Social Space in the Writings of Early Modern Women

Alatheia Talbot, Countess of Arundel by Daniel Mytens, 1618
National Portrait Gallery, London

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This thesis is dedicated
to my mother, Marlynn Malay
and
in memory of my father, George Malay

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Social Space in the Writing of Early Modern Women:
An Abstract

Henri Lefebvre in his work, *The Production of Space* describes "representational space" as being "alive. It speaks ... It embraces the loci of passion, of action and of lived situations."[*] Manuel Castells reiterates this view of spatiality when he argues, "Space is not a reflection of society, it is society."[†] This work explores the way in which the texts of five early modern women insert into the dynamics of spatial production alternative constructions and possibilities. Aemilia Lanyer accesses the discourse of the country house, inserting alternatives to authoritarian cultural constructs in her poem "The Description of Cooke-ham." Isabella Whitney draws upon discourses of the city to create both a celebration and a complaint of her experience of London. Her poem, "The Maner of her Wyll & What She Left To London ..." uses a variety of rhetorical strategies to represent the social spaces of the city and the place of the individual within it. The diary of Margaret Hoby reveals another kind of relationship to social space. This diary is explored using the concepts of body-ballet and time/space routine. What is revealed is Hoby's subjective representation of a personal geography. The elegiac poetry of Elizabeth Russell is inscribed in the sacred spaces of the culture, on the monuments of her husband and children. Through this spatial act Russell sought to mediate the damage death wrought upon her and her "house" or family. Her poetry also serves as a vehicle through which she performs her construction of self-identity. Jane Seager, in her gift book to Queen Elizabeth, seeks to appropriate deities of space, the sibyls, in order to enter imaginatively into the social spaces of the Queen. In this way she seeks to secure some form of agency. The writing of each of these women draws upon what Lefebvre terms representational space, as a means to explore the spatiality of their period and insert alternative constructions into a spatial dialogue that was increasingly focused on conceptual spaces of emerging mathematical processes, cartographic imaging and methods for the measurement and traversing of space.

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[*] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1991) 42.

[†] Manuel Castells, "Crisis, Planning and the Quality of Life: Managing the New Historical Relationships between Space and Society." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 1 (1983): 4.

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Social space is produced through the relationship between environment and the people that inhabit that environment. I have been fortunate to have inhabited a space so filled with encouragement, support, and intellectual rigor in which to pursue this thesis.

Editorial Note

This thesis follows MLA style except in regards to the use of ellipses, which will not be placed within brackets. End notes are used except when noted, and follow each chapter. In regards to end notes, each chapter is treated as a separate essay, with the first reference to a work in each chapter given in full. A complete bibliography is included at the end of the thesis for added reference. When two or more authors share the same last name, fore names will be used in all chapters for ease of attribution.

In quoting from early modern texts I have followed the spelling, grammar and style of the source texts. I have retained the italics and capitalization of the source texts except in cases where these are distracting or misleading. I have clarified within brackets immediately following texts where the wording or spelling could be confusing.

I have altered the "u"s and "v"s, "i"s and "j"s to conform to modern usage. In the case of early modern abbreviations, I retain these when the meaning is clear, while printing out the entire word when necessary for clarity of understanding. I have used the entire word when it was shortened in the source text for printer convenience. In the case of manuscripts, I have followed as meticulously as possible the spelling and conventions used within the text. When referencing quotations from poetry I reference the page number first, followed after a colon by the line numbers when these are available in the source text. In quoting Shakespeare I refer to the page number of the source texts first, followed after a colon by act, scene and line. In quoting Spenser's *Faerie Queene* I have followed a similar practice, with the page number followed after a colon by the book, canto and line numbers.

Introduction

After I came from Pendraggon Castle in Westmerland, I lay now in Appleyby Castle some 12 nights, before I removed from thence to Brougham castle in the sayd Countie, wither I and my familie came safe the 29th daie of this October, to lye there in it for a time in the same Chamber where my Noble Father was borne and my Blessed Mother dyed [from the diary of Anne Clifford][1]

First we entred the fayre Church, [in Newark upon Trent] which is richly adorn'd with Monuments, and seats of Noblemen, Knights, and others: The stately upright, spir'd Steeple is joyn'd to his beautifull Spouse the Church, and standeth by her, as a proper Bridegroome, doth by his neatly trim'd Bride. In her as sweet Organs, some Queristers, Singing Boyes. [from Lieutentant Hammond's, *A Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties*][2]

> Three goodly Houses he did build, to his great praise and fame
> With profits great and manifold belonging to the same.
> Three parks he did impale, therein to chase the deere;
> The lofty Lodge within this Park he also builded here.
> [from Sir Thomas Cockayn's monument at Ashbourne][3]

The castle of Grossemount standithe a 3. miles above Skenfrith, on the right hand of Mone Water. . .halfe a myle from the rype. It stondith strongly on a rocky hill dry dyched, and a village of the same name by it. Most parte of the castle wauls stand.

The third castle of the lordshipe of Tirtre or 3. townes is caullyd White-Castle, three miles flat southe from Grossmounte. This castle stondythe on a hill ... It is made almoste all of great slate stone, and is the greatyst of the three.

The contry is champain about it, and no great woods at hand, but the forrest of Grossenmont by northe. Good corne and pasture about this and the othar two. [from John Leland's Itinerary][4]

> From when the Seas shall eat away the Shore,
> Great Woods spring up, where Plaines were heretofore;
> High Mountaines leveled with low Vallyes lye;
> And Rivers runne where now the ground is drie:
> This Poeme shall grow famous, and declare
> What old-Things stood, where new-Things shall appeare
> [George Wither's dedication in the1622 edition of Drayton's Poly-Olbion][5]

The lived spaces of early modern England[*]—manors, cottages, chambers, halls, gardens, seas, castles, rivers, and pales; commons, farms, service rooms, woodlands, "champain ground," tenements, villages, cities, towns, fields, churches, tombs, palaces, and the ramshackle dwellings of the poor—as material objects, informed the cognitive structures of the inhabitants, revealing a potent cultural narrative. Anne Clifford's diaries record her movements through space, and her pauses. In her narrative, she collapses her castles and vast property holdings into a single iconic chamber of heredity. Lieutenant Hammond contracts and expands space in his exposition. He starts his description with the tombs inside the womb of the church, then moves outward to the steeple piercing the air, returning again to the interior spaces of service and worship—all through a trope of human concupiscence. The monument of Thomas Cockayn, though neatly encasing him in a narrow space of death turns the reader of his epitaph away from his funeral cell, to the signifiers he left on the landscape, connecting him with house and park and lodge. John Leland, in his notes for Henry VIII, surveys the state and condition of castles, while noting inhabited and agricultural spaces in his laconic prose. Finally, George Wither signals the fixing of a mutable spatiality through the textual production of Drayton's massive landscape epic, the *Poly-Olbion*.

The spatiality[†] of early modern England depicted in these excerpts only begins to reveal the rich spatial dialogue to be discovered in texts of the period. Through these texts one can explore the manner in which spatiality is produced through human interaction, while at the same witnessing how space itself exerts a defining influence on the ways in which society, and the subjectivity of individuals within that society, are constructed. In the first chapter of this thesis the complexity inherent in this interaction will be explored using Henri Lefebvre's trialectical theory of social space. Lefebvre first breaks down aspects of social space into the conceived, perceived and lived in order to

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[*] In an interview with Karl Vocelka, on 26 June 1990, Peter Burke discusses the multiple definitions of this term, which he prefers to label as "a flag of convenience" rather than a reified historical period. The discussion of the end and starting points which constitute the early modern are particularly problematic. Burke suggests that these are most usefully situated according to the particular field of inquiry. The problems associated with fixing these beginning and end dates are not of concern in this work, as the period of concern in the scope of this work are well within the many starting and ending points suggested as constituting the early modern.

[†] Spatiality, as used in this book, is defined as "socially produced space, the created forms and relations of broadly defined human geography" from Edward W. Soja's article: "The Spatiality of Social Life," p.123, *n* 2.

examine the ways these elements interact. His theorizing of the production of space, while providing a useful analytical position, is complex and in some ways ambitious. The works of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu and others will be drawn on to develop further the theoretical discourse through which social space will be examined within the thesis. This discussion will also be informed by the work of cultural geographers, who provide insights and examples of the myriad ways in which human beings interact with structures and ideologies inherent in social space. Through their work the role of the physical body as mediator between perceived spaces and the development of cognitions of spatiality is put into the context of contemporary practice. The functioning of power—how this is promoted and experienced through spatiality by those in the early modern period—is also discussed, especially as it relates to emerging mathematical and scientific concepts and practices. Out of these came the production of a spatiality in the process of becoming what Lefebvre terms as abstract. Other ways of perceiving social space, while still existing in the period, became increasingly marginalized, while developing spatial abstractions gained precedence especially among the political and educated elite.

This process was accelerated by rapid social and political change. The increasing availability of a variety of new ideas, approaches, philosophies and practices emerging in the period all had implications for the development of social space. Along with these occurred changes wrought not only in religion, but also in the politics, economy and topography of England brought about by the Henrician Reformation. Chapter 2 discusses the ways in which these changes began to transform social space through redistribution of land, a renegotiation of the terms of habitation within the country and the emerging sense of private property. This chapter also presents—through the writings of travelers, chorographers, and others—a contemporary view of this complex spatial landscape. Through these descriptions the political manipulation and appropriation of the landscape is revealed.

Drawing from these discussions of theoretical issues and the historical setting, the chapters which follow explore the spatiality of the period through female-authored texts. These texts offer depictions of social space that have many similarities with male-authored texts, revealing their production within the culture. However, gender does inform the ways in which individuals function and participate in the production of social

space. Doreen Massey explains, "social relations of space are experienced differently, and, variously interpreted by those holding different positions as part of it." Thus, an individual delineation of spatiality becomes a unique "articulation" of the relations between the individual and society, revealing a "particular moment in those networks of social relations and understandings."[6] Female-authored depictions of social space reveal, along with a rich variety of spatial engagements, gendered experiences. These experiences become a part of the narratives they create.

Aemilia Lanyer's "To Cookham" draws upon the spatial discourse of the country house. This emerging signification of elite power in the landscape informs her poem. It provides a means, through the appropriation of an approved cultural discourse, for Lanyer to express an alternative political positioning through the creation of a representational space, her construction of a female community she terms "Cookham." She offers this imagined spatiality as an alternative to the emerging "property principle" represented by the policies of James I. This social space is figured as communal, existing within a sympathetic hierarchical structure. She use tropes of divinity, and allusions to Elizabeth I—whose romanticized reciprocity, was by 1610, being promoted as a means of criticizing the aloof and authoritarian political style practiced by James—to advance her vision of a more relational social space.

Isabella Whitney also creates a representational space in her "Wyll and Testament to London." She draws from the chaotic and fractured nature of the urban spatiality of early modern London to construct an imagined spatiality through which she expresses her experiences in London and the desires which life in the city create in her. Her poem reveals a variety of narrative strategies to depict the urban spatiality. Many of these she draws from familiar experiences and imbeds within the conceptual framework of a will. Her poem reveals an interesting mixture of fixed point perspective derived from her exposure to maps of the period, with a "haptic" way of seeing experienced through female textile production. From these ways of "seeing" she executes a depiction of the city in fine detail; weaving a narrative tapestry of human interaction which creates the spatiality of the city. Whitney also draws on the tropes and conceits of Petrarchan discourse, positioning herself as the desiring subject of the city, personified as an anatomized and objectified male.

Margaret Hoby reveals a perceived spatiality through her diary, kept during the years 1599-1605. The initial purpose of this diary appears to be the recording of spiritual activities. However from the very beginning Hoby's interactions with her social space come to the fore. Rather than simply mapping her spiritual progressions, it records a personal geography. The ways in which this particular experience of spatiality functions is explored using the analogous concepts of body ballet and cognitive mapping. Her journal reflects a spatiality that is interwoven in the constraining and enabling web of the local social mapping of her culture. It reveals a relationship to this place, this "habitat" that is both proprietary and vulnerable. The diary illustrates a social space defined through participation and cooperation as well as conflict and disruption. Both cooperative activities and conflictual episodes reveal the boundaries of Hoby's particular social space and the importance of ritual in establishing and reinforcing these boundaries. Her interactions with the locale of Hackness are reciprocal; her participation produces a unique social space that in turn contributes to the development of Hoby's identity.

The role of social space in the construction of identity is also explored through the tomb poems of Elizabeth Russell. She found, in the sacred spaces of death, a locale upon which to inscribe a narration of self. Through this narration she negotiates with death, accessing what Massey terms as "the vast complexity of the interlocking and articulating nets of social relations which is social space,"[7] in order to ameliorate the damage inflicted upon herself and her "house." The motifs, iconography and siting of the tombs interact with Russell's texts, creating maps of social connections that assert Russell's claims to elite status. She draws upon heraldry, architectural structures and ornamentation, as well as placement of tombs, within the newly emptied spaces of the reformed church fabric, to create a potent message of her worthiness and the just cultural deserts of her "house." Russell was not unique in the utilization of monuments to promote elite status. Indeed, those at the top of the social hierarchy, including Elizabeth herself, recognized the importance of imprinting images of the aristocracy upon the spatial fabric of the country. Elizabeth understood the political value to be derived by the portrayal of members of the elite as part of a privileged class sanctified by divine mandate. The tombs attested to this quasi divinity by appropriating the places where images of saints once stood.

Jane Seager also draws upon cryptic spaces of mystery and divinity in her gift exchange with Elizabeth I. Seager created a book, both the material object and the text

within, which draws upon these sacred spaces for authority. Through her textual creation she accessed a growing consciousness in her culture of the sacred and imperialistic destiny of a newly emerging "Brittania" which positioned Queen Elizabeth as a messianic deity.   Seager uses sibylline prophesies from medieval Latin texts to invoke what Lefebvre calls "cryptic spaces" in order to give voice to an emerging conception of social space which was fundamentally imperialistic. Seager's texts posit an imagined spatiality of vast proportions; her sibyls by definition are deities attached to locales—positioned across great distances—yet speaking in one voice. Her material production of the book forms a connection between the infinite spaces characterized by sibylline prophesies and the privileged spatiality of Elizabeth's private chambers; where it contracts to the intimate space created between her two hands holding the book. In this way Seager creates a spatial symbiosis merging imperialistic possession of the world within the hands of a monarch. In doing so Seager forms a textual connection between herself and the sibyls, inserting herself into the imperialist project her work promotes.

Seager, Hoby, Russell, Whitney, and Lanyer existed, as does all human society, within a mutable spatiality of constant motion, chaotic juxtapositions, relational and oppositional forces. The texts these women created drew upon their mental and physical experiences of this spatiality, through which they crafted their own contributions to their dynamic social space. For, as Gaston Bachelard gently asserts, "Space that has been seized upon by the imagination cannot remain indifferent space subject to the measures and estimates of the surveyor. It has been lived in, not in its positivity, but with all the partiality of the imagination."[8]

1 Anne Clifford, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. D.J.H. Clifford (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1990) 154.

2 [Lieutenant] Hammond, *A Relation of a Short Survey of the 26 Counties*, ed. L.G. Wickham Legg (London: F.E. Robinson, 1904) 10.

3 Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry: 1480-1680* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale UP, 1999) 17.

4 John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith. Vol. 5 (London, Centaur, 1964) 71.

5 George Wither, dedication, *A Chorographicall Description of ... Great Britain.* [Poly-Olbion] by Michael Drayton (London 1622)

6 Doreen Massey, *Space Place and Gender* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1994) 3,5.

7 Massey, *Space Place and Gender* 168.

8 Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon, 1994) xxxvi.

