, Lady Isabella Twysden (1605–57), of Roydon Hall in Kent, added the following notes across the blank page facing the printed November calendar in her copy of John Booker's *Mercurius Coelicus* (1647):

> Nov: 9 mat gigins went awaye,
>
> the 11. nov. 1647. in the euening the k went awaye unknowne to any, from hamton court, he went to the ile of wite,
>
> the 16. nov: mary hearn came to serve me,
>
> the 19. nov: my husband went to London he went by gravsend, so by water, and he came home a gane the 27. he came a foote from farningame thether my bro: Tho: lent him horses,
>
> m^{rs} dendy a religious good woman and my very good frind left this life, for a better, the 30. of nov: 1647.[20]

Each of Twysden's records is positioned opposite the relevant printed date. The printed calendar records the days of the month, with "Remarkable days" (church festivals, Saints days, anniversaries) marked, alongside the latitudes of the five planets,

the moon's various positions, and the time of sunrise. Opposite this calendrical and astrological information, Twysden has added records of events in her own life. A second example comes from a copy of Arthur Hopton's *New Almanacke*, from 1613, now held in the Bodleian Library. Little is known about the owner: notes suggest a Puritan minister from Norfolk, and the name Matthew Page has been added. This almanac includes space within a printed page, and the annotator outlines numbers to link entries to particular days. The notes record:

> I wen^t^ to Canterbury wth. T.K.
> This day Anthony was taken blinde: & his eyes continued sore & swolne
> this night one of my greate teethe fell out by ye fireside
> Goodwife Paine tooke Anth: to nurse
> Anthonye departed this life about eyght of ye clocke in ye morning 17
> 19 I went to Lenham to Markes Haule for my wife hir breasts.[21]

Page has added 37 annotations opposite the printed calendars, averaging about three notes per month, and this number represents a fairly typical return for annotated almanacs. Page's annotations are typical of many handwritten additions extant in almanacs. The most common subjects were family births and deaths ("my Wife was delivered of Will: w^thin^ a quarter after 8 in ye Evening"); health and the body ("My Wifes decay'd tooth, supposed to be ye Occasion of ye Sore on ye left side of her Tongue, drop't out"); the weather ("Great Rain and Three Hard Claps of Thunder, and fierce"); travel ("Went from Milgate to Rochester"); financial accounting ("Paid Rumsey for making me a Coat and Britches of Broad Cloth & a linnen wescoat - - - - 0 – 12 – 0 gave him sixpence over & above"); legal or employment contracts ("My Man came to my service"); and husbandry ("2 Cheeses from Hereford weid the one 15 pound the other 18 pounds"). Reader interventions in the text might also take more spectacular forms. In a 1710 copy of *Parker's ephemeris*, the owner has drawn in elaborate astrological charts organized around his name (John Folds), his birth date ("November ye 16th 7^h^ 50^m^ pm 1694 The Nativity of John Folds 1694"), and the present writing moment ("July ye 22^d^ 7^h^ 15^m^") – making this printed almanac, like the personalized fifteenth-century manuscript almanacs that preceded it, a text that orbits around a particular individual. More spectacularly, Folds has sewn into the back of his almanac a paper wheel, made from cut-up printed pages, that can be rotated to reveal the astrological alignment of the present moment, and whether the "Conjunction [is] good . . . indiferent good . . . very Good . . . very bad . . . most excellent . . . bad . . . [or] worst of All." Folds' annotations provide one of the more striking instances of a reader appropriating the printed almanac to order their lives – of a reader considering how the movements of the heavens will influence the everyday details of his life. But with their interest in detailing a reader's life through annotations, such life notes are entirely typical.

The annotations readers made were shaped by the contents of their almanac: the almanac functioned as a kind of paradigm of the kind of events and vocabularies that

the annotator might register, and there was a flow of influence from print to manuscript as the almanac, by including certain kinds of topic (meteorology, health, travel, finance), acted as a catalyst for the annotator to register certain kinds of events and vocabularies. Twysden's handwritten political records, for instance ("the 15 [April 1647] the independence petition was burnt"; "the 21 of august 1647 the K. came to hamton corte") echo her almanac's printed political notes ("E. Strafford beheaded [1641]"; "K. Ch. came to the Scots Army 1646"). Her notes on the weather – "the terriblest wind"; "it did so raine" – echo almanac prognostications. Her narrating of journeys ("I came to peckham I came to gravesend by water, and wrid home") is shaped by almanac lists of distances; her writings on health respond to the almanac's predictions about the body. Indeed, Twysden includes no notes that do not have precedence in the almanac.

What we are seeing, then, written across the blank pages and margins of these immensely popular, small printed books, is an early, tremendously widespread, but critically neglected form of life-writing. While the brief, staccato, generally non-narrative annotations included in almanacs do not quite constitute diary writing, there was often a direct link between almanac annotations and diaries since much of the material added to almanacs was subsequently transferred to other texts: the almanac becomes a conduit, a temporary storehouse for records which are then passed on. Diarists often generated a written life through this process of transferring material, revising and expanding records with each movement, employing the almanac as an early (although not necessarily initial) site of recording. The Oxford antiquarian Anthony Wood appears to have constructed his life-writings in this way. So too did John Evelyn. From the age of 11, Evelyn set down notes in almanacs, "in imitation," he wrote, "of what I had seen my father do,"[22] and these notes formed the first, preparatory stage of his later diary writing. By comparing Evelyn's 1637 handwritten annotations that survive in his copy of Thomas Langley's *A new almanack and prognostication* (1637), now in Balliol College, Oxford, with his later *Diary*, composed some time after 1660, it becomes clear that the production of Evelyn's diary was less about the direct transcription of lived experience, and more the result of the successive revision of prior texts. Many features of diaries can be explained through reference to the almanac as a first or early site where notes on a life were marked out. The expectations the almanac created, the subjects it induced, the forms it enabled, influenced later written lives.

If annotated almanacs constitute an important, but critically neglected, site of life-writing – if almanacs represent a crucial early point in a chain of textual revision that culminated in the diary – then the presence of those annotations, and the beginnings of diary writing, owe much to the almanac's global inclusions: the information about the nations and cities of the world, as well as charts and predictions of the movements of the heavens. By presenting a series of dramatic shifts in scale – from the body to the local to the national to the international to the global, and beyond – almanacs encouraged readers to consider their own position in the world; and by outlining the astrological influence of the stars on nations, cities, tides, individuals, and even

particular parts of the body, almanacs encouraged readers to reflect on the actions and events that made up their lives. One consequence, then, of almanac interest in what Richard Hakluyt called "the whole Globe of the Earth," was the production of little, particular, individual written lives.

Notes

1 Stewart (39).
2 "Microphilus" (sig. B3r–v).
3 Donne (58–9, 60).
4 Shakespeare, *Henry V*, "Prologue."
5 Bladen (table I).
6 Nashe, quoted in Capp (44).
7 Dove (sig. C5).
8 Gallen.
9 Keene (sig. B5).
10 Andrewes, sig. C.
11 Goldsmith.
12 Goldsmith.
13 H.P. (16–38).
14 Bretnor, n.p.
15 Bretnor, Huntington Library STC (2nd edn) 420.8, n.p. My italics.
16 Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (title page); *Diuers Voyages* (sig. ¶4).
17 Purchas, "To the Reader."
18 Andrewes (sig. B).
19 Andrewes (sig. C8v.).
20 Booker, British Library (Add MS 34169).
21 Hopton, Bodleian Ash. (66).
22 Evelyn (2: 10).

References and Further Reading

Andrewes, William. *The Celestial Observato.* 1655.

Bladen, Cyprian. "The Distribution of Almanacks in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," in *Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia* 11 (1958): 107–16, table I.

Booker, John. *Mercurius Coelicus*, 1647.

Bretnor, Thomas. *A newe almanacke and prognostication*, 1615.

Capp, Bernard. *English Almanacs 1500–1800: Astrology and the Popular Press*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979.

Donne, John. *The Complete English Poems*. Ed. A. J. Smith. London: Penguin, 1986.

Dove, Jonathan. *Dove. Speculum Anni*, 1641.

Evelyn, John. *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols., ed. E. S. De Beer, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.

Felgenhauer, Paul. *Postilion. Or a New Almanacke and Astrologicke, Prophetical, Prognostication*, 1655.

Gadbury, John. *Ephemerides of the Celestial Motions for X. year*, 1672.

Gadbury, John. *The Jamaica Almanac*, 1672.
Gallen, Thomas. *Gallen. 1668. A new almanack for the said year*, 1668.
Goldsmith, John. *Goldsmith, 1663. An almanack for the year of our Lord God, 1663*.
Hakluyt, Richard. *Diuers Voyages*, 1582.
Hakluyt, Richard. *Principal Navigations*. 1589.
Heywood, Thomas. *The English Traveller*. 1633.
Hopton, Arthur. *Hpton 1613 a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God 1613*.
Keene, John. *A Brief Prognostication*, 1613.
"Microphilus," *The New-Yeeres Gift: Presented at Court, from the Lady Parvula to the Lord Minimus*, 1636.
Nashe, Thomas. *Have With You To Saffron Walden*, 1596.
P., H. *A Constant Kalender*, 1656.
Parker, Matthew. *An Abstract of the Historie of the renouned Maiden Queene Elizabeth*, 1631. Purchas, Samuel. *Hakluytus Posthumous or Purchas His Pilgrimage*, 1625.
Shakespeare, William. *Henry V*, in *The Norton Shakespeare*. Ed. Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, and Katharine Eisaman Maus. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997.
Stewart, Susan. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection.* Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993.
Taylor, John. *Verbum Sempiternae*, 1614.
Weever, John. *Agnus Dei*, 1603.
Wharton, George. *An Almanack and Prognostication*, 1645.

18

Cesare Vecellio, Venetian Writer and Art-book Cosmopolitan

Ann Rosalind Jones

This essay on a sixteenth-century Venetian, Cesare Vecellio, focuses on an artist-writer whose work presents a contrast to most colonial and postcolonial writing in early modern Europe because he wrote and represented another culture – the Ottoman Empire – from a position of respectful equality with it. Vecellio worked throughout the 1570s and 1580s to put together a massive collection of prints and descriptions of the clothing worn throughout the world, in Europe and also in Asia and Africa: *Degli Habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del Mondo*, published by Damian Zenaro in 1590. In 1598, he expanded this collection to more than 500 prints, 20 illustrating the clothing of the New World. For this reason his new publishers, the Sessa brothers, gave the book a broader title: *Habiti antichi et moderno di tutto il Mondo.*[1]

Vecellio repays investigation because he raises the possibility of what a *non-colonizing* global imagination could be in the early modern period.[2] Vecellio was not a traveler himself; he was an artist and intellectual who stayed home. But his mentality was thoroughly cosmopolitan: he understood the world as a rich system of exchange structured by trans-national commerce. One reason for this outward-facing attitude was that he lived in a city that had been turned toward the East since its medieval origins. The Venetian aristocracy had made its fortunes not from land but from trade in merchandise imported to their city from every region of the known world, especially the kingdoms of Asia: China, the East Indies, Egypt, Syria, and Turkey.

In its economic and political orientation, late sixteenth-century Venice was not a colonizing center. Although Marco Polo traveled to China with an eye to setting up trade routes for Italians in Asia, it would have been politically and geographically impossible for him or the republic he came from to imagine conquering such a vast and distant territory. Likewise, Amerigo Vespucci, whose travels to the lands named America after him were a source of pride to the Venetians, did not return to the new continent, and although Venetians continued to admire his exploits, they did not pursue settlement in what other nations were calling the West Indies.[3] Columbus was

Genoese, not Venetian, and the patrons for his explorations were Spanish. Venice, rather than undertaking conquest in the West or the East, was an international market dependent on goods from every continent. Its merchants imported commodities from Northern and Western Europe and exported them to the rest of the world; in turn, the city received travelers and goods from East, South-east, Central and Northern Asia, from the islands of the Mediterranean and from Africa. Venice was the bazaar of Europe, to which no mercantile region was peripheral – or subservient.[4]

If economies ultimately determine the material and political culture and the mentality of the people they link together, what did a cosmopolitan city like sixteenth-century Venice make available to its inhabitants? Is there a distinction between politics understood as state domination and politics understood as mercantile engagement? Does a trader by necessity meet other traders on some level of collaboration and pragmatic respect, in a relationship of mutual dependency rather than domination? And might such relationships lead less to rapacious exploitation than to wonder? The work of this Venetian artist suggests that such conjectures might invite a positive response, at least in Vecellio's time and place.

Venice in the 1590s had lost some of its vast economic networks in the Mediterranean. The Ottoman Turks, with an increasingly powerful army and a growing range of alliances, had conquered Constantinople (named Istanbul after 1453), Egypt, and Syria in the East, most of Greece, and territories as close to Venice as Dalmatia and ex-Yugoslavia. But Venice was still a highly international city, receiving immigrants from neighboring regions, merchants coming by ship from all over the world, and regular embassies sent by the Turks. Trading high-quality luxury goods such as textiles and glass with the rest of Europe and the Levant, the city received visitors including popes, kings and ambassadors. It was inhabited not only by Italians but also by Greeks, Slavs, Armenians, Persians, and Africans.

Vecellio consistently emphasizes the geographical and cultural centrality of Venice as a center to which visitors come from all over the world:

> Unlike any other city, the illustrious city of Venice, because of its location, size and magnificence, is one of the miracles of the world. . . . For the use of the city and its commerce, approximately eight thousand boats sail forth, supplying abundant quantities of every . . . kind of food and clothing. Altogether . . . it is . . . the home of good men, a shelter for the industrious, and a warehouse for the whole world of merchandise of all kinds. (Vecellio 1590, 38; author's translation)

In the last sentence of this passage, Vecellio uses the Venetian term *fondaco*, which meant a warehouse for merchandise and a place where foreign traders were expected to live, store the goods they intended to sell, and conduct their business.[5] The word itself had an Eastern origin: the term derives from the Arabic *funduq*, meaning a warehouse or inn.[6] The material and linguistic presence of Arabic-speaking cultures condensed into Vecellio's praise of his city had taken shape in Venice throughout the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

When Vecellio explains how he knows so much about far-away costume and custom, he says that most of his sources have been living people. As sources for his descriptions of costume and custom, he mentions conversations he held with travelers from Venice and other places. From the young Angelico Fortunio, he got a report on Posnan, the Polish city in which Fortunio had just spent three years (352). Vecellio also recalls hearing about a dazzling cargo of Chinese goods brought back to Lisbon by the Portuguese captain Ribora Alguazil (475b). Most likely, painted scrolls in Alguazil's shipment provided Vecellio with his figure of the Chinese noblewoman, which he says he took from "painted cloths that came from that kingdom" (473b).

Eyewitness accounts were obviously of great value to Vecellio, and not to him alone. His eager questioning of recently returned travelers repeats a pattern of behavior typical of official Venetian treatment of voyagers. An early example was the Great Council's interview with Antonio Piggafeta about his travels with Magellan.[7] Young Venetians beginning their political careers were sent to live in Istanbul for one or two years and expected to deliver an oration about their time there to the Senate on their return. Such a mindset helps to explain the popularity of the many travel narratives published and republished in Venice: Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Navigazioni* (1550, 1556, 1559) is one example. Reciprocally, ambassadors from around the world came to Venice to learn what was going on in Europe. Vecellio depicts a nobleman from Muscovy, the region south-west of Moscow, who made an embassy to Venice. He also offers a print of a "Young Japanese Man" from a deputation of four Japanese noblemen brought to Venice by Jesuit missionaries in 1585.[8]

In addition, a long-standing materialization of travel and exchange permeated the language the Venetians spoke. Many words in their dialect referred to traders and travelers in the city and overseas in Asia. *Procertans* meant a merchant who traveled across the Mediterranean, *stans* a merchant who stayed at home but invested in overseas trade; *pullani* were Western Europeans born in the kingdom of Jerusalem; a *trucimano* was a dragoman, that is, a translator and guide in the East. The Venetian word for a dome, *cuba*, was derived directly from the Arabic *qubba; caravana* came from a similar word in Turkish.[9]

Asian vocabulary also permeates the words in which Vecellio describes the clothing in his prints. His words for textiles and trims reveal the global history of cloth woven into the fabrics worn by Cinquecento Venetians. A light silk, *ormesino*, was named after [H]Ormuz, an island in the Persian Gulf, where the fabric had been made for centuries before its production became the craft of the Venetian *ormesini. Tabino* or *tabì*, a rich, heavy silk often given a watered or moiré finish, was originally made in al-Attabiya, a district of Baghdad. And *damasco*, damask, a figured silk, echoes the name of the city where it was first made, Damascus in south-west Syria. By the late sixteenth century, the textile economies of Asia had made their way into the shops where Venetians bought cloth and into the language they spoke.

Another site of trans-national exchange in Venice was the Sensa, a two-week holiday and fair held from Ash Wednesday to Easter. One value of the occasion for

Vecellio is the splendor it encourages in the women of Venice, especially recently married women:

> If ever the brides of Venice make an effort to look beautiful and to appear richly dressed, those who marry during the Sensa do so most of all .. , adorning themselves in the greatest luxury and elegance they can, because they will be seen not only by their fellow citizens but also by the many foreigners who come not only from nearby towns but from distant ones, as well, to see that splendid display of merchandise. (129)

One new kind of Venetian merchandise that Vecellio singles out is the multicolored brocade produced by a textile designer working in the city:

> These lovely fabrics were invented here in Venice by Messer Bartholomeo Bontempele. . . . In his shop, to which many great lords and princes send orders, even from as far as the seraglio of the Great Turk, can be seen all sorts of brocades woven with gold and silver. (139)

Reciprocally, Vecellio admires the rich clothing worn by "Foreign Princes . . . Seen in Venice":

> Into the famous city of Venice many princes come regularly at various times of the year. For their pleasure and to see the great magnificence and famous sites of this marvelous city, they gather here from many different lands, some nearby, some far away, and they dress in clothing of great value. (156)

What Vecellio admires most, however, are sites of exchange farther away: the international bazaars where textiles and clothing are appreciated and traded, for example, the textile market in Aleppo (now Halab, in north-west Syria), a city where, as in Venice, many trade routes met. In his description, he revels in the crowds of buyers and sellers and the quantity and variety of merchandise there:

> The city of Aleppo, a great mercantile center, is also very wealthy because of the great numbers of people from different nations who meet there from all over the world . . . because this city is a gateway to Turkey and Syria. Many fabrics are brought here, silks woven in beautiful patterns, and fine linen and the whitest thin cottons; and all of these are conveniently . . . available to whoever wants to buy . . . them. (460)

The most ideologically and affectively Venetian aspect of Vecellio's costume book is this delight in the profit and pleasure of markets everywhere, a mentality further evident in his praise of *homo economicus* – the international businessman. In a passage on the Venetian merchants called *Franchi* in Istanbul (figure 18.1), who were given special licenses to trade there, he claims that the commercial instinct is innate and universal: "man is by nature inclined toward profit and commerce." Indeed, Vecellio attributes an admirably stoic melancholy to international merchants, in spite of the relative autonomy to which such a man was privileged in foreign cities:

Figure 18.1 Woodcut, Cesare Vecellio, *Degli Habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590): *Merchant in Constantinople*.

> he leaves his paternal dwelling behind, depriving himself of the cherished sight of his wife, and, departing from his children and the comfort in which they live in their native country, he moves to faraway lands; and there, from the free man that he is, he becomes in a certain sense subject to others. Such men, in Constantinople and throughout the entire East, are called *Franchi* [freemen], because they are not slaves. (413)

Merchants appear throughout Vecellio's book as models of practical ingenuity. He begins with merchants at home, praising specific Venetians for their good character and connoisseurship:

> At all times of the year I have seen Messer Paolo dallo Struzzo look splendid in clothing of this kind, . . . a . . . young man . . . who has great intelligence and in the profession of apothecary yields to no one in his fine selection of goods. . . . Nor will I omit Messer Bernardino Pillotto, who, in addition to his famous shop, is a man of the greatest generosity and courtesy . . . Both of these men own a great number of paintings and many other valuable objects. (116–17)

Vecellio dignifies trade further by interpreting it as a practical adaptation to challenging circumstances. Commenting on his print of a Greek merchant, he writes:

> Commerce is practiced throughout the entire world, but more or less . . . depending on whether the land is fertile or sterile, because sterile land makes its men industrious. For this reason we see a great number of merchants in the most mountainous and sterile regions, such as those from Ragusa, Genoa, Bergamo, and Florence. (419)

Both the 1590 and the 1598 books are full of merchants. In 1590, a handsomely dressed Venetian Merchant stands in for the variety of those with shops on the main commercial streets, the Merceria and the Frezzaria (where Vecellio also had his print shop). To the 1598 edition, he added a print of a merchant that he labeled in four different ways: as a Roman merchant, a Florentine, a Neapolitan and, finally, a generic "modern merchant of Italy." Most makers of costume books copied prints of clothing from earlier books in the genre, but Vecellio's many comments on his images of foreign merchants are new with him (figure 18.2, *Habiti antichi et moderni*, 340). This focus suggests how much he admired such men from his perspective in Venice.

Vecellio also praises women merchants throughout Europe. Though he shares the Venetian belief that high-ranking women should lead their lives enclosed within their fathers' or husbands' walls, he praises the business acumen of Northern women merchants in a series of prints and comments in which his business ethic overrules his loyalty to the custom of sequestering noblewomen at home in Venice. This

Figure 18.2 Woodcut, Cesare Vecellio, *Degli Habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590): *Prussian Merchant*.

Figure 18.3 Woodcut, Cesare Vecellio, *Degli Habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590): *Merchant Noblewoman of Genoa*.

open-minded attitude can be accounted for in two ways. The geographical distance of foreign women merchants presented no direct threat to the gender system in Venice; and their skills resembled those of Vecellio himself, a publisher and artist working for urban rather than courtly patrons. A first instance: he depicts a woman merchant, a noblewoman, from contemporary Genoa (figure 18.3), saying:

> These women are the most affable and pleasant in conversation of all of Italy. . . . They go about buying and selling without any loss of reputation, for among them, those who buy and sell at the greatest profit are the most highly respected; and as a result they are shrewd and sharp-witted. (207)

Vecellio is similarly impressed by the merchant women of Silesia (then a part of present-day Eastern Germany and Austria): figure 18.4. His print of this merchant of the North includes three details signifying her commercial skill: a wide belt, her purse, and her keys. He comments: "Women of middle rank in Silesia are very skillful at bargaining, so they go about buying and selling the things they need throughout the city" (324). Here, he accepts a method of raising girls strikingly different from Venetian custom: "They take their daughters along with them, . . . and they train them from a young age to sell and bargain, so they become skillful and shrewd in both."

Figure 18.4 Woodcut, Cesare Vecellio, *Degli Habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590): *Woman Merchant of Silesia*.

In fact, Vecellio praises businesswomen whenever he comments on them, as in the cases of Antwerp and Bohemia, and he writes approvingly about the women of England, who, he says, work harder at the market and in their shops than their husbands do (370). As an entrepreneur himself, Vecellio admires the work of the wives and daughters of the international merchant class, whom he apparently sees as more useful to their local economies than the patrician women of his own city are allowed to be. His loyalties to his own trans-national profession take precedence over the conservative gender expectations entrenched among the elites of his native city.

A further contradiction might be seen in Vecellio's enthusiastic admiration for the markets and merchants of Aleppo and other Islamic cities. Venice had been involved for centuries in wars against the Turks, most recently at the battle of Lepanto in 1571, when Venetian sailors led by Sebastian Venier confronted Selim's Ottomans and drove them away from Crete. In addition, Venice participated, at least in theory, in the anti-Islamic Christianity rampant throughout Europe.

But Venice had a complex economic and political relationship with the Ottomans. For centuries, the two empires had been united by commercial and cultural bonds. Whatever official naval and land battles were being waged, a long history of ambassadorial exchange, trading privileges, and cultural familiarity continued working even during warfare between the two regions. Venice was the first region of Europe to set

up a permanent embassy in another country – Turkey – and a series of exchanges of ambassadors, merchants, and artists had linked the Italian city to Istanbul since the 1200s. The *raison d'état* that Venice shared with the Turks was, above all, their shared interest in trade. A history of mutual profit over eight centuries mitigated the territorial and religious conflicts that might otherwise have divided these long-term partners in business and a shared Mediterranean culture. The rich evidence for sustained and sustaining links between the Serenissma and the Sublime Porte – the lofty titles with which the two kingdoms honored themselves and one another – includes buildings, both public and private; paintings; textiles, carpets, metalware, pottery, and book-bindings.

For one thing, Venice *was* Turkish in its urban architecture and cultural past. It is well known that the city looks like cities of the East. The mosques of Cairo and Damascus were models for the cathedral of San Marco, based on Byzantine/Turkish forms – that is, Roman overlaid with Arabic styles of building. The domes of Cairo's mortuary citadel, built from the late ninth century onward, provided San Marco with its round towers and the arched windows of their upper stories (Howard 2000, 100–1); the domes of such mosques were represented in detail in the mosaics of the Venetian cathedral. In addition, the generous urban space reserved for the piazza in front of San Marco was modeled on the large open space in front of the Great Ummayad Mosque in Damascus, designed a century earlier than the San Marco complex (Howard 2000, 1).

Secular buildings in Venice were also modeled on Arabic forms. Famously, the south-facing facade of the Ducal Palace was built above Moorish arches, patterned with pink and white stone in imitation of the ornate surfacing of Ottoman palaces, and trimmed with crests derived from Mamluk mosques in Cairo and Alexandria (Howard 2000, 176). This pointed-arch motif, in a shape derived from the *mihrab*, the niche in the wall of a mosque indicating the direction of Mecca, was also used to ornament buildings with less sumptuous purposes, such as a bakery where biscuits were made for seagoing Venetian ships (Howard, 128, 157). Even in private houses, stone reliefs were attached to the exterior walls to publicize their owners' participation in trade with the East. The stone relief of a camel, loaded with a large pack of goods and led by a turbaned driver, can still be seen attached to the Ca' Mastelli, the house of a fifteenth-century spice merchant (Howard 2000, 150). Wealthy Venetian merchants used colored stone to decorate their *palazzi* in imitation of what they had seen in their travels to Damascus and Tabriz, where houses were painted blue and gold, and Giovanni Dario, in the late fifteenth century, decorated his house with colored marble to commemorate his travels as a merchant in Egypt, Persia, and Constantinople (Howard 2000, 153).

In addition to their seafaring merchants, Venetian and Asian ambassadors carried on sustained ambassadorial contacts across the Mediterranean. A visit of this kind by Venetian officials to the Mamluk sultan in Damascus, where Venetian merchants had been granted special trading privileges, was represented by an anonymous Venetian painter in a painting believed to record a 1511 visit by Pietro Zen, Domenico

Trevisan, and two other Venetian envoys to the Sultan of Damascus. The painter of this *Reception of the Venetian Ambassadors in Damascu*s knew enough about custom there to represent the sultan in the high, horned turban reserved for him and his high officials, seated on the raised dais called a *mustabè*, a word that Vecellio uses in his account of a visit to the sultan of Cairo.[10]

The Venetian artist best known for the time he spent in the East was Gentile Bellini, who recorded various scenes from his stay at the court of Mehmed II in 1479 and 1480. A respectful attentiveness characterizes Bellini's drawings of men and women who posed for him in Istanbul, to which he was summoned by the sultan to paint his portrait in a European style. The portrait itself hybridizes Venetian and Ottoman visual conventions in interesting ways.[11] Mehmed's conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and of major cities near the Black Sea had had the effect of banishing the Genoese, Venice's most competitive rivals for trade in the East, so the Venetian government was eager to maintain its privileges there. Hence their appointment of a *bailo*, a consul to oversee the interests of Venetian merchants in the city. On the Turkish side, the *bailo's* role, according to the sultans, was "to obey, and prevent scandals and divisions" and also to inform officials in the West about their generous hospitality toward Western ambassadors (Howard 2000, 33). Consuls' *relazioni* (reports) regularly reached the Venetian Senate, and they were used to encourage young men to apply for consular posts.

Artistic work was only one among many kinds of skillfully crafted objects that circulated back and forth between Venetian and Turkish artists. Luxury goods in various forms circulated between Italy and Western Asia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as well as in Vecellio's time. Turkish carpets were one such commodity, which many Venetian artists painters depicted – paradoxically – in Christian religious paintings. So many Venetian paintings include Asian carpets that certain styles of them are now nicknamed after Renaissance artists: the "Lotto carpet," the "Crivelli carpet."[12] Patterned silk fabrics also circulated around the Mediterranean and the Bosporus. As early as the fourteenth century, Italian silks were made of gold thread from Asia and decorated with designs based on Arabic script – again, paradoxically, in garments worn for Christian church ceremonies. In the fifteenth and sixteenth century, Italian velvets, especially those made in Venice, were woven in characteristic patterns such as pomegranates, but these designs were soon visible, as well, in the sumptuous silk caftans brought back from Istanbul by ambassadors who had received them as presents from the sultans. By the late sixteenth century, velvet fabrics were being made in designs that could no longer be distinguished as coming from the East or the West.[13]

In addition, the techniques and styles of fine metalwork, pottery, bookbinding, and jewelry in Asia and Europe began to resemble one another. If imitation is the highest form of flattery, the compliments went both ways. As Rosamond Mack points out, "This reciprocal copying occurred quite peacefully because it benefited both parties. . . . The community of taste that the luxury trade had fostered in the Mediterranean facilitated continuing exchange" (179).