Chapter 1
Spatial Theoretics

"(Social) space is a (social) product".[1] The simplicity of this statement by Henri
Lefebvre in his influential *The Production of Space*, belies its impact on the complex way in
which spatiality interacts with, and in many ways produces, culture. The American cultural
geographer, Edward Soja explains, "There is no unspatialized social reality. There are no
aspatial social processes. Even in the realm of pure abstraction, ideology, and representation,
there is a pervasive and pertinent, if often hidden, spatial dimension."[2] In saying this Soja
clarifies Lefebvre's claims that "(Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a
product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their
interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity"[3] Space is more than a passive
medium, a container, where action takes place. It operates as an "instrument" and a "goal,"
bringing all aspects of the socio-political arena together, and must be seen as a process, which
is not separable from facts and their relationships.[4]

I.

This view of an all-encompassing spatiality has implications for the exploration of
any human endeavor, since, as Lefebvre asserts, "The living organism has neither meaning
nor existence when considered in isolation from its extensions, from the space that it reaches
and produces … Every such organism is reflected and refracted in the changes that it wreaks
… *in its space.*"[5] Michel Foucault also considers the way in which the spatial is comprised of
sets of relationships, "We do not live inside a void that could be colored with diverse shades
of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites."[6] Inside these relations, this
social space, social action and relationships are "materially constituted, and made concrete."[7]
Soja also discusses how social space should be seen as "inhabited and heterogeneous, as a
moving cluster of points of intersection for manifold axes of power which cannot be reduced
to a unified plane or organized into a single narrative."[8] In this way, social space is usefully
defined as being constructed through multiple relationships which are in a constant dialogue.
Soja uses the term "spatiality" to signify these relationships, which he defines as a process
through which cultural relations, individual and group interactions and by extension history
and all cultural materiality are produced.[9] Lefebvre's ideas concerning the space of social

practices also incorporate these relationships "in which sensible phenomena are situated in, not excluding the imaginary, projects and projections, symbols, utopias."[10] In viewing the spatial, or "spatiality" as formed of myriad relations one is able to begin to identify its dynamics, and in so doing the ways in which a culture reflects, represents and participates in the production of social space.

One useful way to discuss these dynamics is through Lefebvre's propositions of perceived, conceived, and lived spaces, a trialectic which Lefebvre makes clear are not individual entities unto themselves, but are instead, a way of articulating the relationships between particular aspects of spatiality.[11] Indeed, at times his conception of "lived spaces" or "representational space"* encompasses both the perceived (spatial practice) and the conceived (representations of space).[12]

In his concept of "perceived space" Lefebvre includes those spaces which Soja describes as "a material and materialized 'physical' spatiality that is directly comprehended in empirically measurable configurations: in the absolute and relative locations of things and activities, sites and situations; in patterns of distribution, designs, and the differentiation of a multitude of materialized phenomena across spaces and places." [13] In the early modern period these would be the spaces of the towns and cities with their market places, civic buildings, parish churches, grand cathedrals and minsters, paupers' tenements and the private homes of the more affluent, alms houses, charitable hospitals and other spaces "perceived" in the everyday traverse and commerce of the populace. In addition, these were the spaces of the villages and the rural areas with their often dominating manor houses, their small parish churches, their local landmarks with all the variety inherent in the different areas and regions of the period. These spaces would also be those networks of travel and communication, the roads and waterways. One entertaining depiction of these perceived spaces of the early modern period is told by William Kemp in his little book, *Kemps Nine Daies Wonder: Performed in a Daunce from London to Norwich*:

> On Friday morning I set forward towardes Chelmsford … Onward I went,
> thus easily followed, till I come to Witford-bridge, where a number of
> country people, and many Gentlemen and Gentlewomen were gathered to see
> me. Sir. Thomas Mildmay, standing at his Parke pale, received gently a payre

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* Both Soja and Shields prefer to use the term "spaces of representations," asserting that this phrase is closer to a direct translation of Lefebvre's *espaces de la representation*. I will use the term "representational spaces" as used by Nicholson-Smith in his 1991 translation of *The Production of Space*, as the phrase is more structurally distinct, avoiding confusion with the term "representations of space," while not materially interfering with the meaning intended by Lefebvre.

of garters of me … On Munday morning, very early, I rid the 3 myles that I
daunst the satterday before; where alighting, my Taberer strucked up, and
lightly I tript forward; but I had the heaviest way that ever mad Marrice-
dancer trod … This foule way I could finde no ease in, thicke woods being on
eyther side of the lane; the lane likewise being full of deep holes …[14]

At the end of his journey he arrives at the city gate of St. Giles, and "with great labour I got
thorow that narrow preaze into the open market place; where on the crosse, ready prepared,
stood the Citty Waytes."[15] From there he leapt "over the church-yard wall at S. Johns,
getting so into M. Mayors gates a nearer way", the measure of the jump he assures the reader,
"is to be seen in the Guild-hall at Norwich."[16] A Lieutenant Hammond also describes the
perceived spaces of the period in a slightly more sober, yet still engaging narrative of travel:

By this time it was high time to finish my third weekes travell, therefore away
I hasten by a noble knights House, and Parke, where there was 3. or 4. Earles,
leaving not farre on my right another right noble generous knights Seat,
where his Majestie very lately, was Royally entertayn'd, and through some
part of Beare Forest, by the fayre Mansion and large Parke of the Bishop of
that Diocesse, where his Lordship altogeather resides; and soe over the
Downes, till I tumbled down a steepy Hill a whole mile togeather, into that
old and ancient City of Winchester, which is of the same age with her sister
Canterbury … and there took up my third Sundays rest at the [blank] in their
high, and principall Street there, which runs/from East to Westgate, where I
had as much adoe to obtaine fayre Quarter, as I had in all my travel … I
found her [Winchester] Scytuated in a rich valley, inviron'd round with great
Hills, a sweet and pleasant River, gliding in, by, and through her,
encompass'd with a wall neere 2. Mile about, and a Ditch without it, with 6.
Gates for entrance … there is also the Ruines of 2. famous Monasteries in
her, which are lamentable to behold.[17]

These "perceived spaces" are spaces created by culture. Soja explains, "Sociality,
both routinely and problematically, produces spatiality, and vice versa, putting to the
forefront of critical inquiry a dynamic socio-spatial dialectic."[18] As the above examples
show, perceived space is not socially neutral or static. Kemp's narration juxtaposes a bridge,
or public space where "country people" gather, with Sir Thomas Mildmay, standing in his
"Parke pale." Later in the passage Kemp enters a lane, which moves through a thick wood.
In this short passage the forces of social class, the sites where country people and local gentry

are allowed to gather, are separated by the "pale" or fence which clearly signifies the social spaces of elite, while the spaces of path and lane create a connection and also an additional space which enters into the dialogue. Kemp displays an awareness of the social significations of these spaces, acknowledging the spectators on the bridge, stopping when he reaches the social space of the elite, and offering gifts, while displaying dismay and unease in those social spaces less rigidly defined, the path through the thick woods. Lefebvre comments, "Social space *per se* is at once work and product – a materialization of 'social being.'"[19] It is here, in spaces as perceived, that "spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion ... this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of *competence* and a specific level of *performance*."[20] Hammond's text also displays an awareness of this spatial practice through the way in which he records his sojourn. First he hastens to view a noble house, illustrating that in this society, the social spaces of the elite have an important iconographical value, to which Kemp also alludes. The progression of his narrative moves down, from the height of the noble house, into the city of Winchester. Here he identifies a social space of mercantile activity, and multiple social classes, which he situates in relation to the city's natural environment, encircled by hills, a river and finally a wall with gates. He also recognizes the perceived spaces of the past—the ruined monasteries—signified a recognition of these now symbolic spaces which informed contemporary perceived space. Social cohesion, and the performance perceived spaces ensure, are visible in texts like Kemp's and Hammond's as well as other writing in the period. These expressions of cohesion and continuity in space, though at all times problematic and unstable, create the façade of stability in the perceived icons of the landscape. The London clown, the restless lieutenant and many other travelers and dwellers, whose texts will be explored in subsequent chapters, consistently identify the social significations in the landscape, and position themselves in relation to these significations. Sometimes their texts are positioned in accordance with social norms, as in Margaret Hoby's diary, while at times they serve as a way of subverting these norms, a strategy employed by Isabella Whitney and Aemilia Lanyer.

The second concept in Lefebvre's trialectical explanation of the dynamics of social space is that of the conceived "spaces of representation." This is space as conceptualized. It is the space of architects, planners, social engineers, urbanists and others.[21] It is a space of codes and signs, "conceived in ideas about space, in thoughtful re-presentations of human spatiality in mental or cognitive forms."[22] This conceptual space plays "a part in social and political practice" establishing "relations between objects and people" which are "subordinate to a logic."[23] David Harvey discusses the relationship between society and the

role it plays in determining the content of conceived space: "Each social formation constructs objective conceptions of space and time sufficient unto its own needs and purposes of material and social reproduction and organizes its material practices in accordance with those conceptions."[24] Rob Shields contends, "most crucially, these 'representations' are central to forms of knowledge and claims of truth."[25] The conceived spaces of the early modern period include the development of map-making beyond the metaphorical iconography of the Middle Ages, into a representation of space which draws on the authority of empiricist enquiry. The period saw an explosion of map making which purported to portray an empirically definable "world" as will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2. These early modern cartographers portrayed a particular image of the landscape as authoritative. Its authority often came from a connection between this image and the elite that most often commissioned the mapping activities in order to secure their interests. This social connection can be seen in a letter by the topographer John Speed, who writes:

> Worshipful Sir [Robert Cotton] my thoughts runyng upon the well
> performance of this worke, and fearfull to comitt any thing disagreeing from
> the truth, I have sent you a coppy of some part of that which you have already
> sene ... in all dutifull service and affection to your Worship's command.[26]

John Norden, another early modern topographer, was one of an expanding number of surveyors who were increasingly relied upon to produce representations of space, in the form of estate maps. The purpose of commissioning these maps was often their usefulness in legal disputes and mainly tended to secure the rights of the elite over tenant claims. Bernhard Klein discusses how these survey maps raised concerns that the map itself would "change the true nature of the fields it graphically displays and raise unjustified expectations on the part of a profit-oriented lord."[27] Norden's survey of Lordships of Bromfield and Yale, in 1620, details the change of a rabbit warren converted into pasture and tillage (fig. 1-1). In these surveys, such as Norden's of the landholdings of Barely in Hertfordshire (1593-1603), such representations of space secured the rights of all property owners, though the tenantry still had much to be concerned about in regards to these surveying projects. This mapping enterprise promoted the growing social importance of private ownership of property; an element of early modern social space which would have growing implications for the culture throughout the period. John Wilkerson explains how Norden's survey also includes the woods, furlongs, and enclosures, as well as the tenants of the crofts, major roadways with their market town destinations, paths, rivers, and landmarks recognizable to the local inhabitants, attesting to relational dynamic of social space.[28] The estate maps of Norden, and

Figure 1-1: Detail from John Norden's Survey of the Lordships of Bromfield and Yale, co. Denbigh, 1620.

other surveyors of the time, along with the large mapping projects of Christopher Saxton, John Speed, and others inserted a particular way of viewing the land into the cultural consciousness. These representations of space, joined to other elements of social space, produced early modern spatiality.

Another innovation which was highly influential in this production of early modern spatiality were advances in the understanding, practice and application of geometry, an emerging representation of space. The role of geometry as a means of possessing and transforming space is evident in the work of John Dee who states that:

> some by ignora[n]ce, some by negli[n]ce, Some by fraude, and some by violence, did wrongfully limite, measure, encroach, or challenge (by pretence of just content and measure) those landes and groundes: great losse, disquietnes, murder, and warre did (full oft) ensue: Till, by Gods mercy, and mans Industrie, the perfect Science of Lines, Plaines, and Solides (like a divine Justicier,) gave unto every man his owne ... No man, therfore, can doute, but toward the atteyning of knowledge incomparable, and Heavenly Wisedome: Mathematicall Speculatons, both of Numbers and Magnitudes [Geometry]: are meanes, aydes, and guides: ready, certaine and necessary.[29]

Here Dee attributes to Geometry a way to conceive of space which is so objective as to be "divine." This perception of perfection in this method of representing the spatial gave it an authority which was to have long lasting cultural implications. By the early modern period, geometrical principals were elevated above other ways of conceiving the world, which in turn gave authority and power to those segments of society that were schooled in, and practiced them. Gillian Rose comments that "Euclidean geometry was 'the guarantor of certainty in spatial conception, organisation and representation'"[30] This certainty again interacted with other aspects of early modern social space. It provided the means whereby maps were accounted "accurate," while undermining methods of measuring space which depended on visual experience, memory and object/place. Again, this elevated the interests of the elite over commoners and men over women, as access to this growingly important tool for the conceptualization of space was controllable, through access to education. Jerry Brotton notes the way in which representations of space began to rapidly gain prominence in the spatiality of the early modern period as representations of terrestrial space transformed from their primary role as a vehicle for the transmission of religious symbolism to "the construction of an empty, homogeneous graticule of latitude and longitude" that allowed for the mapping of "new-found lands within this predetermined spatial grid" as well as promoting the

"development of a geographically comprehensive and all-inclusive apprehension of the early modern world."[31]

This "comprehensive and all-inclusive" manner of apprehending the world provided a conceptual framework for the empiricist project developing in early modern England, and thus was an important element in the dialogue which produced early modern spatiality. The "emptying of the symbolic" speaks to the alteration of elements of social space from sites of meaning, to sites which, emptied of meaning could be expropriated for other purposes. Through the insertion of geometric objectivity into the relational matrix of social space early modern spatiality was transformed, as will be discussed more fully below.

Representational space completes Lefebvre's trialectic. This is the space of the lived. He describes it as "space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of the 'inhabitants' and 'users'... It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects."[32] He further explains that the imaginary and the symbolic reside in this space. It is a place of pre-language, extra-language even meta-language experiences. "Representational space is alive: it speaks. It has an affective kernel or centre: Ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house; or: square, church, graveyard. It embraces the loci of passion, of action and of lived situations."[33] Representational space "embodies complex symbolisms ... linked to the 'clandestine or underground side of social life' and also to art." This space includes the mysterious and the secretive, and privileges the perceptions of art.[34] Representational space does what spaces of representation cannot do. It allows human beings to access "symbols that we can readily conceive and intuit" which are "inaccessible as such to our abstract knowledge" derived from conceived space.[35] Lefebvre's "representational space" functions in a similar (though not identical) fashion to Foucault's conception of heterotopias. His heterotopias contain "something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality." This space is both "simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live". This is the "the space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs."[36] Soja brings together these basic concepts expressed in Lefebvre's representational space and Foucault's heterotopias, as well as ideas derived from Heidegger, Sartre and others, in what he calls "Thirdspace." This space is a knowable and unknowable spatiality made up of both the "real and imagined lifeworld of experiences, emotions, events, and political choices that is existentially shaped by the

generative and problematic interplay between centers and peripheries, the abstract and concrete, the impassioned spaces of the conceptual and the lived."[37] Representational spaces are derived from a multitude of experiences, knowledge bases, diverse interpretations and connections. They are inherently a part of social space, posit multiple interpretations of elements in social space, which allow for multiple meanings to exist within points in space, places which may be perceived, but also "lived" through their symbolic interconnectedness. Representational space, as mentioned above, is presented as one of three parts in Lefebvre's definition of the dynamics of social space. However, this is a misleading division, for the concept of representational space allows for the interplay of perceived, conceived, and places of the symbolic, imagination, emotions, the political and a myriad of other ideas, forces, sites, and cultural elements to interact. Lefebvrian representational space, when more fully defined and exemplified by the work of Foucault and Soja, elucidates the conceptualization of complex relationships that make up social space. This allows a greater understanding of the way in which writers access, inform and even produce spatiality.

The literature of the early modern period is replete with these spaces. They are to be found in the fairie land of Edmund Spenser and the pastoral of Mary Wroth. Isabella Whitney's London is a representational space, as is Aemilia Lanyer's Cookham or Ben Jonson's Penshurst. It is there in the city comedies and the courtly pastorals presented to the Queen on her many progresses, and other courtly/political pageants. Shakespeare's forest of Arden is a representational space, as is Philip Sidney's Arcadia. The multiplicity of relationships inherent in representational space, as well as the language to depict this spatiality, unlike the more specialized language and conceptualizations of conceived space, which were created through more restricted fields of study, was accessible to women. They often depict these spaces in their writing, many times offering them as a counter-positioning to the increasingly authoritative representations of space being developed by men in the period.

Lefebvre, Foucault, and Soja all choose to express their conceptions of space as multiplicit and relational in order to avoid a dualistic reductionism. Soja explains, "Lefebvre creatively resisted [this reductionism] by choosing instead an-Other alternative, marked by the openness of the both/and also ... with the "also" reverberating back to disrupt the categorical closures implicit in the either/or logic."[38] Soja chooses a similar strategy when he presents his Thirdspace as "an-Other way of understanding and acting to change the spatiality of human life, a distinct mode of critical spatial awareness that is appropriate to the new scope and significance being brought about in the rebalanced trialectics of spatiality-

historicality-sociality,"[39] while Foucault's very term "heterotopia" infers a multi-faceted dynamic. By understanding that social space is produced through complex and multiplicit relations, one is able to recognize these relations as represented, practiced and created in early modern texts.

II.

However, in exploring these texts it becomes clear that writers of the period were not simply observing, imagining, and recording social space, but were also participating in the creation of this spatiality; their writing entering into the relational dynamics of social space. Indeed, as writers they participated with the many and varied forces of their society and culture. In the heterogeneity of their social space "distinct stories coexist, meet up, affect each other come into conflict or cooperate. This space is not static, not a cross-section through time; it is disrupted, active and generative. It is not a closed system; it is constantly, as space-time, being made."[40] Allen Pred, a cultural geographer whose work focuses on the ways in which individuals influence communal space, and are in turn defined through this space, exemplifies the way in which individuals participate in this generation of space:

> to listen understandingly and perform intelligibly,
>
> is enabled and constrained
>
> by both her place in the world
>
>   and the world in her place,
>
> By the ensemble of people, intuitions, artifacts
>
>   and built environmental features
>
> present in her place of residence,
>
> by, as well,
>
> her varied positions in the network of local and more global power
>
>   relations
>
> which govern access to that ensemble of phenomena.[41]

An excellent example of the fundamental importance of this human interaction in the production of early modern space comes from the *Survey of Barley* undertaken by John Norden in the years 1593-1603. He explains the human actions through which he creates a potent representation of space, that of a survey map, with all of the implications such a space had upon the production of early modern social space:

[This] BOOK in which is contained the inspection and perambulations of the
manors of Mincinbury, Abbotsbury and Hores in the parish of Barley in the
county of Hertford, namely the demesne lands, meadows, pastures, woods
and arable, enclosed and in open field, both of the tenants and of the lord,
with the charter or plan in which the aforesaid lands are set out ... by John
Norden in association with many of the tenants of the manors by warrant of
Sir John Spencer, Lord of the Manor.[42]

In this survey he records the individuals who participate in the creation of "Barley" through,
for example, their ownership, tenancies, mutually beneficial exchange of property, marriages,
movement away from the community, movement into the community and wills upon death.
Their claims to their property are inherent in their recognition of the social space they inhabit,
which in turn assures a continuation in the production of the spatiality. Norden's descriptions
of this social space are derived from the spatial experience of the community:

William Chapman holds by his father's surrender equally with his wife
Elizabeth by a copy of 14 Sept 27 Eliz., a tenement and croft between
Matthew Chapman's tenement east and Roger Brayne's pightle west, the
south head butts on the road from Barley to Barkway, contains 1 . 3 . 0, it is
Neales, alias Pallyfeggs tenement, and also he has 3a. in Barley fields (rent
3/2) ... The same William also holds by his father John Chapman's surrender,
by a copy of 2 July 30 Eliz. ½ a. under Whiteditch Hill between Henry
Witham's land east (and west). It is parcel of Pallyfeggs tenement (rent
0/3).[43]

Norden, along with Chapman, Chapman's wife, Chapman's father, and the tenant Pallyfegg,
who was once known as Neales, all exemplify Manuel Castells assertion: "Space is not a
'reflection of society', it *is* society. It is one of its fundamental material dimensions ...
Therefore, spatial forms, at least on our planet, will be produced, as all other objects are, by
human action."[44]

Lefebvre chooses a different analogy to exemplify the way in which the creation of
space is dependent upon the placement and actions of individuals in space, that of
hydrodynamics where "the superimposition of small movements teaches us the importance of
the roles played by scale, dimension and rhythm. Great movements, vast rhythms, immense
waves—these all collide and 'interfere' with one another; lesser movements, on the other
hand interpenetrate" spaces that are "are traversed by a myriad of currents." These currents
"embrace individual entities and peculiarities, relatively fixed points, movements and flows

and waves."[45] As individuals move in social space they influence other movements, other currents. Lefebvre makes clear that large movements in space—the movements of armies, massive migration or other events involving great numbers of people—does not negate the agency of an individual in space. Instead, Lefebvre poses the question, which he quickly answers,

> Can the body, with its capacity for action, and its various energies, be said to create space? Assuredly ... there is an immediate relationship between the body and its space, between the body's deployment in space and its occupation of space ... each living body is space and *has* its space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space.[46]

Barbara Bender also notes the role of individuals, like Norden, the Chapmans and Pallyfegg along with the rest of the Barley community, in the creation of space, "People are agents; their agency creates the structures; the structures constrain and enable agency. No one-way causal arrow, no beginning or ending"[47] The early modern practice of the parish-wide perambulation of Rogation Sunday certainly illustrates the applicability of Bender's ideas to the early modern period. Maurice Beresford explains that Rogation Sunday, by the early modern period, as practiced, was a "procession which went the circuit of the fields ... whose main purpose was to examine the boundaries of the fields."[48] This examination reestablished the spatial configurations of the community through the identification of significations in the landscape, distances as marked by the comfortable pace of individuals, and communal consensus on the meanings of these. In turn the identity of individuals was defined through their association with this social space. No one way causal arrow, as Bender puts it, but a relationship between individuals and social space.

Yet, the body's relationship does more than simply create a materialized space of social interaction, a "perceived space" to use Lefebvre's term. Instead, through this relationship between body and space, individual cognition is shaped. Pred explains that:

> a. External physical action, or project participation and any related travel, cannot occur without resulting in internal mental activity either as a consequence of a confrontation with specific personal contacts, elements of the environment, or information, or as the result of experiencing of specific emotions and feelings;
>
> b. Yet, the addition of external physical actions to an individual's path requires some internal activity - self-reflection, the recognition of scene-embedded codes, the performance of practical reasoning, the formation of

intentions or unconscious goals, the imaginative creation of new project
possibilities, or making choices between new or already existing project
alternatives that do not violate basic time-geographic constraints.[49]

It is these cognitive structures that Francesco Varela describes as emerging "from recurrent
patterns of perceptually guided action." He explains that "cognition consists not of
representations but of *embodied action*."[50] Varela's assertion that cognition consists of
embodied action, returns us to Henri Lefebvre and his lived or representational space.*
Lefebvre explains what occurs as bodies engage in spatial dialogue:

What slips into it is what allows meaning to escape the embrace of lived
experience, to detach itself from the fleshly body. Words and signs facilitate
(indeed provoke, call forth and – at least in the West – command)
metaphorization – the transport, as it were, of the physical body outside of
itself. This operation, inextricably magical and rational, sets up a strange
interplay between (verbal) disembodiment and (empirical) re-embodiment,
between uprooting and reimplantation, between spatialization in an abstract
expanse and localization in a determinate expanse. This is the 'mixed' space
– still natural yet already *produced* – of the first year of life, and, later, of
poetry and art. The space, in a word, of representations: representational
space.[51]

Mary Wroth's *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* provides an example of just
such a space. A reflection and critique of the social space in which she moves, it also
participates in the transformation of that space as her readers recognize and internalize not
only this recognition, but also the ways in which Wroth subverts, authorizes, satirizes, creates
juxtapositions and paradoxes of early modern spatiality through her depiction of social space.
At one point in *Urania* Wroth intervenes in the contemporary controversy of Elector Palatine,
Frederick V and his wife, James I's daughter, Elizabeth. In 1619 Frederick was offered the
crown of Bohemia after a successful Protestant uprising. James I was not pleased with his
son in law's behavior. In *Urania*, Wroth recreates this conflict, siding with James.
However, she also constructs a counter-myth within *Urania*, in which an international

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* When Varela speaks of "representations" he is using this term to refer to visual representations. His use is akin
to Lefebvre's use of the term when he says, "Space does not consist in the project of an intellectual
representation [emphasis mine], does not arise from the visible-readable realm, but that it is first of all *heard*
(listened to) and *enacted* (through physical gestures and movements)" (*Production* 200). This use of the word
"representation" in the quotation by Varela should not be confused with the way in which Lefebvre uses it in
connection with representational spaces in the quotation noted in the text. Here "representations" is simply a
shortening of the term "representational spaces." Thus, Lefebvre and Varela are in agreement.

coalition installs Amphilanthus as emperor over a vast united empire, creating him "Master of the greatest part of the Westerne World." Wroth, through the representational space she creates in Urania, posits an alternative spatiality of unity in place of the fractured political state of Europe, and James I's failed international policies according to Josephine Roberts. [52] This, and other representational spaces drawn from the experiences of individuals in space and transformed through the imagination, entered into the production of social space as certainly as Norden and his Barley survey, or the Rogation Sunday ceremonies.

This complex relationship between the body and the production of social space must be recognized as fundamental. The spatiality which develops out of this relationship is not neutral. Lefebvre explains that with the emergence of the capitalist state of the modern period "space ... in addition to being a means of production ... is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power."[53] Fundamental in this exercise of power is disciplining, through space, the body of the individual, "Discipline ... individualizes bodies by a location that does not give them a fixed position, but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relations.[54] Lefebvre describes this process in greater detail: "Space commands bodies, prescribing or proscribing gestures, routes and distances to be covered. It is produced with this purpose in mind; this is its *raison d'être.*"[55] The way in which space "disciplines" the body is initiated through perceived space; those spaces most visibly apparent, the "police batons and armoured cars ... *objets d'art* as well as in missiles ... the diffuse preponderance of the 'visual.'"[56] Lefebvre contends that political space "is not established solely by actions ... the genesis of a space of this kind also presupposes a practice, images, symbols, and the construction of buildings, of towns, and of localized social relationships.[57] It is through "Architecture and Geometry" that individuals are directly "acted upon." Yet, these spaces are only a tool through which "power of mind over mind" is given.[58] Soja, also recognizes the role of the individual in the creation of power structures through and within social space, drawing on the positions of other theorists to clarify this relationship and his own position:

> Lefebvre suggests that power survives by producing space; Michel Foucault suggests that power survives by disciplining space; Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari suggest that to reproduce social control the state must reproduce spatial control. What I [Soja] hope to suggest is that the space of the human body is perhaps the most critical site to watch the production and reproduction of power.[59]

Many spatial practices of the early modern period support these assertions. The great prodigy houses that towered over the surrounding countryside evinced a perceived spatiality

whose role in the creation of early modern spatiality was blatant and effective. One has only to look across the Derbyshire hills to see Hardwick Hall with its expansive and massive glass exterior to come to some understanding of the effect of these houses on the communities that stood beneath them. William Camden wrote of this hall in 1610: "Higher yet in the very East frontier of this county, upon a rough and craggie soile standeth *Hardwic*… which by reason of their lofty situation shew themselves, a farre off to be seene, and yeeld a very goodly prospect."[60]

The complexities of tenantry laws, representations of space that prescribed and proscribed behaviors also "acted upon" individuals of the period, as did spatial customs practiced outside the legal system, but recognized as authoritative, which were more akin to representational spaces. The grand Elizabethan processions, and the more localized celebrations in praise of the queen and the elite, which were modeled after them, were blatantly used to "discipline space." They produced a spatiality where the presence of the queen and aristocracy was ubiquitous. James I understood the ways in which the disposition of individuals in space affected the political structure. Upon the announcement of James I's accession Margaret Hoby and her husband Thomas Posthumus Hoby went up to York, only to be told to return to their places until further notice:

> The:27:
>
> went Mr Hoby and myselfe towardes Yorke, thinkinge to Continewe there until all thinges were established : but he received letters from the Counsill att Yorke : we both returned from Linten the 29 day to Hacknes …
>
> Aprill :1603: The 4 day
>
> Came Letteres from the Kinge that everie Counsiller and other offecer should Continew in their places untill his further pleasur were knowne.

Even after they received permission to travel to London for the coronation, James still actively disposed of these individuals in space, they were forced to remove to Kent upon the King's order on 29 May 1603.[61]

That these positionings of individuals in social space were instrumental tools in spatial production and control can also be seen in the behavior of Margaret Clifford. She adopted a strategy of positioning herself in the places of the disputed Clifford estates. Through this act she hoped to influence other bodies in space, especially the tenantry, to reject the transference of the spatial control of their lives from Margaret Clifford and her daughter Anne, to her brother-in-law.[62] This strategy, though it did not stop the transfer of the lands away from her daughter, did appear to have some success with the tenantry. Upon

Francis Clifford's first visit following the death of Margaret Clifford and Anne Clifford's disinheritance, Anne records in her diary, "The 31st Mr. Hodgson told me my Coz. Clifford went in at Brougham Castle and saw the House but did not lie there, & that all the tenants were very well affected towards me and very ill towards them."[63] Indeed, upon finally inheriting the estates at the death of her cousin, Anne Clifford also progressed through the estates as she records in her diary, a spatial act reasserting her power and legitimacy upon the spatiality of her northern manors:

> I came to Skypton ye 18th day of ye month into my Castle there ... About ye 28th of ye month I went into ye decayed Tower at Barden ... ye 7th of ye month following, which was August, and ye 7th of that month I removed from Skypton Castle to Appleby Castle, and lay on the way at Kirby Lonsdale. So the 8th day of August in 1649 I came into Appleby Castle ye most auncient seat of myne inheritance, and lay in my own chamber there. And I continued to lye till about ye 13th February following.
>
> So various are ye pilgrimages of this human life.[64]

She continued this practice of progression throughout her life, as she asserted her power in the region through her physical presence. This was a strategy modeled after the progression of monarchs, who also moved from place to place in order to establish and maintain political control. This behavior supports the contention of theorists like Foucault and Lefebvre that political power is inextricably linked to the behavior of individuals within social space.