Given Vecellio's interest as a costume-book maker in exactly this luxury trade, it is understandable that his attitude toward the Ottoman Turks is one of mainly unqualified admiration. In addition to the splendor of their dress, he admires their clear hierarchy of social ranks, especially at court, and he appreciates the order and discipline of the great Turkish army in spite of (perhaps even because of) its triumphs against European forces. In a comment on the social hierarchy that organizes contemporary European society, he universalizes the distinction between ranks as a given of all societies:

> Just as nature creates a wide variety in the flowers, grasses, trees and fruits she produces, assigning a particular virtue more to one than to another, wise human judgment in cities and other well ordered places has established certain forms and kinds of clothing. (34)

He sees the same unvarying principle operating in the structure of the Turkish court and army:

> If nature did not maintain a firm and stable order in her creations, who can doubt that the world would be full of confusion? In the same way we find not only in our own country and in all other populations but also among the Turks that military leaders beneath the rank of general and colonel are given different titles. They serve as the hands and the eyes of the Lord from one rank to the next, all the way up to the great Lord. (380)

To Vecellio, the dazzling splendor of the Sultan's dress is one of a piece with the clear structure and visible grandeur of his court. Commenting on his woodcut portrait of Sultan Murad II (figure 18.5), he writes:

> It is impossible to say or imagine how rich and supremely beautiful the clothing of this great Lord is. As far as color is concerned, he appears now in one, now in another.. . . . he usually wears a loose formal overgown of gold and an undergown of velvet. . . . He wears many *broccatelli* and other kinds of silk . . . and very often, white satin woven with silver. . . . On his head he always wears a turban of most beautiful gauze, and when he goes out, he wears two feathers in it, . . . laden with pearls and jewels. He . . . always rides a horse equipped with a rein and bridle, as suits a man of his stature. (377)

Vecellio finds the Turks equally impressive for their clearly defined military hierarchy. Describing the *Balucchi Bassi*, the great pashas who lead the most highly trained troops, the Janissaries, he writes:

> These men number three or four hundred, and their duties are these: going into the countryside or to the mosque, they ride in a beautiful marching order, splendidly seated on their horses in front of their squadron of Janissaries. . . . They make such an impressive show that whoever sees them from a distance in this formation would estimate that four hundred of them seem to be a thousand of our horsemen; this is the result of the large standing feathers they wear on their heads. (380)

Figure 18.5 Woodcut, Cesare Vecellio, *Degli Habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590): *Sultan Amurhat*.

He writes with equal admiration of the Janissaries themselves. Though he denounces their conversion to Islam, he does not describe it as the result of violence. Instead, he emphasizes their awe-inspiring numbers and the skill with which they support their ruler:

> The Janissaries are usually taken from the hands of their fathers and mothers and then persuaded by caresses and lures to forget their own faith and take up the false teaching of the Mohammedans. There are a great number of them, sometimes as many as twelve or fourteen thousand, and they are the ones who have given the Lord his stupendous victories. Most of them carry a scimitar and a dagger . . . and also very long muskets, and they use them most skillfully. (387)

The Janissaries' clothing, as in any well-ordered society, shows who they are, as Vecellio explains in his comment on the woodcut (figure 18.6): "It is their privilege to wear a high cap of white felt on their heads rather than a helmet; they call this a *zarcola*. . . . At the very top they place a feather, which they wear constantly as a mark of distinction recording some heroic deed in war, so that not everyone can wear it" (387).

Vecellio continues to interpret Turkish culture through his universalizing horticultural metaphor when he describes the costumes and customs of high-ranking Turks outside the court and the army:

Figure 18.6 Woodcut, Cesare Vecellio, *Degli Habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590): *Janissary Soldier*.

> In the same way that among many plants and more flowers, one is more highly esteemed than another, so among men (although we are all of the same species) in a republic, one through some accident of fortune has a higher status than many others. So, coming specifically to the Turks, I say that they do not all have the same rank or status, but there are distinctions of all kinds among them, including not only what they wear but also how they live. Turks of high rank (as is also the case with us) live in large and very beautiful houses. (382)

In this passage, it must be admitted, Vecellio shows little recognition of cultural difference: if the Turks are like us, he assumes, they are as good as we are. Even so, his view of this general similarity between European and Asian cultures brings with it an unwavering respect for the habits of Islamic culture.

At times, however, his enthusiasm does accompany an appreciation of cultural specificity. He is struck with admiration for the Turks' practical adaptation of their headgear to wet weather (figure 18.7):

> ***A Turkish Man When It Rains***
>
> Because the Turks pay great attention to cleanliness, when they are on horseback and it rains, they are very careful not to get wet or dirty. So on top of their turbans, which they wear with great elegance, they wear a certain kind of hood, usually of red felt, pleated in such a way that when it is opened, it looks like an umbrella. (384)

Figure 18.7 Woodcut, Cesare Vecellio, *Degli Habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590): *Turk in the Rain*.

A similar alertness to difference is evident when he describes the Ottoman court by using the words the Turks themselves apply to their clothing. Of the Sultan himself, he writes, "The Lord of the Turks dresses with unimaginable splendor . . . He wears a golden *dolimano*" (377) – that is, a dolmen, a loose-cut formal overgown whose sleeves are cut of the same piece of fabric as the robe. Likewise, when he describes the *Agà*, whose title he gives in Turkish before translating it as "the General of the Janissaries," he labels his turban a *dulipante*, using an Italianized form of *tulipant*, the Turkish adaptation of the Persian word for turban (*dolband*). Describing the Peceqs – footmen to the Sultan, who were mostly Persians – he cites the titles they give themselves in their own language: *Peich* and *Pieudur* (386). He also cites their words for the garments they wear: the *Siuf* (a high, silver and gold hat) and the *Chochiach*, a striped silk scarf tied around their waists, to which they attach a *Bechiach* – a dagger. By using Persian and Turkish words, Vecellio textualizes his respect for these courtiers' rich dress in the languages specific to their culture.

Turning to women in Turkish culture, Vecellio may again imagine a mirror likeness to the ideal woman of European gender ideology: "In general it can be said that all the women of these regions are very modest and respectable as far as showing their hair is concerned" (408). Yet he treats veiling and polygamy in a non-judgmental way: his enthusiasms set him apart from other travel writers who condemned Eastern

Figure 18.8 Woodcut, Cesare Vecellio, *Degli Habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590): *A Turkish Woman*.

conventions of dress and marriage. He has no objection to the veil, which he describes as convenient from the perspective of the women who wear it: in the streets, they can "see without being seen" (390). In contrast to Nicolas de Nicolay, an early French traveler to Turkey who claimed that the seraglio was a site of lesbianism, Vecellio rejects such innuendos out of hand: "Among themselves they are very chaste; they neither say nor do anything lascivious" (390).

Vecellio follows his print of "A Turkish Woman" (figure 18.8) with a happy generalization: "It seems to me that everything Turkish women do has something graceful and splendid about it. . . . As to their clothing, . . . Turkish women usually dress as men do" (389). Rather than abhorring this reversal of the gender norms of European clothing, he praises the richness of Turkish fabrics and jewels. At home, such women dress:

> in a close-fitting and elegant style, in gold and silk as far as is possible . . . Their overgowns are luxurious, long and open in front. . . . At their necks they wear gold chains of many strands. . . . Their trousers are very rich, especially around the bottom, which some of them wear trimmed with jewels. They tie on very fine sashes woven in the Moorish style, full of gold and marvelously lovely. (408)

My argument, then, is that this Venetian merchant of images and texts looks at the world through a lens of pragmatic curiosity: he is always ready to be favorably

impressed. No hatred for an enemy army or an enemy state shapes his prints or colors his commentary on the Turks. Obviously, his perspective was different from that of a Venetian soldier facing the Janissaries or a galley crew at the battle of Lepanto: the relative autonomy of his position as a successful artist-entrepreneur predisposed him to see the world as a more uniformly admirable place than many of his contemporaries did. He had the advantage of observing the rest of Europe and all of Asia as the inhabitant of a mercantile world city.

His attitude, as I have interpreted it, brings me back to my opening conjectures. Venice and Vecellio worked outside the one-way colonizing and missionary takeovers and the violent global investment carried out by Western and Northern Europeans in the early modern era. The city's commercial interests in Turkey engaged Venetian citizens on a level of profitable reciprocity with the Ottomans' maritime empire and with Istanbul as a trading partner of more or less equal power, whose rulers expected the same protection for their ambassadors and merchants as the Venetians did for theirs.

Consequently, the work of this sixteenth-century Venetian artist poses some broader questions we might ask for the sake of a more nuanced understanding of the early modern world. Was the forced seizure of land, goods, and people by an imperial center, in an exchange that benefited only one state, the only possible reality in the early modern global economy? Or could the cosmopolitan merchant and intellectual remain open to the pragmatic adaptation and mutual recognition on which the profitable circulation of goods depends? Might some *conceptual* version of the early modern Venetian model of equal exchange with Istanbul even be recoverable for the twenty-first century?

In Vecellio's opening "Discorso" on the evolution of dress, he ends his list of the materials from which clothing has been made since the beginning of time with the glorious feather textiles of the Incas:

> extremely beautiful garments, well woven and decorated in different sections with the feathers of all kinds of birds, skillfully and artfully intermixed, in such a variety of well matched colors that for this reason and for their rarity, they can be considered the most delicate and sumptuous clothing to be found anywhere. And these garments are worn by the Indians of America and in other places very far from our country. (5)

Old Worlds, New Worlds, worlds on water: Venice appears to have been one site among them in which early modern merchant-travelers could maintain such a non-appropriative, delighted openness to materials and inventions that transformed their old order of things.

Notes

1 For an introduction and translation of the 1590 edition, including the section on the Americas from 1598, see Margaret Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World (Europe,*

Asia, Africa and America): Cesare Vecellio's Habiti antichi et moderni (2008); I thank Thames and Hudson for permission to reproduce some of the material in the introduction in this essay. All quotations from Vecellio in this chapter are translations from the 1590 edition by the author (Jones). For a selection and English translation of documents regarding Venetian overseas trade and the treatment of foreigners in Venice itself, see *Venice: A Documentary History 1450–1630*, ed. David Chambers and Brian Pullan (especially "Commerce: Fortunes Made and Lost," in Part IV, and in Part VIII, "Most of Their People are Foreigners").

2 For a useful comment on ancient cosmopolitanism, see Scott Malcomson: "Cosmopolitans . . . took their universal citizenship as a license toward one of two purposes: to study the world or to control it" ("The Varieties of Cosmopolitan Experience," in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation*, ed. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (233)). Vecellio, although he would not have thought of himself as a citizen of the universe, clearly belongs to the first category.

3 On the Venetian view of Italian explorers of the Americas and regions of the Pacific, see Liz Hodorowich, "Armchair Travelers and the Venetian Discovery of the New World," *Sixteenth Century Studies* 36: 4 (winter, 2005) 1039–62.

4 I take the term "the bazaar of Europe" from Deborah Howard, "Venice: The Bazaar of Europe," in *Bellini and the East*, ed. Alan Chong and Caroline Campbell (2005). Throughout this essay, I am indebted to Professor Howard for her full-length study *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100–1500* (2000) and her lectures as Kennedy Professor at Smith College in spring 2005.

5 On *funduq* as the origin of *fondaco*, see Juergen Schultz, "Introduction," *The New Palaces of Medieval Venice*, and Howard, *Venice and the East* (2000, "Glossary," 248, and figure 161 (136)).

6 On political and commercial exchanges between Venice and Constantinople/Istanbul, see Howard, *Venice* (2000, chapter 1, especially 32–5, and figure 161 (136)); and Rosamond Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* ("Introduction," and chapter 1, "Travel, Trade and Diplomacy"). Fernand Braudel writes that even during the period of their most active maritime warfare from the 1570s to 1591, the Venetians and the Turks collaborated in 1590 to establish a new overland route between Venice and Istanbul, starting in the town of Spalato (Split) on the Balkan coast. See *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'âge de Philipe II* (1949), trans. Sian Reynolds as *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (II, 286–8).

7 On Venetian curiosity and writing about regions of the Old World as well as the Americas, see Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes* (esp. chapter 3, "Establishing Lay Science: the Merchant and the Humanist").

8 On this visit to Europe by Japanese noblemen led by Jesuits, see Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern History* (210–21).

9 Howard (2000, 121).

10 For an analysis of this painting, see Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza* (161–3), and Howard 2005, *Bellini and the East* (22–4).

11 On Bellini's paintings in Istanbul, see J. M. Rogers, "Mehmed the Conqueror: Between East and West," in *Bellini and the East* (78–98).

12 On Asian carpets in Venetian paintings, see Mack (73–93).

13 Mack discusses and illustrates the exchange of textile fabrics and designs (38–47).

References and Further Reading

Braudel, Fernand. *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'âge de Philipe II* (1949), trans. Sian Reynolds as *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. New York: Harper and Row, 1972–3, II, 286–8.

Chambers, David and Brian Pullan, eds. *Venice: A Documentary History 1450–1630*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.

Chong, Alan and Caroline Campbell, eds. *Bellini and the East*. London: The National Gallery, 2005.

Dalle Mese, Jeannine Guérin. *L'Occhio di Cesare Vecellio: Abiti e costumi esotici nel '500*. Turin: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1998.

Hodorowich, Liz. "Armchair Travelers and the Venetian Discovery of the New World," *Sixteenth Century Studies* 36, 4 (winter 2005): 1039–62.

Howard, Deborah. *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100–1500*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

Howard, Deborah. "Venice: The Bazaar of Europe," in *Bellini and the East*. Ed. Alan Chong and Caroline Campbell. London : The National Gallery, 2005, 12–35.

Jardine, Lisa and Jerry Brotton. *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West*. London: Reaktion Books, 2000.

Mack, Rosamond. *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Malcomson, Scott. "The Varieties of Cosmopolitan Experience," in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation*. Ed. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005, 233–45.

Rosenthal, Margaret and Ann Rosalind Jones. *The Clothing of the Renaissance World (Europe, Asia, Africa and America): Cesare Vecellio's Habiti antichi et moderni*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2008.

Rubiés, Joan-Pau. *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Schultz, Juergen. *The New Palaces of Medieval Venice.* University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004.

Vecellio, Cesare. *Degli Habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del Mondo*. Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590. For an English translation, see Margaret F. Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World (Europe, Asia, Africa, America)*, Cesare Vecelio's *Habiti antichi et moderni*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2008.

Wilson, Bronwen. *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.

PART IV

The Globe Staged

19

Bettrice's Monkey: Staging Exotica in Early Modern London Comedy

Jean E. Howard

In the middle of the first act of *Eastward Ho*, a London comedy collectively written by Ben Jonson, John Marston, and George Chapman and probably staged early in 1605 at Blackfriars Theatre by a company of boy actors known as the Children of Her Majesty's Revels, a tantalizing stage direction prefaces the second scene. It reads: "*Enter* Gertrude, Mildred, Bettrice, *and* Poldavy, *a tailor – Poldavy with a fair gown, Scotch farthingale and French fall in his arms; Gertrude in a French head attire and citizen's gown; Mildred sewing; and Bettrice leading a monkey after her*."[1] Gertrude is the silly, socially aspiring elder daughter of the goldsmith William Touchstone; Mildred his virtuous younger daughter; Bettrice a maid, though whose maid is an important, open-ended question. Poldavy, whose name refers to a coarse canvas used for sails, is a fashion-mongering tailor.

The monkey – well, who or what is the monkey? And what is it doing on the Blackfriars stage? My essay will address these questions, arguing that Bettrice's monkey is a sign of the early modern public theater's engagement in the circulation of fashionable and exotic objects and people, an engagement that was part of its allure, certainly, and central to its almost unnoticed participation in an early form of global practice that involved the domestication of the exotic and its absorption into English regimes of representation and of pleasure. In the process, the cultural specificity of the origins of the exotic goods, along with the labor expended in their production, transportation, and refashioning, were erased. I will argue that the highly localized genre of the London comedy played a central role in this process of deracination and appropriation, intimating the close imbrication of the local and the global at the site of the stage.

I Props

But before turning to the monkey *qua* monkey, I want to underscore the importance of props on the early modern stage. As Natasha Korda and Jonathan Gil Harris have

argued, this stage was not at all "bare" (Harris and Korda, 2–7). It was, in fact, populated with a rich array of physical objects. Costumes were the most obvious props, and companies spent large sums on acquiring and refurbishing their stock of garments. A crown, an inky cloak, a Scottish farthingale, a suit of armor, a handkerchief, a bishop's miter, a pair of gloves – there are many early modern plays in which these specific articles of clothing are centrally important to the meaning of a scene, a characterization, or a stunning theatrical effect, as when DeFlores thrusts his fingers into the "sockets" of Beatrice-Joanna's dropped glove in *The Changeling* (Daalder, 17; I.i.232). We don't always *think* of costumes as props, but they certainly are, and in the Elizabethan theater they had enormous importance as part of the visual texture and meaning of the staged action (Gurr, 193–200).

But besides costumes, the early modern theater made effective use of a number of other kinds of props: hand-held objects such as scepters, stage furniture such as thrones and stools, scene indicators such as trees and bushes, and props made for particular scenes such as "cauderm for the Jewe" (Foakes, 321), a reference to the huge pot or cauldron in which Barabas the Jew met his death at the end of Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*. A glance at the inventory of properties drawn up for The Lord Admiral's Men in 1598 indicates the range of objects owned by this one admittedly quite successful company.[2] The list includes: "1 rocke," "1 tome of Dido," "1 chyme of belles," 1 globe," "the sittie of Rome," "2 rackets," "owld Mahemetes head," "1 lyone skin," "1 beares skyne," "Cupedes bowe, & quiver," "the clothe of the Sone & Mone," "2 mose banckes," "1 snake," "2 fanes of feathers," "1 tree of gowlden apelles," "1 buckler," "Mercures wings," "1 helmet with a dragon," "1 lyone," "2 lyon heades," "a raynbowe," "1 littell alter," "1 great horse with his leages," "1 sack-bute," "1 paire of rowghte globes," "1 gostes crown," "1 crown with a sone," "1 black dogge" (Foakes, 319–21). Clearly the Admiral's Men invested heavily in creating striking visual effects. They owned wings by which an actor could be turned into the God Mercury; helmets and bucklers that could similarly transform a man into a warrior; a painted cloth to conjure up the city of Rome; and trees with golden apples to evoke the Garden of the Hesperides. Perhaps most interesting for my present purposes are the number of costumes that have something to do with animals: lions, bears, snakes, a great horse (with his legs), and a black dog. The number of such props suggests that the Admiral's Men had many plays in their repertory in which animals figured prominently. In particular, they owned a lot of lion paraphernalia: heads, skins, and whole lions. Presumably, in most cases actors wore animal skins and heads to play, for example, the talking dog in a drama such as *The Witch of Edmonton* or to mime the partial transformation of a man to a beast, as in Bottom's assumption of the ass's head in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. It is possible, however, that in some cases, such as that of the great horse with his seemingly detachable legs, the prop stood alone: the inanimate representation of an animate being.

Occasionally, it has been suggested, the early modern stage did not rely solely on representation, that is, on artificial constructions of animals or on actors costumed as lions or dogs, but on presentation, the thing itself: that is, a real animal brought onto

the stage. This may have been true, for example, for Lance's dog Crab in Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, although the most notorious debate about real animals on the early modern stage has focused on the bear in Act III of *The Winter's Tale*. Given the proximity of the Bankside theaters to the Bear Garden and given the theater impresario, Philip Henslowe's, involvement in bear baiting and organized entertainments involving bears, might not a real bear, carefully trained and controlled, have chased the frightened Antigonus to his death? Or is it more likely, given the dangerous nature of bears, that the old counselor was pursued by a man in a bear skin?[3]

According to Alan Dessen and Leslie Thomson's *Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama, 1580–1642*, *Eastward Ho* is the only play of the period in which a monkey, baboon, or ape (the terms were to some extent interchangeable in the period) was mentioned in a stage direction (Dessen and Thomson, 144). There are several plays, however, in which a person is transformed into simian form within the dramatic action. This happens, for example, in *Dr. Faustus*, when the clownish Dick is changed into an ape by Mephistopheles. In this instance, an ape suit or head was probably used if Dick's transformation was literalized. *Eastward Ho*, by contrast, does not enact the metamorphosis of a human into an animal; Bettrice's monkey is always a monkey, not a former human.

I am going to argue that there was a much better chance that the monkey on the stage of the Blackfriars Theatre in *Eastward Ho* was a real monkey, and not a small actor in a monkey suit, than that there was a real bear on the stage of The Globe for *The Winter's Tale* or, even less likely, a real ape on the stage for Marlowe's play. My reasons are several. First, a monkey is a lot smaller than a bear and a lot easier to control, making it less necessary to employ an actor in lieu of a real monkey than to employ an actor in lieu of a dangerous bear. Second, if a boy actor, even a small boy, were to be dressed as a monkey, he would still be a pretty sizable animal and visually intrusive while, as we shall see, Bettrice's monkey has neither a speaking part nor a scripted role to play in the scene. Rather, the effectiveness and the point of its presence depends, as I will argue, on its nimbleness, its potential to do unscripted tricks, and its associations with both fashionability and also everyday street entertainments. Much of the theatrical excitement it could potentially generate would be muted were there an animal imitator in the role.

I will argue, in fact, that it is its status as a living creature that allows the monkey to function in *Eastward Ho* as a crucial marker both of its owner's comic aspirations to fashionability and of the Blackfriars Theatre's competitive drive for novelty. As such, the monkey must be real, the genuine article, brought with difficulty to the stage of a commercial theater. The stage direction indicates movement and action on the monkey's part (Bettrice is said to lead it after her). No plaster imitation or boy in a monkey suit would, I will argue, fulfill the complex purposes served by this particular marker of social aspiration and theatrical extravagance. Bettrice's monkey, then, is a prop with unusual properties. Not an inanimate physical object, it is a living animal that carries with it a range of symbolic associations as well as, in performance, the potential to become an unscripted actor in its own right. In addition, the monkey

is an unusual animal in that it has the capacity to mime the actions of human beings, a nice reversal of the customary theatrical situation in which humans, dressed in their lion's heads and bear skins, mime the animal world.

II Monkeys

There was a great deal of monkey, ape, and baboon lore circulating in early modern England. All the major natural histories mention these creatures, nearly all stressing their likeness to human beings. Adriano Banchieri, in his 1595 treatise called *The Noblenesse of the Asse*, spends some time on the nobleness of the ape, as well, dwelling on the animal's "similitude to a humane bodie," i.e., "his eyes, eyebrowes, forehead, mouth, teeth, breast and pappes, which other beastes have not in that place: His armes turning toward him, his hands with fingers, the middlemost wherof is longest; his nayles distinctly placed, and his inward parts resembling them of man" (Banchieri, B4v). He goes on to note the ape's "quick apprehension," its ability to understand what it is commanded, and its skill in imitation. Whether describing large apes or smaller monkeys, most writers dwell on the same human-like qualities and the animals' skills at imitation and their tractability under the instruction of humans, particularly their ability to be taught tricks and to "leape and play in divers manner" (Batman, Bk. XVIII, Chapter 96, 580).

A recurring motif in ape and monkey lore has to do with the animal's ability to play at chess, fetch wine from taverns, and do other feats seemingly requiring the ability to reason. In the second book of *The Courtier*, for example, a gentleman tells the story of an ape that had been brought before the King of Portugal by Portuguese mariners who had acquired the monkey as part of the booty found in the new territories to which they were now venturing – presumably in Africa, but perhaps in Brazil or other parts of the New World. The gentleman in charge of the ape played chess with it before the King and was twice bested by the beast. In anger, the gentleman struck the monkey after its first victory; the second time, at the same moment that it moved the pawn that put its opponent into checkmate, the monkey grabbed a cushion and put it on its head, effectively defending itself against another blow (Castiglione, 155–6). This story is one of many in circulation that demonstrated the capacity of monkeys and apes to think, to plan, and to engage in behavior resembling that of human beings.

In 1644, Kenelm Digby argued against the view that certain animals such as apes, dogs, and elephants exhibit reason. He made the case, instead, for what we would now call the effects of behavioral conditioning. In discussing the example of an ape that would fetch drink from a tavern for his master and pay the barman for it, he describes the repeated rewards by which the ape was induced to perform all the parts of this action again and again. His conclusion was that "assuefaction and custome, not judgement" (Digby, 320) are what explain the ape's apparent capacity for rational thought, but it is important that Digby felt it necessary to provide such an explana-

tion, so widespread was the perception that monkeys, apes, and baboons were endowed with nearly human capabilities, including that of mimicking the actions and gestures of the people around them.

On the other hand, there is a long history of negative associations with monkeys and apes, especially on account of their supposed licentiousness and dirtiness. John Johnston (1678) asserted, for example, that monkeys eat and drink their own excrement (Johnston, 76). In *Othello*, Iago famously conjures up the image of Desdemona and Cassio, "as prime as goats, as hot as monkeys,/ As salt as wolves, in pride"[4] to madden the hero with thoughts of his wife's infidelity with Othello's own officer. In *Two Noble Kinsmen*, a schoolmaster presents a courtly audience with a dance in which one of the performers is a baboon, described as "The babion with long tail and eke long tool" (3.5.134), a reference to the size of the monkey's sexual member, a member which, according to Edward Topsell in *The History of Foure-Footed Beastes* (1607), was already circumcised when the beast was "brought forth" from the womb (Topsell, 11).

Perhaps because of their rich symbolic associations, and definitely because of their performative skill in imitating humans, monkeys were often used in street performances and popular entertainments, or were represented in folk dramas and in courtly masques. Live monkeys could be trained to walk a tightrope, to wear human clothing, to toss and catch a ball, and to perform various tricks and clever japes. A standard entertainment at London's Bear Garden was to tie a monkey on a horse and have both pursued by a bulldog (Ravelhofer, 288). At the other end of the social scale, from the fourteenth century on, there are accounts of monkeys serving as house pets for the moneyed aristocracy or as curiosities in the courts of Europe. In his *History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, Francis Bacon recounts how Henry kept a journal of his thoughts, writing down in his own hand "whom to employ, whom to reward, whom to enquire of, whom to beware of, what were the dependencies, what were the factions, and the like." But Henry also kept a monkey, and Bacon records that one day this monkey "tore his [the King's] principal notebook all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth. Whereat the Court (which liked not those pensive accounts) was almost tickled with sport" (Bacon, 204).

Henry was not the only monarch to keep a monkey for his amusement, and records of monkeys being kept as pets and curiosities increased as European monarchs sent ships to the far reaches of the globe on voyages of exploration, trade, and settlement. They probably were among the unitemized curiosities and trifles offloaded with the more serious cargo of spices, cloth, and precious metals brought back from these long voyages. Monkeys were reported to be found in Ethiopia, the woods of Java, the Kingdom of Congo, in India, in Arabia, in Malabar, and South America. Some of the natural histories of the period give quite elaborate descriptions of the different sorts of monkeys common to various regions. But in all cases they had exotic, not domestic, origins.

Perhaps because of their actual prevalence in court contexts, monkeys figure prominently in one particular form of courtly entertainment, namely, the masque, where

actors dressed as baboons, apes, and monkeys regularly appear in the anti-masque of these productions, symbolizing the less desirable qualities of mankind, its bestial, licentious, and disorderly potential. Anat Feinberg has identified a number of English masques ranging from Beaumont's *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* to Chapman's *The Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn* in which baboons appear. In the latter masque, they were played by actors attired "like fantasticall Travailers, in Neapolitane sutes, and great ruffs," costumes designed by Inigo Jones (Feinberg, 6).

An illustration from Richard Brathwaite's *The Honest Ghost, or, A Voice from the Vault*, suggests the satiric potential of apes in human clothing. The engraving shows six monkeys of various sizes walking in a walled garden while dressed in fashionable clothes: feathered hats, ruffs and falling bands, cloaks and tights. Some carry swords, one an old-fashioned halberd. The absurdity of the scene arises in part from the gap between the distinctly simian features and form of the six clothed figures and the splendid clothing and the rarified setting in which they appear. In the background, a country manor looms up over the walled garden. In the foreground, the frame of the garden metamorphoses into a railing such as that which separates audience from

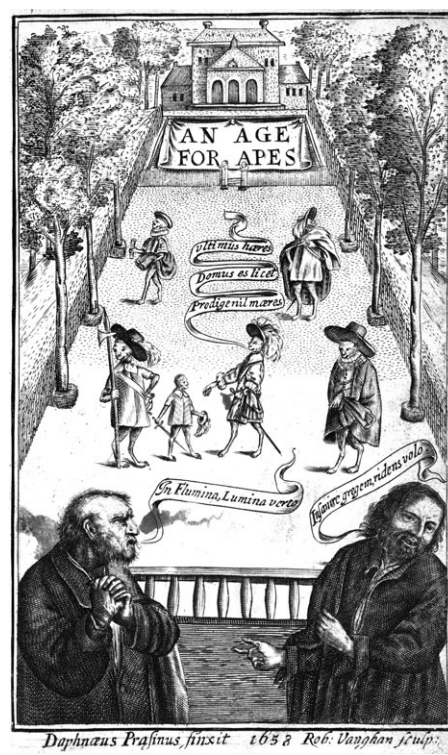

Figure 19.1 Richard Brathwaite's *The Honest Ghost or a Voice From the Vault.* Reproduced by permission of The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Shelfmark: 8° S. 350 Art.

theater in some representations of the commercial stage. Two large human figures, the laughing philosopher Democritus, and the weeping philosopher, Heraclites, half turned toward the reader and half turned toward the apes, gesture toward the garden, now imaginatively transformed into a stage. Together they decry the folly and pretension of the age represented by the fashionably clad monkeys. In mimicking humans, the apes reveal human bestiality.

The rich symbolic valence of the monkey in the early modern period and the varied social practices of which it was a part give insight into the interpretive and performance possibilities that arise from the simple stage direction: "Enter . . . Bettrice leading a monkey after her." It is possible, for example, that the monkey is wearing clothing, an idea I will explore at length below. It is possible that it might perform some kind of trick as it is led across the stage or during the ensuing 148 lines before the maid and monkey presumably exit with Mildred, Touchstone, and Golding. Given the traditional associations of monkeys and satiric commentary on human actions, the leashed monkey might be a vehicle for poking fun at the humans with which it shares a stage.