Again, this is shown in the maintenance of the custom of Rogation Sunday, after most pre-Reformation parish rituals were abolished. That the practice of beating the bounds on Rogation Sunday was seen as a politically significant spatial behavior with implications for the perceived spaces of the culture, is made clear by Queen Elizabeth's proclamation:

> The clergy shall once in a year at the time accustomed walk about their parishes with the Curate and other substantial men of the parish ... and at their return to the church make their common prayer.[65]

Even today the landscape records memories of the agency of individuals in space, as Beresford notes, "Occasionally the name of a field or lane preserves the memory: thus, one of the grass tracks around the arable fields of Higham Ferrers was called Procession Way."[66]

Indeed as this example illustrates, in social space, "nothing disappears completely ... what came earlier continues to underpin what follows. The preconditions of social space have their own particular way of enduring and remaining actual within that space."[67] The great chorographical projects of the early modern period make abundantly clear, as will be

discussed in Chapter 2, the spatiality of the early modern period was deeply informed by the spaces which had come before. Derek Gregory discuss how "the superimposition of spatial formations never erases those that came before; modern spatialities are 'porous' and through these fissures pasts erupt into the present."[68] These "pasts" which "erupt into the present" carry with them spatial practices that enter into a dialogue with the social space of the present influencing both present modes of spatiality as well as fissures where the relationship continually reforms, revisits and renegotiates spatiality. The changes in the Rogation Sunday ceremony are just one example of this renegotiation. This ceremony was initially a procession which expressed guilt and request for divine mercy. It developed into a ceremony to elicit divine favor on the coming agricultural year. By the early modern period it had become a spatial act. Parish boundaries were inspected and the sum of spatial significations defined the area of the community.[69] Yet, within these spatial significations remained connections with past social space, landmarks not only served as simple boundary markers, but also as referents to the past. The continuation of the Rogation Sunday perambulation was considered by statute an act of business, reasserting the boundaries of an administrative space. However, the very performance itself, enacted by members of the community, contained within it ritualized elements of the past. It exemplifies Rose's assertion that social space is "extraordinarily complex ... Its multidimensionality refers to complicated and never self-evident matrix of historical, social, sexual, racial and class positions."[70] Social space encompasses lived experience, the myths and materiality of the past, social relations both as presently constructed and historically given, and a variety of economic, environmental and representational issues. In social space the dynamic relationships of the culture are revealed.

III.

Power is certainly produced through spatial acts, yet because of these complex relationships no individual or group of individuals is able to exert exclusive power. For, if power is created and functions through spatiality it is also challenged through this very spatiality. Castells contends that spatial forms,

> will express and implement the power relations of the state in a historically defined society ... At the same time, *spatial forms will be earmarked by the resistance from exploited classes ... And the work of such a contradictory historical process on the space will be accomplished on an already inherited spatial form, the product of former history and the support of new interests,*

> *projects, protests and dreams. Finally, from time to time, social movements*
> *will arise to challenge the meaning of a spatial structure and therefore to*
> *attempt new functions and new forms.*[71] [The italics from the source text are
> reproduced here.]

Soja also sees a challenge to power embedded in spatiality, especially in the Lefebvrian space of the lived (representational space), that element of social space often accessed by artists and poets, which is echoed in Castells' interests, projects, protests and dreams. He describes them as 'counter-spaces,' spaces of resistance to the dominant order arising precisely from their subordinate, peripheral or marginalized positioning."[72] Indeed, Shields believes that "Spatializations of social values, that is to say, traditional codings of space were never certain anchoring points for sociocultural norms …They were always contested."[73] John Kasbarian agrees, "culture is itself not simply geographical but also ideological, actively accompanying, reproducing, even impelling the imperial undertaking … on the other hand also driving the forces of resistance to it."[74] Stacy Warren believes that "culture's fluidity lies in the coexistence of and tensions between dominant and resistant elements."[75] Foucault, during an interview with Paul Rabinow, stated, "There are only reciprocal relations, and the perpetual gaps between intention in relation to one another."[76] Using this theme of the contestation of space to situate herself politically in a general debate on the proper subjects for geographical inquiry, Rose asserts that geographical inquiry must acknowledge "that the grounds of its knowledge are unstable, shifting, uncertain and above all, contested. Space itself—and landscape and place likewise—far from being firm foundations for disciplinary expertise and power, are insecure, precarious and fluctuating."[77]

These theorists insist that social space is ultimately uncontrollable from any one power position because of the disparate elements contained within it. By entering into the dialogue, individuals were not limited to simply recreating a static social space. Mary Wroth's *Urania* posits an alternative representational space, as does Isabella Whitney's "To London" and Aemilia Lanyer's "The Description of Cooke-ham." John Taylor, the Water Poet, created a collection of travelogues which celebrate the common man's experience of social space, presenting an alternative representational space to that of the chorographies and travel journals of more elite writers.[78] The texts of many writers, even those whose ostensible purpose appears to be to support contemporary power structures, often contain elements that introduce or remind the reader of other, conflicting elements at work in the social space of the period. Ben Jonson's "To Penshurst" exemplifies this. Ostensibly a paean to a leading member of the ruling class, his poem also reminds the reader of an aspect of

social space disappearing because of the actions of that very elite. Penshurst creates a representational space which elevates a romantic feudal reciprocity based on medieval hall culture, which was at odds with the contemporary spatial practice.[*] Writers entered into the production of social space through their texts. Other individuals in the culture participated in a contestation of predominant spatial practices through the very structures designed to promote elite interests. The tenantry and small landowners of the period utilized surveys, transference of property holdings through family networks, the legal systems, and other contemporary systems in order to control property in their own right. Even the great map making enterprises of Saxton, Speed and others initially promoted a conception of space which served the elite, only to form a conceptual basis upon which allegiance to monarch was transferred to the land, opening the way for a revolution that was fundamentally spatial as discussed in the work Richard Helgerson.[†]

In this way the spatial acts of individuals produced a contemporary spatiality that both supported and enabled power structures of the period, while also providing the means for these power structures to be resisted, subverted, and appropriated. In turn these spatial acts continued to transform the social space of the time. Lefebvre describes the dynamism of the early modern period, and the forces that participated in this transformation:

> It was here that the state was constituted as an imaginary and real, abstract-concrete 'being' which recognized no restraints upon itself other than those deriving from relations based on force … the concept of sovereignty, as we have seen, enabled the monarchic state to assert itself against the Church and the Papacy, and against the Feudal lords. It treated the state and its henchmen as 'political society', dominating and transcending civil society, groups and classes … The state legitimates the recourse to force and lays claim to a monopoly on violence … Sovereignty implies space. Beginning in the sixteenth century, the accumulation process exploded the framework of small medieval communities, towns and cities, fiefdoms and principality.[79]

Inherent in this statement are a series of questions: What were the forces, considered through the process of the production of spatiality, which lead to the "explosion" of the late medieval period? How did this transformed society, with its ability for greater social control and

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[*] For a discussion of the complex political positioning of this poem see William A McClung, *The CountryHouse in English Poetry* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1977) and Don E. Wayne, *Penshurst : The Semiotics Of Place And The Poetics Of History* (Madison, Wisconsin: U of Wisconsin P, 1984).
[†] For a full discussion of the role of maps in the political consciousness see Richard Helgerson's *Forms of Nationhood*, Chapter 3.

power, generate itself from the society that went before it? Finally, in what ways did the dialogue inherent in the production of social space contribute to the creation of a new socio-political system, and how did social space itself change because of this emerging polity? Certainly even in the medieval period a number of political and economic shifts and innovations were emerging. Henry VII's attempts to consolidate power reflected long-standing political trends. Henry VIII moved this consolidation forward, and initiated a massive transformation of social space by his appropriation of religious sites, and other policies which were fundamentally spatial. He carried out a massive building campaign during his reign, while disassembling the medieval religious infrastructure, replacing it with his own.[*] Yet, as Lefebvre suggests:

> It is not the work of a moment for a society to generate (produce) an appropriated social space in which it can achieve a form by means of self-presentation and self-representation ... This act of creation is, in fact, a *process*. For it to occur, it is necessary . . . for the society's practical capabilities and sovereign powers to have at their disposal special places: religious and political sites.[80]

James Anderson points to this process when he states, "The medieval-to-modern political transformation was associated with a transformation in how space and time were experienced, conceptualized, and represented."[81] This spatiality, in turn made possible the transformation of the social/political and cultural realities of the period. As Shirley Ardener contends, changes in belief are often "deliberately paralleled by changes in artifacts and in spatial arrangements."[82] That this was the case in the early modern period is clear. Anderson states, "Postmedieval political developments were bound up with what Harvey describes as 'a radical reconstruction of views of space and time.'"[83] This transformation was made possible because in England, after a long period of political upheaval, class conflicts, the development of monetary systems and commodity exchange coupled with the emergence of Renaissance ideas challenging medieval cosmology, moved the culture into a period of crises.[84] Lefebvre also comes to this conclusion:

> Society in the sixteenth century stood at a watershed. Space and time were urbanized – in other words, the time and space of commodities and merchants gained the ascendancy ... The towns were the location of wealth, at once

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[*] A more detailed account of the effect on social space of the Tudor political and religious reforms will appear in the following chapter.

threatening (and threatened) … Throughout these conflicts, despite and *because of them*, the towns achieved a dazzling splendour.[85] [emphasis added]

Periods of crisis in any culture open the way for the transformation of spatialities to occur. Through the crises of the sixteenth century, made up of all the elements described above, came new ways of conceiving social space, innovative "representations of space" producing an "abstract" space, which began to overwhelm the dominant spatiality of the previous period. Lefebvre terms this prior spatiality "absolute space." He describes this space as a space of relatedness where the presence of saints, concentrated life and death forces, and the landscape was figured as animate with unseen forces.[86] As "absolute" space "it has no place because it embodies *all* places," and is thus an unbounded space, and antithetical to bounded and dominated spaces.[87] Foucault also recognizes this spatiality, again through his conception of the heterotopic, as spaces of "extension" as opposed to "emplacement." These are "something like counter-sites" in which "the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted." Foucault uses the metaphor of the mirror to further exemplify this space:

> The mirror functions as a heterotopia in this respect: it makes this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there.[88]

Foucault, like Lefebvre, connects sacred and forbidden spaces in this spatiality, as well as a "juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible."[89] It is Lefebvre who connects these spaces with gender; part of what he terms the "female principle."[90] Others also recognize the implied gendering of unbounded space. Andrew Merrifield speaks of this Lefebvrian landscape of absolute space as "*impregnated* with symbols and imagery" and concludes that this "symbolic landscape is *fecund* with myths and legends, and hence remains a formidable means of appropriating space [italics added]."[91] Doreen Massey offers just such a way of viewing space as an alternative to what she construes as masculine spaces: "Such a way of conceptualizing the spatial, moreover, inherently implies the existence in the lived world of a simultaneous multiplicity of spaces cross-cutting, intersecting, aligning with one another, or existing in relations of paradox or

antagonism."[92] It is in this absolute or heterotopic space, that representational spaces abound; those spaces of images, memories, symbols, and metaphor.

This was a spatiality that in the early modern period was slowly being replaced by the conceived spaces of the abstract. However, it still had a potency and a presence in the spatiality of the period. It was this potency that women, often disbarred from participating in the emerging representations of space typified by scientific, professional and imperialistic activities of men, accessed in order to explore and depict an alternative social space. Indeed, Lefebvre notes that the deployment of representational spaces is a way to challenge the dominant system's "imperious" representations of space, its deployment of signs. He proposes that it was the only way to "revolt" from the increasingly restrictive representations, or conceived spaces of abstract space.[93]

IV.

Fixed point or linear perspective figured was one of the most potent of these conceived spaces. The transformative potency of this particular representation of space was to find full play in the early modern period. Albrecht Dürer, counseling his students about fixed point perspective in his *Painter's Manual,* insists this is a space where "Whatever is seen must be in the line of sight of the viewer's eye and it must be in the light, because nothing can be seen in darkness," (an essential denial of the cryptic spaces of absolute space).[94] James Duncan claims that "the invention of linear perspective by Brunelleschi and Alberti in the fifteenth century was a key taxonomic moment in the history of representation,"[95] though Lefebvre would counter that linear perspective was not *invented,* but discovered. "These artists 'discovered' perspective and developed a theory of it because a space in perspective lay before them, because such a space had already been produced."[96] He explains that from about the thirteenth century the Tuscan urban oligarchy of merchants and burghers transformed the way in which space was organized through a culture that was based on production rather than serfdom. Lefebvre asserts that when this occurred the pattern of space was modified. Serfs became *métayars* who received a share of what they produced and thus became interested in production. The homes or "poderi" were arranged around the mansion of the owner in a manner that was "evocative of the laws of perspective, whose fullest realization was simultaneously appearing in the shape of the urban piazza in its architectural setting. Town and country, and the relationship between them had given birth to a space" which artists, architects, surveyors and others would conceptualized and develop.[97]

This innovation of linear perspective quickly established itself in early modern culture. Harvey comments, "Perspectivism conceives of the world from the standpoint of the 'seeing eye' of the individual. It emphasizes the science of optics and the ability of the individual to represent what he or she sees as in some sense truthful, compared to superimposed truths of mythology or religion."[98] The privileging of sight over other senses implies way of experiencing, and expressing this experience, of the world. It elevates sight over other ways of perception, positing a single visual perspective as natural. "The vanishing lines, the vanishing point, and the meeting of parallel lines 'at infinity' were the determinants of a representation, at once intellectual and visual, which promoted the primacy of the gaze in a kind of 'logic of visualization.'"[99] Writing in 1570, Dee illustrates the way in which this "seeing eye" was emerging as the privileged manner of experiencing the world in the early modern period:

> Among these Artes, by good reason, Perspective ought to be had, ere of *Astronomicall Apparences*, perfect knowledge can be atteyned. And bycause of the prerogative of *Light*, being the first of *Gods Creatures*: and the eye, the light of our body, and his Sense most mighty, and his organ most Artificiall and *Geometricall* … By this art … we may use our eyes, and the light, with greater pleasure: and perfecter Judgement: both of things, in light seen, & of other: which by like order of Lightes Radiations, worke and produce their effectes. [100]

Perspectivism became not only more steadily accepted as the primary way to view the world, increasingly it was perceived as the fundamental way through which truth was experienced as Dee's comments show.[101]

However, while Dee and many other theorists and philosophers of the period promoted the practice and integration of perspectivism in the culture, it is important to recognize that in this period this "logic of visualization" was entering into competition with another way of seeing. This was a way of viewing the world which Lucy Gent describes as the "looking at" an object rather than "seeing through" one, a more participatory relationship "which saw the eye as the source of rays exploring the world 'rather as fingers palpate objects.'"[102] It was a way of experiencing the world that was tactile, or haptic. Many material objects of the culture required and promoted this way of seeing. Buildings were still formed of textures: old brick, carved and irregular oak beams, wat and daub walls. People delighted in complex knot gardens which privileged an intricacy of form that denied the privileging of a single point perspective. Inside walls were covered with elaborately carved paneling or

decorated with embroidered tapestries. Homes were ornamented with cushions, pictures, and hangings of all sizes, made up of many kinds of stitches, patterns, threads, and colors. These textures, ubiquitous in the early modern home, embraced the inhabitants with a spatiality of touch, of exploration, of looking at, "without any suggestion of looking through a transparent window."[103] Unsurprisingly, it was a way of seeing that women writers of the period frequently evinced in their writing, as will be discussed in future chapters. They often drew their metaphors and descriptions from this haptic visualization, reflecting their greater familiarity with and access to art forms which utilized this way of seeing. Again, this mode of vision was more closely aligned to the space of the absolute. Gent comments, "if you gaze at texture and the non-mathematical tapestry, bricks, or flowers—you are in a way implicated in their decay" in the cryptic, in the struggle of life and death inherent in absolute or heterotopic spaces. In contrast, first person perspective allows one to deny this heterotopia of space and "gaze into the spaces created out of numerical proportions, you are raised up out of mutability into an immaterial sphere that is above change, like arithmetical proportion itself."[104] Or as Dee puts it "lifting the hart above the heavens, by invisible lines, and immortall beames: meteth with the reflexions, of the light incomprehensible, and so procureth Joye, and perfection unspeakable."[105]

From perspectivism developed conceived spaces that entered into dialogue with other elements of social space, including those perceived spaces of the haptic. In the writing of the period one experiences both a haptic and a perspectivist way of viewing the world, often commingled within one text. The resulting interactions which occur lead Harvey to comment on the "extraordinary strength of spatial and temporal imagery in the English literature of the Renaissance [which] likewise testifies to the impact of this new sense of space and time on literary modes of representation."[106] Lefebvre would not be surprised that this should be so, for:

> A revolution that does not produce a new space has not realized its full potential; indeed it has failed in that it has not change life itself, but has merely changed ideological superstructures, institutions or political apparatuses. A social transformation, to be truly revolutionary in character, must manifest a creative capacity in its effects on daily life, on language and on space.[107]

The revolution of spatiality that emerged during the early modern period did just that, and yet the emerging abstract space of the conceived, of fixed point perspective, and the mathematical, and the resultant political implications did not totally erase absolute space,

"absolute space did not disappear in the process: rather it survived as the bedrock of historical space and the basis of representational spaces (religious, magical and political symbolisms)."[108] These representational spaces continued to be produced and illustrated throughout the early modern period and provided a potent form of expression for many writers, especially women.

Edmund Gibson in his 1695 preface to his translation of William Camden's *Britainnia* comments, "the condition of places is in a sort of continual motion, always (like the Sea) ebbing and flowing."[109] Like the sea, it is impossible to create a definitive moment in the history of a culture's spatiality. Instead one can only hope to dis-cover, un-cover, reveal, the vast richness of the dialogue where-in spatiality is created in a given culture and to explore the ways in which this spatiality is given voice and form.
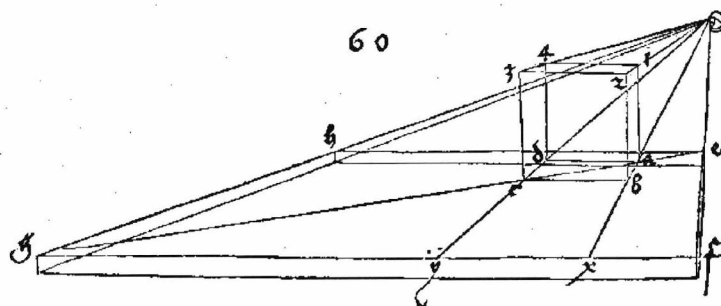
1-2: The seeing "eye" of Renaissance perspective.[110]

[1] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991) 23. Originally published in French in 1974.

[2] Edward Soja, *Third Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996) 36.

[3] Lefebvre, *Production* 73.

[4] Lefebvre, *Production* 410-411; Robert David Sack, Conceptions of Space in Social Thought: A Geographic Perspective (London: Macmillan, 1980) 4.

[5] Lefebvre, *Production* 198.

[6] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16 (1986): 23.

[7] Edward Soja, "Spatiality of Social Life: Towards a Transformative Retheorisation," *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, eds. Derek Gregory and John Urry (London: Macmillan, 1985) 97.

[8] Soja, *Thirdspace* 162.

[9] Soja, "The Spatiality of Social Life" 123 *n2*.

[10] Lefebvre qtd. in Rob Shields, *Lefebvre: Love and Struggle* (London: Routledge, 1999) 155.

[11] Lefebvre, *Production* 40.

[12] Soja, *Thirdspace* 67.

[13] Soja, *Thirdspace* 74.

[14] William Kemp, *Kemps Nine Daies Wonder: Performed in a Daunce from London To Norwich*, ed. Alexander Dyce, Publications of the *Camden Society* os 11(1840): 8-9.

[15] Kemp 17.

[16] Kemp 18.

[17] Hammond [Lieutenant], *A Relation of a Short Survey of the Westerne Counties*, ed. L.G. Wickham Legg, *Publications of the Camden Society* 3rd ser. 16 (1936): 43.

[18] Soja, *Thirdspace* 73.

[19] Lefebvre, *Production* 101-102.

[20] Lefebvre, *Production* 33.

[21] Lefebvre, *Production* 39.

[22] Soja, *Thirdspace* 10.

[23] Lefebvre, *Production* 41.

[24] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989) 419.

[25] Rob Shields, *Lefebvre: Love and Struggle* 163-164.

[26] Henry Ellis ed., *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries*, Publications of the *Camden Society* os 29 (1843): 108-109.

[27] Bernhard Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001) 80.

[28] J.C. Wilkerson, introduction, *John Norden's Survey of Barley Hertforshire: 1593-1603*, by John Norden (Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Records Society, 1974) 6.

[29] John Dee, "Mathematicall Præfæce," *The Elements of Geomotry of the Most Auncient Philosopher Euclide*, trans. Henry Billingsley (London, 1570) A2r-A3r.

[30] Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1993) 90.

[31] Jerry Brotton, "Terrestrial Globalism: Mapping the Globe in Early Modern Europe," *Mappings*, ed. Dennis Cosgrove (London: Reaktion Books, 1999) 75.

[32] Lefebvre, *Production* 39.

[33] Lefebvre, *Production* 42.

[34] Soja, *Thirdspace* 67.

[35] Lefebvre, *Production* 43.

[36] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces" 23.

[37] Soja, *Thirdspace* 31.

[38] Soja, *Thirdspace* 7.

[39] Soja, *Thirdspace* 10.

[40] Doreen Massey, "Space-time, 'Science' and the Relationship Between Physical Geography and Human Geography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 24 (1999): 274.

[41] Allen Pred, "In Other Wor(l)ds: Fragmented and Integrated Observations on Gendered Languages, Gendered Spaces, and Local Transformation," *Antipode* 22 (1990): 34. Spacing left as presented in the text.

[42] John Norden, *John Norden's Survey of Barley Hertforshire: 1593-1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Records Society, 1974) 32.

[43] Norden 49.

[44] Miguel Castells, "Crisis, Planning and the Quality of Life: Managing the New Historical Relationships Between Space and Society," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 1 (1983): 4.

[45] Lefebvre, *Production* 87-88.

[46] Lefebvre, *Production* 170.

[47] Barbara Bender, *Stonehenge: Making Space* (Berg. Oxford, 1998) 36.

[48] Maurice Beresford, *History on the Ground* (London: Lutterworth P, 1957) 28.

[49] Allen Pred, "The Social Becomes the Spatial, the Spatial Becomes the Social: Enclosures, Social Change and the Becoming of Places in Skåne," *Social Relations and Spatial Structures,* eds. Derek Gregory and John Urry (London: Macmillan, 1985) 341.

[50] Francesco Varela, "The Reenchantment of the Concrete," *Incorporations,* eds. Jonathan Crary, Sanford Kwinter (New York: Zone Books, 1992) 336.

[51] Lefebvre, *Production* 203.

[52] Roberts, Josephine A, introduction, *The First Part of The Countess of Montgomery's Urania*, by Mary Wroth (Binghampton, New York: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995) xlii & xliv. Wroth quotation is found on page 586:18-19.

[53] Lefebvre, *Production* 26.

[54] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish,* trans. Alan Sheridan. 2nd reprint ed. (1977; New York : Vintage Books, 1995) 146.

[55] Lefebvre, *Production* 143.

[56] Henri Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism: Reproduction of the Relations of Productions*, trans. Frank Bryant (London : Allison & Busby, 1976) 86-87. Quoted in Soja, *Thirdspace* 31-32.

[57] Lefebvre, *Production* 245.

[58] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* 206.

[59] Soja, *Thirdspace* 114.

[60] William Camden, *Britain*, trans. Philémon Holland (London, 1610) 555-556. This book will be referred to by its generally-acknowedged title, *Brittania* throughout the text and notes.

[61] Margaret Hoby, *The Private Life on an Elizbethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605*, ed. Joanna Moody (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 1998) 187.

[62] D.H. Clifford, introduction, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford* (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 1990) 3.

[63] Anne Clifford, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. D.J.H. Clifford (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 1990) 56.

[64] Anne Clifford 100.

[65] Beresford 29.

[66] Beresford 29.

[67] Lefebvre, *Production* 229.

[68] Derek Gregory, "Lacan and Geography: the Production of Space Revisited," *Space and Social Theory: Interpreting Modernity and Postmodernity*, eds. Georges Benko and Ulf Strohmayer (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997). 228.

[69] Beresford 28.

[70] Gillian Rose 155.

[71] Miguel Castells, "Crisis, Planning and the Quality of Life" 4.

[72] Soja, *Thirdspace* 68.

[73] Rob Shields, "Spatial Stress and Resistance: Social Meanings of Spatialization," *Space and Social Theory: Interpreting Modernity and Postmodernity*, eds. Georges Benko and Ulf Strohmayer (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997) 187.

[74] John Antranig Kasbarian "Mapping Edward Said: Geography, Identity and the Politics of Location," *Environment and Planning D: Space and Society* 14 (1996): 531.

[75] Stacy Warren, " 'This Heaven Gives Me Migraines' The Problems and Promise of Landscapes of Leisure," *Place/Culture/Representation*, eds. James Duncan and David Ley. (London: Routledge, 1993) 176.

[76] Michel Foucault, "Space, Knowledge, Power," *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon, 1984) 247.

[77] Gillian Rose 160.

[78] John Taylor, *Travels Through Stuart Britain*, ed. John Chandler (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1999).

[79] Lefebvre, *Production* 279

[80] Lefebvre, *Production* 34.

[81] James Anderson, "The Shifting Stage of Politics: New Medieval and Post Modern Territorialities?," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14 (1996): 142.

[82] Shirley Ardener, "Ground Rules and Social Maps for Women: An Introduction," *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*, ed. Shirley Ardener (New York: St. Martins, 1981) 23.

[83] James Anderson 142. The quotation from David Harvey can be found in his *The Condition of Postmodernity* 242.

[84] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* 242.

[85] Lefebvre, *Production* 278.

[86] Lefebvre, *Production* 254.

[87] Lefebvre, *Production* 236.

[88] Foucault, "Other Spaces" 24.

[89] Foucault, "Other Spaces" 25.

[90] Lefebvre, *Production* 248.

[91] Andrew Merrifield, "Space and Place: A Lefebvrian Reconciliation," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (4) 18: 526.

[92] Doreen Massey, *Place Space and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994) 3.

[93] Lefebvre, *Production* 50.

[94] Albrecht Dürer, *The Painter's Manual,* trans. Walter L. Strauss (New York: Abaris Books, 1977) 365.

[95] James Duncan, "Sites of Representation: Place, Time and the Discourse of the Other," *Place/Culture/Representation.* eds. James Duncan and David Ley (London: Routledge, 1993) 41.

[96] Lefebvre, *Production* 79.

[97] Lefebvre, *Production* 78.

[98] Harvey, *Conditions of Postmodernity* 245.

[99] Lefebvre, *Production* 41.

[100] John Dee, "Mathematical Preface" B1r.

[101] Dennis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and the Symbolic Landscape* (Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1984) 9.

[102] Lucy Gent, " 'The Rash Gazer': Economies of Vision in Britain, 1550-1660," *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale UP, 1995) 386.

[103] Gent 379.

[104] Gent 390.

[105] Dee, "Mathematicall Preface" A2v.

[106] Harvey, *Conditions of Postmodernity* 247.

[107] Lefebvre. *Production* 54.

[108] Lefebvre, *Production* 48.

[109] Edmond Gibson, "The Preface to the Reader," *Camden's Britannia Newly Translated into English with Large Additions and Improvements*, by William Camden, trans. Edmond Gibson (London, 1695) np.

[110] Dürer 382.

Chapter 2
Social Space in Early Modern Culture

In order to explore the voice, or depictions in literature, of early modern social space, one must first consider the complex dialogue among many social forces which actively transformed the spatiality of the period. Henry VIII's policies established a strong centralized government. This affected the placement of elite families, encouraging the building of houses nearer to London, as well as affecting the way in which power was promoted and maintained in the counties. The spatial ramifications of the Reformation affected the control and distribution of property in what had been, before this time, a relatively static market, giving momentum to developing conceptions of the private ownership of property. The Reformation also dramatically changed the perceived spaces of the landscape with the destruction of many ecclesiastical buildings. The world as a conceptual entity was expanding in such a way as to encompass not only the globe, but the entire universe, by the end of the period. This "world" was given form and identity through the development of instruments which measured and proportioned it, and the maps and globes designed out of these measurements. These objects enabled the cognitive possession of space. It was also a time when the local, rooted in the multi-layering of history informed a social space. It was a spatiality where the past continued as an insistent presence in the landscape. These past spatialities were explored and reincorporated into the ways in which early modern social space was perceived, conceptualized and imagined through the consistent attention of chorographers and antiquarians, along with poets, writers and other artists. Domestic architecture and other buildings of the period incorporated conceptions of power, privilege, individual consciousness, the domestic, and the imperialistic.

I.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the end of the feudal state as a viable political entity, and the rise of a centralized and unified monarchy converged in the reign of Henry VIII. This had an enduring effect on the spatiality of early modern England. England was already a country well on its way to this political reality, the beginnings of the unified monarchy so forcefully represented in the images and

policies of Henry VIII developing out of events following the Norman invasion.[1] This invasion unified the nobles of the country by their allegiance to one king, rather than to a variety of seigniorial jurisdictions as could be found in many places in Europe. Throughout the Middle Ages the monarchy came into the possession of several duchies due to civil discord and serendipitous inheritance. This trend accelerated in the fifteenth century.[2] The removal of some of the greatest English magnates—Clarence, Neville, Buckingham, Hastings—resulted in a lack of leadership in many of the major noble families, leaving entire regions devoid of traditional local authority.[3] These events, together with a royal policy which broadened the ruling class, created direct links to the Crown through a network of offices and preferments.[4] Henry VII, out of political necessity and personal taste contributed further to this centralization of government. His unfamiliarity and distrust of the leading nobles led him to consolidate the important power structures of the realm into his own keeping, which he administered through a bureaucracy created out of men of the gentry class who owed their positions and thus allegiance to him. This paternal model was not lost on Henry VIII who, through the organization of his household, as well as through statute and the more extreme tactics of appropriation and execution, developed a strong centralized monarchy.