Before exploring these possibilities in detail, it is important to consider with whom the monkey is connected. In both of the most commonly used editions of the play, the New Mermaids edited by C. G. Petter (Petter 1973, 3) and the *Revels* edited by R. W. Van Fossen (Van Fossen 1979, 65), the *dramatis personae* list Bettrice as "Mildred's maid" and "maid to Mildred." Mildred, of course, is Touchstone's virtuous and sober daughter, the one who criticizes her sister's dreams of upward mobility and who is willing to have her wedding feast composed entirely of the scraps left from her sister's sumptuous feast. In this scene she is sewing, an activity in which virtuous women were enjoined to engage to keep them from idleness (Callaghan 66; Orlin 185–92). It has always struck me as odd that Mildred should be the one to have a maid with a monkey on a leash, the monkey often being associated with lechery or extravagant consumption. A glance at several older editions of the play, however, reveals other descriptions of the mysterious Bettrice who appears in no other scene but this one. In the Hereford and Simpson Ben Jonson she is described simply as "a waiting-woman" (Wilkes, 353); and she is described the same way in the Parrott edition of Chapman's comedies (Parrott, 464). Van Fossen attributes the original *dramatis personae* list, adapted but little altered by later editors, to Dodsley's edition of 1744 (Van Fossen, 65). There is no indication of Bettrice's status in the original 1605 printing of the text. My guess, though there is no way to verify this, is that editors have assigned Bettrice to Mildred because Gertrude, her sister, later employs another woman, Sindefy, as her special attendant. There is a certain symmetry to the assignment of a maid to each daughter. But, in terms of character development, there is no indication that the frugal and industrious Mildred longs for a maid, though Gertrude does as part of her fantasy of becoming a lady. Gertrude, in fact, could aspire to several maids, both Bettrice and later Sindefy. More probably, Bettrice may simply be an all-purpose servant in the Touchstone household or a maid to Mistress Touchstone, the girls' mother, in whose house, we assume, the monkey scene occurs.

I want to entertain the possibility, then, that Bettrice is simply attached to the Touchstone household, and that one of her duties is attending to the monkey whom one of the daughters, probably Gertrude, has acquired.

III *Eastward Ho*

Before going any further with an analysis of the monkey, however, the creature needs to be reinserted back into the play in which it appears. *Eastward Ho* is a virtuoso cultural production. It answers a play, Webster and Dekker's *Westward Ho*, that was performed by Paul's Boys in 1604 and employed many of the evolving conventions of London comedy. *Westward Ho* depicts several middling-sort households in which the wives flirt with the possibility of abandoning their husbands for sexy gallants, while those gallants attempt to milk the wives of as much money as possible. The play culminates with a trip westward down the Thames toward Brainford where the gallants hope to seduce the city wives. The wives, however, remain chaste and are eventually reconciled with their husbands.

Eastward Ho is a wittier and ultimately more satiric play than its predecessor. The goldsmith Touchstone is a send-up of the sober citizen, a man so preoccupied with his virtue and his money that he gives propriety a bad name. While the play apparently embraces the sobriety of his good daughter and the virtuous apprentice she weds, in actuality it devotes most of its energy to displaying the ingenuity of the bad apprentice, Quicksilver, and the comically soaring ambition of Touchstone's histrionic daughter, Gertrude.[5] Cleverly reversing the directional orientation of the prior play, it sends its protagonists eastward.[6] Gertrude rides east in a coach to find her knight husband's mythical castle, and others go east down the Thames toward Greenwich where, in the middle of a storm, they fetch up on the Isle of Dogs and Cuckold's Haven.

What looks like competition between two rival theater companies could be, as Roslyn Knutson has argued (Knutson, 48–63), also a form of collaboration, each theater increasing the notoriety of its own play by the coexistence of a similar play, or a suggestively different variation, at the other theater. While the prologue to *Eastward Ho* boasts that: "eastward, westwards still exceeds" (Prologue, 9), in this instance eastward has its cachet largely because the rival play had already established the directional gimmick on which each plays rests. Part of a knowing theater audience's pleasure would have consisted precisely in appreciating the ways in which the later play wittily referred to and reversed the premises of the former, not only in terms of which direction one sails on the Thames, but also in terms of the irreverent way *Eastward Ho* satirizes the middling-sort household and gives the finger to traditional morality. The prologue dedicates the play to "the City" (Prologue, 14), perhaps particularly to that sophisticated city audience that was attracted to Blackfriars Theatre and appreciated what was fashionable in its theatrical fare. It's a hip play for a hip theater audience.

The monkey on stage is just one of many aspects of the play that, I would argue, help to establish its very particular ambience and its appeal to a particular kind of audience. The monkey comes on stage in the second scene of the play, just as the audience is forming its impressions of the Touchstone household. The first scene had belonged to the men: to Touchstone and his two male apprentices. The second scene belongs to the women and their attendants. The monkey, then, is strongly associated with the play's representation of the world of women. The scene's initial focus is fashion, and clothing props are essential to its performance impact. Gertrude is presented as something of a fashion monster: her clothing a mixture of a plain citizen's gown and an elaborate French headpiece. In the course of the scene she has to wiggle out of the citizen gown and into the much more fashionable gown held by Poldavy the tailor. That the fashionable items Gertrude puts on have foreign names – Scotch farthingale, French head attire, and French fall (or flat collar) – indicate the cosmopolitanizing of the English body that was occurring in London during what historians have convincingly shown to have been a period of enormous increases in overseas trade and in consumer activity.[7] As many have observed, the early seventeenth-century waning of sumptuary legislation before the pressure of market forces simply made it easier to do what had already been happening, that is, to transform the self by buying things. In the apprentice plot, the bad apprentice, Quicksilver, loves to go about in gentlemen's clothing – hat, pumps, short sword and dagger – and indeed those are the clothes in which he first appears in scene 1. They are, of course, entirely inappropriate for an apprentice who should wear the worsted clothing and flat cap that were the badges of his status. But Quicksilver and Gertrude are soul mates in their love of sartorial "bravery," to use Quicksilver's own word, and the opening tableau of each of the opening scenes of the play insists on foregrounding their extravagant and from one perspective utterly inappropriate commitment to fashionability.

In this context, the monkey's appearance does not seem so random as it might first seem. In certain contexts monkeys figured as fashionable objects – not a piece of clothing, but nonetheless an accessory of sorts. Kings had them as pets, and so increasingly did men and women of fashion. The monkey, then, itself imported from beyond the seas, is as much a fashion statement and a sign of Gertrude's aspiration to upward mobility as her French fall. However, the monkey's signifying potential can, in performance in particular, outstrip Gertrude's intentions. Given the scene's emphasis on fashion, the monkey might be clothed, perhaps just with a jeweled collar, but maybe in something more elaborate. A number of accounts from the natural histories stress how readily the ape takes to human clothing, and illustrations, such as that found in Brathwaite's *The Honest Ghost*, show monkeys wearing fashionable attire. Should this be the case in *Eastward Ho*, the satirical potential posed by a fashion monkey might undermine rather than enhance Gertrude's own sartorial aspirations. Gertrude, a city woman born within the sound of Bow Bell, harbors a socially inappropriate longing to inhabit a castle. Her overly elaborate and foreign clothing betrays this longing, and the incongruity of a fashion monkey

would only underscore the impropriety of its owner's desires. The monkey Gertrude displays as a sign of her desired status could, paradoxically, register a satiric commentary on that aspiration. The self-creation impulse by which a city woman scrambles up the social ladder finds its comic imitation in the ape's mimicry of human dress.

I am convinced, moreover, that the monkey is a source of audience pleasure quite independent of its role in the narrative, and that the monkey as performer has the potential to steal the show or to introduce low matter quite beyond Gertrude or Bettrice's intentions or control. We know that in the period monkeys were trained to do all sorts of tricks: juggling balls, walking with a cane, playing cards, or making lewd gestures. Bettrice's monkey might have done any of these things, pleasing the audience by its own performative skill. Most actors hate to share the stage with animals both because of their capacity to grab center stage and because of their capacity for unscripted behavior ranging from defecation to unexpected noise or movement. There is one line that suggests Gertrude's own surprise at some of the monkey's behaviors. As she is wiggling into her more fashionable clothing, Gertrude unexpectedly interrupts herself, exclaiming, "Now, Lady's my comfort, what a profane ape's here!" (1.2.56–7). She then immediately speaks to her tailor about the fit of her farthingale, leaving the line about the profane ape unanchored. It could refer to her own half-dressed condition, which she then urges the tailor to help her fix. It could refer to Poldavy the tailor whom she might be accusing of fixing her farthingale wrong. Or it could refer to the monkey who might be making a lewd gesture while Gertrude talks. I prefer the final choice, partly because Gertrude and the tailor go on to make a number of bawdy remarks about the tailor's "steel implement" and "sanctified member" (1.2.63 and 67), lending the scene a salaciousness common to encounters between women and their tailors. The infamous lechery of monkeys would in this instance contribute to the general sense that a woman on the make, socially, is also a woman on the make, sexually.

The monkey, then, has the potential for creating multiple significations and stage effects. But one inescapable consequence of its appearance is to enhance the novelty of the play and the avant-garde associations of the Blackfriars Theatre and of the acting troupe that performed there. Blackfriars was a hall theater with admission prices triple what they were at the amphitheaters. Bringing a live monkey on stage was one way to justify the price of admission and also to make good on the claim that "eastward, westward still exceeds," that is, that this particular play overpasses the play at a rival company, if only by the novelty of bringing a simian performer in among the humans. Whatever the symbolic associations of the monkey, and whatever its role in commenting on Gertrude's behavior and aspiration, in and of itself the monkey heightens the pleasure of the theatrical encounter, not least because of the way it unsettles the predictability of the action and inserts an exotic and clever animal into the play's cast of performers. The monkey is surely part of what sent the Blackfriars' audience home well satisfied that they had attended the most cosmopolitan theater performance on offer.

IV Geography

The drama's insistent play with the geography of east and west points to the text's wider implication in a geography that reaches far beyond the walled city and the suburbs of London. The monkey is important to that geography, also, and can function as a lever to open up the deeper imbrication of the commercial theater in early modern forms of trans-national venturing. *Eastward Ho* is outwardly critical of certain forms of global practice (Sigalas, 85–94). It makes glorious fun of Sir Petronel Flash, Gertrude's husband and an impoverished knight, who means to set sail for Virginia, using the pot of money Gertrude brings into the marriage to launch his venture. The knight knows nothing, really, about overseas ventures, either military or commercial, and he ends up shipwrecked in the mouth of the Thames before he can even properly launch his journey. His folly is echoed in the absurd dreams of the seamen, Seagull, Spendall, and Scapethrift, who form part of his crew on his abortive venture. Employing the now-famous language of sexual exploits to describe English encounters with the New World, the seamen boast that "Virginia longs till we share the rest of her maidenhead" (3.3.15–16). Seagull goes on to explain that earlier English settlers in Virginia married with the Indians, making them bring forth "as beautiful faces as any we have in England" (3.3.20–1) with the result that "the Indians are so in love with 'em, that all the treasure they have, they lay at their feet" (3.3.22–3). This, of course, is a dream of colonial expropriation without resistance and without effort. Indeed, Seagull then draws on language familiar from Utopian discourse about the temperance of the climate there, the abundance of venison and boar, the lack of "sergeants, or courtiers, or lawyers, or intelligencers" (3.3.43–4), and the omnipresence of gold, rubies, and diamonds which can be gathered along the seashore and used to decorate children's coats. In the context of the play, these fantasies are exposed as just that, the kinds of dreams that silly, inexperienced, impoverished men like Sir Petronel would have when trying to repair their fortunes the easy way. Sir Petronel, landing on the Isle of Dogs, can't even distinguish it from France, and so begins to address an astonished English passer-by in stilted French. He would have great luck among the natives of Virginia.

Upholding an implicit norm of hard-headed realism, *Eastward Ho* satirizes naive sailors and amateur adventurers, creating theatrical pleasure from their innocence of tides and currents, the native inhabitants of the Americas, and the difficulty of wresting profit from unfamiliar territories. But the presence of this narrative strand instructively situates the theater in a geographical frame much larger than that of London proper. We often describe London comedy as a localized genre, perhaps "the" localized genre of the early modern period, since the plays that comprise it take the places of London and the ways of the city as their most intimate subject matter. But this most localized of genres is also, I would argue, a cosmopolitan and decidedly global genre. Elsewhere I have written about the number of foreigners who people London comedy, an indication of the impact of religious migration and global trade on the

demographics of the city (Howard, 29–49). Foreign commodities are similarly omnipresent in these plays: New World tobacco, Holland sheets, Italian velvets, French fashions, French tennis rackets, German beer, Moluccan pepper. The genre circulates the names of these objects, and often the objects themselves, on the commercial stage, rendering them familiar, domesticating them. Paradoxically, the foreign, particularly in the realms of diet and dress, comes to define the essence of the cosmopolitan Londoner, the kind of Londoner likely to patronize the Blackfriars Theatre.

Gertrude's monkey simply hyperbolizes this general process. It is an object, a living prop, wrested from a native context, and given a new home and a new meaning on the early modern stage. Coded as lecherous, clever, and human-like in its form and in its capacity for mimicry, the monkey has been assimilated to English ways of making sense. It has also been turned into an animate prop in a theatrical venture that fetishizes the new and the exotic even as it pulls the new into the orbit of its own practices. The theater thus helps to make familiar the strange and to create a taste for the novel that can only be satisfied by the unseen labor of those who do the actual venturing to foreign parts and by the erasure of the indigenous contexts in which the monkey had meanings not available to English eyes. Kim Hall has shown how early modern women in their kitchens, baking and preserving food with sugar, participated in colonial processes of expropriation and refunctioning that bound together the Barbados, West Africa, and England (Hall, 168–90). English theaters played their part, too, creating a taste, not so much for sugar, as for other forms of foreign novelty, making those novelties, whether a French fashion or an African monkey, central to the most domestic and local of genres, London comedy.

V Coda

In 1632 another London comedy, Massinger's *The City Madam*, hit the London boards. It has the distinction of being one of only a handful of early modern plays to represent New World Indians on stage. *The City Madam* is an interesting companion piece to *Eastward Ho* in that it too talks of the New World but never leaves London, and it also is preoccupied with exotic objects, in this case not a monkey, but actual native people. But what is interesting is the degree to which these native figures have been representationally deracinated.

The play depicts the disorder that has overtaken the household of a merchant, Sir John Frugal, newly knighted, who cannot control the pretensions of his wife and daughters to ape aristocratic ways. To teach them a lesson and to test the character of his brother, Luke, he puts Luke in charge of his household and he himself withdraws to a monastery. Actually, Sir John Frugal and several friends stay around, disguised as Virginia Indians supposedly sent to Frugal's household by Frugal himself in order that they can be charitably converted to Christianity. These disguised figures speak a few lines of stage gibberish supposed to represent an Indian language but then carry on in ordinary English, the fiction being that they have lived in the English colony

in Virginia for some time. At a climactic point in the narrative, the fake Indians – not at all interested in conversion – request that Luke sell them two Christian virgins and a chaste matron to use in devilish sacrificial rites back in Virginia.

The use of "Indians" and New World discourse in this play is interesting primarily because of the insubstantiality of these New World figures. They are not only presentationally absent, but in the representational register "Indianness" is only a disguise adopted by European characters who probably wore feathered and beaded costumes and "brown face" to create the stage illusion of otherness. There are, therefore, neither actual Indian performers on the stage, nor even any actual Indian characters. In this instance the stage does not participate in the circulation and domestication of actual exotica; rather, it participates in the circulation of the "signifiers" of the exotic: feathers, beaded costumes, an incomprehensible dialect, and references to the devilish sacrifice of European woman at the hands of savages. These things, congealed into an easily recognized stereotype, have little to do with actual Indians. But on London stages the enactment of these codes had entertainment value. They bring the distant close and put it instrumentally to use: generating laughter, outfacing the competition, using it as an excuse for the creation of an eye-catching costume. The appropriation of Indianness, which continues apace in contemporary culture, shows just how completely the early modern commercial theater was implicated in the cultural expropriation that accompanied the expansion of global trade and traffic. The theater was part of that process, and nowhere more clearly than in the "local" genre of the London comedy with its monkey props, its costumes for performing foreign peoples, and its stockpiling of feathers, scimitars, and pantoffles, the loot of early modern global venturing.

Notes

1 All quotations from *Eastward Ho* are from R. W. Van Fossen's edition (Van Fossen: 1979) and will hereafter be referred to by act, scene, and line numbers only. The stage direction in question appears on page 79 before Act I.ii.

2 This list of goods belonging to the Admiral's Men was discovered by Edmund Malone in a bundle of loose papers found at Dulwich College. The inventory has separate sections for objects "gone and loste," for paraphernalia pertaining to the clowns' parts, for playbooks, for apparel, and for "properties." The list is reproduced in its entirety as an appendix in Foakes's edition of *Henslowe's Diary*.

3 Arguments against there being a real bear on the stage in this scene have been most forcefully articulated by Nevill Coghill (34–5); the case for a bear's presence has been put forth most entertainingly by Barbara Ravelhofer (287–323).

4 All references to Shakespeare's plays are taken from Greenblatt et al. This quotation is from *Othello* 3.3.408–9 (2159).

5 For intersecting discussions of the way in which sober morality is undermined and performative excess celebrated in *Eastward Ho*, see Bailey (3–22) and Howard (99–105).

6 For a discussion of the geographical intertext between *Westward* and *Eastward Ho*, see Ralph Cohen (85–96).

7 For the growth of overseas trade see, in particular, Brenner and Andrews. For changing consumption patterns, see Thirsk; Beier and Finley; Fisher; and Newman.

References and Further Reading

Andrews, K. R. *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Bacon, Francis. *The History of the Reign of Henry VII and Selected Works*, ed. Brian Vickers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Bailey, Amanda. *Flaunting: Style and the Subversive Male Body in Renaissance England*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.

Banchieri, Adriano. *The Nobleness of the Asse*. London, 1595.

Batman, Stephen. *Batman upon Bartholome*. London, 1582.

Beier, A. L., and Roger Finlay, eds. *London 1500–1700: The Making of the Metropolis*. London: Longman, 1986.

Brenner, Robert. *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1653*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Callaghan, Dympna. "Looking Well to Linens: Women and Cultural Production in *Othello* and Shakespeare's England," in *Marxist Shakespeares*. Ed. Jean E. Howard and Scott Cutler Shershow. London: Routledge, 2001, 53–81.

Castiglione, Baldesar. *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. Charles S. Singleton. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1959.

Coghill, Neville. "Six Points of Stage-Craft in *The Winter's Tale*," *Shakespeare Survey* 11 (1958): 31–41.

Cohen, Ralph. "The Function of Setting in *Eastward Ho*," in *Renaissance Papers 1973*. Ed. Dennis G. Donovan and A. Leigh Deneef, Southeastern Renaissance Conference, 1974, 85–96.

Daalder, Joost, ed. *The Changeling*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1990.

Dessen, Alan and Leslie Thomson. *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama, 1580–1642*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Digby, Kenelm. *Two Treatises in the one of which, The Nature of Bodies, in the other The Nature of Mans Soule, is looked into*. Paris, 1644.

Feinberg, Anat. "'Like Demie Gods the Apes Began to Move': The Ape in the English Theatrical Tradition, 1580–1660." *Cahiers Elizabethains: Etudes sur la pre-Renaissance et la Renaissance Anglaises* (April 1989): 1–13.

Fisher, F. J. *London and the English Economy, 1500–1700*. Ed. P. J. Corfield and N. B. Harte. London and Ronceverte: Hambledon Press, 1990.

Foakes, R. A., ed. *Henslow's Diary*, 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Greenblatt, Stephen, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, and Katharine Eisaman Maus, eds., *The Norton Shakespeare*, 2nd edn. New York: W.W. Norton, 2008.

Gurr, Andrew. *The Shakespearean Stage 1574–1642*, 3rd edn. Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Hall, Kim F. "Culinary Spaces, Colonial Spaces: The Gendering of Sugar in the Seventeenth Century," in *Feminist Readings in Early Modern Culture*. Ed. Valerie Traub, M. Lindsay Kaplan, and Dympna Callaghan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 168–90.

Harris, Jonathan Gil and Natasha Korda. *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Howard, Jean E. *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy 1598–1642*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

Johnston, John. *A Description of the Nature of Four-Footed Beasts.* Amsterdam, 1678.

Knutson, Rosalyn Lander. *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare's Time*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Newman, Karen. *Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama.* Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1991.

Orlin, Lena Cowen. "Three Ways to be Invisible in the Renaissance: Sex, Reputation, and Stitchery," in *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*. Ed. Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999, 183–203.

Parrott, Thomas Marc, ed., *The Comedies of George Chapman*. London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1914.

Petter, C. G., ed. *Eastward Ho*. London: Ernest Benn, 1973.

Ravelhofer, Barbara. "'Beasts of Recreacion': Henslowe's White Bears," *English Literary Renaissance* 32 (2002): 287–323.

Sigalas, Joseph G. "Sailing Against the Tide: Resistance to Pre-Colonial Constructs and Euphoria in *Eastward Ho!"* in *Renaissance Papers 1994*. Ed. Barbara Baines and George Walton Williams. Southeastern Renaissance Conference, 1995, 85–94.

Thirsk, Joan. *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.

Topsell, Edward. *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts.* London, 1607.

Van Fossen, R.W., ed. *Eastward Ho*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979.

Wilkes, G. A., ed. *The Complete Plays of Ben Jonson* (based on the edition of Herford and Simpson), vol. II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

20

The Maltese Factor: The Poetics of Place in *The Jew of Malta* and *The Knight of Malta*

Virginia Mason Vaughan

Only a handful of early modern English plays feature an exotic geographical location in the printed title. When a particular setting was mentioned, the playwright – or printer – likely assumed the place name would have some purchase with a potential audience member or reader. Shakespeare's *Merchant* and *Moor of Venice*, for example, suggest not simply Venice, but a set of cultural practices known to many in the dramatist's early audiences; their sense of Venice's geopolitical situation shaped their response to the dramas' characters and situations. The city's name tapped into a wider discursive field, formed in part by early modern geopolitics.

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were marked by an escalation in geographical awareness. In 1570 Abraham Ortelius printed the first systematic atlas, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*; the Latin version circulated widely throughout Europe and an English version was printed in 1606. In addition to maps, English readers had access to collections of travel narratives, such as Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*; they could read about Africa in John Pory's translation of Leo Africanus's *A Geographical Historie of Africa*; and for the avid reader George Abbot's *A Briefe Description of the Whole Worlde* and John Speed's compendious *Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* provided ample descriptions of far-away places and people. However superficial an audience's knowledge might be, the playwright who chose a recognizable setting (as opposed to Arden or Illyria) likely expected his audience to bring their presuppositions to the theater. We can never know exactly what resonance a particular place had for early modern English audiences, but by looking at texts circulating in the culture, we can identify a widespread cultural imaginary that dramatists recognized and exploited.

If place is essential to Shakespeare's two "Venice" plays, it is even more crucial to the two plays "*of Malta*." *The Jew of Malta*, written by Christopher Marlowe sometime between 1589 and 1592, depicts the Maltese archipelago as a clearinghouse for Europe's Eastern trade, a site of commercial transactions among Jews, Christians, and Ottoman Turks. *The Knight of Malta*, crafted by John Fletcher, Nathan Field, and

Philip Massinger for the King's Company shortly before Richard Burbage's death in 1619, uses the island's famous Knights (The Order of St. John) as the backdrop for complex personal negotiations between rival suitors for "Oriana," the chaste heroine. Yet however disparate their plots, characters, and themes, both plays draw on historical events their audience would have known – the famous Great Siege of Malta in 1565 – and pose, in some sense, Malta itself as an exceptional venue.

In contrast to Europe's developing nationalism, Malta was regarded as a liminal space, where a broad cross-section of culture, religions, and nationalities mingled and struggled for domination. As English forces discovered in World War II, the archipelago occupies a strategic place in the Mediterranean. Located between Sicily and Tunisia, Malta provides vital protection to shipping lanes between East and West. The Maltese people were Arabic in origins and language, but legend has it that St. Paul converted them to Christianity in 58 AD when he was shipwrecked on the island (See Geneva Bible Acts: 27). Through its long history, Malta had repeatedly been invaded, first by the Phoenicians, then the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Byzantine Greeks, Muslim Arabs, the Normans, and the Aragonese. Richard Knolles's *Generall Historie of The Turkes* describes the ambiguities created by Malta's unique geographical position and history:

> This island of MALTA lying betwixt AFRICA and SICILIA, might be doubted whether it were to be accounted in AFRICKE or EUROPE, but that the auntient Cosmographers, and the Moores language, which the Malteses have always used, challenge it for AFFRICKE . . . The inhabitants are so burnt with the sunne that they differ little in colour from the Aethyopians. (795)

Neither fully European nor African, to early modern English readers Malta was an international amalgam of sailors, pirates, merchants, and slaves.

In addition to Malta's hybrid population, peoples from all sections of the Mediterranean mingled on the island as they marketed a broad array of goods. Clearly interactions between the Maltese people, European traders, Jews, and Ottoman Turks were necessarily "messier, more contradictory, and variable than [any] two-dimensional pattern allows" (Dursteler, 8).[1] At the same time, in contrast to such everyday "messiness," the dominant image of Malta that circulated in Christian Europe in this period was shaped in general by an ideological rift between Turk and Christian, and in particular by the famous siege of 1565. That event served as the backdrop for Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* and Fletcher, Field, and Massinger's *Knight of Malta*. However the siege narratives were skewed by the authors' geopolitical or religious positions, their accounts influenced not just the dramatists' representations of Malta, but also the audiences' response.

By the mid-sixteenth century, Malta was known throughout Europe as the home of the Order of St. John, the only order of crusading knights still viable in a changing world. A brief summary of its history begins with the order's founding in Jerusalem during the eleventh century to minister to European pilgrims and crusaders. They received bountiful praise from travelers returning to Europe after their sojourn in the

Holy Land, and in 1113 Pope Paschal II formally recognized the hospitalers' Order. As the twelfth century progressed, the knights' original mission moved from hospitality to military prowess against Islam. Within the Order there developed seven national priories, called "langues" to which Europe's noble families sent their sons for military training. To become a Military Knight, a young man had to prove his noble lineage for at least four generations, take a vow of chastity, and spend several years in training as an officer in the galleys. Many initiates devoted their lives to the Order, while others who served temporarily returned to their European homelands and on their deathbeds invested the knights with land and wealth. The Order was headed by a Grand Master, who was elected by the other knights, usually after many years of devoted and distinguished service. He was supported by a council, which consisted of the bishop, the heads of the various priories, and Knights Grand Cross, the most senior knights of the Order (see Balbi, 10–12).

In 1306 the Knights of St. John established their headquarters on the island of Rhodes; this strategic location afforded them ample opportunities to wage war against the burgeoning Ottoman Empire and to develop their naval acumen. Through their piracy and harassment of the sultan's navy, they became a thorn in his side, and by the early sixteenth century, their reputation for wealth and military prowess was recognized throughout Europe, Northern Africa, and the Middle East. No wonder that in 1522 Soliman the Magnificent personally led an army to besiege Rhodes. After the Turkish forces had decimated the Order's fortifications, the sultan allowed the surviving knights to leave Rhodes, and it was several years before they successfully arranged to re-establish their headquarters on Malta.

After protracted negotiations, Emperor Charles V gave the Order a new home on Malta in 1530 in return for protection against the Turks and a yearly tribute of a falcon. The knights settled at the fishing village of Birgu, leaving the ancient Maltese nobility to their palaces in the capital at Mdina. They constructed fortifications overlooking the harbor: St. Elmo's at the entrance, St. Angelo at the point beyond Birgu, and St. Michaels farther up the harbor. Here they honed their naval skills, using their medieval crusading mission as a pretext for attacking Turkish ships en route from Ottoman strongholds in the Eastern Mediterranean to tributaries such as Morocco and Algiers on the Northern coast of Africa.

Soliman the Magnificent grew to regret his decision to allow the knights to leave Rhodes, and by the mid-sixteenth century, he was determined to rid the Mediterranean of them. Malta was but a stepping stone to Sicily, and if he could establish a beachhead there, he could attack Europe through Italy, forming a pincer movement with the janissaries who controlled Hungary to the East.[2] In his account of the siege of Malta, Knolles reports Soliman's speech to his janissaries:

> What thing I have this fortie yeares always wished, which was to have so much leisure from other warres, as to pluck out of their nests and utterly to root out these Crossed pirats, which vaunt themselves to be the bulwarke of Christendome . . . You your selves daily heare the pitifull complaints of our subjects and merchants, whom these Malteses, I say not souldiors, but pirats, if

> they but looke into those seas, spoile and make prize of. . . . Neither can anything happen unto me more pleasing, or more honourable, than if I may be fore I die, accomplish those things, that is to win MALTA, and to leave all things in order in HUNGARIA and POLONIA. (793; italics deleted)[3]

By March of 1565 his ships were underway. The Order's Grand Master, Jean de la Valette, received intelligence regarding the Turkish armada and made the best preparations he could, requesting aid from King Philip II of Spain, who controlled Sicily, which would surely be threatened if Malta fell. The Turkish fleet landed on May 19 with a force of 40,000 men. But, fortunately for La Valette, Soliman had divided the Turkish command, giving Mustapha control of the janissaries and Piali charge of the galleys. Piali's primary goal was to keep the fleet intact, and to that end he insisted that the first order of business was to take Fort St. Elmo, which guarded the entrance to the harbor. That decision turned out to be a fatal error.