One of the most potent legal tools towards this end was the "Act for recontinuing of certain Liberties and Franchises heretofore taken from the Crown" (1536: 27 Henry VIII, c.24) which states that the King of the realm,

> shall have any power or authority to pardon or remit any treasons, murders, manslaughters or any kinds of felonies ... or any outlawries ... against any person or persons in any parts of this realm, Wales, or the marches of the same; but that the King's Highness, his heirs and successors kings of this realm, shall have the whole and sole power and authority thereof united and knit to the imperial crown of this realm, as of good right and equity it appertaineth, any grants, usages, prescription, act or acts of Parliament, or any other thing to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.[5]

The 1536 Act further stipulated that no legal apparatus of any kind could be set up to operate independent of the king's authority, and that any which existed at the time of the act was illegitimate. This Act had the effect of putting an end to the franchisal rights of local landlords, imposing Henry's authority throughout the realm.[6] Over half

the peerages at the end of Henry's reign were created by him, and thus owed their allegiance to him.[7] Large numbers of men who would have been considered commoners became gentlemen during this period due to the demands of the new political realities. Cranmer, in the face of traditional criticism of upward social mobility, believed God could give his gifts to "kinds and states of people indifferentlie:" He asserted: "To saie the truth as I take it that none of us all here being gentilmen borne (as I thincke) but hadd our begynnyng that way from a lowe and base parentage and thorough [sic] the benfite of lernyng and other civile knowledge for the most parte all gentil ascend to their estate."[8]

This humanistic, and strangely modern sounding sentiment was not an example of Tudor altruism, but a reflection of political necessity. The commons were needed, as never before, to man the mechanisms of this new centralized monarchy, As J. P. Cooper comments "the needs of the State now demanded more highly educated civil servants ... diplomacy could not be conducted without the aid of skilled and learned men and that a new kind of aristocracy, one founded on sophisticated competence, must replace the old ordering of power vested in semi-literate nobles and not wholly trustworthy cleric."[9] David Loades further emphasizes that the Tudor monarchy functioned through an "unwritten understanding between the monarch and the 'political nation'. It was a relationship of mutual advantage. In return for their services in office, men received not salaries, or even fees necessarily, but prestige, patronage and opportunities for profit."[10] By transferring traditional loyalties from feudal lord to monarch a new political reality was created wherein the citizenry from the lowliest to the most noble were knit together through the monarch. That this was mutually beneficial is shown in Philip Sidney's advice to Queen Elizabeth, reminding her that her father "found it wisdom by the stronger corporation in number [of gentry] to keep down the greater in power."[11] By the end of the fifteenth century the absolute monarchy was presented by writers of the time as an incontrovertible fact. William Camden writes, "The King ... hath soveraigne power and absolute command among us, neither holdeth he his empire in vassalage, nor receiveth his investure or enstalling of another, ne yet acknowledgeth any superiour but God alone: and as one said, *All verily are under him, and himselfe under none, but God onely.*"[12] William Harrison also embraces the concept of the absolute monarch, justifying its existence on the precedents of good government in British Antiquity, "It is not to be doubted, but that

at the first the whole Iland was ruled by one onelie prince, and so continued from time to time."[13]

The dynamics involved in this political manifestation of sovereignty which emerged in the early modern period are discussed by Henri Lefebvre in *The Production of Space*:

> It was here, in the space of accumulation, that the state's 'totalitarian vocation' took shape, its tendency to deem political life and existence superior to other so called 'social' and 'cultural' forms of practice, while at the same time concentrating all such political existence in itself and on this basis proclaiming the principle of sovereignty - the principle, that is to say, of its own sovereignty. It was here that the state was constituted as an imaginary and real, abstract-concrete 'being' which recognized no restraints upon itself other than those deriving from relations based on force (its relations with its own internal components, and those with its congeners - invariably rivals and virtual adversaries). The concept of sovereignty ... enabled the monarchic state to assert itself against the Church and the Papacy, and against the feudal lords. It treated the state and its henchmen as 'political society', dominating and transcending civil society, groups and classes.[14]

The fruition of this movement to a centralized monarchy alone would have had tremendous implications for spatiality. James Anderson asserts this much, writing: "The medieval-to-modern political transformation was associated with a transformation in how space and time were experienced, conceptualized, and represented."[15] Henry VIII's actions were not simply related to a manipulation of people, but were intrinsically connected to controlling space.

The Act of Union of 1536 anglicized the principality and marches of Wales, annexed the marcher lordships to existing counties, and created five new ones (Monmouth, Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery, and Denbigh). In addition, it also enforced English legal and tenurial customs in these counties.[16] Henry VIII also strategically placed individuals in space to enforce his power. One example of this placement, or displacement, is the case of Thomas West, 9th Lord De La Warr. In 1536 Boxgrove priory was granted to him; however because his allegiance to the crown was not felt to be certain, after three or four years he was forced to exchange

the priory for the abbey of Wherwell in Hampshire. The hardship this enforced move visited upon his family is evinced in a letter written to Cromwell by West's wife, Elizabeth, begging for more time to prepare the move: "all our corn and cattle and other provision is here and in no other place, and we can make no shift now, for no money till summer."[17] Through the redeployment of individuals throughout the country, Henry could destroy, or create power structures in the counties. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and Henry's brother-in-law, was placed at Westhorpe with his wife, Mary Tudor, because Henry needed a powerful figure in East Anglia to ensure that the Howard Dukes of Norfolk would not dominate the region.[18]

John, Lord Russell, received lands, stewardships and lordships in the south-west, replacing the former power in the region, the Marquess of Exeter. The new men of the privy chamber not only wielded power through their physical closeness with the king, but were rewarded with lands, and the control of the countryside which this possession entailed.[19] During this time property accumulation by the most important courtier houses shows that only one third was acquired by inheritance while over two fifths was obtained through gift or grant-purchase from the Crown.[20] Territoriality has long been used as a strategy for the creation of power. Robert David Sack's definition of territoriality focuses on the attempts to influence or control people and relationships by determining the limits and boundaries of geographic area and exercising control over it.[21] Jean Baudrillard could have been writing specifically about Tudor methodology when he explains, "power is distributional; like a vector it operates through relays and transmissions."[22] Through these "relays and transmissions," which bound the citizens of the regions to the central monarchy, the Tudors created a powerful dynasty.

This transformed spatiality was embodied by the structure of the Court. Nicholls asserts that the Court was "both a physical space and also a concept embodying the entire realm."[23] This spatially situated "court" defined the executive power of the realm, a porous entity, and became the principal point of contact with the political nation. Important courtiers, or those who wished to be considered so, lived in houses in or near London and Henry's great palaces. This was a reciprocal relationship that furthered Henry's power. Henry appointed 500 chamber officials in the years up to 1540, and most of these offices were granted to leading gentlemen from the counties. In this way, the king secured a local clientage while the gentlemen involved gained the prestige that strengthened local authority.[24] All of this was

positioned spatially through a series of "relays and transmissions" that connected the larger country directly to their sovereign. Loades notes the way in which county administration became tightly connected to the political body of the court: "Gentle families from every county of England and Wales were represented in Chamber service between 1540 and 1547... It would probably be no exaggeration to say that the Chamber constituted an informal but effective mechanism for the management of county power structures."[25] In addition, in the final years of Henry's reign, courtiers who had built up landed estates for the first time chose to build "country" homes within twenty miles of London, effectively creating a sort of "Tudor commuter belt." These men included Secretaries of state William Paget at West Drayton, William Petre at Igatesnote in Essex, and Ralph Sadler at Standonin in Hertfordshire.[26]

This emerging administrative reality manifested itself spatially not only through vectors of power that emanated throughout the country, but were also mirrored in the very spatiality of the living environment. As Simon Thurley notes, "Henry VIII was certainly one of the most prolific, talented and innovative builders to sit on the English Throne."[27] Harrison wrote in 1587:

> Those [palaces] that were builded before the time of king Henrie the eight reteine to these daies the shew and image of the ancient kind of workmanship used in this land: but such as he erected after his own device … doo represent another maner of paterne, which as they are supposed to excel all the rest that he found standing in this realm, so they are and shall be a perpetuall president unto those that doo come after, to follow in their workes and buildings of importance. Certes masonry did never better flourish in England than in his time [fig. 2-1].[28]

The spatial arrangement of these palaces supported emerging power arrangement sought by Henry VIII. The primary importance of the sovereign was given spatial form through the ways in which architectural innovations limited access to his person, while elevating those who were allowed to penetrate the architectural forms which controlled that access. The rebuilding of Hampton Court in the 1530s was predicated upon the King's desire for more extensive private lodgings, as was the work undertaken at Greenwich.[29] The expansion of successively more private rooms was one of the central themes emerging in the evolution of Henry's palaces from 1530

Figure 2.1 Palaces of Henry VIII
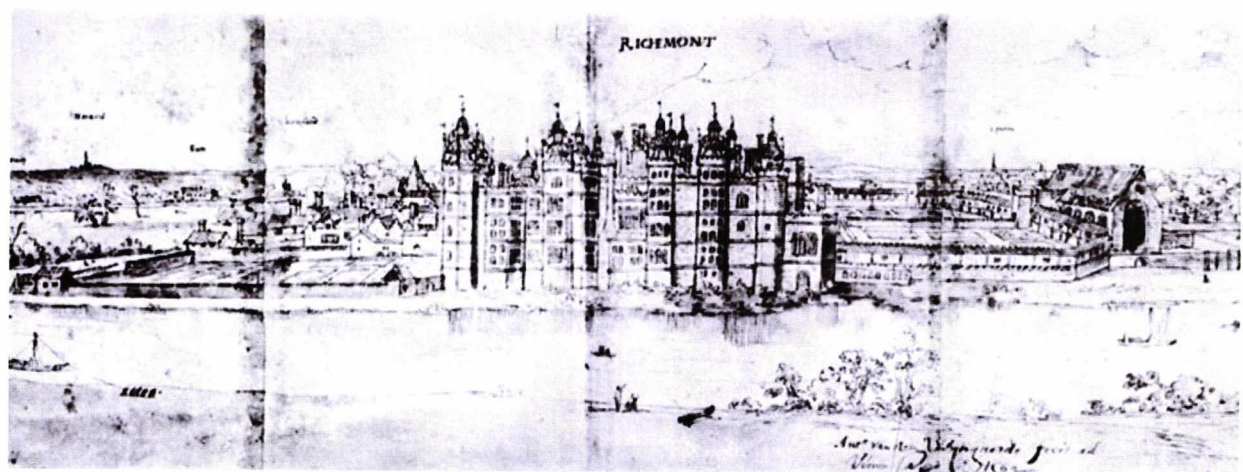
Above: Richmond Palace by Anthony van Wyngaerde, 1555.

Below: Nonsuch Palace by Joris Hoefnagel, 1568.
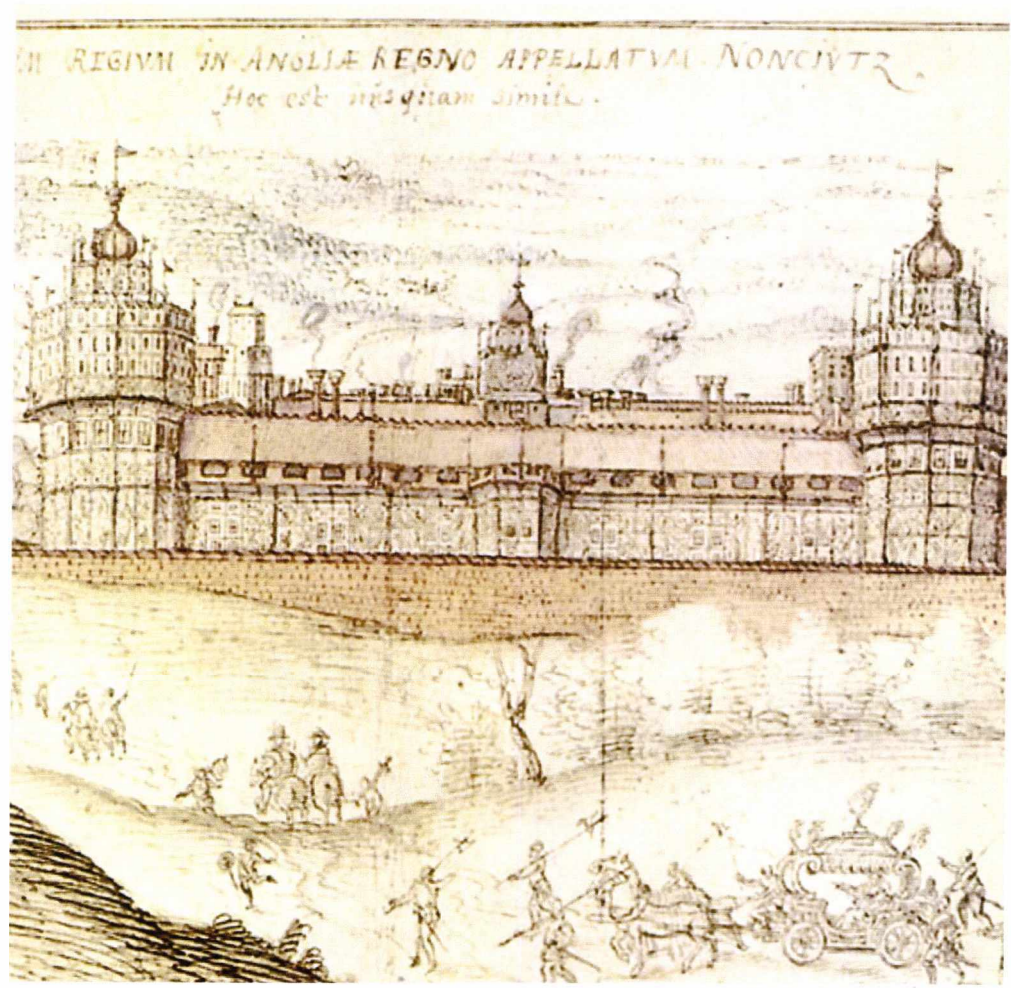
until his death.[31] Henry VIII's use of the privy chamber differed from his father's. Henry VII utilized this private space for business and private life, his social and political life still conducted in the public rooms outside the privy chambers.

In contrast, Henry VIII's privy chamber "was the forum of his social life, and the field for rivalry between royal favourites. Membership of the Privy Chamber was highly sought after, bringing with it not only personal intimacy with the King but wealth, influence and power."[32]

2-2: Greenwich, Kent. first floor-plan, 1547.[33]
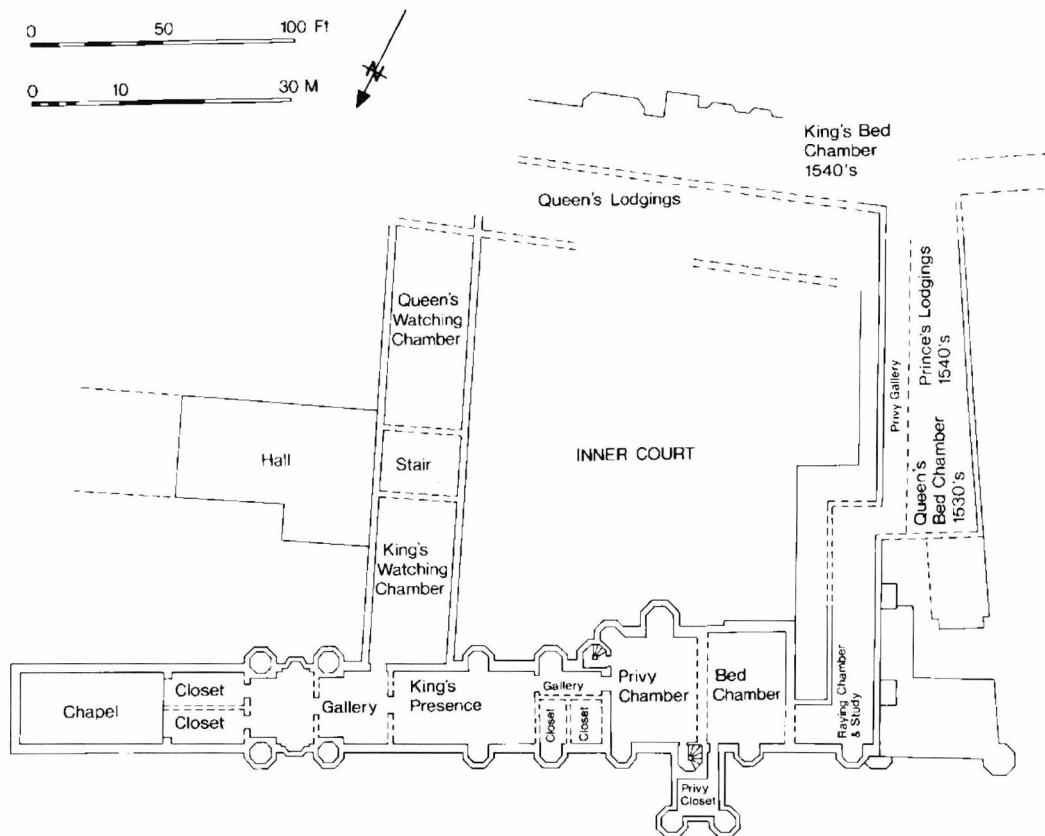
II.

While these changes in the administrative strategies of the Tudor monarchs had important spatial implications, the Henrician reformation had a profound

implications for the perceived spaces of the country. Independent attitudes towards Rome had existed amongst the English monarchy several centuries before the Acts of Supremacy as shown by statutes from 1363 and 1393 which restricted papal rights to appoint clergy to benefices in England, and prohibited "the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction without the king's consent ... the king of England regarded the Ecclesia Anglicana as his own territory, upon which no one intruded without permission."[34] Nicander Nucius, a Corcyrean traveler in Henry VIII's England, rather more fancifully than factually, alludes to this long standing tension between the monarchs of England and the church,

> Whence they [abbots] oftentimes contended, even against their own kings. And on one occasion, when one of these sovereigns had devised how to repress these things, and had wished to order them in a more becoming manner, they deprived him of life by a violent death.[35]

In the 1530s John Bale draws upon the conflicts between the church and monarchy in the Middle Ages to build his play, *King Johan*, which supported the religious reformation. Thomas Cooper, writing in 1560, illustrates the climax of these political tensions in Henry's reign:

> In a parliament this yere [1532] holden, King Henry founde great faute [sic], that the cleargie of this realme seemed not to be his whole subjectes, because the othe that the bishops and other tooke of the bishop of Rome, was almost cleane contrarie to the othe that they made to him. wherefore he delivered to the parliament the coppie of bothe othes & required them to take order in the matter. This thyng was a great occasion, that shortely after the bishop of Romes power was cleane abolished out of this realme.[36]

The catalyst for the complete breakdown of the relationship between the English monarchy and Rome was domestic: Henry's divorce from Catherine of Aragon and marriage to Anne Boleyn. Yet the strategies Henry employed to bring to fruition his stated domestic projects had profound consequences for English society, which were fundamentally political and materially spatial. Lefebvre's comments concerning the spatial implications of a social transformation are particularly appropriate in relation to Henry's dismantling of the physical infrastructure of the "religiousity" in those portions of Britain under his control. The Henrician reformation effectively ended not

only the church's political power in the country, but its very spatial presence in the landscape, and this in just a few years.

In this way Henry accelerated the cultural forces that were already in play, "decrypting" or de-sacralizing the spatial. Foucault explains that medieval spatiality was a hierarchical ensemble of places, "sacred places, and profane places; protected places and open, exposed places; urban places and rural places … supercelestial places … opposed to celestial spaces … opposed to the terrestrial place."[37] These places Lefebvre terms as "cryptic" or absolute, a heterotopic spatiality formed through the relationship of the various meanings and experiences encoded within a social space. This spatiality served as "a receptacle for and stimulant to, both social energies and natural forces" which embodied all places.[38] An interesting example of this spatiality can be seen in the votive offering given every third year on the anniversary of the translation of St. Thomas Becket. On these occasions a taper, which was made the length of the circumference of the town of Dover, was wound upon a reel and delivered by two porters to the shrine keepers at Canterbury. The shrine keepers placed it near the shrine of the saint, where they burned the taper every day at the mass of the saint, at all processions to the shrine, and also at vespers, matins and the main masses of any principal or secondary feasts. The wax for this massive candle was paid for by the people of Dover, any shortfall being provided by the corporation of Dover. The money itself was collected by the mayoress. The candle thus served as a votive offering to the saint either for protection given to the city, that space enclosed by the length of the candle, or for future protection for those "within" the wax circumference. Each day the saint was reminded of the needs and concerns of the good people of Dover though the burning of the Dover light. In addition, tapers were cut from the reel to burn at the funerals of poor men, adding the charitable component, or "good works" which again would translate into divine, or supercelestial good will towards the people of Dover. In this way the candle, with its symbolic spatiality, acted as a "stimulant to both social energies and natural forces" in the service of the city space of Dover.[39]

The material structures of the Church also functioned as heterotopic spaces. Alms houses and hospitals were both perceived spaces of redress, and spatial representations of the concept of charity. The cathedrals which dominated the spatiality of cities and the surrounding countryside, as well as the salient presence of local parish churches in villages and towns, represented a direct spatial connection

with the divine, the Heavens, as well as the cryptic depths of death. The bequests of the people to chantries, monasteries, nunneries, abbeys and other religious houses and institutions maintained personal and real connection between the living and their dead loved ones who existed physically in the tombs of local churches and also in an alternative spiritual "social" space, purgatory and eventually Heaven. These spaces served to provide the people with an activity of hope connected to an individual's desire to move quickly from one divine spatiality, purgatory, to another, heaven. These religious spaces dominated every locale through the visual magnificence of their structures, and their ubiquitous presence in all aspects of life from the material to the spiritual. The spatiality was also connected to the populace through their other senses. The bells tolling, the smell of incense, and the touch of stones formed a spatiality grounded in these centuries old forms. It was a social space which assumed meaning not through the intellect but through the body.[40] Lefebvre explains that it was a space "'lived' rather than conceived" a "representational space rather than a representation of space."[41] Spatially its dimensions were not measured through abstract, Euclidean space. Instead it was a spatiality of direction, "left and right" and more importantly "high and low." It was a spatiality of surface heights and depths, "earth, as worked and ruled by humanity; the peaks, the heavens; and abysses or gaping holes." Altitude and verticality were granted special significance, knowledge, authority, duty; while horizontal space symbolized submission. Vertical space symbolized power, while subterranean space, death. It was a space at once "mythical and proximate."[42] It was a spatiality which would not disappear in the early modern period, but would steadily become transformed. And while it was a process which was already in motion, the events of the 1530s accelerated the transformation.

John Leland, traveling the country during the period of Henry's dissolution of the monastic houses (and indeed at times an agent of it), records the aftermath in a series of objective observations:

> Ther was an hospitale for poore folks a very litle without the Kinges gate maynteinid by the monkes of S. Swithunes now suspressid ... At the very end of Thrapeston Bridge stand the ruines of a very large Heremitage, and principally welle buildid but a late discoverid and suppressed ... Alexander Bisshop of Lincoln erected there an abbay of blak chanons ... Syns the suppression one [blank] a great riche man, dwelling in the toun of Dorchestre, bought the est part of the chirch

> for 140. pounds … A litle or I cam to the ende of this woodde I left
> about a quarter of a mile on the right hond the ruines of Newstede, a
> priory of chanons … Rockstein a priory of chanons a 2. miles from
> Banbyri. Mr. Pope hathe it.[43]

Leland's notes reveal the rapidity of the spatial change, coming within five years of the dissolution of these monasteries. Camden's description of the changes wrought upon landscape is not so laconic. Politically more free, his rhetoric evokes the violence of a natural disaster, in this passage a "sudden floud," to convey his sense of the devastating transformation of social space caused by the Dissolution:

> About the xxxvj. yeere of the reigne of the said Henrie the Eight, a
> sudden floud (as it were) breaking thorow the banks with a maine
> streame, fell upon the Ecelesiasticall State of England; which whiles
> the world stood amazed, and England groned thereat, bare downe and
> utterly overthrew the greatest part of the Clergie, together with their
> most goodly and beautifull houses."[44]

John Speed, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, also shared Camden's sense of the Dissolution as a devastating event. Speed represents it as an uncontrollable force that altered the landscape like a great tempest: "For in the tempestuous time of King *Henry* the Eight, eighteene of them [religious houses] in this Countie [Sussex] were blowne downe, whose fruit fell into the Laps of some that never meant to restore them again to the like use"[45] John Stow, quoting a source contemporary with the dissolution, presents the trauma these events had on the population:

> It was (saith my author) a pitifull thing to heare the lamentation that
> the people in the countrie made for them: for there was great
> hospitalitie kept among them, and as it was thought more than ten
> thousand persons, masters and servants had lost their livings by the
> putting downe of those houses at that time.[46]

Philip Howard, the Earl of Arundel, who was to die a prisoner in 1595 for his adherence to pre-Reformation Catholicism also lamented the changes:

> O level, level with the ground
> The towers do lie,
> Which their golden glittering tops
> Pierced unto the sky.[47]

Lieutenant Hammond, in his travel journal of 1635, complains, "A most lamentable spectacle to behold the ruines of so many religious Houses, and sacred structures, of so magnificent, and resplendent eminency, built to the honor of God, and for the practise of devotion rac'd and pull'd downe."[48] As late as the 1640s John Denham's poetic panorama, "Coopers Hill" uses the ruined Chertsey Abbey to register the dissolution in terms of a spatial "event" lodged in a political narrative:

> But my fixt thoughts my wandring eye betrays,
>
> Viewing a neighbouring hill, whose top of late
>
> A Chappel crown'd, till in the Common Fate,
>
> The adjoyning Abby fell ...
>
> Who sees these dismal heaps, but would demand
>
> What barbarous Invader sackt the land?
>
> ... no Goth, no Turk did bring
>
> This desolation, but a Christian King.[49]

In this way Denham echoes many, including Robert Aske, who in defense of his involvement with the Pilgrimage of Grace, also describes this violently altered spatiality within the framework of a political narrative. In his examination Aske complains:

> And by the said suppression the service of God is much minished ...
> to the decrease of the Faith and spiritual comfort to man's soul, the
> temple of God ruffed and pulled down ... The abbeys was [sic] one of
> the beauties of this realm to all men and strangers passing through the
> same ... [and] such abbeys as were near the danger of the sea banks
> great maintainers of sea walls and dykes, maintainers and builders of
> bridges and highways [and] such others things for the common
> wealth.[50]

Aske's narration portrays the way in which a political action can be inscribed upon the landscape, producing changes within the spatiality that have far reaching implications for social relations.

Within eight years all the monasteries, nunneries, friaries and abbeys in England and Wales were put down.[51] The Crown appropriated their property, redistributing it through gifts (less than 2%) or sales of land. The buildings themselves were stripped of their lead roofs, roof beams and other building materials. The demand for building stones was so great that in many places even the ruins

quickly disappeared.[52] In Deal Castle, built as one of Henry VIII's defenses, one can still see stones appropriated for this martial use from St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. Those buildings which were not demolished saw their use change. The buildings of the Black Friars in Canterbury were converted into a factory for the making of cloth.[53] Grey Friars College in Gloucester became a brewhouse, the Black Friars a drapering house. In Malmesbury abbey buildings were used as weaving sheds. The Groom Porter of the Court took up residence at Cookfield nunnery.[54] John, Lord Russell, received the estates of Tavistock Abbey in Devonshire, Sir Thomas Wriothesley those of Titchfield Abbey in Hampshire.[55] A letter written to Cromwell by Sir Thomas Elyot, a courtier, diplomat and scholar in Henry's court, shows the eagerness of many to acquire these lands:

> I therefore beseech your good lordship now to lay apart the remembrance of the amity between me and sir Thomas More, considering that I was never so much addict unto him as I was unto truth and fidelity toward my sovereign lord, as God is my judge … I therefore most humbly desire you my special good lord, so to bring me into the king's most noble remembrance, that of his most bounteous liberality it may like his highness to reward me with some convenient portion of his suppressed lands, whereby I may be able to continue my life according to that honest degree whereunto his grace hath called me.[56]

Many men like Elyot petitioned for lands; however most of the acquired land was not granted away, but sold. Michael Reed discuses the considerable pressure that existed on the nearly bankrupt Crown to sell these newly acquired lands in the years between 1543 and 1547.[57] An enormous amount of acreage (as much as 25 per cent of the total area of England) was placed on the market at that time.[58] By Henry's death over half the monastic lands had been sold. Much of this property went to landed families, adding to their possessions. Still, some yeoman farmers were able to buy lands freed through the dissolutions of local religious houses, while many of the gentry found themselves in a position to buy land and build comfortable homes for themselves.[59] The redistribution was rapid considering most of the land acquired from the dissolution was disposed of, many times in quite small parcels, by 1560.

The impact of this on the perceived space of the countryside was quite profound, with long standing buildings and institutions removed, or left in ruins in a

few short years. New landowner/tenant relationships emerged, while the balance of power in many locales shifted based on new ownership of property. The long standing tension between Thomas Posthumous Hoby, and the Cholmley and Eure families of the North Riding of Yorkshire (discussed in Chapter 5) provides a good example of the ways in which the central government processed lands which had once been monastic holdings, inserting their "men" in locales that were seen as places of concern. Hoby's marriage to the North Yorkshire widow of Thomas Sidney, which she initially opposed, was brought about by a lawsuit that threatened to divest Margaret Sidney (Hoby) of her manor of Hackness. Once the marriage was effected, the lawsuit was settled through the aid of Hoby's strong family connections with the Cecils, in favor of the newly married couple.[*] In this way this staunch and faithful protestant male was placed in an area of the country he described as "all which lieth in the most dangerous parts of Yorkshire for hollow hearts, for popery."[60] This judicious placement of supporters throughout the country was one way in which the social space was manipulated to serve the political establishment, and in so doing participated in the transformation of that spatiality by disrupting long-standing power relations in the region.

This redistribution of lands and the buildings upon them also had a transformative effect on domestic spatiality. This flood of land on the market provided an opportunity for a substantial amount of property to be converted into private dwellings. These residences required innovative solutions in order to convert monastic buildings to serve the spatial needs of the early modern family structure. These were often carried out at great speed, imitating pre-existing houses and illustrating contemporary expectations of domestic comfort. Neath Abbey in Wales is an interesting example of this. Bought by the Williams family, related to Thomas Cromwell, its Tudor-style mansion (now itself a ruin) nestles in one corner of the abbey ruins. Some of the cloisters, to be found at the back and underneath the new structure, were integrated into the building of this typical Tudor style manor house, serving as passageways at the rear of the building. At Bisham Abbey the cloisters were transformed into an open loggia, a popular innovation in contemporary Tudor

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[*] See Chapter 5, p. 202.

Figure 2.3: Bisham Abbey, Berkshire, Loggia

houses of the period (fig. 2-3). Sir William Sharington spent more than £1333 transforming Lacock Nunnery into a domestic house. Here the cloisters were preserved as corridors around the ground floor of his house. He included a tower in one corner with a high prospect room, in keeping with the fashion of the day.[61]

Thus, the perceived spaces of the period were transformed. The religious settlement, freed from the censorship imposed by the Roman Catholic church, also allowed for the proliferation of ideas directly related to emerging conceptions of abstract space: Copernican theories of the universe, Galilean astronomical discoveries, ocular inventions, and other scientific and mathematical theories. Alternatively, the cryptic spaces of absolute space, which had been informed and promoted by traditional religious beliefs, were suppressed. This was effected through the protestant emphasis on the cognitive, the importance of language in transmitting religious knowledge, and through a desacralized religious spatiality, even while the king's officers were smashing, burning, selling and melting down objects of religious iconography. Yet this transformation was not "complete," but a process. The spatiality of this period evinced that quality Gibson terms the "ebbing and flowing." Robert Carew noted the difficulties he had completing his survey of Cornwall: "the state of our Countrie hath undergone so many alterations, since I first began these scriblings," though he later accedes, "in the ceaselesse revolution of the Universe" no landscape could "retaine a stedfast constitution."[62] Shakespeare makes much the same point in act III scene 1 of Henry the IV, Part 2:

> O God, that one might read the book of fate,
>
> And see the revolution of the times,
>
> Make mountains level, and the continent,
>
> Weary of solid firmness, melt itself
>
> Into the sea, at other times to see
>
> The beachy girdle of the ocean
>
> Too wide for Neptune's hip.[63]

The spatiality of previous ages did not disappear, but through the "revolution of the times" emerged a social space informed by the spatiality of the past while simultaneously transformed by intellectual, artistic, political and religious movements. From this interaction emerged the complex social spaces of early modern England.