La Valette had extensive experience with military operations against Turkish forces, including service as a galley slave on a Turkish ship. Francisco Balbi Di Correggio, who served as an arquebusier with the Spanish forces on Malta, wrote in his eyewitness memoir of the siege that Valette "has the manner of authority befitting a Grand Master. . . . A very devout man, he has good memory, wisdom and intelligence, and, from his experiences of warfare both on land and sea, has acquired an excellent judgement" (Balbi, 27). La Valette anticipated that the Turks would first try to take St. Elmo and reasoned that if it could be held until reinforcements arrived from Sicily, Malta could survive the siege. He reinforced St. Elmo with heavy artillery and staffed it with many of his best knights and, despite fierce Turkish bombardment, the fort held until June 23. Ralph Carr's translation from French and Italian sources, *The Muhametane or Turkish Historie*, describes the outcome: "after the winning of the fortress, the *Turkes* finding there, certaine knights of the order, betwixt death and life, caused most cruelly their harts to be cut out of their breasts, & their bodies invested with their scarlet cassocks, & white crosses .. to bee hanged up by the feet" (Carr, 73v). The bodies were then cast into the sea, but when they washed up on shore, La Valette had them honorably buried. He also commanded that all Turkish prisoners be killed, and their decapitated heads shot from cannons into the Turkish camp. Although La Valette lost 1,500 men in the defense of St. Elmo, and over 200 of his best knights, the Turkish forces lost at least 6,000 men.

Despite the noble sacrifices of La Valette's men at St. Elmo, the fort's loss and the dilatoriness of the relief expedition commissioned by Philip II (under the command of Don Garcia de Toledo) placed the rest of Malta in grave jeopardy. A small relief force under Melcho de Robles finally landed at the north of the island on June 29, bringing 42 knights and 600 trained soldiers to reinforce the beleaguered knights. The fighting was brutal. Knolles's account acknowledges the Grand Master's fortitude throughout. When it seemed the cause was lost, La Valette:

> hasted to the place where most danger was, and with him all the souldiors, all the citizens, men and women, old and yong, yea the very children all against the common enemy. There was

> fought a most dreadfull and dangerous battell: some kept the enemie from entering, some set up on that were already entred, whom they wounded, chased, and slew, although they notably resisted. Within, without, all was covered with darts, weapons, dead bodies, and bloud. (Knolles, 814)

Ralph Carr's *The Muhametane or Turkish Historie* claims that:

> the invincible courage of the *Prince Valet*, was apparent to each one, who armed with his Curace, and formidable with his Picke in hand, was seene before the rest of the *Christians* most valiantly fighting. Whose manfull presence, not onely gave courage to his soldiers ther, but also moved up the harts of the boyes & women in such extremity to doe notable service. (92v)

The siege had continued for two more months and by early September the knights were desperate. Historian H. J. A. Sire concludes that at this point "there were perhaps 5,000 dead within the walls, including 219 of the knights, and the number of men capable of bearing arms was a mere 600" (71). But, just in the nick of time, the fleet arrived and Don Garcia de Toledo landed half of his army on September 7 under cover of darkness. At long last the siege was at an end. The Turks scattered to their ships and sailed back to Constantinople. With a loss of 24,000 troops, Soliman the Magnificent suffered the worst defeat of his long reign. When news of the siege's end reached Europe – largely through La Valette's letters that were translated and widely disseminated – all of Christian Europe rejoiced.

That rejoicing was shared in England. Although Henry VIII had disbanded the English Langue in 1534, English Catholics were still involved with the Order of St. John. Sir Oliver Starkey, La Valette's Latin secretary, was the last remaining English knight on Malta. *The Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, records a letter to William Cecil on April 10, 1565:

> touching Oliver Starky, Knight of Rhodes, who is in Malta. Men give him a good report both for wisdom and valiantness. But he is poor, and not able without more help than he has of the order there to maintain his estate. He is desirous to return home. If he does come he will conform to their religion. (7: 1090)

English Catholics at home and abroad were emotionally invested in the knights' success, and some even requested permission from Philip II to join the relief expedition (*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign* 7: 1262).

Though Elizabeth undoubtedly appreciated the Turkish challenge to Philip II, she thanked God with the rest of Europe when the siege was lifted. Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, ordered six weeks of special prayers of thanksgiving in parish churches (see Chew, 123–4), insuring that English men and women learned about the Knights' heroic defense of Malta against the infidel. Spanish and Italian narratives of the siege were rapidly translated into English, circulating in newsletter format, such as *A copie of the last advertisement that came from Malta, of the miraculous*

deliverie of the isle from the Turke (London, 1565) and *Certayn and tru good nues, fro{m} the syege of the Isle Malta* (Ghent, 1565; see also Andrea, 248), which includes a translation of La Valette's report of the Order's victory. As late as 1637, a pamphlet, *Newes from Babylon*, described the Turkish conquest of St. Elmo, enthusing that "but when they thought to winne the whole Iland, the great Master with his valiant Knights and Souldiers (although but few in numbers to their foes) . . . inforced the Turks to flee and forsake the Iland" (C2v). What Iwo Jima is to contemporary American audiences – a symbol of indomitable spirit, heroism, and national pride – Malta was to European Christians well into the seventeenth century. Although by the 1590s memories of the specific details of the siege might have dimmed and, as Bernadette Andrea argues, Protestant writers may have de-emphasized the knights' role as Catholic heroes (Andrea, 251–8), English audiences surely had a vague idea where Malta was and knew of the Knights of St. John who had defended it so valiantly.

I

Christopher Marlowe deliberately set *The Jew of Malta*, to use Emily C. Bartels's language, in a Mediterranean "multinational melting pot," where there are "no true-blooded Maltese" (91). Barabas's opening monologue boasts of his Spanish oils and wines of Greece, as well as the ships that arrive from Egypt and Cyprus. The *dramatis personae* include the many nationalities that coexisted on Malta – Spanish noblemen and naval officers, Catholic friars with Italian names, Knights of the Order of St. John, nuns, and Jewish traders, as well as Turkish slaves and bashaws. Barabas's trade in gold and precious gems reflects Malta's well-known tradition of jewelry-making (Hopkins, 99). The hustle and bustle of trade, whether through merchandising or piracy, permeate the play. As Daniel Vitkus observes, "The play's first scene introduces Barabas as a cosmopolitan merchant whose far-flung commercial activities are dispersed throughout the Mediterranean" (65).

Marlowe's treatment of the slave market in 2.2–3 accurately reflects the importance of Malta's slave population under the siege. Slaves, captured from Turkish galleys, provided the labor for building and repairing fortifications, transporting food and water, and disposing of bodies: 2.2 has the Spanish Admiral, Captain Del Bosco, bring captured Grecians, Turks, and Moors to Malta's slave market for sale; in 2.3 Barabas looks over the merchandise, then rejects a Moor to purchase Ithamore, a captured Turk. As the plot unfolds, Ithamore becomes his partner in crime, his putative heir, and finally his poisoned victim.[4] Ithamore's slippery status reflects the fluidity of Malta's social economy. Slaves, notes Carmel Cassar, came to

> form an important labour force, employed especially as galley rowers, stone-carriers, builders and domestic servants. Slaves were . . . allowed to take part-time jobs in order to gain money for their eventual redemption. Yet it was not uncommon for some . . . to accept Christianity, marry locally, and in turn become integrated within Maltese society. (119)

Jews were also evident on Malta. Legally they were expelled from the islands in 1492, when all Jews were banished from Spanish territories. Many Maltese Jews emigrated to Turkey, where they prospered in trade and enjoyed a modicum of religious tolerance. But others were allowed to stay if they paid 45 percent of their goods and were baptized (Hopkins, 91), a process slightly modified in Ferneze's expropriation of half of all Jews' estates in Marlowe's 1.3. Marlowe's Governor decrees that "he that denies to pay, shall straight become a Christian" and "he that denies this, shall absolutely lose all he has" (1.2.73–7). In 1565 Jews were acknowledged members of Maltese society; they remained loyal during the Great Siege, and two even volunteered to join a relief expedition to Fort St. Angelo (Hopkins, 88).

As Lisa Hopkins contends in her extensive discussion of Marlowe's representation of Malta, the actual histories of Jews on Malta followed three patterns: (1) Jews who collaborated with the Turkish forces against Christian Europeans; (2) Jews whose lands and good were confiscated; and (3) Jews who were prepared to sacrifice their lives in defense of Malta from the Turkish invader (Hopkins, 92). By using all three patterns in his rendition of Barabas, Marlowe complicated his hero's status and, quite probably, a Christian audience's response to his machinations. Barabas's goods are confiscated early in the play, and later he joins forces with Selim Calymath against the Christian knights and is made Governor of Malta. Yet, at the very end, he turns against the Turks and plots to restore Ferneze to the Governorship. A victim of oppression, he characterizes himself as a Machiavellian villain, and, to this day, audiences and critics cannot agree on what to make of him.

Other details in the play can be related to Maltese history as well. The transformation of Barabas's home into a nunnery could well reflect the actual history of the convent of St. Scholastica in Birgu, which before 1496 had been a synagogue. Barabas's poisoning of the convent's food may reference La Valette's decision to poison the wells on the Marsa used by the Turkish forces during the Great Siege. As Hopkins contends, "If read with close attention to the history of Malta, there are few actions of Barabas' which cannot be seen at least to have a place in the overall functioning of [Malta's] internal economy and social order" (94).

Why then, one wonders, did Marlowe choose to alter the most important aspect of Maltese history and the fact best known to English audiences, namely that against overwhelming odds, the Knights of the Order of St. John defeated the Turks? Marlowe's historical framework must have seemed patently wrong to many in his audience. He begins his play under the false premise that Malta pays tribute to the sultan in order to avoid war when historically Malta was never subject to the Ottoman Empire. Ferneze, named for a historical Governor of Tripoli, is no La Valette. Even though he is cast as the Governor of Malta, he has a son, Lodowick, and is clearly not a member of the celibate Order of St. John. His deceptive practices mirror Barabas's own, and, unlike the heroic La Valette, he has to be shamed into taking on the Turks by the Spanish Del Bosco.

Marlowe's treatment of the Turks is also nothing like the siege narratives, who cast the Turks as courageous but cruel enemies. Marlowe's Selim-Calymath, derived from

the historical Selim, son of Soliman the Magnificent, very kindly gives the knights an extra month to raise their tribute and acts like a gentleman throughout the play. In fact, of all the drama's major characters, he seems the most straightforward and honest. He takes pride in the damage his artillery has made in Malta's fortifications – as perhaps Mustapha and Piali did:

> Thus have we viewed the city, seen the sack,
> And caused the ruins to be new repaired,
> Which with our bombards' shot and basilisks',
> We rent in sunder at our entry:
> But now I see the situation,
> And how secure this conquered island stands
> Environed with the Mediterranean Sea,
> Strong countermured with other petty isles; . . .
> I wonder how it could be conquered thus?
> (5.3.1–11)

But, of course, it wasn't conquered. Would Marlowe's audiences have noted that Selim-Calymath's claim was counterfactual? And, if so, what would they have made of it?

The knights' heroic history is briefly highlighted in Marlowe's second act, but not from a member of the Order. Instead, we hear from Del Bosco, the Spanish Admiral:

> Will Knights of Malta be in league with Turks,
> And buy it basely too for sums of gold?
> My lord, remember that to Europe's shame,
> The Christian isle of Rhodes, from whence you came
> Was lately lost, and you were stated here
> To be at deadly enmity with Turks.
> (2.2.28–330)

Del Bosco urges the knights to imitate their forebears who defended Rhodes, where "not a man survived / To bring the hapless news to Christendom" (2.2.50–1). Del Bosco's words would likely have reminded the audience of Marlowe's inversion of history. That the knights need inspiration from the Spanish Admiral is also a distortion of the Great Siege; while the Order stood firm, the Spanish reinforcements were delayed, and, as noted in a letter to William Cecil from the English Ambassador to Spain, King Philip "has lost a great deal of reputation by not succouring Malta" (*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign* 7: 1455).

Marlowe's protagonists have often been linked to his elusive but fascinating biography, whether it's his service as a spy for Elizabeth's government among English Catholics at Rheims or his role as an atheistical member of the School of Night. In addition to Barabas's cynicism, *The Jew of Malta*'s plotting, particularly its reversal of

historical fact, might be another of his many flagrant challenges to official ideology. Even Protestants who hated Catholic Spain agreed that the Order heroically defeated the infidel at Malta; Marlowe's line is that the Christians were subject to the Turks and could only roust them with the help of a conniving Jew and Machiavellian policy. The ability to say one thing and do another, as both Barabas and Ferneze do, was one of Elizabeth's most common political tactics. *The Calendar of State Papers*, *Venetian* for 1585–91 (contemporary with *The Jew of Malta*'s composition) includes a communication from Hieronimo Lippomano, the Venetian Ambassador to Constantinople to the Doge and Senate, dated 5 January, 1591. The Ambassador reports that "The Queen of England is exerting herself, by making large promises, to persuade the Sultan to attack the King of Spain, in order to prevent that Sovereign from acquiring still greater power . . . She hopes to counterbalance the power of Spain by support from the Turk" (Thomas and Tyddeman, 310). Elizabeth's pragmatic approach to European politics is perhaps exaggerated in Barabas's self-identification as a Machiavel who supports anyone – Turk, Christian, or Jew – if it will further his own interests.

Barabas asserts his true intentions in frequent asides to the audience, and, as Thomas Cartelli convincingly argues, "His dramatic identity exists in a state of continuing process indistinguishable from the fluid process that is the play" (173). The asides demonstrate the discrepancy between his real opinions (what he says to the audience) and fiction (what he says to other characters). But this "spirit of cynical manipulation" (Cartelli, 180) extends to Marlowe's treatment of his audience. In turning the received narrative of the Great Siege upside down, Marlowe cynically breaks down the binary opposition between Christian and Turk that framed so much European discourse in the early modern period; ironically, in making the characters' allegiances so unreliable, the playwright was truer to historical fact than his contemporaries.

No one can say for sure how an Elizabethan audience would have responded to Barabas's machinations, but it seems likely that Marlowe's manipulation of the events of 1565 on Malta was an audacious challenge to the audience's preconceptions. Like Machiavel, the figure of Marlowe's Prologue, the dramatist weighs "not men, and therefore not men's words" nor the historical narratives men believed to be true.

II

The Knight of Malta, a collaborative effort by John Fletcher, Philip Massinger, and Nathan Field for the King's Company, appeared in the Stationer's Register in 1646 and was published the following year in the first Beaumont and Fletcher Folio. The Folio's second edition includes Richard Burbage in the cast list, which dates the play sometime before his death in 1619. Written nearly 30 years after Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, this tragicomedy returns to the Great Siege, but it uses the historical context in ways that are prescient of what Andrea describes as a mid-seventeenth-century

shift in English attitudes toward Malta from "defender of Christendom to a site of corruption" (261).

The Knight of Malta takes place shortly after the Great Siege; Valetta, the new fortification on Mt. Scriberras built to better withstand Turkish attacks, is mentioned, and the Danish buccaneer, Norandine, mounts a campaign against Turkish ships in mid-play. The names of the drama's characters are, for the most part, taken from Knolles's history of the siege. They include Miranda, "an Italian Gentleman, a Knight of *Malta*" and the drama's hero. In Knolles, Miranda is described as a Spanish Knight of the Order who perished in the defense of St. Elmo. There he was joined by two other knights, Castriot (an Italian) and Monferratus (a Frenchman), also martyred at St. Elmo. These appear in Fletcher's drama, but Mountferrat is described in the "The Persons Represented in the Play" as "*a villain*," a signal that the plot will center on the Order's response to internal threats more than battles with the Turk.

The Order and its ideals are frequently referenced throughout the play. Valetta, the Grand Master, presides over a disparate group of knights known for their courage and virtue; some of his men are still in the probationary period, and, although they have proven their military prowess, they are reluctant to be invested in the Order because of its demand of absolute chastity. In peacetime, the Order's most famous symbol was the white cross worn by each knight on a black cloak. Miranda describes is as the "True sign of holiness" with the power to save in dangers, comfort in troubles, heal in sickness, and preserve its wearer from evil (3.4.121–32). The Order's cross is to be worn only by those who are "pure, and noble, / Gentle, and just in thought" (3.4.146–7), who live chastely, and vow to protect the weak and innocent whatever the cost.

Accounts of the Great Siege barely mention the Maltese women who fought alongside the soldiers, but, in *The Knight of Malta*, the female sex is not only the object of desire but the means of testing the knights' idealism. The play includes Valetta's sister Oriana, her Moorish waiting woman Abdella, and Lucinda, a lovely Turkish captive who has converted to Christianity. We learn early on that the Bashaw of Tripoli is seeking Oriana in marriage, that two probationers, Miranda and Gomera, are in love with her, and that Mountferrat lusts after her despite the vows of chastity required by the Order. Everyone seems to want Oriana.

Whereas Oriana, a potential sultan's bride, is adamantly chaste, Abdella is sensual and seductive. Mountferrat compares her to the luxurious commodities Europe sought from the East; she is a black swan, "silk'ner then Signets plush, / Sweeter then is the sweet of Pomander, . . . Straight as young pines, or Cedars in the grove" (1.1.190–4). In the tragicomedy's opening scene, both women, one figured black and one white, are equated with the temptations of the East in language that suggest danger as well as allure.

In a complicated intrigue, Mountferrat and Abdella frame Oriana on the charge of betraying Malta to the Turks. The Grand Master sentences her to death, but in hopes the charges may be proven false and – in a nod to medieval chivalry – he calls for a trial by combat. The subsequent trial scene visually equates Oriana with the Christian

cross imposed upon the Knight of Malta's black robe. When the stage is set for an execution, as she ascends the scaffold, Oriana refers to "this dark black Mansion / The Image of my grave" (2.5.26–7); presumably this effect was created at the Blackfriars by black hangings around the upper stage. As she prepares to act "this Tragick Scene," Oriana asks the witnesses to "Behold me in this spotlesse white I weare, / The Embleme of my life, of all my actions" (2.5.35–6). Perhaps the boy actor playing her role held out his arms, making her white body into the sign of a cross. When Gomera successfully "proves" her virtue by toppling his opponent, he boasts, "I have saved her / Preserv'd her spotlesse worth from black destruction, / Her white name to eternity delivered" (2.5.116–18). The cross worn by a Knight of Malta represents chastity, steadfastness, and commitment to Christ, and all these values are superimposed onto Oriana's white figure.

After the trial Oriana is married to Gomera, the knight who saved her honor, and his rival Miranda joins the Order of St John, "Whose honour Ermin-like, can never suffer / Spot, or black soyle" (2.5.197–8). Whiteness – spotless chastity – overcoming blackness – sexual corruption – thus becomes the play's leitmotif. But whiteness cannot prove itself without constant testing, without continually having to fight off the blackness that would contaminate it. After some passage of time (signaled by Oriana's pregnancy), she must endure another trial. With encouragement from Abdella, Gomera is overcome with jealousy and accuses his wife of betraying him with Miranda.[5] After Oriana faints under the pressure of her husband's rage, Abdella administers a cordial to her which causes death-like sleep, and she is buried in the Church of St. Johns.

Fortunately for Oriana, Miranda and the corsair Norandine are in the chapel when she awakes, and they speedily rush her to a safe haven where she gives birth to a son, "a little Knight" who will live to "tosse a Turke" (5.1.2–3). But in the same scene when Miranda, claiming in an aside that he is simply testing her virtue, claims her love and a kiss, Oriana repulses him, outlining an ideal of spiritual, platonic love that will serve as "A great example to mens continence / And womens chastity" (5.1.131–2). Moreover, since everyone else thinks she's dead, her appearance and unveiling in the final scene suggest something of a resurrection.

Mountferrat is publicly humiliated in the play's final scene, losing his identity, as it were in a ceremony of degrading. Valetta declares him "unworthy our society, /From which we do expel thee, as a rotten, / Corrupted, and contagious member" (5.2.213–15) and commands his black cloak and white cross to be stripped away and bestowed upon Miranda. The degrading ceremony and Miranda's investiture follow the Order's established rituals which Fletcher, Field, and Massinger probably took from Francis Belleforest's *Cosmography Universelle*;[6] Valetta ceremonially removes the knight's cross, his spurs "that have kick'd against / Our orders precepts," and his sword, so that he will be "armelessse to thy enemies" (5.2.217–25). The cross, spurs, and sword are then presented to Miranda, who, having resisted both Oriana's and Lucinda's charms, vows a chaste life. The bishop holds the cross aloft for all to see and then fixes it on Miranda's left side. Mountferrat's final punishment is to marry

Abdella and be banished from the continent (presumably from Europe to Northern Africa). Only by expunging the fallen knight can the Order re-establish its honor.

Oriana, like the other chaste heroines of Fletcher's plays, has her virtue repeatedly tested. Having been besieged, betrayed, and beleaguered in both halves of the play, she maintains her sexual purity – figured in her spotless whiteness – against all onslaughts. But she is also a vehicle for testing the knights' vows of chastity. Mountferrat shows himself the antithesis of the Order's ideals. Writing from Philip II's court to Lord Cecil in London, William Phaer described the Turks who besieged Malta as "the worst *canaglia* [dogs] that ever were seen" (*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, 7: 1262); in contrast, *The Knight of Malta*'s Christian Mountferrat is "a dogge, . . . a dog stav'd, / A mangy Cur-dogge" (4.2.234–5). His opposite, Miranda, twice seems close to falling from knightly ideals, but his asides remind the audience that he is only testing Lucinda and Oriana. In the process he himself is tested and proves himself "superior in chastity to the villain" (Pearse, 189). The play's convoluted plot moves Mountferrat deeper in sin and Miranda higher in virtue, the latter becoming, in Valetta's words, "our *Malta*'s better angell," the former, "her evill angell *Mountferrat*" (5.2.182–3).

Although Oriana's virtue and Abdella's wickedness constitute a black–white binary, Lucinda the Turkish captive complicates their opposition. Lucinda is a 14-year-old virgin who is "a tempting beauty" (3.3.14). When Miranda seemingly tries to seduce her, she holds up his badge, the cross that symbolizes his holy Order and declares:

> Let them professe it that are pure, and noble,
> Gentle, and just of thought, that build the crosse,
> Not those that break it; by [Heaven] if ye touch me,
> Even in the act, ile make that crosse, and curse ye.
> (3.4.146–9)

The white cross, which earlier had saved Oriana, saves Lucinda, who we later find is a Turk turned Christian, the genuineness of her conversion proven by her sexual fidelity. When her long-lost husband Angelo Collonna identifies himself at the play's conclusion, her virtue is rewarded and she becomes fully integrated into the Christian society of Malta.

III

Even though the plot and texture of *The Knight of Malta* differs radically from Marlowe's earlier *Jew of Malta*, there are curious similarities; the most important enemy is not the Turk, but the alien within who must be expunged. In *The Jew of Malta* that alien is Barabas, the Jew. In *The Knight of Malta* the black woman Abdella can never be integrated into Maltese society because she lacks whiteness, the sign of

sexual purity. The mark of her difference, as she herself proclaims early in the play, is ineluctable. *The Knight of Malta* relies on its audience's knowledge of the Order of St. John and the values it professed. In this play the siege is not the Turks' Great Siege; it is the besieging of the white female's body by a corrupt member of the Order. Like the troops inside St. Elmo, Oriana must heroically endure test after test. When she finally triumphs after the black woman and her lover are banished from Malta, Oriana – and the "whiteness" she represents – becomes a clear-cut signifier of sexual and racial purity.

In both plays Malta serves as an ambiguous locale, a place on the edge of the Mediterranean Sea where Turk, Christian, and Jew cohabited, and sometimes switched sides (either voluntarily or through coercion); in this space one's identity could morph overnight, and consequently fear of the renegade, the Christian turned Turk, ran rampant. As such, it is a fitting locale for plays like Marlowe's black farce and Fletcher's tragicomedy. Both plays defy traditional generic categories, mixing and mingling the conventions of comedy, tragedy, satire, and romance. A location in which disparate peoples, cultures, religions, and values clash, Malta provides the perfect setting for such generic ambiguity.

More important here, both dramas depend upon the audience's knowledge, however dim, of Malta's geographic location and place in history. Whoever provided the titles – author, acting company, or printer – the inclusion of "Malta" imbricates within the plays' texture the Knights of St. John and their victory over the Turks during the Great Siege. To be sure, the dramas exploit that historical resonance in quite different ways. Marlowe's audacious reversal of the facts of history is a major ingredient in what some have taken to be a "serious farce."[7] Fletcher, Field, and Massinger rely on the audience's perception of the Order of St. John as the last vestige of the medieval chivalric spirit, exploiting their reputation for virtue in an exposé of European hypocrisy.

We now know that relations in the early modern Mediterranean world were strikingly multidimensional and fluid. Nevertheless, the siege narratives that were disseminated after the Knights of St. John's seemingly miraculous defeat of a superior Turkish force in 1565 helped to build the East–West binary that dominated European geopolitical discourse until late in the twentieth century. The Malta plays discussed here depended on the audience's familiarity with that discourse, and, like the good dramatists they were, Marlowe, Fletcher, Field, and Massinger exploited and subverted it.

Notes

1 Eric R. Dursteler, 8, uses these words to describe relations between Venice and the Ottoman Empire, but they apply equally well to sixteenth-century Malta.

2 In her analysis of sixteenth-century discourse on the Siege of Malta, Bonavita discusses three accounts: Pietro Gentile de Vendome's *Della Historia di Malta, et successo della Guerra seguita tra quei Religiosissimi Cavalieri ed il potentissimo gran Turco Sulthan Suliman* (Bologna, 1566), which presents the knights as

heroes of the Catholic faith; Caelius Secudus Curio's *Caelii Secundi Curionis de Bello Melitensi a turcis gesto historia nova* (Basle, 1567), a more Protestant interpretation, emphasizing the need for Christian unity against Ottoman forces; and Thomas Mainwaringe's translation of Curio, *Caelius Secundi Curio his historie of the warr of Malta* (Oxford, 1579); see also Helen Vella Bonavita's transcription of the Mainwaringe manuscript for the Renaissance English Text Society (Tempe, Arizona, 2007). Robert Carr drew upon these texts for his narrative of the siege in *The Mahamutane or Turkish Historie* (1600), as did Richard Knolles in his *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1600). My essay also draws on Francisco Balbi di Correggio's eyewitness description, first published in 1567, reprinted in 1568, and translated from the Spanish by Ernle Bradford.

3 See Linda McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories about the Ottoman Turks* (119–40), for analysis of Knolles's representation of the Ottoman sultans' speech acts. I have modernized spellings using i and j, u and v, in citations from early modern texts for the reader's convenience.

4 Vitkus argues that "The alliance forged between Barabas and Ithamore is darkly emblematic of the genuine cooperate that existed between Jews and Muslims in the eastern Mediterranean" (67).

5 The influence of Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* is palpable in this scene.

6 See Williams's introduction to Fletcher's *The Knight of Malta* (348).

7 T. S. Eliot argues that Marlowe "develops a tone to suit this farce, . . . the terribly serious, even savage comic humour" (105).

References and Further Reading

Abbot, George. *A Briefe Description of the Whole Worlde*. London, 1599.

Africanus, Leo. *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, trans. John Pory. London, 1600.

Andrea, Bernadette. "From Invasion to Inquisition: Mapping Malta in Early Modern England," in *Remapping the Mediterranean World in Early Modern English Writings*. Ed. Goran V. Stanivukovic. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, 245–71.

Balbi di Correggio, Francisco. *The Siege of Malta, 1565*, 2nd edn., trans. Ernle Bradford. London: Boydell Press, 2005.

Bartels, Emily C. *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation, and Marlowe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.

Belleforest, Francis. *Cosmographie Universelle de tout le monde.* Paris, 1575.

Bonavita, Helen Vella. "Key to Christendom: The 1565 Siege of Malta, Its Histories, and Their Use in Reformation Polemic," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 33 (2002): 1021–43.

Bonavita, Helen Vella, transcription of Thomas Mainwaringe's translation of Curio. *Caelius Secundi Curio his historie of the warr of Malta* [Oxford, 1579]. Tempe, Arizona: Renaissance English Text Society, 2007.

Brennan, Michael G. "Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* and Two Newsletter Accounts of the Siege of Malta (1565)," *Notes and Queries* 40 (1993): 157–60.

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, vol. 7, ed. Joseph Stephenson. London: Longmans, 1870.

Carr, Ralph, trans. *The Muhametane or Turkish Historie*. London, 1600.

Cartelli, Thomas. *Marlowe, Shakespeare, and the Economy of Theatrical Experience*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.

Cassar, Carmel. *Society, Culture and Identity in Early Modern Malta*. Malta: Mireva, 2000.

Chew, Samuel C. *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937.

Dursteler, Eric. R. *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.

Eliot, T. S. "Marlowe," in *Selected Essays of T. S. Eliot*. New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1932, 100–6.

Fletcher, John. *The Knight of Malta*. Ed. George Walton Williams, in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, vol. 8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Hakluyt, Richard. *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and discoveries of the English Nation.* London, 1589, 1600.

Hopkins, Lisa. *Christsopher Marlowe: A Literary Life*. Houndmills: Palgrave, 2000.

Knolles, Richard. *The Generall Historie of the Turkes.* London, 1600.

McJannet, Linda. *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories about the Ottoman Turks*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

McMullan, Gordon. *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994.

Marlowe, Christopher. *The Jew of Malta*. Ed. James R. Siemon. London: A. & C. Black, 1994.

Newes from Babylon. London, 1637.

Pearse, Nancy Cotton. *John Fletcher's Chastity Plays: Mirrors of Modesty*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1973.

Sire, H. J. A. *The Knights of Malta*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994.

Speed, John. *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World.* London, 1631.

Thomas, Vivien and William Tydeman, eds. *Christopher Marlowe: The Plays and their Sources*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Vitkus, Daniel. "Turks and Jews in *The Jew of Malta,*" in *Early Modern English Drama: A Critical Companion*. Ed. Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., Patrick Cheney, and Andrew Hadfield. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006, 61–72.

21

Local/Global *Pericles*: International Storytelling, Domestic Social Relations, Capitalism

David Morrow

> *Inquire at ordinaries. There must be salads for the Italian, picktooths for the Spaniard, pots for the German, porridge for the Englishman. At our exercises {dramatic performances}, soldiers call for tragedies: their object is blood; courtiers for comedies: their subject is love; countrymen for pastorals: shepherds are their saints. Traffic and travel hath woven the nature of all nations into ours, and made this land like arras, full of device, which was broadcloth, full of workmanship.*
>
> *Time hath confounded our minds, our minds the matter, but all cometh to this pass: that what heretofore hath been served in several dishes for a feast, is now minced in a charger for a gallimaufry. If we present a mingle-mangle, our fault is to be excused because the whole world is become an hodgepodge.*
>
> John Lyly, The prologue in Paul's, from *Midas*

Lyly's prologue has been a popular touchstone in examinations, within literary studies, of the mechanisms and experience of social change in early modern England.[1] Reasons for its appeal are easy to see. By insisting that Londoners experienced profound, dislocating, yet exhilarating, transformations to everyday life, and, further, that the same forces that produced these effects also exerted pressure on literary works, the prologue voices fundamental interpretive premises of materialist critics. Moreover, Lyly's representation of the interpenetration of the global and the local provides a refreshingly complex alternative to statements by his contemporaries. In Lyly's formulation, the global category of the world out there ("all nations") has, through trade, reshaped local culture, internationalizing taverns and mixing dramatic genres. At the same time, London is merely one site in what Lyly represents as a worldwide process of intermingling and amalgamation: "the whole world is become an hodgepodge." Thereby he captures the interconnectedness and instability of local economies and cultures in the face of international pressures, providing an early formulation of effects

Deepest thanks to Louis Montrose, Don Wayne, Jyotsna Singh, and Crystal Bartolovich whose many generous suggestions and critiques of earlier versions of this essay I have done my best to address.

familiar in present-day versions of so-called globalization, by which places seem to lose their distinctiveness – their "nature," as Lyly puts it – under the force of traffic and travel. Note, however, that for Lyly this *nature* includes the structure of his society, as well as its commodity culture. A stable social order, figured in coarse broadcloth and implied in "workmanship," has given way to a society full of *device* – the cleverness, self-interest, and deceit that would motivate so many city comedies in the coming decades. Undergirding Lyly's textile metaphor (behind the arras, as it were) is what might be termed "communal ideology," a complex of discourses and practices that assumed as ideal stable, hierarchical social relations based on the face-to-face relationships of village life and, in a larger frame, the localized structures of feudal society.[2]

Communal ideology provided discursive and material resources for early modern English men and women thinking through (and resisting) global changes at the local level. But this level of interest in structural social change has not been matched in the literary criticism of our own era, which has mostly focused on *the market*, and the market as a "glamourous and ineffably 'theatrical' sphere of protean transformation" (Shershow, 8). The circulation and exchange of commodities within an expanding market is foregrounded even in the very best recent literary work on social transformation, as when Jean Howard argues that the increasing abstractions of daily life represented the most crucial aspects of social change.[3] She writes, "[w]ith the labor of production increasingly occluded, commodities acquired fetishistic value, floating free from their makers but increasingly defining the subjectivity of their buyers" (*Theater of a City*, 13). I mean in no way to critique Howard's fine book, which pursues this and other arguments with consistently illuminating results (and which deals comprehensively with structural social change); however, this assertion draws attention to the overwhelming interest in our critical moment in commodities, abstraction, and subjectivity. Such interpretive foci are understandable on several levels.[4] But to whatever extent the labor of production was occluded from early modern English men and women, many of them remained very much concerned with issues of labor and social relations.[5] Regardless, these categories need not be occluded by us. In my view, too much attention has been paid to the circulation and exchange of commodities as opposed to "the transformation of the social relations of domestic production: the dissolution of traditional rural and land tenures, the decay of the craft guilds, and the consequent development of a wage labor system" (Shershow, 9). Within its small compass, my essay offers a literary analysis of *Pericles*, emphasizing these sorts of social change. From such a perspective, Lyly's invocation of the pressures from without upon the patterns, forms, and experience of new forms of consumption is less interesting than the way his use of the homonym, travel/travail – in "[t]raffic and travel hath woven the nature of all nations into ours" – gestures to how English society of his day was being reshaped and marked by struggle, suffering, and the shifting contexts of work ("travail," *OED* defs. 1, 2). Emphasizing travel over traffic and following Lyly's formulation of the implication of the global within the local, I consider how crises around social transformations are raised and resolved in *Pericles*, Shakespeare's first and

purest tragicomic romance. In so doing, I am interested in thinking about how we as literary critics interpret such changes, and in considering what these have to do with capitalism, in its emergence in Renaissance England and in its later, global formulations.

The expansion of trade and changing patterns of consumption in Renaissance England are often examined as part of, or as the key to, the "development" or "emergence" of capitalism. But a focus on social relations holds us to more exacting standards in characterizing the transformations to English society. When, where, and how capitalism first appeared, and what constitutes its existence are topics that have long generated debate among historians, economists, literary critics, and others.[6] Fundamentally, these arguments turn upon whether the origin of capitalism is to be located in the increasing global circulation and exchange of commodities and money or, rather, in changes to English social relations of production. The differing ways in which literary critics approach and characterize social change can be seen as derivative of this ongoing debate. Contending claims within Marxism about the emergence of capitalism result in part from the fact that Marx leaves the question open in his early work, while, later, in the *Grundrisse* and *Capital*, he situates the origin of capitalism in the new forms of social relations in the English countryside. I find the latter the more compelling formulation, as recently advanced, for example, by Ellen Meiksins Wood. Wood argues that we see capitalism only when there exists a systemic "transformation of social property relations that generates capitalist 'laws of motion': the imperatives of competition and profit-maximization, a compulsion to reinvest surpluses, and a systematic and relentless need to improve labour-productivity and develop the forces of production" (36–7). Key to her distinction between capitalism and other systems are these "capitalist laws of motion," a phrase that signals first that surplus value is extracted through purely economic means, and, second, the inexorability of compulsion – the fact that capitalists, tenants, and laborers alike can only reproduce themselves by entering the market. Such preconditions were met first in rural England, with the dominance of social relations composed of the triad of landlord-tenant-wage laborer, and its market in rents.[7] According to Wood, the many variations on "the commercialization model" – including world-systems theory – share the mistake of assuming as given what they need to prove; they grant a certain inevitability to capitalism, obstacles to which are gotten round through a change in government formation, an amassing of great wealth, or an increase in the velocity of trade. Yet, as Wood and others have made clear, the economic interlinking of geographically dispersed sites does not ipso facto determine capitalism, because, for example, nations with demonstrably non-capitalist social formations can nevertheless play key roles in international trade systems.[8]

Here I pursue one of the consequences of this line of argument for literary criticism: that social relations are the interpretive key to understanding how early modern fictional works engage with social change in the context of capitalism. Marx's succinct summation is helpful here: "capital is not a thing, but a social relation between persons" (*Capital*, 932). On this definition, and in the absence of internationalized

capitalist social relations, many of the phenomena that characterize the global Renaissance are not in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods specifically capitalist: the circulation and exchange of commodities within a world- system, voyages of exploration, colonialism, mercantile expansion, and slavery. This is not to downplay the importance of England's international mercantile, military, and evangelizing enterprises, of course, but to insist upon defining capitalism as the extraction of surplus value by certain forms of exploitation and the reinvestment into the production process of that surplus. Capital can say only to the social relations of capitalism, and to no*thing* else, what Pericles says only to his daughter Marina: "Thou . . . begett'st him that did thee beget" (21.182). Another reason to focus on domestic social relations in the global Renaissance is that it was the nation's agrarian capitalism that begot early modern England's mercantile and colonial expansion.[9] Similarly, it is worth remembering that what is known today by the quasi-natural,[10] even cheerful-sounding, *globalization* is a neo-colonial capitalism which expands by this same basic process, but on a global scale. International circulation and exchange offers us one way to link the global Renaissance with our global capitalist present; attention to the social relations of production within England offers another. In choosing the latter, I have the model of Shakespeare himself, who uses the far-flung, exotic sites of *Pericles* to interrogate crises around the social transformations of England. Reading the play allegorically, I am interested to find how in raising and resolving such crises at the structural level he comes to terms with the encroachment of the social relations of capitalism, before its existence as a comprehensive system.

The experience of structural social change within the context of capitalism has not dominated criticism of *Pericles*. The play's troubled textual history and uncertain authorship have spawned a number of studies. There have also been many genre and source studies (Edwards, Barber, Felperin, Womack). The voyaging, suffering, and redemption of the plays' main characters have been mined for religious and other spiritual meanings. Its thematizing of incest, its focus on the family, and its staging of scenes within a brothel have inspired essays and chapters on gender and sexuality (Bicks, Helms, Lewis, McCabe). For those writing during the first wave of new historicism, the Stuart royal family and James's applications of power provided the key referent for the plays' resolutions of crises and the reunifications of their royal families (Tennenhouse, Jordan, Cormack, Bergeron, Relihan). Though my focus is on political economy rather than power politics, I find this work valuable in showing how Shakespeare uses Greek kingdoms to engage with domestic concerns. Since the 1990s, early modern English expansionism has provided a dominant backdrop of readings of *Pericles*. Informed by postcolonial and race studies on the one hand and literary criticism's geographical, spatial turn on the other, these essays read the play in terms of mapping, of Otherness, and of England's prehistory as an imperial power (McJanet, Hanna, Cormack, Relihan). A small number of critics – including Kiernan Ryan, Steven Mullaney, and Richard Halpern – have emphasized the play's engagements with the era's more strictly economic and epistemological changes. Their concerns are closest to my own here. But, for all the variety of insights this work provides, we can

see in it a tendency to argue that Shakespearean tragicomic romance retreats from social struggle into a utopian or aesthetic domain. These critics to some degree thereby extricate the plays from the ideological struggles in which they were created and/or the material conditions of their performance – which are the interpretive keys for my reading of the play.

In his important chapter on *Pericles*, Halpern historicizes the play and the romance form within the break-up of social and economic structures concomitant with Jacobean society's transition to capitalism, a global process that was according to Halpern experienced at the local level and represented in literature as "decadence, disintegration, or corruption" (*Moderns*, 150). And so, demise shapes the representations of the kingdoms in *Pericles*. According to Halpern, Shakespeare seeks imaginatively to resolve the crises destabilizing his society, but he lacks a global source of order to which to appeal, for neither political absolutism nor any codified religious teaching offers ideological grounds for the imaginary resolution of the play's social crises. This impasse, he argues, gives *Pericles* its peculiar form and gives birth to Shakespearean romance, which he defines as "a pseudo-religious mode governed by a powerful but abstract providence . . . tending, in the end, toward aesthetic religion" (151). My debts to Halpern notwithstanding, I do not share his premise that the ideological appeals of Shakespeare's resolutions need have institutional provenance in the absolute state or a church. Instead, the play everywhere appeals to less codified (more lived) reciprocal rights and obligations of communal ideology, as instantiated in the play's insistence on its links with ritual; and in its representations of the *travailing* bodies of Pericles, Marina, and the prostitutes. Also in contrast to Halpern, I read the play as a product of the social relations of the playhouse – which, in the context of performance contradict the play's appeals to traditional commonwealth ethics. In focusing on how the play implies and resists global pressures at the local level, I emphasize those sites most clearly marked by Shakespeare as English: the play's prologue, spoken by Gower; the fishermen scenes in a rural Pentapolis experiencing the effects of enclosure; and the brothel scenes in commercialized, urban Miteline. Looked at in this way, *Pericles* is as an ambivalent and contradictory cultural product responding to and shaped by the development of capitalism.

I Greek Romance and English Social Change

Genre provides a key means for authors and critics alike to negotiate among individual texts, other cultural productions, and the larger cultures of which they are part.[11] Tragicomic romance is markedly enmeshed in English social transformation during the global Renaissance. Romances by Heliodorus, Longus, and Achiles Tacitus were translated into English in the late 1560s and the early 1570s; and in the hands of Greene, Sidney, Spenser, Shakespeare, Lyly, and others they invigorated and reshaped pre-existing English prose and dramatic versions of the romance and tragicomic storytelling traditions (Felperin). This process is akin to the cultural importation and

generic mixing described by Lyly above, and historically it coincided with the emergence into dominance in England's overseas trade of import and import-export of goods from the East (Brenner, *Merchants*). These international narratives became as popular as they did in part because the storytelling tropes and habitual themes of the Greek romances – travel across large land and seascapes, exotic locales, shipwrecks, capture by pirates, miraculous coincidences, and resolutions – were ready-made for authors interested in interrogating their nation's overseas expansion, and how traffic and travel were shaping the lives of their countrymen and women. Most of Shakespeare's final plays were written in this genre.

Pericles represents his most experimental reshaping of Greek romance. The play is based on the Apollonius of Tyre story, one of Europe's most ubiquitous tales, which has been traced back to third-century Greece (Bullough). By the time Shakespeare and George Wilkins used it as the basis for the play,[12] the story was already widely available in popular and learned forms, having long circulated in manuscript and later in print, in Greek, Latin, and all of the major European vernaculars.[13] The primary textual sources for *Pericles* include John Gower's fourteenth-century *Confessio Amantis* and Lawrence Twine's prose work *The Patterne of Paineful Adventures* (1576). A novelization of *Pericles* written by Wilkins, *The Painfull Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre*, was published in 1608. The story had a vital presence in oral culture as well, which is exemplified by the fact that illiterate Greek shepherds were retelling it as late as the 1940s (Wells, 121; Bullough). *Pericles* was among the most popular Shakespearean plays before the theaters closed in 1640, and it was one of the first to be performed after they re-opened (Felperin, 287). *Pericles* was also staged for the court at Whitehall in 1619, suggesting its appeal to audience members from a range of social strata. Indeed, when in 1609 an anonymous poet searched his mind for a play that attracted both gentlemen and commoners he settled on *Pericles*:

> Amazde I stood, to see a Crowd
> Of *Civill Throats* stretched out so lowd;
> (As at a New-play) all the Roomes
> Did swarme with *Gentiles* mix'd with *Groomes*,
> So that I truly thought all These
> Came to see *Shore* or *Pericles*.
> (Cited in Felperin 287)

Pericles was highly successful in print, as well. The quarto went through six editions between 1609 and 1635, and it is therefore worth considering Stephen Orgel's speculation that *Pericles* may not have been included in the *First Folio* because the rights were too difficult to obtain (xxxiii).

Within the story's episodic structure, Shakespeare includes a mélange of many of the representational regimes available to playwrights of his day, reproducing the scenes of courtly intrigue, travel, and revivification in his nearest sources, but also adding a chivalric tournament, a comic interlude between Pericles and a group of

fisherman, scenes of city comedy in the brothel, and all of the storytelling elements proper to the Chorus Gower, including dumb shows and narrative poetry. In Lyly's terms, the play serves its audiences the day's dramatic genres and subgenres "minced in a charger for a gallimaufry." In fact, Ben Jonson used a metaphor from the provisioning of the poor and imprisoned to deride *Pericles* as "Scraps out of every dish,/ Throwne forth and raked into the common Tub" (Jonson, 386). The variety offered by this formal heterogeneity is intensified by the sustained rapidity with which Shakespeare cuts from one kingdom in the Eastern Mediterranean to another – spatial movement that rivals that of *Anthony and Cleopatra*, which also debuted in 1608. In these ways, the form of the play embodies the flux, mixture, and change that were signal aspects of the lives of its first audiences.

But this movement from place to place does not suggest to me, as it does to Bradin Cormack, a fantasy of English conquest or imperial domination (in the way movement does in, say, *Henry V* or *Tamburlaine*). Rather, the exotic sites of a decaying Greek world figure aspects of English social transformation – while insisting that what is out there is here. Each of the play's six kingdoms experiences some form of catastrophe; the main characters likewise suffer and are divided one from the other. Tarsus and Tyre are imperiled by threats of revolt and invasion; Tarsus also endures famine; Pentapolis and Ephesus are plagued with displaced poor; Antioch is ruled by an incestuous tyrant, Mitylene by an immoral governor; Pericles' family is separated; storms at sea cause the near death of Pericles and the seeming death of his wife, Thaisa; their daughter Marina is sold into prostitution by pirates. These crises are resolved, as the tragicomic meta-narrative of descent and ascent is repeated in small ways throughout, in sudden reversals of fortune, magical escapes, resurrections, and reconciliations (Halpern, 142). And the resolutions are always ideologically underwritten by appeals to traditional social relations, at the level of the family, the manor, and the kingdom. Shakespeare deals at the local level with structural changes that are unrepresentable in their entirety, in just the same way that storytelling has been a well-tried way of coming to terms with social change in our own moment. Commentators on contemporary globalization as different in their political orientation (and in the insight of their arguments) as Arundhati Roy and Thomas Friedman have asserted that narrative provides the best way of understanding global economic processes that can exceed our grasp.[14] And Shakespeare goes beyond such claims to assert that the communal practices of storytelling can be part of the transformation of individuals and society.

II Communal Ideology and Popular Culture

Gower's prologue localizes this international tale in two ways, by preparing his audiences to interpret the play's crisis-resolution narratives in terms of their own experience of social transformation, and by raising in them expectations associated with the popular festive tradition. The play begins:

> To sing a song that old was sung,
> From ashes ancient Gower is come,
> Assuming man's infirmities,
> To glad your ear and please your eyes.
> It hath been sung at festivals,
> On ember eves and holy ales,
> And lords and ladies in their lives
> Have read it for restoratives.
> The purchase is to make men glorious,
> *Et bonum quo antiquius, eo melius*. [The older a thing is, the better it is]
> (prologue, lines 1–10)

Here tragicomic romance is presented as ritual. Audience members are to consume the tale as others have before – country folk communally and literate lords and ladies more discretely – and, like them, be restored. This is a representation of theater very like what Victor Turner termed *social drama*: "reiterated behaviors that function in a culture to mediate liminal moments: periods of crisis or uncertainty that accompany individual or cultural transitions" (Crane, 170). Shakespeare's use of "holy ales" signals that audience members are to see the play's many resolutions of crises in just this way, for the term refers to the village tradition of alms giving to the most destitute inhabitants, beneficiaries of an "ale" (Wrightson, *English Society*, 62–3).[15] Moreover, his invocation of the practice in the Epilogue foregrounds commonwealth ethics as the proper response to social struggles and crises. On the individual level audience members are to be similarly transformed, moved to virtue through delight: "The purchase is to make men glorious." We see here a functional representation of culture, rather than the aesthetic one critics have seen the play reaching for.[16] The assertion that this form of theater has affective, functional, regenerative powers becomes the metatheatrical frame through which Shakespeare attempts ideologically to manage social struggle. As we will see, this mode of storytelling and such appeals to communal ideology produce contradictions.

The reunion scene that closes the play is likewise premised upon the putatively regenerative powers of storytelling. Here members of the extended royal family are ritualistically interpellated into their rightful positions in newly ordered families and kingdoms by hearing the full story that the audience has just witnessed. In a play in which "the moral responsibility of kings is a subject of considerable importance" (Archibald, 299), it is significant that Cerimon of Ephesus, who presides over the scene, is the play's idealized ruler, the king who best embodies the commonwealth ideals. Even the rule of Pericles and "good King Simonides" are critiqued. Cerimon first appears in the middle of the play, in a storm, ministering to his "poor" subjects. Two gentlemen take turns praising his pastoral care. One says, "Your honor has/ Through Ephesus poured forth your charity,/ And hundreds call themselves your creatures who by you / Have been restored" (12.39–42).[17] Cerimon is an early version of Prospero, a ruler who has "studied physic, through which secret art,/ By turning o'er authorities [can] speak of the disturbances/ That nature works, and of her cures" (12.29–35). But, unlike Prospero, he emphatically puts his learning to the service of

his people, the people of Ephesus, a city which was in the era, "often associated with the regenerative spirit of Pauline scripture" (Hart, 347). In this scene he revivifies Thaisa, a move that is emblematic of the renewal that shapes the play's form and ideology. Cerimon is the ceremonial force within the play, as Gower is without it.

Shakespeare's emphasis on the local and domestic as the bearers of functional value is thrown into relief by the front matter of his nearest source, *The Patterne of Paineful Adventures*. Linking his work to that of an expansionist mercantile vanguard, Twine dedicates his book to a merchant, punning that his work on the translation "cost me some small labor and travel" (Aiii). He promises readers "the delectable varietie, and the often changes and chances contained in this present historie, which cannot but much stirre up the minde and sences unto sundrie affections" (Aiiiv–Aiiii), thereby reinterpreting Renaissance copiousness in light of his society's increasing access to international commodities. Paradoxically, Twine's material book understands its scenes as evanescent, while the words spoken into air by an actor playing Gower demand comprehension for their connection to an enduring popular culture. It is not only that Shakespeare seeks to deny his play's connection to the market; but he also locates an alternative site of value in the social relations of local, communal structures. Given his position as a shareholder in the theater, however, Shakespeare's appeal in the prologue to ritual and to the restorative value of a stable and enduring social order raises the first of the play's ideological contradictions. Unlike Shakespeare, other playwrights were intellectual wage laborers hired by "playing companies [that] relied on a cooperative workforce of playwrights who could readily supply scripts on popular topics in fashionable genres that were marketable on stage" (Knutson, 52). Further, Shakespeare's call to shared collective memory and communal ritual might simply represent the marketing scheme that he felt best suited *Pericles*. It is diametrically opposed to Shakespeare and Fletcher's acknowledgment of market segmentation in the Epilogue to *All is True* (1613): " 'Tis ten to one this play can never please/All that are here" (Epilogue 1–2).[18] If early modern drama "by definition, is a communal art by whose means a community talks to itself" (Hawkes *Talking Animals*, 1–2), the prologue to *Pericles* taps that network of communication for commercial ends. In the prologue, Shakespeare deploys the age of the tale, popular conceptions of "moral Gower," and the communal resonances activated in his appeal to the festive domain both to deny a connection to the new dramatic culture industry and as a means to succeed in it. The prologue exemplifies some of the means through which communal ideology and popular culture get appropriated for the theatrical marketplace. But this is just part of what is going on in the fishermen scene, which opens as Pericles suffers shipwreck and washes up near death on the beach at Pentapolis.

III The Fishermen, Labor, and Agrarian Complaint

As Marx and Engels make clear as early as the "Manifesto," capitalism must constantly expand, and its expansion is premised upon the paired acts of dispossessing and proletarianizing those whose positions in the social order make them vulnerable. It is a

process that separates human beings from means of their own reproduction, from the land, from markets for their products, and from reliable jobs that pay a living wage. These "free" workers then have no recourse but to sell their labor at subsistence rates, in a production process that generates capital for those who own the means of production. Such conditions first developed in parts of rural England, in the sixteenth century, as peasant proprietors and laborers, who had heretofore enjoyed access to common lands as an essential component of their means of reproducing themselves, lost this access through processes which were often summed up by the terms "enclosure" and "improvement."[19] For Marx, this is the "primitive accumulation" that made capitalism possible; James Holstun suggests the process "might better be called *original division* or *expropriation* or *theft*" (115; emphasis in the original). The vagrant was Renaissance England's signal figure for primitive accumulation; and, in his Jacobean plays, Shakespeare time and again returns to that figure to investigate the process in social and ontological frames – with Poor Tom, King Lear, Autolycus, and the Jailer's Daughter. On the beach at Pentapolis, Pericles is part of this ongoing exploration. Throughout the scene, as he had done with Edgar/Poor Tom, Shakespeare exploits the actor's simultaneous bi-fold identity. Pericles's suffering body serves as an emblem for rural dispossession while Shakespeare uses the character's kingly persona as a means to authorize the fishermen's critiques of enclosure. The scene's resolution activates the realm of popular cultural practices and appeals to the social relations of communal ideology. Voiced from within the entrepreneurial theater, the performance generates ideological contradictions.

Anti-enclosure movements were gaining momentum as *Pericles* was being composed and first performed. In the spring of 1607, in a series of uprisings across the Midlands, in Shakespeare's native Warwickshire among other locales, groups of hundreds and sometimes thousands of villagers tore down hedges and filled in ditches that enclosed fields to protest the "dearth of corne" and the depopulation of villages.[20] Even while destroying property, these people represented themselves as loyal subjects, conservative of traditional social relations, claiming in a petition to be the King's " 'most true harted communality' who 'doe feele the smart of these incroaching Tirants which would grinde our flesh upon the whetstone of poverty . . . so that they may dwell by themselves in the midst of theyr heards of fatt weathers.' "[21] This discourse of rural protest informs the fishermen scene, as when, early on, Pericles hears this exchange as he stands aside:

> Third Fisherman: Faith, master, I am thinking of the poor men that were cast away before us even now.
>
> First Fisherman: Alas, poor souls, it grieved my heart to hear what pitiful cries they made to us to help them when, well-a-day, we could scarce help ourselves.
>
> (5.58–62)

The fishermen's inability to help the drowning sailors mirrors rural polity's loss of the capacity to support, or interest in supporting, the swelling masses of English men

and women uprooted, or "cast away," from their traditional mode of existence. Later, asked by his fellow to describe the social relations obtaining among fish in the sea, First Fisherman explains that fish live, "as men do a-land – the great ones eat up the little ones. I can compare our rich misers to nothing so fitly as to a whale: a plays and tumbles, driving the poor fry before him, and at last devours them all at a mouthful. Such whales have I heard on o'th'land, who never leave gaping till they swallowed the whole parish: church, steeple, bells, and all" (5.67–72). The whale on the land, "driving the poor fry before him," suggests a rapacious, enclosing landlord dispersing the peasantry, and represents by synecdoche, like the sheep eating up whole villages in Thomas More's *Utopia*, the displacement of people who once made up these villages.[22] In fact, 50 years before Shakespeare's play, Pieter Breugel had drawn on the same proverb for his *Big Fish Eat the Little Ones* (figure 21.1). Here a whale-sized fish lies on shore being cut apart by two fishermen. A superabundance of smaller fish pour out of the fish's wound and out of its mouth, and many of the smaller fish spilling forward in the picture have even littler fish between their teeth. In a boat in the foreground a fisherman, pointing, explicates the scene for a young boy, as if conferring to the child the truth that the powerful prey on the weak. To emphasize that the fish do "as men do a-land," Breugel includes a fish with human legs walking inland, away from the scene, with the requisite smaller fish in its mouth. That this piece of popular

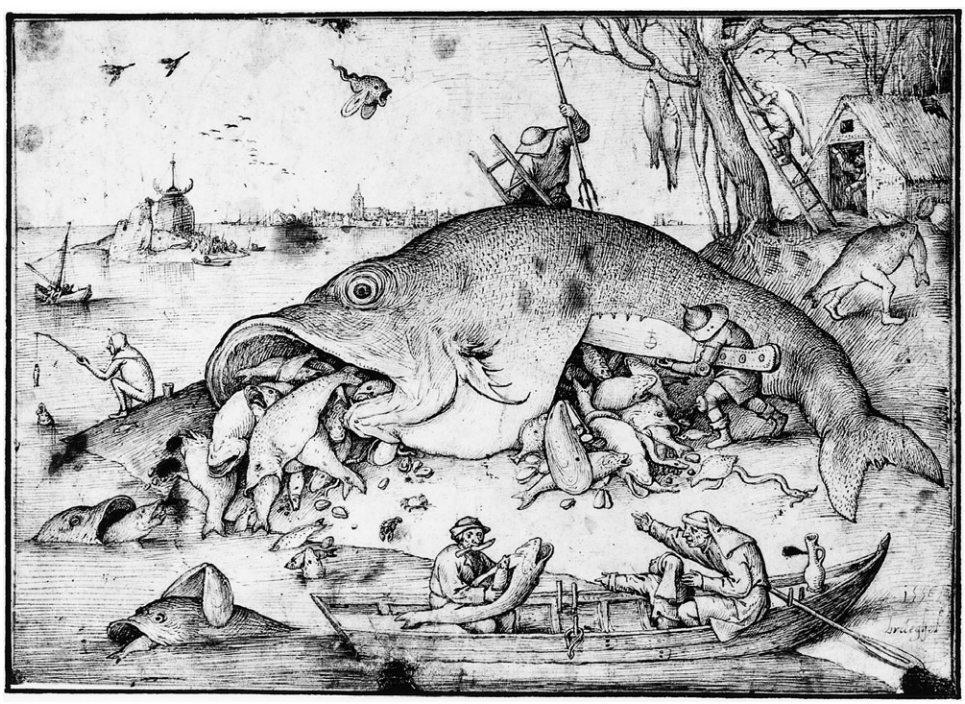

Figure 21.1 Pieter Breugel's engraving, *Big Fishes Eat the Little Fishes*, Inv. 7875. Reproduced by permission of Albertina Museum.

wisdom functions in sixteenth-century Antwerp and seventeenth-century rural England suggests that important Renaissance commentators addressed the shifting social relations of their societies at the structural level and through traditional, popular ideology.

Standing aside, Pericles intercedes with the audience to authorize the communal ideology that underwrites the fishermen's banter, and the vision of a healthy, "honest" rural society they represent.[23] At one point he asserts, "How well this *honest* mirth becomes their labour!" (5.131–2; emphasis added). When later he reveals himself, he hails the fishermen with, "Peace be at your labour, *honest* fishermen" (5.89; emphasis added). Here the fishermen take on a symbolic function similar to that performed by the ploughman in the earlier English tradition of agrarian complaint. Andrew McRae argues: "For the commonwealthsmen of the middle of the sixteenth century, the ploughman's honest labours at the base of the post-feudal hierarchy underpinned the dominant social ideology of the time (166)." His "role as the primary producer of food places him at the foundation of a corporate conception of social order, bound together by a network of reciprocal rights and responsibilities" (27). Shakespeare's fishermen, likewise primary producers of food, together with the king produce wisdom from this discursive foundation and on the basis of the stage directions implied in their lines. For example, Pericles notes in an aside, "How from the fenny subject of the sea/ These fishers tell the infirmities of men,/ And from their watery empire recollect/ All that may men approve or men detect" (5.85–8). This is a familiarly Shakespearean theatrical structure. Like Hamlet in the graveyard, and the Queen in the garden in *Richard II*, Pericles remains hidden while manuaries use the material of their labor to engage in metaphorical exploration of political and ontological questions. While the other royal eavesdroppers display respect grudgingly, Pericles straightforwardly praises this integration of work and existence, this vision of non-alienated labor, which stands as a positive vision in contrast to the dispossessed vagrants about whom the fishermen speak and for whom Pericles at the same time stands as an emblem. That they can "approve" and "detect" – condemn and reveal – "the infirmities of men" grants the fishermen moral authority similar to that embodied by Marina, Pericles, Cerimon, or Gower. The fishermen offer insight – as Holstun puts it in another context – "based in a particular form of situated practical and theoretical consciousness" (101) into the contradiction between the creation of wealth for the rich and the loss by the rural poor of access to the land. Shakespeare's success in his lifetime and his enduring appeal has had to do in part with his ability to give voice to lettered and unlettered characters, to put into dialogue the teachings of humanist culture and the wit, wisdom, and performative practices of communal social life. Here Shakespeare expresses as equally valid, at least momentarily, the social commentary of kings and clowns, and reminds his audience of the complexity of experience by locating value and stability in a way of life that was disappearing. Furthermore, this scene of royal support for dispossessed peasants reiterates in a theatrical frame the social struggles of agrarian, Renaissance England, when the Crown supported freeholders, villains, and famuli against the gentry (Lachmann, Underdown).

When Pericles reveals himself, Shakespeare's exploration of primitive accumulation shifts into a more existential frame, in which this king exiled from his land represents peasants expropriated from theirs. Pericles identifies himself several times by species: "a *man* whom both the waters and the wind/ In that vast tennis court have made the ball/ For them to play upon"; "A *man* thronged up with cold"; later asserting, "I am a *man*." This scene would have gained theatrical power from the spectacle of a king contemplating existence in the face of his extinction – perhaps producing in some audience members a feeling akin to that of the Gentleman who upon seeing King Lear asserts that "[a] sight most pitiful in the meanest wretch, / [Is p]ast speaking of in a king!" (4.6.198–9).[24] But the theater audience is also here presented with an appeal for recognition of the common creatureliness shared by all, in the person of a stage vagrant who speaks with the authority that adheres to his primary role as king. So, while Pericles bemoans his individual crisis of identity – "What I have been, I have forgot to know" (5.106) – the actor is also speaking for the thousands of English whose livelihoods and ontological coordinates were destroyed by enclosure. The actor's words and his representation of this suffering body perform a form of subjectivity rarely seen on the stage at this time, one determined not by the influx of commodities into London, but by changes to social property relations in the countryside. As Pericles is batted about by the tennis rackets of Fortune, he represents effects of the reified, invisible, global forms of power that were exacerbating hunger and homelessness, and that were becoming urgent in 1608 (Sharp, 22–3). Shakespeare's call for empathy for the wandering poor is a component of the play's backward-looking appeals. In this moment the dominant view of the poor was shifting, and poverty was more and more seen as a moral failure, the wandering poor more often evoking fear and even contempt rather than compassion.[25] In a distinctly quotable passage in *Work for Armorers* (1609), Thomas Dekker writes, of a bear baiting:

> methought the whipping of the blind bear moved such pity in my breast towards him as the leading of the poor starved wretches to the whipping posts in London (when they had more need to be relieved with food) ought to move the hearts of the citizens, though it be the fashion how to laugh at that punishment. (IV. 99)

In the scene, Shakespeare mobilizes the expansive, globalizing narratives of romance storytelling and stagecraft to manage anxieties about the breakdown of a traditional social order, as when the still-anonymous Pericles laments that he will soon die, and First Fisherman promises to restore him, offering a communal response to suffering that features language from the same festive domain in which Gower situates the play in its prologue:

> Die, quotha [says he]? Now gods forbid't an I have a gown here! Come, put it on, keep thee warm. Now, afore me, a handsome fellow! Come, thou shalt go home, and we'll have flesh for holidays, fish for fasting days – and moreo'er puddings and flapjacks, and, thou shalt be welcome. (5.113–18)[26]

Yet he stages this opposition to change from within the public theater, which was at the time a vanguard mercantile enterprise. As well as being an entrepreneur, Shakespeare, of course, became a landlord who, in 1614, became entangled in an enclosure dispute that led to the destruction of hedges and to a legal proceeding.[27] This contradiction between the ideology expressed in performance and the social relations of the playhouse (and perhaps the historical Shakespeare's economic behavior) emerges textually at the end of the play when Pericles fails to reward or even to mention the fishermen. Shakespeare's is the only version of the Apollonius of Tyre story I have read in which the hero fails to recompense the fishermen. And this after having pledged to them: "if that ever my low fortune's better,/I'll pay your bounties; till then rest your debtor" (5.177–8). Then later in response to Second Fisherman's entreaty, "I hope, sir, if you thrive, you'll remember from whence you had [clothing and armor]" (5.184–5), Pericles answers, "Believe't, I will" (5.186). Pericles' reward to the fishermen might have been lost in another textual corruption in a text in which there are many. Or he may have intentionally or unintentionally had his king fail to fulfill the role the moral economy demands of him. If intentional, it functions as a critique of Pericles, who, as a ruler, is critiqued elsewhere in the play; if unintentional, Shakespeare's appeals to the ideology of collective social life would serve as another example of his commodification of popular wisdom. Alternately, we might attribute the non-repayment to Shakespeare's negative capability, which is also evident in this scene when he attributes the discovery of the armor to both Fortune *and* to Second Fisherman: regardless, given Shakespeare's position in the social relations of theater, the play's many appeals to traditional social structure draw attention to ideological contradiction between the form and content of the play and Shakespeare's functions in the playhouse. In the commercially successful *Pericles* Shakespeare employs discourses that would defend a threatened way of life, even while playing parts – however small – in a larger, global process that would render that way of life untenable.

IV Performing (Social Relations) in the Brothel

With Gower's address at the start of Act Four, *Pericles* becomes Marina's story. And in short order she escapes a plot on her life by Dionyza, Queen of Tarsus, only to be sold by pirates to Bawd, Pandar, and their servant Boult – denizens of a Miteline brothel. The brothel scenes in *Pericles* have been called "Shakespeare's most densely packed study of business and market practices" (Hedrick, 42). It could also be argued that they represent his most sustained efforts in city comedy. The bustling activity and the argot suggest that Miteline functions here as a stand-in for London as a commercialized and global city, with the brothel and its highly theatrical characters specifically invoking the Liberties. These scenes offer an urban context in which Shakespeare could explore transformations that we can now identify with the encroachment of capitalist social relations. As Halpern puts it, "[e]nclosures and the liberties are both demarcated places that foretell the abolition of place, local or

"topical" sites that announce the arrival of a global process" (150). The connection between these two scenes is further reinforced when the three comic actors who play the fishermen double as Bawd, Pandar, and Boult – as they may well have done in Shakespeare's day.

Bawd's first lines reveal Mitilene's troubled economic scene and the degradation of its interpersonal relationships: "[w]e were never so much out of creatures," she laments, "[w]e have but poor three, and they can do no more than they can do, and they with continual action are even as good as rotten" (16.5–7). Working with Jean Howard's assertion that in the theater of the era, "whores and their places of work are capable of bearing several significations at once" (120), we can see that the brothel scenes offer allegorical explorations of social change, which ambivalently present a moral critique of the economic life of London penetrated by international market in commodities but nevertheless celebrating the entrepreneurial theater. These scenes' critiques of England's internationalizing commerce are quite evident and have been discussed (Mullaney; Cohen). However, the scenes also ideologically recuperate domestic entrepreneurship, by celebrating the rhetorical power of theatrical performance, specifically through the figures of Boult and Marina – the latter through her morality, the former through his embodiment of its antithesis. Like Jonson's Volpone and Mosca, Bawd and Boult invite audiences to thrill to their performative prowess through the gusto with which they embrace their amorality, as when Boult promises that "thunder shall not so awake the beds of eels, as my giving out her beauty stirs up the lewdly inclined" (16.125–7). And he is proven right. Returning from the marketplace he tells us, "they listened to me as they would have hearkened to their father's testament. There was a Spaniard's mouth watered, and he went to bed to her very description" (16.86–8). Shakespeare has here left behind traditional critiques of anti-acquisitiveness to celebrate the performative function, which delights in the power to persuade and in the open-endedness of *play*, which Jean Alter sees as the unpredictability and uniqueness of performance (56). These scenes often display a *jouissance* in performance that cannot be contained by rational categories, let alone economic ones, valorizing as they do the aimless, unpredictable, non-predetermined desire that we might associate with the pleasure of performance or with sensual desire. Shakespeare's Autolycus is a more fully developed, yet no less ambivalent, character whose pleasure in performance is completely bound up with selling, and with the power to manipulate others with language.

Marina's performances right the social degradations of Miteline one man at a time, and these reclaim theater as business on moral terms. Installed as a prostitute, Marina sends her would-be customers away having provided them with life-changing holy teachings. "I am out of the road of rutting forever," one gentleman insists (19.8–9). More impressively, Marina likewise reforms both the heretofore thuggish Boult and Lord Lysimachus, Miteline's ruler (and her future husband). He enters the brothel as an eager and familiar customer; "[h]ere comes the Lord Lysimachus disguised," Bawd deadpans (19.23). But he soon tells Marina that "[t]hough I brought hither a corrupted mind,/ Thy speech hath altered it" (19.121–2); and "[t]he very doors and

windows savor viley" (19.129). Similarly, her persuasive words to Boult transform him from her would-be rapist to a position as her intermediary with Bawd and Pandar, who, for a cut, agree to set her up in a sort of finishing school for the female children of Miteline's elite. These events unfold in a comical mode, but the effects Marina has on the men with whom she interacts reinforce Gower's claims in the prologue for the theater's efficacy, with the aristocratic Lysimachus and the commoner Boult exemplifying the cross-class renewal that Gower promises. Rather than *Pericles* representing "an effort to imagine . . . that popular drama could be a purely aesthetic phenomenon, free from history and from historical determination" (Mullaney, 147), Shakespeare seems keen in these scenes to insert himself into the bustling commercial activity of London. And this is perhaps so in biographical as well as ideological terms, for Marina's career trajectory has similarities with his own. A persuasive rhetorician, who uses that power to edify her audiences, Marina is a successful theatrical entrepreneur whose learning and considerable natural abilities (she is "in all things happy [skillful]") help her to avoid the commodification and exploitation that are the lot of the prostitutes.

But Shakespeare goes beyond questions of commodification, using the bodies of these female characters, and Boult's body, to examine (as he did in the fishermen scene) how the new realities of commerce and social relations created new forms of exploitation. Here we return to Marx, who, at two different points in his career, used the social relations of prostitution to theorize those of fully developed capitalism; this, two and a half centuries after early modern English theater made "the whore . . . a well-established figure for representing the penetration of market economy into all areas of life" (Howard, *Theater of a City*, 115). In *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* Marx writes, "[p]rostitution is only a specific expression of the general prostitution of the laborer, and since it is a relationship in which not the prostitute alone, but also the one who prostitutes, fall – and the latter's abomination is still greater – the capitalist, etc. also comes under this head" (*Marx and Engels Reader*, 82 n.7). This is the early, humanist Marx, whose analyses of capitalism emphasize the commodification of the bodies of individual, alienated laborers.[28] Here Marx condemns capitalism from a moral perspective that would have been familiar to audiences of Shakespeare – who critiques the general process of the commodification of labor when Bawd and Boult refer to the prostitutes as "creatures," "stuff," "baggage," and a "joint," or piece of meat.[29]

When Shakespeare focuses on the bodies of the prostitutes he moves from alienation and commodification to figuring a more abstract realm, the process through which individuals are ground down in systems larger than themselves. For example, Bawd describes the unnamed prostitutes working at the time that Marina arrives, as "pitifully sodden," adding that "they with continual action are even as good as rotten" (16.4–5; 16.16). The way the prostitutes are used up in their travails echoes the consumption of the little fish by the big fish. Similarly, with attention to Boult's body, Shakespeare links the effects of primitive accumulation in urban and rural spaces. When Marina condemns Boult's means of making money, he gives voice to

the anxieties of the vagrant dispossessed and to the proletarianization of service, asking her, "[w]hat would you have me do? Go to the wars, would you? Where a man may serve seven years for the loss of a leg, and have not enough in the end to buy him a wooden one?" (19.185–7). This staging of the plight of disabled ex-soldiers exemplifies a tendency built into the way Shakespeare adapts the form: using this centrifugal, internationalizing narrative to represent changes to domestic social relations that were becoming ever more evident, in the streets of London and in the English countryside. History follows the same trajectory. Boult's lines remind us that England's early imperialist battles brought overseas expansion home written on the bodies of maimed soldiers. The physically deformed character that Boult could have been, had he chosen to become a soldier, and the morally deformed being he represents display the kinds of stark choices with which victims of capitalism's processes of primitive accumulation were and are faced.

Tracing Marx's use of prostitution as metaphor, Marjolein van der Veen argues that between his early and later work Marx shifts from an emphasis on prostitution as selling to "the intensification of the exploitation of labor-power and the extraction of surplus value." In the later Marx, she continues, "we go beyond the market and commodification to understand class as a process of the production of surplus-value and its appropriation and distribution, as well as how the class process shapes the process of commodification" (44). In *Theories of Surplus Value*, Marx metaphorizes prostitution as the extraction of surplus value through the process of production, also establishing an equivalence between brothels and theaters that was common sense to early modern Londoners. He writes:

> [a]n entrepreneur of theatres, concerts, brothels, etc., buys the temporary disposal over the labor-power of the actors, musicians, prostitutes, etc. . . . the sale of these to the public provides him with wages and profit. And these services which he has bought enable him to buy them again; that is to say, they themselves renew the fund from which they are paid for. (161)

Pericles registers this process of profit-making. Bawd's promise to Marina that she will "taste men of all nations" as well as her no-nonsense comment that the unnamed prostitutes are "*with continual action* as good as rotten," both capture how class-based exploitation functions, how surplus value is created in production, and is then fed back into that same process. Thus capital begets what begot it. In fact, the "continual action" that generates profit in the brothel nicely emblematizes what Wood calls the "capitalist laws of motion" that distinguish this system from others. Discretion prevents me from offering a most straightforward explanation of how this form of continual action allegorizes the process of the extraction of surplus value. Instead, recall that these laws of motion mean, first, that surplus value is extracted without extra economic coercion and, second, that all are compelled to enter the market in order to reproduce themselves. The latter argument is quite clearly suggested in Pandar's first command to Boult: "Search the market narrowly. Myteline is full of gallants. We lost too much money this mart by being wenchless" (16.3–4). For the second of these

principles – the creation of surplus value by purely economic means – we move from the play to the playhouse, and recall again Shakespeare's part-ownership of the theater, which allowed him to employ the services of actors and playwrights, whose labor brought him profit and the means to purchase their labor again. Given the competition with other acting companies, Shakespeare was indeed compelled always to enter the market – at least until he retired to Stratford.

I hoped here to offer an example of literary criticism that looks at the social transformations of Renaissance England through the lens of ideological struggles over the social relations of production. The argument is premised, in part, on the logic that the era's playwrights and other imaginative authors were, like its moral philosophers and politicians, interested in scrutinizing their society at the structural level. I argue that this is so even in the centrifugal, internationalizing *Pericles*, that in the play Shakespeare deploys this expansive narrative to raise and resolve crises around domestic social relations. He does so largely by valorizing, or assuming a normative ideology associated with idealized feudal social relations. Performed within the capitalist playhouse, however, such appeals to the past generate and reveal contradictions that are inextricably part of the social transformations he examines. Here I also sought to make the case that those of us who study the literature and culture of the land where capitalist social relations first emerged, in the era in which they first took hold, should consider *travel*, or labor, along with or instead of *traffic*, as the circulation of commodities. Ignoring the social relations of production we risk bewilderment. In the epilogue to her recent book, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England*, Patricia Fumerton compares the mobility of the labor force in our era's global economy with the vagrancy of the poor of seventeenth-century England, describing in herself "a familiar feeling of the 'new' about uncannily similar happenings" (154). At the end of a rather tortuous argument about the sense of newness and history repeating itself, she admits that she "really should not have been left agape, as I have to admit I was, when just as I embarked on this book project, press releases broke about our 'new,' global economy that demanded mobility and job diversity and was grounded on a shifting mass of working poor" (156). But Fumerton never does get to the most basic link between these two moments, for throughout her book she steadfastly avoids engaging with the theories of Karl Marx. And this is regrettable in a work that adds substantial detail to the history of the process of primitive accumulation in seventeenth-century England, especially in its extraordinary case study of the sailor Edward Barlow. It is capitalism and specifically primitive accumulation – the "continuing, global process that divorces immediate producers from the means of production and transforms agrarian use rights into absolute property rights" (Holstun, 116) – that links the actions of enclosing landlords with the "structural adjustments" imposed upon poor countries (with small military budgets) by the IMF and World Bank, in the service of multinational corporations and to the benefit of the richest countries, just as it links the lived experience of early modern English vagrants with that of Mexico's corn farmers-turned migrants, and all others who are forced through structural economic changes with the choice of leaving home or starving. Marx wrote

that "the history of their expropriation, is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire" (*Capital*, 875). We might expend more effort in revealing the expropriations of an economic system whose global devastations become evident to more privileged people every day, but whose degradations have for too long shaped the lives of the poor and disempowered.

Notes

1 See, for example, Bartolovich, "London as World City" (2000); Weimann; Bruster, ch. 1; Hentschell.

2 See, for example, Wrightson, "Earthly Necessities"; McRae; and Morrow. This perspective on social relations is also nicely captured in the concept of the "moral economy," a term for the view of society as a body politic within which each member has rights and responsibilities and at the base of which stood arable farming and a common field system. See, e.g., Appleby and Neal Wood. See Andrew McRae for an account of how commonwealth values cede their place of dominance to those of individualism over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

3 Bartolovich's "London as World City" (2000) is another example of excellent scholarship that focuses on social transformation in the context of circulation and exchange.

4 Scott Shershow argues, for example, "[t]hat too much theoretical attention is paid to the market is entirely in keeping with the market's role and function under capitalism," which is to occlude the exploitation inherent in its labor processes (9).

5 Keith Wrightson notes "the awareness of reflective contemporaries that sixteenth and seventeenth century England had witnessed major changes in the structures of economic life: in population and prices, in the distribution of land and agrarian social relations, in commerce and the enlargement of commercial motivation, in the enjoyment by some of new wealth and the endurance by others of great poverty" (*Earthly Necessities*, 4).

6 See Hilton, ed., *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*; Ashton and Philpin, *The Brenner Debate*; and Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism*.

7 For an enlightening discussion of these compulsions, see also Holstun (118–19).

8 See, also Fox-Genovese and Genovese.

9 See Fox-Genovese and Genovese.

10 This is Holstun's term.

11 Fredric Jameson writes, "[t]he strategic value of generic concepts for Marxism . . . lies in the mediatory function of the notion of a genre, which allows the coordination of immanent formal analysis of the individual text with the twin diachronic perspective of the history of forms and the evolution of social life" (105). Howard's "Shakespeare, Geography, and the Work of Genre" exemplifies such an approach to the early modern English stage.

12 The dual authorship theory is dominant in criticism. In the essay I refer to Shakespeare as the author of the play, in part, since, as part owner of the King's Men, he would most likely have had the final say on the shape of the playscript. A great many essays have been written about the authorship of *Pericles*. Brian Vickers offers a comprehensive and painstaking survey of the issues of authorship the play raises.

13 For a survey of the spread of the tale, see Bullough (351–7); Womack (169–87).

14 Roy writes, "[w]hat is happening to the world lies, at the moment, just outside the realm of common human understanding. It is the writers, the poets, the artists, the singers, the filmmakers who can make the connections, who can find ways of bringing it into the realm of common understanding. . . . Stories about what it's like to lose your home, your land, your job, your dignity, your past, and your future to an invisible force" (32). See also Friedman (19).

15 Bristol makes an argument that counters my reading of Gower's claims: "Because they emerge in a society characterized by rapidly expanding literacy and the widespread availability of cheap printed books, the new theaters take on a new and fundamentally different social character that separates them from the familiar immediacy of the old popular forms" (280).
16 In Bourdieu's terms, the aesthetic depends upon the "pure gaze" of the consumer, the ability to distance oneself from the use-value of an object. The prologue represents the play rather in terms of the "popular aesthetic," which is "based on the affirmation of the continuity between art and life" and the functionality of cultural products (4).
17 Citations from *Pericles* and other Shakespeare plays are taken from *The Norton Shakespeare*.
18 Hedrick makes a case for reading these lines as an example of niche marketing (38).
19 For a compelling account of this process from the perspective of the social structure, see Lachmann.
20 In contemporary accounts of the uprisings, learned commentators cite both "dearth" and depopulation as the incitement for the uprisings. For the former, see Arthur Standish in *The Commons Complaint*, cited in McRae (135). For the latter, see the account of "A Debate on Enclosure" (1607) in the House of Lords, cited in *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents* (107).
21 BL, Harley MSS 787, art. 11, quoted in Manning (230–1). David Underdown writes, "[p]etitioning implies a belief in a natural order of society protecting the interests of rich and poor alike, which the authorities can be expected to enforce once the misdeeds of individuals are brought to their notice" (118).
22 Andrew McRae argues "[t]hroughout the various Edwardian statements of agrarian complaint, it is undoubtedly enclosure that emerges as the preeminent manifestation of covetousness in the countryside" (42).
23 Its association with Christ's apostles also underwrites the honesty and timelessness of the fishermen's labors, of course; and *Pericles* shares much geographical space with the *New Testament*, particularly with the travels of St. Paul.
24 I am citing from the *Norton Shakespeare*'s Conflated Text of *King Lear*.
25 This is a long process that Beier characterizes as "the de-sanctification of the poor," whereby vagrants came to be seen as menaces to society (6). Beier discusses changing attitudes towards the poor in pan-European terms (4–7).
26 Hugh Grady makes an argument regarding *King Lear* that resonates with this scene and with *Pericles*' stress on social restoration. He writes, "it is not that the play 'advocates' some Christian or secular communism; it is rather that the play poses the reality of the suffering of the poor in the context of a breakdown of ideologies or cultural forms which at one time legitimated or contained such suffering; and it identifies the communal response to suffering as among the most important sources for a regeneration and redemption of humanity – which may or may not be possible" (167).
27 See Carroll (140 n.13); Hawkes (*That Shakespearian Rag . . .* , 9–13); and Greenblatt (382–3).
28 This portion of my argument is indebted to van der Veen.
29 I am aware that in reading these prostitutes as allegories for manual laborers that I am de-sexing them and overlooking the specific ways in which women who work as prostitutes suffer *as women*.

References and Further Reading

Alter, Jean. *A Sociosemiotic Theory of Theatre*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990.

Appleby, Joyce Oldham. *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Archibald, Elizabeth. "'Deep Clerks She Dumbs': The Learned Heroine in *Apollonius of Tyre* and *Pericles*, *Comparative Drama* 22/4 (winter 1988–9): 289–303.

Ashton, T.H. and C.H.E. Philpin, *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-industrial Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Barber, C.L. "'Thou that Beget'st him that did thee beget': Transformation in '*Pericles*' and '*The Winter's Tale*,'" *Shakespeare Survey* 22 (1969): 59–67.

Bartolovich, Crystal, "Putting Marlowe on a (Cognitive) Map," *Renaissance Drama* 28 (1997): 29–71.

Bartolovich, Crystal. "'Baseless Fabric': London as World City," in *The Tempest and Its Travels*. Ed. Peter Hulme and William Sherman. London: Reaktion Books, 2000, 13–26.

Beier, A. L. *Masterless Men: the Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560–1640*. London: Methuen, 1985.

Bergeron, David. *Shakespeare's Romances and the Royal Family*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1985.

Bicks, Caroline. "Backsliding at Ephesus: Shakespeare's Diana and the Churching of Women," ed. and introd. David Skeele, *Pericles*: *Critical Essays*. New York, NY: Garland, 2000, 205–27.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.

Brenner, Robert. *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1653*. London and New York: Verso, 2003.

Bristol, Michael. "Shamelessness in Arden: Early Modern Theater and the Obsolescence of Popular Theatricality," in *Print, Manuscript, and Performance: The Changing Relations of the Media in Early Modern England*, Ed. Arthur Marrotti and Michael Bristol. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000, 279–306.

Bruster, Douglas. *Quoting Shakespeare: Form and Culture in Early Modern Drama*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000.

Bullough, Geoffrey, ed. *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. VI. London: Routledge and Paul, 1975.

Carroll, William. *Fat King, Lean Beggar: Representations of Poverty in the Age of Shakespeare*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Cohen, Walter. "The Undiscovered Country: Shakespeare and Mercantile Geography," in *Marxist Shakespeares*. Ed. Jean Howard and Scott Cutler Shershow. London and New York: Routledge, 2001, 128–58.

Cormack, Bradin. "Marginal Waters: *Pericles* and the Idea of Jurisdiction," in *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*. Ed. Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 155–80.

Crane, Mary Thomas. "What was Performance?" *Criticism* 43/2 (spring 2001): 169–87.

Dekker, Thomas. *Non-dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker. Volume IV*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart. New York: Russell and Russell, 1965 [1884].

Edwards, Philip. "Shakespeare's Romances: 1900–1957," *Shakespeare Survey* 11 (1958): 1–18.

Felperin, Howard. *Shakespearean Romance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth and Eugene Genovese. *The Fruits of Merchant Capital: Bourgeois Capital in the Rise and Expansion of Capitalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Friedman, Thomas. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*: *Understanding Globalization*. New York: Random House, 2000 [1999].

Fumerton, Patricia. *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Grady, Hugh. *Shakespeare's Universal Wolf: Studies in Early Modern Reification*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Greenblatt, Stephen. *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare*. New York: Norton, 2004.

Halpern, Richard. *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.

Halpern, Richard. *Shakespeare Among the Moderns*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Hanna, Sara. "Shakespeare's Greek World: The Temptations of the Sea," in *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama*. Ed. John Gillies and Virginia Mason Vaughan. London and Madison, NJ: Associated University Press, 1998. 107–28.

Hawkes, Terrence. *Shakespeare's Talking Animals*. London: Edward Arnold, 1973.

Hawkes, Terrence. *That Shakespearian Rag: Essays on a Critical Process*. London: Methuen, 1986.

Haynes, Jonathan. *The Social Relations of Jonson's Theatre*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Hedrick, Donald. "Bardguides of the New Universe: Niche Marketing and the Cultural Logic of Late Shakespeareanism," in *Shakespeare after Mass Media*. Ed. Richard Burt. New York: Palgrave, 2002, 35–58.

Helms, Lorraine. "The Saint in the Brothel: Or, Eloquence Rewarded," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41/3 (fall 1990): 319–32.

Hentschell, Roze. "Treasonous Textiles: Foreign Cloth and the Construction of Englishness," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32/3 (fall 2002): 543–70, 553.

Hilton, Rodney, ed. *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*. London: New Left Books, 1976.

Holstun, James. *Ehud's Dagger: Class Struggle in the English Revolution*. London and New York: Verso, 2000.

Howard, Jean. "Shakespeare, Geography, and the Work of Genre on the Early Modern Stage," *Modern Language Quarterly* 64/3 (September 2003): 299–322.

Howard, Jean. *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598–1642*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

Jameson, Fredric. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1980.

Jonson, Ben. *The Complete Poetry of Ben Jonson*. Ed. William B. Hunter, Jr. New York: Norton, 1963.

Jordan, Constance. *Shakespeare's Monarchies: Ruler and Subject in the Romances*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Knutson, Roslyn Lander. *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare's Time*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Kurland, Stuart M. "The Care . . . of Subjects' Good: *Pericles*, James I, and the Neglect of Government," *Comparative Drama* 30/2 (summer 1996): 220–44.

Lachmann, Richard. *From Manor to Market: Structural Change in England, 1536–1640*. Madison, WI.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.

Lenz, Joseph. "Base Trade: Theater as Prostitution," *ELH* 60 (1993): 833–55.

Lewis, Anthony J. "'I feed on mother's flesh': Incest and Eating in *Pericles*," *Essays in Literature* 15/2 (fall 1988): 147–63.

Lyly, John. *The Complete Works of John Lyly*. Ed. R. Warwick Bond. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902.

McCabe, Richard. *Incest, Drama, and Nature's Law, 1550–1700*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

McJannet, Linda. "Genre and Geography: The Eastern Mediterranean in *Pericles* and *The Comedy of Errors*," in *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama*. Ed. John Gillies and Virginia Mason Vaughan. London and Madison, NJ: Associated University Press, 1998, 86–106.

McRae, Andrew. God *Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England, 1500–1660*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Manning, Roger B. *Village Revolts: Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509–1640*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Marx, Karl. *Theories of Surplus-Value*. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961.

Marx, Karl. *Capital*, trans. Ben Fowkes. New York: Vintage, 1977.

Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels. *The Marx-Engels Reader*. Ed. Robert C. Tucker. New York: Norton, 1999.

Moore, Jeanie Grant. "Riddled Romance: Kingship and Kinship in *Pericles*," *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature* 57/1 (2003): 33–48.

Morrow, David. "The Entrepreneurial Spirit and the 'Life of the Poor': Communal Ideology and Social Struggle in the Prose Fictions of Thomas Deloney," *Textual Practice* 20/3 (2006): 395–418.

Mullaney, Steven. *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Orgel, Stephen. "Introduction" to *Pericles*. New York: Penguin, 2001, xxxi–xlv.

Relihan, Constance. "Liminal Geography: *Pericles* and the Politics of Place," *Philological Quarterly* 71/3 (1992): 281–99.

Roy, Arundhati. *Power Politics. Second Edition*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2001.

Shakespeare, William. *The Norton Shakespeare*. Ed. Stephen Greenblatt et al. New York and London: Norton, 2001.

Sharp, Buchanan. *In Contempt of All Authority: Rural Artisans and Riot in the West of England, 1586–1660*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.

Shershow, Scott Cutler. "Idols of the Marketplace: Rethinking the Economic Determination of Renaissance Drama," *Renaissance Drama* 26 (1995): 1–27.

Tennenhouse, Leonard. "Family Rites: Patriarchal Strategies in Shakespearean Romance," in *Shakespeare, the Last Plays*. Ed. and intro. Keirnan Ryan. London: Longman, 1999, 43–60.

Thirsk, Joan and J. P. Cooper, eds. *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

Twine, Lawrence, The *Pattern of Painefull Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre*. London, 1608.

Underdown, David. *Revel, Riot, and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture, 1603–1660*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.

van der Veen, Marjolein. "Rethinking Commodification and Prostitution: An Effort at Peacemaking in the Battles over Prostitution," *Rethinking Marxism* 13/2 (summer 2001): 30–51.

Vickers, Brian. *Shakespeare, Co-Author: A Historical Study of Five Collaborative Plays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Weimann, Robert. "History and the Issue of Authority in Representation: The Elizabethan Theatre and the Reformation," *New Literary History* 17/3 (spring 1986): 449–76.

Wells, Stanley. "Shakespeare and Romance," in *Shakespeare's Later Comedies*. Ed. D. J. Palmer. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971, 117–42.

Womack, Peter. "Shakespeare and the Sea of Stories," *JMEMS* 29/1 (1999): 169–87.

Wood, Ellen Meiksins. *The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View*. New York: Verso, 2002.

Wood, Neal. *The Foundations of Political Economy: Some Early Tudor Views of State and Society.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Wrightson, Keith. *English Society 1580–1680*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1982.

Wrightson, Keith. *Earthly Necessities*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000.

Index

Abbot, George 340
Abu-Lughod, Janet 83
Acosta, José de 242, 251
Acts of the Apostles 123
Adams, Clement 166–7
Adams, William
  Dutch fleet 184
  Englishness 180–1, 184–5
  politics of identity 15–16, 179, 182–7
adultery/adulteration 230–1
advice literature 116
Africa, Africans 193–4, 306
  North 5, 6, 191
  sub-Saharan 5, 7
  see also Moors
Agincourt, Battle of 137–8
Agnarsdóttir, Anna 154
agrarian sector 53, 358
Aho, James 235, 237
Akbar, Emperor 4, 123
Alberti, L. 282–3
Alcazar, Battle of 217
Alcoran: *see* Qu'ran
Aleppo 168, 308, 312
Alexander Romance 86
Alexander the Great 191–2
algebra 225, 226
Alguazil, Ribora 307
alienation
  early modern studies 64n4
  labor 10, 51, 55
  Marx 63
  The Merchant of Venice 131
  Norwood 61–3
  Satan 62–3
  Spenser 37–8
Allen, Terry 72, 73
almanacs 20–1, 294–7
  global/local information 297–300
  readers' annotations 300–2
  scales, shifting 297, 299–300
alms-giving 362
Alpers, Paul 43
Alter, Jean 369
amaranth 248–50
  and Amyntas 247, 255–6, 257
  as protein 251
  ritual use 18–19, 242, 254–5, 258n10
  therapeutic role 254
Americas
  botanic gardens 257
  colonization 7, 90, 91
  diseases from Europeans 133, 258n16
  as Eden 87
  flora 242, 243–4
  gold and silver 9–10, 34, 101, 154–5
  More's *Utopia* 11
  see also The Faerie Queene
Amin, Samir 33
Amurath II 75
Amurhat, Sultan 316
Amyntas 257, 258n22

Anabaptists slaughtered 106, 107
Anderson, Benedict 59–60
Anderson, Matthew Smith 166
Andrea, Bernadette 345, 348–9
Andreae, Johann Valentine: *Christianopolis* 11, 82–3, 91–5
Andrewes, Wiliam 299–300
Andrews, Kenneth 283, 291n4
angel (coin) 266, 270, 273–4
aniconism 67, 72, 73, 76
al-Annuri, Abd al-Wahid bin Masoud bin Muhammad 219
anti-enclosure movements 364
anti-immigrant riots 272
Antwerp
  businesswomen 312
  double-entry bookkeeping 229
  as financial center 223
  sacked 107, 210, 215
  textiles 165
  trade 212, 214
ape: *see* monkey
Apollonius of Tyre 360, 368
Appadurai, Arjun 17, 25n4
Appelbaum, Robert 90, 102
Arabic arithmetic 5, 223–5, 236
  see also infidel symbols; zero
Arabic coins 265, 276n10
Arber, Richard 257n1
Archangel 172
Archer, John Michael 10, 33, 171
architectural influences 313
arithmetic
  double-entry bookkeeping 18, 223, 231–2
  infidel symbols 224, 226–7, 236
  mercantilism 223–4
  place-value 226, 236–7
  zero 18, 223, 224, 225–6, 236–7
Armitage, David 101
Arnold, Thomas W. 73, 74, 152
Arthur, King 149, 150, 151–2, 160–1
Ascham, Roger 12, 13, 102–3, 106, 116–17
astrology: *see* zodiac
Athens, drachma 265
Atlantis 279
Atlas 69–70
Augustine, Saint 52, 59–61, 64
author function 32
autoethnography 201n13

Bacon, Francis
  essay on travel 103
  History of the Reign of Henry VII 329
  New Atlantis 11, 82–3, 91–5
  Sylva Sylvarum 91
Baker-Smith, Dominic 89
balance of trade 208, 211
balastela 171
Balbi Di Correggio, Francisco 343
Bales, Peter 294, 295
Banchieri, Adriano 328
Banks, Joseph 154
Bantam compound 14, 131, 133, 134–5, 137, 138–9
Bantamese society 138
Barbour, Richmond 14, 121
Barker, Francis 252, 257
Barleti, Martin 236
Barlowe, Arthur 257n1
Bartels, Emily C. 345
Bartolovich, Crystal 10, 35
Bauhin, Caspar 244
Baxter, Nathaniel 252
Beach, Milo 124
beads 213–14, 220n3
Beaumont, Francis 330
Becon, Thomas 39
Bedwell, William 75
Beier, A. L. 374n25
bell metal 18, 74, 216, 217, 218
Belleforest, Francis 350
Bellini, Gentile 313–14
ben Gerson, Levi 171
Benjamin, Walter 33
Berger, Harry 43, 44
Bermuda 10, 51–2, 54, 56–7, 59
Bernstein, Peter L. 224
Best, Thomas 144
Bhabha, Homi 201n2
Bibles, miniature 294, 295

Bichitr painting 124
Birdwood, George 132–3
Blackfriars Theatre 325, 327, 332, 334
Blaeu, Willem 279
Blount, Henry 7
body/zodiac 297, 299–300
  see also female body
Bohemian businesswomen 312
Bond, Edward A. 172–4
book scholarship 32–3, 46n3
Booker, John 300
bookkeeping: *see* double-entry bookkeeping
books, miniature 294–5
Boorde, Andrew 211, 271
Boris Godunov 172
Borough, Stephan 167
botanic gardens 244, 257
botany 19, 242, 243, 244–5
boundaries 16–17, 95–6, 153
Bourdieu, Pierre 374n16
Bourne, William 170–1
Boxer, C. R. 178–9, 185
Boyer, Carl B. 224
Branco, Diogo Fernandes 291n4
Branham, Hugh 156–7
Brathwaite, Richard 330–1, 333
Braudel, Fernand 83, 321n6
Breugel, Pieter 365–6
Bristol 157, 283
Bristol, Michael 374n15
brocades 308
brothels 359, 361, 368–72
Brotton, Jerry 1–2, 25n3, 82
Brown, Bill 46n2
Browne, John 229
Bruges 214
Burbage, Richard 341, 348
Burckhardt, Jacob 4, 25n5
Burrell, William 143
Burton, Jonathan 72, 74, 80n3, 201n13

Cabot, John 160
Cabot, Sebastian 164
Cachey, Theodore 279
Calais, conquest of 212
Camden, William 153
Canary Company 286–90
Canary Islands
  cloth trade 20, 283
  composition of 281–2
  as contact zone 279
  Inquisition 20, 282, 283, 284, 291n6
  Jews 282
  nationality of merchants 284–5
  property ownership 282–3
  slave trade 281–2, 291n4
  sugar trade 20, 282, 283
  wine exports 280, 281, 288–9, 290n1
capitalism
  agrarian 358
  cultural 33
  emergence of 8, 10, 50, 130, 357
  global 31, 45n1, 46n4
  laws of motion 357
  London 143
  Marx 357, 370
  neo-colonial 358
  Pericles 359
  primitive accumulation 50, 63, 65n7, 367, 370–1
  social transformation 23–4, 368–9
  theatre 23
  victims of 371
carnivalesque 108
Carr, Ralph 343, 344
Carrasco, David 252, 258n18
Cartelli, Thomas 348
cartography 67, 68–71, 78–9
  see also map-making
cash, as term 230–2
cashier, as term 230
Cassar, Carmel 345
Castiglione, Baldesar 328
Cecil, William 275, 344, 347, 351
Challis, C. E. 269
Chamberlain, John 143, 219–20
Chancellor, Richard 15, 164, 165, 166
The Changeling (Daalder) 326
Chapman, A. B. Wallis 282–3
Chapman, George 325, 330
Charles I 280
Charles the Rash, Duke 266

Charles V 164, 266, 283, 342
Children of Her Majesty's Revels 325
Chilmead, John 164
China
European traders 179
imports from 307
metal trade 34
North-east passage from England 165–7
trade with Japan 179
Chinano the Turk 73
Christian IV 161
Christianity
heterosexuality 197, 198
Iceland 159
Japan 183, 185
Malta 341
masculinity 199
symbols 235
see also Protestantism; Roman Catholicism
Christian–Muslim conflict 35–6, 73
Christianopolis (Andreae) 11, 82–3, 91–5
Cicero 294
cipher: *see* zero
Cipolla, Carlo 264–5, 269, 271, 276n2
The City Madam (Massinger) 336
Clark, P. 209
Clement of Alexandria 255
Clement VI 290
Clements, Adam 15
Clifford, James 200, 201n1
clothing 211–12, 220, 308, 317–18
see also costumes
Cochlaeus, Johannes 1–2
Cocks, Richard 181, 187n3
cod fisheries 154–5
Codex Mendoza 247, 251
Cohen, Benjamin 263, 265
Cohen, Walter 35
Cohn, Bernard 121–2
coinage
adulterated 230–1
Arabic 265, 276n10
clipping of 267, 277n18
debasement of 19–20, 165, 263, 269, 274–5, 277n24
foreign 262–3, 266, 268, 273
nationalism 272
origins 276n8
Portague 267, 270
restoration of value 263, 268–9, 275–6
silver/gold 270
state sovereignty 263–4
venereal disease 262–3
Cole, Bartholomew 284
Colley, Linda 133
Colom, Jacob Aertsz 298–9
colonization
Americas 7, 90, 91
curiositas 43
Renaissance 12
sexual metaphor 198–9
vagrancy 10
Columbus, Christopher 85, 87, 244, 279, 281, 305–6
commodities
contact zones 17
demand for 20
exchange of 357, 358
foreign 336
market 356
common ownership 52–4, 56, 364
commons
agrarian 53
capitalism 50
radical 53, 56
suppression of 59, 64
see also enclosure
communal ideology 356, 362, 363, 364, 366
Communist Manifesto (Marx and Engels) 363–4
community
formation of 59–60
scientific 92–4
spiritual 95
trade 83
utopia 88–9, 90–1, 92
Constantinople 73, 306, 309
consumption patterns 357
contact zones 12, 17, 123, 125, 243, 279
conveyancing, as term 238n5
Cooper, Michael 185, 187n2

copying: *see imitatio*
Corey, broker 140–1
Cormack, Bradin 361
Cormack, Lesley B. 35
corruption
  foreign coins 266, 268, 273
  foreign influences 102–3, 105–6, 119
  luxury goods 214
  Malta 349
  trade 173–4
Cortés, Hernan 252–3
Cortes, Martin 170–1
Cortesi, Paolo 118
Coryate (also Coryat), Thomas 90, 102
cosmography, Qu'ran 10–11, 67
cosmopolitanism
  commerce 6
  costumes 21, 333
  London 34
  maritime industries 161
  Raleigh 7
  trade 6
  Vecellio 305, 321n2
  Venice 306, 307, 308
  xenophobia 8, 26n9, 35
coss, as term 228
costume books 310, 314
costumes
  of animal-figures 326
  cosmopolitanism 21, 333
  fashion 211–12, 333
  symbolic meaning 122
  for theater 326
  see also clothing; Vecellio
Cotes, Thomas 294, 295
Cotgrave, Randle A. 230
counterfeiting 266–8, 273–4, 276–7n16
The Courtier 328
crakyng, as term 125–6, 127n11
Craxton, John Williamson 155
Cromwell, Oliver 52
Crosby, Alfred W. 237
crown (coin) 266, 269
Crucifixion pictures 75–6
Ctesias of Cnidos 86
curiositas 43
Curtes, Marten: *see* Cortes, Martin
Cutwolfe, executed 106, 108

Daalder, Joost 326
Daborne, Robert 226
Dafforne, Richard 231
Dallington, Robert 116
Damascus 67, 68, 307, 313
Dario, Giovanni 313
Das, Nandini 13–14
Davenant, William 295
Davies, John 157, 191, 192, 193, 195, 196, 200
Davies, Ralph 285–90
Davis, J. C. 87, 91
d'Avity, Pierre 194
de Bry, Theodore 214, 253
de Certeau, Michel 9, 32, 199, 247
de Critz, John 124
de Grazia, Margreta 79n1
de Gremigny, ambassador 218
de Vera, Don Juan Antonio 120
de Vries, Jan 34
Dee, John 40, 151, 228
degrading, ceremony of 350–1
Dekker, Thomas
  on Antwerp 223
  The Seven Deadly Sins of London 117, 118
  The Shoemaker's Holiday 19, 22, 270–1, 272
  Westward Ho 332
  Work for Armorers 367
Deng, Stephen 19
Denmark 154
Dessen, Alan 327
Devereux, Robert 116
Díaz de Castillo, Bernal 254
didactic literature 118
difference 14, 191
  see also Other
Digby, Kenelm 328–9
Diggers 52–3, 56, 63
Digges, Dudley 142, 143
Digges, Leonard and Thomas 228, 238
Dimmock, Matthew 7, 17–18, 217, 220, 220n4

Diodorus 191–2, 201n6
Dioscorides 244, 247
disease 133, 258n16, 262, 263, 276
dispossessed people 366
Dodoens, Rembert 251
Dodsley edition, *Eastward Ho* 331
dollars 263, 265
dolmen style 318
Donne, John 122, 266, 268, 272, 295
double-entry bookkeeping
  arithmetic 18, 223, 231–2
  debtor/creditor 229, 231
  fidelity 236–7
  and judgements 234–5
  language for 233–4
  trust 238
  Venice 229, 234
Downton, Nicholas 143
drachma 265
Drake, Francis 21–2, 73, 101
Drayton, Richard 244
Dublin 153
ducat 264, 265
Dutch Church Libel 207–9
  alien merchants 209, 212, 215, 272
  commoners 273
  exports 215–16
  infidel trade 211, 220, 272
  xenophobia 17
Dutch Protestants 179, 268

Early English Books On-Line 33
early modern studies
  alienation 64n4
  local/global 31, 32
  religion 71–2
  social change 355–6
  travel writing 90–5
East India Company
  archives 187n1
  corporate discourse 132
  Court Book 139–40
  Indian labor 133
  Japan 15–16, 178–87
  labor 14, 129–30
  mortality 129, 141–2
  and Mughal court 4, 122
  pamphlets about 141–2
  Roe 13, 114, 118–19
  Scott 131–2
  Voyages
    First 130–1, 133
    Second 139
    Third 139
    Sixth 130, 131, 144, 145
Eastward Ho (Jonson, Marston and Chapman)
  differences between editions 331
  geography 335–6
  Gertrude 333–4, 336
  monkey 325, 327–8, 333–4, 336
  and *Westward Ho* 332
economic migrants 209
Edelman, Charles 230
Eden, Richard 85, 170–1, 175n9, 257n1
Eden concept 87, 95
Ederer, Rupert 264–5
education, humanist 5, 25n6, 105
Edward the Confessor 153
Edward II 155, 277n18
Edward III 155, 212, 273, 290
Edward IV 266
Edward VI 165, 274
Eggert, Katherine 254
Eliade, Mircea 242
Eliot, Hugh 157
elites 54, 58, 130
Elizabeth I
  Accession Day 137
  Armada portrait 1, 2, 4, 25n1
  arms trade allegations 218
  The Calendar of State Papers, Venetian 348
  court of 121
  Ditchley portrait 2, 3
  excommunicated 215, 216
  imperial expansion 101–2
  infidel trade 219–20
  Jenkinson 169
  and Murad III 74
  and Ottoman Empire 284
  patronage 36
  restoration of coin 263, 268–9, 275–6
  and Theodor 172

Elizabethans
expansion 12–13, 37–8
privateering 129
xenophobia 17–18
enclosure
Diggers 52–3
gardens 243, 244–5
McRae 374n22
in *Pericles* 359, 367
as primitive accumulation 364
resistance to 55
and vagrancy 10, 367
Engels, Friedrich 363–4
England
and Catholic Europeans 163–4, 215–16
Eastern imports/exports 164–5, 360
economic crisis 17–18, 209
fishing industry 155
global trade 5–6, 186–7, 208–9
Hanseatic merchants 271
Islam 6–7
isolationism 215–16
mercantilism 220
North-east passage 164, 165–6
Order of St. John 344
and Ottoman Empire 15, 164, 169–70, 210, 215–16
Protestant refugees 208–9
Protestantism 105, 163–4, 216–17
Reformation 210
Roman Catholicism 268
royal navy 40
and Russia 163, 169
slave trade 7
and Spain 101, 209–10
trade 34, 164–5, 212, 219–20, 284–5
and Venice 23
xenophobia 212
see also coinage; London; vagrancy
Englishness
Adams 184–5
coinage 269
instability of 186
as other 281
purity of 208–9
Rawdon 287
threatened 220
traders in Japan 180
Erasmus, Desiderius 86, 117–18
eunuchs 196, 202n18
Europeans
heterosexuality 198
Roman Catholicism 163–4, 215–16
torture 243, 251–2
traders in China 179
Evelyn, John 302
Exodus 71
exoticism 325, 329, 336–7
exploitation 371
exploration 7, 12, 21–2, 61, 85
expropriation 346, 372–3

The Faerie Queene (Spenser)
as allegory 111–12
Christian–Muslim conflict 35–6
culture of terror 243
Garden of Adonis 245–7
global vision 36–8
Guyon 38–9, 42, 43–5, 246
Mammon 9–10, 38–9, 39–45
publication 242
sacrifice 254
tobacco 245–6
travel/knowledge 110–11
Falkner, Silke 196
Fall of man concept 52–3
Farrington, Anthony 187n1
Farrukh Beg 123
fashion 333
see also costume books
Feinberg, Anat 330
Felgenhauer, Paul 298
female body
as book 232
prostitution 228, 232–3, 370–1, 374n29
violence against 254
Ferdinand I 217
Fernandez-Armesto, Felipe 282
Fernie, Ewan 45n1
feudal gift economy 42, 44
Fez 193–4
Fibonacci, Leonardo 224

Field, Nathan 23, 340–1, 348–51
fishing industry 154–7, 160–1
Fletcher, Giles 15, 172–4
Fletcher, John 23, 340–1, 348–51
Florence 229, 236, 265, 273, 277n24
florin 265–6, 273
Florio, John 230, 233, 234
Floris, Peter 144
Foakes, R. A. 326
Folds, John 301
foreign influences 102–3, 105–6, 119, 313
Forman, Valerie 33
Fortunio, Angelico 307
Foster, William 135
Foucault, Michel
  archeology of knowledge 9, 32
  Discipline and Punish 63, 252
  history 8
  sexuality 192–3, 201n8
  subjectivity 64
Fox, Alistair 86, 89
Foxe, John 39, 105
France 105, 106–7, 154
Frank, Andre Gunder 33, 34, 174
fraud 236–7, 238n4
Fraunce, Abraham 255–6
Freeman, Arthur 207, 209
Friedman, Thomas 361
Frisius, Gemma 158
Frye, Susan 254
Fuch, Barbara 33
Fuchs, Leonhart 244
Fugger, Anton 244
Fulbecke, William 276–7n16
Fuller, Mary C. 14–15, 90
Fuller, Thomas 156
Fumerton, Patricia 372

Gadbury, John 297–8
Games, Alison 6
Garcia de Toledo, Don 344
gardens 243, 244–5
Gardiner, Stephen 226
gawds, gawdy goods 211–15
Geber, monk 224
gender system 311–12
Genesis 225, 226, 245
Genoese women 311
Gentili, Alberico 120
geography 50
Gerard, John 245
Gheeraerts, Marcus 2
giganticism 69, 70–1
Gilbert, Humphrey 160–1
Gillies, John 67, 68
Girard, René 252, 253
glass objects 214, 220n3
global systems theory 9, 31, 33–4
globalization
  cultural 22, 24
  early modern/contemporary 5, 8–9, 82–4
  economics 361
  Eurocentric 145
  exploration 85
  neo-colonialism 358
  utopia 11
global/local 31, 32, 243
Globe Theatre 21–2, 69–70
globes, terrestrial 1, 2–4, 11, 21–2, 69–70
Godred Crovan 153
Godred Sigtrygsson 153
gold
  from Americas 9–10, 34, 101, 154–5
  global circulation of 41
  hunger for 39
  Indies 245
  Russian court 167
  Spain 245, 272
  as symbol 38
  as unnatural 42–3
Goldman, Lucien 64
Gould, J. D. 274–5
Gower, John 360–2, 367
Gowrie conspiracy 268
Grady, Hugh 374n26
Grafton, Anthony 25n3
Gramaye, J. B. 198
Grand Tour 103
Gray, Dionis 225
Greek romances 360
Greenblatt, Stephen 38, 89, 115
Greene, Roland 258n21

Greenlanders 156
Grosclose, Elgin 265
Guaiacum plant 244
Guiana 7, 39
Gurr, Andrew 22, 326
Gustavus of Sweden 217

Haakon of Norway 155
Hadfield, Andrew 12–13, 85, 90, 104, 115
Hadith 72–3, 74
Hakluyt, Richard
  Codex Mendoza 251
  empire for England 101
  Englishness 164
  Globe of the Earth 302
  and Purchas 104
  Reformation 103
  trade in trifles 214
  weapons 217
  see also Principal Navigations
Hall, Kim 336
Hall, Stuart 83
Halpern, Richard 44, 117, 358, 359, 368–9
Hamilton, A. C. 258n8
Hamilton, Walter 280, 290n1
Hanmer, Meredith 73, 74
Hanseatic League 155, 271
Hanson, Elizabeth 235
Harald Godwinson 153
Harald Hardråde 153
Harborne, William 218
Hariot, Thomas 102, 214, 299
Harris, Jonathan Gil 35, 262, 276, 325–6
Harrison, William 211–12, 214, 215, 245
Haughton, William 231
Hawkes, Terence 45n1, 363
Hawkesbury, Lord 154
Hawkins, John 7
Hawkins, William 119, 121
Hearn, Karen 25n1, 25n2
Hedrick, Donald 368
Heidegger, Martin
  giganticism 71
  knowability/visibility 79n1
  world-picture 10–11, 67, 70
Held, David 82, 84
Helichrysum Staechas 247
Heliodorus 359
Hemsel, William 122
Henri de Navarre 268
Henry IV 155
Henry V 137
Henry VI 156
Henry VII 329
Henry VIII
  coinage debased 19–20, 165, 263, 269, 274–5, 277n24
  Denmark 154
  dissolution of monasteries 274
  English Langue 344
  foreign coins 266
  testoons 277n23
  and Thorne 157, 165
  wars with France 105
Henslowe, Philip 327
herbals 243–4, 258n7
Herodotus 85, 86, 174
Herrera, Antonio de 247, 251
heterosexuality 197, 198
Heywood, John 274
Heywood, Thomas 227, 299
Hilliard, Nicholas 25n1, 294
Hirado factory 16, 178, 181–2, 184, 186
Holbein, Hans 2
Holinshed, Raphael 152, 212, 214, 268–9
Holstun, James 364, 366
Homer
  Iliad 86, 294
  Odyssey 86, 116
homoeroticism 193–4, 196–7, 201n10, 202n19
homosexuality 197–8
  homoerotic lust 192–3
Honan, Park 76
Hopkins, Lisa 346
Hopkins, Stephen 57
Hopton, Arthur 301
Hopwood, Anthony G. 235
Horace 118
Hore, Richard 104
Hoskin, Keith 235

hospitality 123
hotels 201n1
  innkeepers 193–4
  intercultural exchange 190–1
  queer theory 194–5
  travel writing 200–1
Hotman de Villiers, Jean 120–1
Houston, Chloë 11
Howard, Charles 150
Howard, Jean E. 22, 35, 46n11, 356, 369
Howell, James 280
Hudson, Jeffrey 295
Huitzilopochtli 242, 251, 254
humanism 5, 70, 89, 105
Hyams, Edward 244
Hylles, Thomas 223, 224, 225, 226

Iceland
  as bridge to New World 156
  Christianity 155, 157, 159, 160
  diet 159–60
  fishing industry 154–7, 160–1
  Hakluyt 149–50
  Jónsson 14–15, 149–50, 154, 157, 158–9, 160
  as Norwegian/Danish dependency 155–6
  Ortelius' map 158
  Reformation 150–1
  volcanoes 158–9
iconoclasm
  aniconism 73, 76
  Islam 123
  Marlowe 78
  Protestantism 18, 214
  Reformation 216–17
identity
  bi-fold 364
  confused 137
  crisis of 367
  difference 14
  hybrid 185–6
  imitatio 114–15, 125
  nationality 145, 262
  politics of 179, 182–6
  self-reflexivity 13
idolatry 74, 75
Ieyasu 179, 182–4
imitatio
  culture 116
  education 5, 25n6
  European/Asian art works 314
  identity 114–15, 125
  Indian artists 114, 115, 120
  monkey 117, 118, 328–32
  Mughal court 123
  Renaissance 117–18
  Roe 118–22
  sodomy 198
  transformative/passive/eristic 123, 125
  travelers 13, 120–1, 126
improvement agenda 52
improver movement 56
Inca feather textiles 320
India 114, 115, 120
  see also Mughal court
infidel symbols 224, 226–7, 236
infidel trade 209–11, 216, 219–20, 224
inflation 165, 275
inns: *see* hotels
Inquisition 20, 282, 283, 284, 291n6
insurance for sea-merchants 129
Ireland 37–8, 153
Islam
  aniconism 67, 72, 73
  colonizing 198
  demonized 18
  English representations 6–7
  iconoclasm 123
  map-making 72
  Tamburlaine 73–9
isolationism 31–2, 94–5, 215–16
Istanbul 308–9
  see also Constantinople
Italy
  poisonings/murder 106, 107
  sodomy 200
  travels in 102–3, 107, 116–17
  see also specific cities
Ivan III 172
Ivan IV 165, 167, 217

Jacob, Christian 69, 70
Jaffe, Michele 224, 225, 226, 237
Jahangir, Emperor
  English coachman 124–5
  and Hawkins 119
  portraits 2–4, 124
  and Roe 2, 13–14, 114–15, 120, 121–2, 125
James I and VI
  court of 121, 125–6
  expansion 143
  Gowrie conspiracy 268
  and Jahangir 4, 119
  portrait 124
  Shakespeare's *Macbeth* 152
Jameson, Fredric 44, 201n2, 373n11
Janissaries 315–17, 342–3
Japan
  Christian Century 178
  Christianity 183, 185
  Dutch fleet 184
  East India Company 15–16, 178–87
  Jesuits 187n3, 307
  trade with China 179
Jardine, Lisa 25n3, 82
Java 14, 134
Jehangir, Emperor: *see* Jahangir, Emperor
Jenkinson, Anthony 15, 164, 167–9
Jesuits 123, 183, 187n3, 307
The Jew of Malta (Marlowe)
  Barabas 129, 326, 351–2
  coins 270
  geopolitics 23, 351–2
  miniaturization 296
  place 340, 345–8
Jews
  Canary Islands 282
  clipping coins 277n18
  demonized 252
  Malta 346
  persecuted 108
  property ownership 346
  stereotypes 209
Johnston, John 329
joint stock companies 129, 130
Jones, Ann Rosalind 21, 320–1n1
Jones, Evan 155
Jonson, Ben
  annuity 280
  and Donne 122
  Every Man In His Humour 231
  on *Pericles* 361
  tobacco 246
  see also Eastward Ho
Jónsson, Arngrímur 14–15, 149–50, 154, 157, 158–9, 160
jouissance 369
Jourdain, John 144–5

Kamps, Ivo 33, 85, 104, 196
Kant, Immanuel 71, 78
Karpinski, Louis Charles 224
Kayll, Robert 141–2, 143, 145
Keeling, William 118–19, 132, 145
Kermode, Frank 43
Kesavdas 123
al-Khwarizmi, Mohammed ibn-Musa 224
King's Company 341, 348, 373n12
Kipling, Rudyard 163
Knapp, Jeffrey 246
The Knight of Malta (Fletcher, Field and Massinger) 23, 340–1, 348–51
Knolles, Richard 75, 236, 341, 342–4, 349
knowledge
  power 93–4
  representation 111–12
  through travel 104–10
Knutson, Roslyn 332, 363
Korda, Natasha 325–6
Krantz, Albert 155, 158, 159
Kyd, Thomas 127n5

La Valette, Jean de 343–4, 346–7
labor
  alienation 10, 51, 55
  exploitation 371
  Indian 133, 139–40
  local/global 50
  migrant 372
  movement of 51–2, 372
  non-English 130
  relations 55, 356, 364

trade 129–30
workhouses 54
see also vagrancy; wage labor
labor division 104
Lacan, Jacques 51
Lafreri, Antonio 69, 70
Lambarde, William 151
Lancaster, James 131–2, 133
Lane, William 275
Langley, Thomas 302
Larmour, David H. 87
Las Casas, Bartolomé de 284
Lazarillo de Tormes 107
lead 211, 215
learning 106, 107
see also education
Leo Africanus 16–17, 193–4, 201n13, 340
Lepanto, Battle of 216, 312
lesbianism 319
Levant Company 129
Levellers 56
Libel of English Policie 149, 154, 157
life-writing 302
Linnaeus, Carolus 255
Lippomano, Hieronimo 348
Lithgow, William 90, 102
Littleton, A. C. 224, 231, 236
Locke, John 56
Lodewijckszoon, Willem 135
Lok, Michael 251
London
capitalist economy 143
comedy 335–6
global commerce 35
mercantilism 129–30
seamen 129, 130–1, 142–3
see also Dutch Church Libel
London, Treaty of 285
Longus 359
Lonicerus, Philippus 73, 76–7
Loomba, Ania 33
Lord Admiral's Men 326, 337n2
Losensky, Paul 123
Louis XII 266
Low Countries 217, 268
Lucian 11, 86–7
Lukacs, Georg 51, 64
Luke's Gospel 39
Lutherans 74, 157
luxury goods 119, 175, 211–12, 214, 314
Lyly, John 355, 356, 360, 361

McAnany, Patricia 258n20
Macbeth, historical figure 152
Machin, Henry 274
Mack, Rosamond 314
McKay, Peter 163
MacLean, Gerald 15
McRae, Andrew 366, 373n2, 374n22
Macve, Richard 235
Magellan, Ferdinand 307
Maggi, Ottaviano 120
Mainwaring, Henry 144
Mainwaring, Thomas 353n2
Malone, Edmund 337n2
Malory, Thomas 152
Malta 23
Christianity 341
corruption 349
geopolitics 352
invasions of 341
Jews 346
as liminal space 341
Order of St. John 341–2
Philip II 347
plays about 340–1
slave industry 345–6
Turkish armada 343–4, 346–7
Maltby, William 291n8
Mammon 39–45
as Amerindian 40–1
Dee on 40
gold 9–10, 38
as Syriac term 39
Mammon, Cave of 38, 39–45
Man, Isle of 153, 154
Mancall, Peter 244
Mandeville, John 85
Mann, Charles 252
al-Mansur, king 219

map-making
  Cochlaeus 1–2
  and globes 11
  Islam 72
  projections 69–70
  Tamburlaine 67–71, 78–9
Marcus, G. J. 155
Marlowe, Christopher
  cartography 67–71, 78–9
  Dr. Faustus 327
  Dutch Church Libel 207
  iconoclasm 78
  murdered 220n1
  prosopopeia 78
  reversal of history 347–8
  see also The Jew of Malta; Tamburlaine
Mármol Carvajal, Luis del 194
Marston, John 325
Martyr, Peter 39, 257n1
Marx, Karl
  alienation 63
  capitalism 357, 370
  Communist Manifesto 363–4
  expropriation 372–3
  primitive accumulation 24, 63, 364
  property relations 65n10
  on prostitution 370
  social relations 53, 357–8
Mary I, Tudor 168, 269
Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots 268
Masarella, Derek 187n3
masculinity/Christianity 199
masques 329–30
massacre 243, 252, 254
Massinger, Philip 23, 336, 341, 348–51
Matal, Jean 166
Matar, Nabil 6–7, 26n10, 72, 174, 219
material historicism 9, 32
materialist criticism 46n3
mathematics 5, 25n7, 61–2
  see also arithmetic
Matthew's Gospel 39
Mayhew, Nicholas 265–6, 269, 273, 275
medical plant remedies 244
Meier, Albert 118
Mellis, John 229, 231, 232, 234, 237
Mendoza, Bernardino de 217
Mennher de Kempten, Valentin 229, 231
Menninger, Karl 224, 225, 226
mercantilism
  agrarian capitalism 358
  arithmetic for 223–4
  England 18, 129–30, 220
  Harris 262
  homogenizing effect 182–3
  in Japan 181
  theater 368
  xenophobia 16
Mercator, Gerardus 69–70, 158, 166, 279
Mercer's Company 168
merchants
  and agents 229, 281
  alien 209, 212, 215, 272
  Constantinople 309
  infidel 209–11, 216, 219–20, 224
  Vecellio 308–12
  Venice 107, 308–9
  women 310–12
The Merchants Auizo 236
Merediz, Eyda 279, 290
Meres, Francis 226
Mesoamerica 18–19, 243–5
metal trade 215–18
  see also bell-metal; gold; lead; silver; tin
Mexica people 258n2
  botanic gardens 244
  cosmology 242
  migrant laborers 372
  sacrifice 242–3, 251, 252–3, 254–5, 257, 258n20
  see also amaranth
Middleton, Henry 139, 144
Middleton, John 226, 238n3
migrant labor 372
Mildenhall, John 119
Miller, P. 235
Miller, Shannon 33
Milton, John 244
miniatures 294
miscegenation 191, 243–4
misrepresentation 72, 74

missionaries 123, 187n2
see also Jesuits
Moluccas 220
monasteries, dissolution of 274
monetary reform, money: *see* coinage
monkey
Eastward Ho 325, 327–8, 333–4, 336
exoticism 329
imitatio 117, 118, 328–32
masques 329–30
street performances 329
symbolism of 331
Montaigne, Michel 12
alternative world 257
knowledge 111
massacres 252
on observers 13, 104, 108
"Of the Canniballes" 103–4, 160
Montrose, Louis 198–9
Moors 6–7, 16–17, 18, 195–6, 200–1
More, Thomas
alternative world 257
arithmetic for merchants 223
Utopia 11, 35, 82–3, 84–5, 87–90, 365
Morocco 217, 219
Morrow, David 23–4
Moryson, Fynes 90, 102
Moschetti, Antonio 233
Moscow 166–7, 175
Mughal court
decision-making 126
English coachman 122, 124–5
English travellers 116
foreigners 121
imitatio 123
painting 2–4, 114–15, 123–4
Mughal empire 2–4, 14, 114
Mullaney, Steven 358
Münster 106, 107
Münster, Sebastian 158, 159
Murad II 315
Murad III 74, 217
Murray, David 232, 234–5, 237
Muscovy Company 15, 165, 168, 172, 217
Muslims: *see* Islam
Nagasaki 178
Napea, Osep 166
Nashe, Thomas
on almanacs 296
arithmetic 236
The Unfortunate Traveller 12, 13, 104–10, 117
nationalism 50, 272
nationality/identity 145, 262
Native Americans 242, 336–7
navigational technology 170–1
Neill, Michael 134, 135, 137, 230, 233, 237–8
neo-colonial capitalism 358
neo-imperialism 31
neo-liberalism 31
Netzloff, Mark 33
new historicism 358
New World: *see* Americas
The New-Yeres Gift 294, 295
Nichols, Thomas 20, 279, 283–4, 285–90
Nicolay, Nicolas de 7, 319
Nobes, Christopher 229, 232, 236
noble (coin) 266, 273
North-east passage 165–6, 171
Norway 152–3, 154, 155
Norwood, Richard
alienation 61–3
Augustine as model 52, 59–61, 64
on Bermuda 10, 51–2, 54, 56–7, 59–61
Bermuda Company 58
enclosure 55, 60–2, 64
mathematics 61–2
Nussbaum, Felicity 84

Ogborn, Miles 46n3
oil resources 163
Okada, Amina 2
Ólafsson, Jón 156, 157, 161
Oldcastle, Hugh 229
Oliver, Isaac 294
oral culture 360
Oram, William 37–8
Order of St. John 341–2, 344
Orgel, Stephen 360
Orkney 152–3

Orkneyinga Saga 152
Ortelius, Abraham 68–9, 70, 78–9, 158, 340
Othello (Shakespeare)
  animal imagery 329
  arithmetical reckoning 18, 226–7, 228–9
  cash/case 232
  Cassio 18, 193, 223–4, 226, 229, 230, 233, 238n1
  cross-cultural trade 22
  death blow 201n17
  Desdemona 226–7
  homoeroticism 193
  Iago 16, 191, 193, 237–8
  infidel symbols 226–7
  lust 191–2
  place and space 226, 238n2
  Sagittary Inn 16, 190, 191
  seraglio 190–1
  sodomy 200
  telling/accounting 233–4
  usury 227–8
  Venice 340
Other
  globalization 8
  interpermeable 135
  non-Christian 6–7
  representation 72
  Self 182
  sodomy 17
Ottoman Empire
  Elizabeth I 284
  and England 15, 164, 169–70, 210, 215–16
  and Eurocentricity 115
  Jenkinson 168
  luxuries 175
  Moors 195–6
  Order of St. John 342
  trade 215
  Vecellio 305
  Venice 21, 312–13
Overton, Richard 56
Ovid 191, 192, 242
ownership 52–4, 56, 63, 364
Pacioli, Fra Luca 229, 230–1, 232, 234, 237
Padua botanic gardens 244
Page, Matthew 301
Painter, Thomas 107
painters 3–4, 73, 114–15, 123
palmetto fruit 57–8
parcels, as term 234
Parker, John 170, 172
Parker, Matthew 294, 344–5
Parker, Patricia 18, 25n7, 234
Parker Register of books 76
Parkinson, John 255
Parrott, Thomas Marc 331
Parry, Joseph 254
Parry, V. J. 216
Paschal II, Pope 342
patronage system 36, 37
Paul's Boys 332
Pausanias 85
Pearse, Nancy Cotton 351
Peele, George 220n4
Peele, James 229, 232, 234
Peerse, Gorees 158
pennies, silver 269
performance/*jouissance* 369
Pericles (Shakespeare) 358–60
  brothel scene 368–72
  capitalism 359
  Cerimon of Ephesus 362–3
  communal ideology 356, 362, 363, 364, 366
  dual authorship theory 373n12
  economic changes 358–9
  enclosure 359, 367
  Epilogue 362
  episodic structure 360–1
  fishermen 364–6, 368
  Halpern on 359
  Marina 268, 369–70
  places 361
  primitive accumulation 367
  profit-making 371
  prologue 359, 361–2, 367
  social change 356–7, 367
  social relations 361

Persepolis 191
peso 265
Petrarch, Francesco Petrarca 254
Petri, Nicolaus 229
Pett, Phineas 143
Petter, C. G. 331
Pettie, George 107
Peyton, Walter 140, 141, 143
Phaer, William 351
Philip II 209, 217, 343, 344, 347
picaresque novels 107, 285
Pico della Mirandola, Comte 70
Piggafeta, Antonio 307
Pigman, George W. 123
pilgrims 284
Pinch, William 121
Pius V, Pope 216
place-value, arithmetic 226, 236–7
plants: *see* botany
Plato 279
Platter, Thomas 299
Pliny 294
Poliziano, Angelo 118
Polo, Marco 85, 305
polygamy 318–19
pomegranate tree, as present 138–9
Pomeranz, Kenneth 33, 34–5
Poovey, Mary 232, 237
portagues 267, 270
portraiture 314
Portugal
  slave trade 7, 129
  Spanish control 209–10, 215
Pory, John 194, 340
postcolonial critique 199, 358
pounds/shillings/pence 264, 276n1
power
  knowledge 93–4
  race 190
Power, Eileen 210, 275
Pratt, Mary Louise
  autoethnography 201n13
  contact zones 12, 17, 123, 125, 243, 279
presentation, negative 71, 78
presentism 45n1
prestige coins 263, 264–6, 270
primitive accumulation 50, 63, 65n7, 364, 367, 370–1, 372
Principal Navigations (Hakluyt)
  access to 85, 340
  arms trade 217
  Canary Islands 283
  cross-cultural trade 4
  dedication 164
  Edward VI's edict 157
  excerpt from Geoffrey of Monmouth 151
  on Hawkins 7
  Iceland 14–15, 150
  North-east passage 166, 171
  on Peter Martyr 39
  preface to reader 150
  Russia 166, 169
  second edition 90, 169–74
  travel and imperialism 12
  see also Purchas, Samuel
printing process 32
privateering 129, 179
production modes 356, 357, 372
property ownership
  Canary Islands 282–3
  Jews 346
  Marx 65n10
  private/common 52–4, 56, 364
props, theatrical 325–8
proscenium stage 79n1
prostitution 228, 232–3, 370–1, 374n29
Protestant refugees 208–9
Protestantism
  Dutch 179, 268
  England 105, 163–4, 216–17
  iconoclasm 18, 214
  and Islam 73
  Japan 185
  Low Countries 179, 268
  Norwood 52
  religious others 7
  and Roman Catholicism 34, 73, 74
Prynne, William 281
Ptolemy 67, 68, 69, 78, 279, 281–2
public/private spheres 232
Pullan, J. M. 224, 225, 226
punishments 253–4

Purchas, Samuel
  Christian boys turned Turk 198
  Eurocentrism 145
  Fez innkeeper 194
  and Hakluyt 104
  Leo Africanus 194, 195
  Lok's text 251
  Purchas His Pilgrimes 90
  sodomy 199
  Soldania 140–1
  travel writings 85, 299
purity/whiteness 349–52

queer, as term 191
queer theory 17, 194–5
Quilligan, Maureen 42, 44
Quinn, David 154, 157
Quitslund, Jon 256
Qu'ran
  burning of 79
  cosmography 10–11, 67
  as idolatrous book 75, 77
  Latin translation 76
  training in 196
  Zoacum tree 76–7

race 190, 191, 200–1, 358
racism, denial 187n3
Raemaker, Jan de 229
Raleigh (also Ralegh), Walter
  on colonization 7
  on El Dorado 41–2
  explorations 101
  on gold 38
  on gun exports 217
  Guyana 39, 111
  literary works 37, 299
  as patron 36, 37, 251
  and Spenser 111
Ramusio, Giovanni Battista 85, 166, 307
Randolph, Thomas 171
Rankins, William 13, 117
Rawdon, Marmaduke
  in Canary Islands 20, 279, 281, 286–90
  charitable legacies 286
  Englishness 287
  family background 285–6
  reputation 286–8
  resistance to marriage 289–90, 291–2n14
  wine trade 288–9
Read, David T. 38–9
reading, history of 9
real (coin) 265, 266, 276n10
Recorde, Robert 224, 227, 228, 233, 234
Reformation 103, 150–1, 210, 215–17
religion 71–2, 74
Renaissance 4–8, 12, 117–18
Renaissance Man 4–5, 25n5
representation
  Hadfield 115
  of Islam 6–7
  knowledge 111–12
  Other 72
  and presentation 326
  prohibited 71
  religion 71
revivification 360, 363
Rhodes 342, 347
risk 129, 130–1
robe of honor 121–2, 127n5
Roberts, Lewes 233, 234
Robertus Retenensis (of Chester) 76, 224
Rodrigoe, John 140
Roe, Thomas 7
  as ambassador 116, 119, 134
  on English coach 125
  imitatio 118–22
  and Jahangir 2, 13–14, 114–15, 120, 125
  robe of honor 121–2
Roman Catholicism
  England 268
  idolatry 74
  Japan 185
  and Protestantism 34, 73, 74
  rosary 214
Roman Empire 101, 102
Roman numerals 224, 236
Romney, William 131, 140
Rosenthal, Margaret 320–1n1
Rotman, Brian 225, 236

Roy, Arundhati 361, 373n14
Rubiés, Joan-Pau 321n7
Russia
  commodities 174
  and England 163, 169
  as model empire 15
  natural resources 163, 173
  North-east passage 165–6
  as tyranny 173–4
Russian court 167, 174
Ryan, Kiernan 358
Rycaut, Paul 196, 197, 202n19
Ryu, Catherine 15

sacrifice
  amaranth 18–19, 242, 255–6, 257, 258n10
  Foucault on 252
  and massacre 254
  Mexica people 242–3, 251, 252–3, 254–5, 257
  punishment 253–4
  scapegoat figure 253–4
  Spenser 254
Sacrobosco, Johannes de 224, 225
Safavids 7, 123, 168, 169, 216
Sagittarius figure 16
  see also Othello, Sagittary Inn
Said, Edward 51, 64
St Bartholomew's Day Massacre 107, 108, 243
St Elmo's Fort 343–4, 345
salt taxes 154
Sandys, George 7, 90, 201–2n18
Sannazaro, Jacopo 255
Saris, John 15–16, 179–81, 186–7
Satan 62–3, 65n7
Saxo Grammaticus 159
scapegoat figure 253–4
Scotland
  Gowrie conspiracy 268
  Mary, Queen of Scots 268
  merchants 284–5
  Shakespeare's *Macbeth* 152
  Stuart royal family 358
Scott, Edmund 14, 131–4, 135–7, 143, 144
seamen in London 129, 130–1, 142–3
Seaton, Ethel 67, 68, 76
Seaver, Kirsten 156
Sebastian I 217, 220n4
Sebek, Barbara 20
Sedgwick, Eve 200
self-property 56
self-realization 117–18
self-reflexivity 13, 115, 116, 122–3, 126
Sell, Jonathan 115
Senate of Hamburg 217
Seneca 117
Sensa fair 307–8
seraglio 190–1, 196–7, 201–2n18, 319
Sessa brothers 305
Settle, Dionyse 153–4
sexuality
  commercial use 228
  difference 191
  Foucault 192–3, 201n8
  heterosexuality 197, 198
  homoeroticism 196–7
  homosexuality 197–8
  race 200–1
  whiteness symbolism 349–52
Seymour, Edward 165
Shah Abbas 2, 3
Shakespeare, William
  The Comedy of Errors 191, 277n22
  Cymbeline 227, 229, 230, 235, 237
  Henry IV, Part 1 230, 234
  Henry V 225, 226, 232, 236–7, 238n4, 266–7, 296
  Henry VIII 234, 237
  as landlord 368
  A Lover's Complaint 234
  Love's Labour's Lost 171, 232
  Macbeth 152
  Measure for Measure 227, 234, 262–3
  The Merchant of Venice 129, 131, 226, 227, 231–2, 270, 340
  The Merry Wives of Windsor 230, 280, 290n2
  A Midsummer Night's Dream 326
  Much Ado About Nothing 233
  Richard II 366

Shakespeare, William (*cont'd*)
Romeo and Juliet 226
as shareholder in theater 363
Sonnet 136 233
The Tempest 10, 35
Timon of Athens 237
Titus Andronicus 252
Two Gentlemen of Verona 327
Two Noble Kinsmen (with Fletcher) 329
The Winter's Tale 227, 327
see also Othello; Pericles
Shell, Marc 129
Sherman, William H. 90
Shershow, Scott Cutler 356
Shetlands 153
Shirley, Thomas 197
Sicily 342–3
Sidney, Philip 109, 111, 116, 255
Sidney, Robert 116
Sigismond of Hungary 74–5, 76, 77
Sigismund of Poland 217
Silesia 311
silk fabrics 314
silver 34, 154–5
Simmel, Georg 51
Sinan, Mimar 75
Singh, Jyotsna G. 7, 33, 85, 104, 196
Sire, H. J. A. 344
Skilliter, Susan 216, 217–18
skin color 137, 143
Skinner, Quentin 89
Skura, Meredith 63
slave trade 7, 281–2, 291n4, 345–6
Sloane, K. 214
Smith, David Eugene 224
Smith, Ian 16–17
Smith, John 56, 59
Smith, Thomas 213
Smyth, Adam 20–1
Smythe, Thomas 139, 140
social relations
commonwealth values 373n2
Marx 53, 357–8
Pericles 361
production modes 356, 357, 372
prostitution 370
social transformation
capitalism 23, 368–9
early modern studies 355–6
in *Pericles* 356–7, 367
sodomy
English laws 201n8
Europeans 107, 200
Foucault 192–3
imitatio 198
Moors 195–6
Other 17
race 190
Russia 174
seraglio 197
Turks 197
Soldania 140–1
soldiers, disabled 371
Soliman the Magnificent: *see* Süleyman
sonnets 294
Spain
arms imports 217
coins 268
and England 101, 209–10
gold 245, 272
slave trade 7
travels in 106–7
Spanish Armada 172, 220n4
Speed, John 340
Spenser, Edmund
alienation 37–8
Present State of Ireland 257
and Raleigh 111
Sonnet 22 256
see also The Faerie Queene
spice trade 212, 215, 220
Spurr, David 24
Stallybrass, Peter 56
Stamford Bridge, Battle of 153
Starkey, Oliver 344
state sovereignty 263–4
Steckley, George 280–1, 285, 290n1
Sterne, Lawrence 291n9
Stevin, Simon 229, 231
Stewart, Susan 295
Strachey, William 57–8, 59, 63
Stradling, John 116

Strong, Roy 244
Struik, D. J. 236
Stuart royal family 358
  see also James I and VI
subjectivity 50, 64, 199
Sufism 123, 124
sugar, use of 336
sugar trade 20, 215, 279, 282, 283
Süleyman 168, 169, 342–3, 344
Sullivan, Ceri 234
Sumptuary Laws 122, 333
superstition 74
Supple, B. E. 264
surplus value 357, 371–2
Sweden 217
Swetz, Frank J. 224
Sylvester II, Pope 224

Tacitus, Achiles 359
Tahmasp, Shah 169
Tamburlaine the Great (Marlowe)
  bells 74
  cartography 67–71, 78–9
  death of Tamburlaine 77–8
  global perspective 22
  Islam 73–9
  Orcanes 74–5, 76, 79
  visual representation 73–4
  world-picture 10–11, 67–71, 78–9
  Zoacum tree 76–7
Taussig, Michael 53, 63, 252
Tawney, R. H. 210, 275
Taylor, E. G. R. 170–1
Taylor, John 294
technology for travel 93
Tedlock, Dennis 257
Teltscher, Kate 121
Tenison, Thomas 74
Tenochtitlan, Gardens of 244, 257
Terry, Edward 13, 115, 118, 119–20, 122–3, 141
Test, Edward M. 18–19
testoons 277n23
textile industries
  Antwerp 165
  brocades 308
  Canary Islands 283
  England/Canary Islands 283–4
  inflation 165
  silks 164, 314
  woollens 164–5
theater
  and brothels 371
  capitalism 23
  collaboration/competition 332
  cosmopolitanism 334
  costume 326
  exoticism 325, 336–7
  mercantilism 368
  props 325–8, 337n2
Theodor I 172
theory, as term 200
Thevet, Andre 251, 284
thing theory 32, 46n2
Thirsk, Joan 53–4
Thirty Years War 263
Thomas, Keith 226
Thomson, Leslie 327
[thorn]orláksson, Gu[eth]brandur 156, 157–8, 160
Thorne, Nicholas 283
Thorne, Robert 157
Thucydides 86
Timur 4
  see also Tamburlaine
tin trade 18, 216, 217–18
tobacco 245–6
Todorov, Tzvetan 254
Tokugawa dynasty 179, 182, 185
Topsell, Edward 329
Tordesillas, Treaty of 165
torture 243, 251–2
Towerson, Gabriel 135, 136–7
trade
  community 83
  corruption 173–4
  elites 130
  European/Arabic 4, 5, 22
  expansion 50–1, 85, 357
  exploration 12
  global 5–6, 34, 305
  infidels 209–11, 216, 219–20, 224

trade (*cont'd*)
labor 129–30
obligation 183
Ottoman Empire 215
risks 129
travel 83
Venice 212, 305–6
xenophobia 19–20
Trades Increase ship 141, 143–4
tragicomic romance 357, 359, 362
trans-culturation 85
transnationalism 31–2, 38, 305
transvestism 194
travel
contact zones 12–13
eccentricity 102
hostility to 102
ideal society 94–5
imitatio 116
learning 104–5, 107, 110–11
materialization 307
as metaphor 95–6
mortality 133
technology 93
trade 83
and travail 356
utopia 95–6
travel writing
classical/medieval 84–5
as genre 90–5, 340
hotels 200–1
narrative authority 7, 86–7
Sidney on 109
travelers
hotels 190–1
imitatio 13, 120–1, 126
as pilgrims 284
Trevisan, Domenico 313–14
trifles, trade in: *see* gawdy goods
triumphalism 31–2
turbans 318
Turberville, George 171–2, 174
Turkey
Constantinople 306
destruction of images 73
English trade 23, 219–20
gawdy goods 213–14
homosexuality 197–8
Islam 6–7
sodomy 197
tin imports 217–18
and Venice 312, 313, 321n6
women 318–19
see also Ottoman Empire
Turkish armada 343–4, 346–7
Turner, Victor 362
Tusser, Thomas 55, 56
Twine, Lawrence 360, 363
Two Noble Kinsmen (Shakespeare and Fletcher) 329
Twysden, Isabella 300–1, 302

The Unfortunate Traveller (Nashe)
banished earl 106–8, 110
fiction/travel 104–5
Jack Wilton 105–8, 117
painting analogy 109–10
Zadoch, executed 106, 108, 252
Upton, John 255
use-value 374n16
usury 227–8
utopianism
community 88–9, 90–1, 92
cross-cultural 35
early modern 85–7
Eden 95
globalization 11
humanism 89
as literary form 82–3, 84–5, 87–8
social structures 88–9
travel 95–6

vagrancy
colonization 10
dispossessed people 366
Elizabeth I on 209
enclosures 10, 367
exploration 61
labor 51, 54
laws on 50
primitive accumulation 364, 372
on stage 367
as threat 374n25
Van der Straet, Jan 199

Van der Veen, Marjolein 371
Van Fossen, R. W. 331
Varna, Battle of 75
Vaughan, Stephen 275
Vaughan, Virginia Mason 23
Vecellio, Cesare
  clothing 306, 307, 308
  costume books 21, 305, 308–12, 315–20
  Degli Habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del Mondo 305
  fondaco 306
  Inca feather textiles 320
  merchants 308–12
  sources of knowledge 307–13
  Turkish women 318–19
  wet-weather clothes 317–18
veiling 318–19
venereal disease 262–3
Venice
  artists 320
  Calendar of State Papers 348
  cosmopolitanism 21, 306
  double-entry bookkeeping 229, 234
  ducat 264
  elopement 192
  and England 23
  geopolitics of 23, 340
  glass trade 214
  immigrants 306
  language of trade 307
  merchants 107, 308–9
  Ottoman Empire 21, 312–13
  trade 212, 305–6
  and Turkey 312, 313, 321n6
  women of 308, 310–12
Venier, Sebastian 312
Vergil, Polydore 151
Verstegan, Richard 271
Vespucci, Amerigo 87, 199, 305
Vickers, Brian 373n12
Vieira, Alberto 282, 291n4
Villa Dei, Alexander 224, 225
violence, against female body 254
Virgil 242, 255
Virginia
  and Bermuda 57–8, 59
  birth of first settler child 1
  indigenous population 215, 337
  Raleigh 7, 37, 111
  representations of 246–7
Virginia Company 57
Vitkus, Daniel 9–10, 196, 345
Vladislaus of Hungary 75
Von Martels, Zweder 85
Vroom, Hendrick Cornelisz 138

wage labor 55, 269, 357, 364
Wallerstein, Immanuel 8, 33, 35, 83
Warner, William 168
Warton, Thomas 224
weapons trade 18, 74, 211, 215–18
Webster, John 332
Weddington, John 229
Weever, John 294
Westphalia, Peace of 263–4
Westward Ho (Webster and Dekker) 332
Wharton, George 298
Wheeler, John 51
White, John 102, 214
White Sea 165, 167
whiteness as purity 23, 349–52
Wickham, Richard 181–2
Wilkes, G. A. 331
Wilkins, George 360
Willes, Richard 175n9
William of Newburgh 151
William of Normandy 153
Williams, Gordon 227, 228, 232
Williams, Raymond 64
Willoughby, Hugh 15, 164, 165
Wilson, Robert 213, 214, 215, 218
wine trade 280, 281, 288–9, 290n1
Wing, Vincent 20–1, 296
Winstanley, Gerrard 52, 53
The Witch of Edmonton (Dekker, Ford and Rowley) 326
Withers, Robert 198
Wolf, Lucien 282
women merchants 310–12
Wood, Anthony 302
Wood, Ellen Meiksins 23, 357, 371
woollen goods 164–5, 266, 273
Woolley, John 284

world as stage metaphor 21–2
World Trade Center attack 31
world-picture 10–11, 67–71, 78–9, 242
world-system economy 83–4, 357
Wrightson, Keith 373n2, 373n5
Wroth, Mary 256

xenophobia
  class tensions 263
  cosmopolitanism 8, 26n9, 35
  England 17–18, 212
  foreign coins 273
  mercantilism 16
  mythic 15
  trade 19–20

Ympyn Christoffels, Jan 229, 235, 237
Yungblut, Laura Hunt 220n2

Zen, Pietro 313
Zenaro, Damian 305
zero 18, 223, 224, 225–6, 236–7
Zoacum tree 76–7
zodiac 297, 299–300