III.

The best record of this dialogue was left by one who experienced the transformation of spatiality during this period "on the ground." Leland's work for Henry VIII began as a commission granted in 1533 to "make search after England's Antiquities, and peruse the Libraries of all Cathedrals, Abbies, Priories, Colleges, etc. as also all places wherein Records, Writings and secrets of Antiquity were reposed."[64] This search was the initial phase in the gathering of notes which would later become known as Leland's *Itinerany*, a collection of impressions which Leland drew up during several years travel throughout the country. In 1546 a document, called "The New Year's Gift" was presented to Henry. In this document Leland outlines an ambitious plan, which was no less than to present Henry with,

> yowr worlde and impery of Englande so sette forthe yn a quadrate table of silver ... that yowr grace shaul have ready knowledge at the firste sighte of many right delectable, fruteful, and necessary pleasures, by contemplation thereof, as often as occasion shaul move yow to the sight of it.[65]

Leland, as is well-known, never completed the grand program he had in mind when he offered to lay the entire realm of England before the king as a silver tablet. What he did accomplish was no less than to "discover England."[66] His notes reveal a sensitivity to a disappearing past. John Scattergood claims, "for Leland the geography of England is significantly conditioned by its history, particularly recent history."[67] His description of this spatiality in an important transition period in the production of early modern space became a representational space that proved an influential voice in the spatial dialogue for over a hundred years.

What Leland's itinerary reveals is that even with the dissolution of the monasteries, in early modern England social space continued to be a heterotopic spatiality in many fundamental ways. His itinerary reveals a rich relationship between past spatialities and the revolutionary spatiality Leland was experiencing first hand. Lefebvre describes the spatiality of the past as "Monastic culture ... on the ebb" from which would emerge, "the space of secular life, freed from politico-religious space, from the space of signs of death and the non-body."[68] That Leland expresses a desire to represent this moment both in the form of a "map of silver," an object, a rational conception of space, a space of representation, while in reality possessing a collection of impressions that are far from this single representational

strategy does not necessarily form a contradiction. Instead Leland presents a spatiality which can be understood as an interaction among Lefebvre's trialectics of the perceived, conceived and lived. Leland's work creates a Sojoian "Thirdspace," or a Borgian "Aleph."[*] His travels took him to the English countryside, coastal regions, long forgotten villages, ancient artifacts, monuments of nature, and monuments of man. Yet his notes reveal a journey beyond the material surroundings he encountered. It took him into the realm of legends, and mysteries of the imagination that inhabited early modern spatiality. It also took him into the representational spaces of the past. His work includes echoes of the medieval chorographers, especially Ranulph Higden, whose presence continued in the spatial consciousness of chorographers, and travelers, and the general population throughout this period.

Higden's *Polychronicon* incorporated the medieval chronicle genre, including the romantic histories of Geoffrey of Monmouth with the local and historical chronicles of contemporary scholars. It included some material gleaned from direct observation of their environment. Higden's work combined both these traditions of geography and history.[69] The *Polychronicon* was so monumental that it encompassed and superseded the works of Gildas, Bede, Matthew of Paris and Gerald of Wales. Later chroniclers tended to supplement Higden rather than create original works, as John Taylor contends, "the *Polychronicon* killed the demand for the older histories."[70] Higden's model of medieval historiography, which informs all early modern chorographers, posits a heterogenous conception "history" encompassing legend, fable, artifacts, antiquity, as well as the modern sense of the lives and events of a "real" past. This concept of history was necessarily connected to spatiality. Peter Heylyn, writing in 1631, illustrates how social space was seen as necessarily informed by the past: "As Geography without history, hath life and motion but at randome, & unprofitable: so History without Geography, like a dead carcasse hath neither life no motion at all: & as the exact notice of the place addeth a satisfactory delight to the action: so the mention of the action, beautifieth the notice of the place."[71]

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[*] In this story, the main character experiences an "Aleph," which he describes as in "diameter...little more than an inch, but all space was there, actual and undiminished." He sees "the teeming sea...the silvery cobweb in the center of a black pyramid...London...the same tiles that thirty years before I'd seen in the entrance of a house in Fray Bentos" (Borges 27). In this short story are many connections to the early modern period. Borges mentions the *Poly-Olbion* of Drayton; in connection with the poem the character Danieri creates from his own experiences with the Aleph, (19) and in the Aleph itself, when the main character views it, is a translation of Pliny by Philemon Holland, the first translator of Camden's *Britannia*. In addition the story begins with epigraphs from *Hamlet* and *Leviathan*.

Higden's work, in its compilation of the representational spaces of the Middle Ages, was a fertile textual repository for spaces of this past. It also provided a structure that would be used by most of the early modern chorographers, including Leland, as they created their own representations of contemporary spatiality. These chorographers—Leland, Camden, Speed and others, in their turn, added to this repository, from which other writers of the period were able to draw as they created their own narratives. Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* provides one example of this, as his long verse celebration of Britain contains many elements present also in the work of chorographers. Isabella Whitney's "To London" also shows elements of chorography in her narrative depiction of the city, especially in the simultaneity of multiple spaces within the poem, which has much in common with chorographical writing. Other writers, though not necessarily including specific qualities of chorography in their work, certainly reflect a sense of heterotopic space which was presented and promoted through the chorographies. The country house poems of Jonson, Lanyer, Carew, Marvell and Denham all show an awareness of this quality of social space. Indeed the depiction of a heterotopic spatiality is one of the salient features of many early modern texts.

Foucault claims that heterotopic space "begins to function at full capacity when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time." As has been discussed in Chapter 1, it allows a way to conceptualization how several spaces, several sites, several aspects of spatiality can exist within a single real place.[72] Heterotopic space contains "all other places, represented, contested, inverted in all their lived simultaneities."[73] Or as Greenblatt explains, albeit in a pejorative tone, "we glimpse one of the key principles of the Renaissance geographical imagination: eye-witness testimony, for all its vaunted importance, sits as a very small edifice on top of an enormous mountain of hearsay, rumour, convention and endlessly recycled fable."[74] Robert Applebaum, more positively, notes that this heterotopic space of the early modern period was perceived through a process of imagination, which "takes as its objects phenomena that lie outside the limits of the known socio-physical universe, phenomena that occupy what today we might call 'the beyond.'"[75]

Leland's description of Padstow illustrates this spatiality, revealing the multiplicity of spaces which exist in one village. Here the "real" and the "imaginary," the lived and experienced, exist within a complex and multi-layered space. First Leland identifies Padstow as "auncient bering the name of Lodenek in Cornishe, and

yn Englisch after the trew and old writinges Adelstow. *Latine Athelastini Locus*" [the place of Athelstan]. He notes that, "The heir of the eldest house of the Vivians is now the Lord of y Castelle," yet Tredine Castle lies in ruins. He includes with these contemporary facts the information that near this castle, "there was found *in hominum memoria*" [within living memory] digging for a fox a brasse [pot] full of Rom [an] mony. Already this social space includes a place of many names, where a contemporary family is nominally attached to a ruined castle, in an area where once Romans lived. In addition, Leland describes how in a place not far from Padstow, "There was found of late yeres syns spere heddes, axis for warre, and swerdes of coper wrappid up in lynid scant perished, nere the Mount in S. Hilaries paroch in tynne workes." In this spatiality contemporary industrial tin workings inhabit the places of ancient warriors. This space also includes the sacred: "Ther is an old legend of S. Michael [that spekethe of] a tounelet in this part [now defaced and] lying under water." He also speaks of St. Burien's College, where "S. Buriana an holy woman of Irelond sumtyme dwellid in this place, and there made an oratory."[76] As Leland's descriptions show, the Padstow area certainly contains within it the "lived simultaneities" of heterotopic space. His description of the area in eastern Kent also illustrates this:

> Deale, half a myle fro the shore of the se, a fisscher village iii myles or more above Sandwice, is apon a flat shore and very open to the se, wher is a fosse or a great bank … sum suppose that this is the place where Caesar landed … At Northburn was the palayce, or maner, of Edbalde Ethelbert's Sunne. There but a few yeres syns yn breking a side of the walle yn the hawle were found ii. childerns bones that had bene mured up as yn burielle yn tyme of Paganite of the Saxons[77]

Leland's work was continually reproduced for more than a hundred years after his painstaking journeys, studies, creation of notes and dreams of a work which would encapsulate that space. Leland went mad. Some attribute this to the overwhelming demands of a project which no man could complete, no less than the task of creating an "Aleph" of English spatiality. Other chorographers took warning and were more judicious. While no one aspired to placing the world before their sovereign on a plate of silver, many produced texts that taken together do illustrate a heterotopic space that both reflected contemporary consciousness of spatiality and participated in the production of it.

The most famous of these later chorographers is William Camden who published his *Britannia*, originally in 1586, nearly forty years after Leland wrote his notes, and drew heavily from them. His description of Crowland, in Lincolnshire, contains those qualities of heterotopic space as described by Foucault. It is a place which allows for "a sort of mixed, joint experience" which is "at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal"[78]

> We Saw *Crowland*, which also is called *Croyland*, a towne of good note amoung the *Fenne-people*, the name whereof soundeth, as *Ingulph* the Abbot of this place interpreteth it, as much as *A raw and muddy land*: A place, as they write, much hanted in times past with I wot not what spirits and fearefull apparitions, before that *Guthlake* a right holy and devout man led there an Eremits life. In whose memoriall *Aethelbald* King of the *Mercians* founded to the honor of God at his great charges, in the yeere of our Salvation 716. an Abbay … The town is well enough peopled with inhabitants, who have their cattaile a great way from the towne, and when they are to milke them, they goe in little punts or boats that will cary but two apeece … two miles from *Crowland*, I saw the fragment of a *Piramis* with this Inscription.

> AIO hANC
> PET RAm
> GVThLACVS
> hABET SI-
> BI METAm

(I say, that Saint Guthlake, this stone his bound doth make).[79]

Another example of the heterotopic spatiality Camden describes comes from Cornwall. First he notes "a pretty market-town" which he positions initially in relation to a natural phenomenon, the "famous stone, Main-Amber; which, being a great Rock advanced upon some other of meaner size with so equall a counterpeize, a man, may stir with the push of his finger, but to remove it quite out of his place a great number of men are not able." Nearby this town lies St. Michaels Mount: "the inhabitants name it *Careg Cowse*, that is, *The hoary Crag* or *Rock*." He tells how "within the memorie of our Fathers, whiles men were digging up of tin they found Spear-heads, axes and swords of brasse wrapped in linnen."[80] Not far "from thence there is to be

seene a militarie fense or rampire of a large compasse built of stones, heaped together and laid without mortar, they call it in their tongue, *Earth*; of which fort there be others heere and there; raised, as I verily beleeve, in the Danish warre."[81]   Finally, as one continues to explore the area one will find, according to Camden: a haven built by King Edward IV renowned for piracy during the French wars, the hall of Sir Reginald Mohun, and an old castle called Lestmel which "now sheweth his ruins."[82]   Again these spaces are multi-layered, revealing a complex relationship that creates a spatiality which is not just town, ancient battle site, lead-mines, great stones, pirate harbours, ruined castles and homes of the elite, but a simultaneity of all of these, revealing a spatiality in a process of perpetual creation.

The work of Speed also exemplifies this heterotopic quality of early modern social space. Speed attached a variety of topographical legends to his more "realistic" collection of country maps (fig. 2-4). Again, using Cornwall as an example, Speed finds "At *Camelford* likewise peeces of *Armours* both for horse and man, are many times found in digging of the ground." He reports these as "the signes of that fight wherein *Mordred* was slaine, and wherein *Arthur* received his deaths wound." He notes that "in the Parish S. *Clare*, two stones are pitched, one of them inscribed with a strange Character, and the other called *the other halfe Stone*: the formes whereof we have expressed in the Mappe." These ancient stones not only exist as a reminder, or a token of a past spatiality, but are considered an important enough component of Speed's spatiality that he includes a depiction of it on his map. He describes stones called *The Hurlers*, "fabuled to be men metamorphosed into stones; but in truth shew a note of some victorie, or else are so set for Land markes Bounders."[83]   In this description he gives two possible explanations for these stones, which again promote a heterotopic sense of place. On his Cornish map, as is his method throughout his collection, he includes a multitude of spaces: the heraldic icons of important families, pictures of ancient or natural landscape features, which besides the Hurlers and the "halfe-Stone" include the Cheesewring stones and a picture of the city of Launceston, or as he also reminds us, ancient Dunhevet.[84]   There are surveying instruments held in the hands of cherubs and scales of miles. The waters are populated with ships, a compass rose and sea monsters. In other parts of his map collection, Speed continues to depict this heterotopic spatiality, discussing the green boys of Suffolk, "And things of stranger note are the limits of the *East-Angles* Territories, running along *New market* heath, vulgarly called the *Divils-ditch*: the like fable is formally told by

Figure 2.4: Detail from John Speed's map of Cornwall [86]

Nubrigensis, that at *Wulpet* in the heart of this Shire, two greene boys of *Satyres* kinde arose out of the ground, from the *Antipodes*; beleeve it if you will."[86]

These simultaneous spatialities draw on legends, natural features, and the sacred spaces of the cryptic. All these participate in the production of early modern spatiality. The importance lies not in the fieldwork or originality of the writer, but in the recognition that these places are an important part of the whole of a spatiality he recognizes. These places show the "simultaneously mythic and real" elements which produce a heterotopic space.[87] It could be argued that these men produced a depiction of a spatiality that was simply a representational space created through a particular tradition of chorographical writing. While there certainly is a continued connection between the chorographers and this tradition, it is a tradition which was part of the spatial dialogue of the culture, not an entity separate from it. For the spatiality they describe is also to be found in the writings of foreign and domestic travelers, as well as poets and other writers.

John Taylor, a seventeenth-century traveler and "waterman" displays a curious juxtaposition of places cited in his description of the city of Leicester:

> To Leister, I proceeded in my rambling ...
>
> That house King Richard lodg'd in, his last night,
>
> Before he did the field of Bosworth fight ...
>
> King Leir a temple did to Janus reare
>
> And plac'd a Flamine in't, there doth appeare
>
> The arched ovens four yards thick at least,
>
> Wherein they heathen sacrifices drest ...
>
> So people here, when warre or peace they sought;
>
> They offrings unto Janus temple brought ...
>
> Long after Etheldred, (the Mercian king) ...
>
> The temple raz'd, the Flamine he deface'd,
>
> And there a Christian bishops sea he plac'd ...
>
> Edelfred, with great magnificence,
>
> Repair'd and wall'd it strongly for defence ...
>
> Till second Henry did it ruinate ...
>
> Diswall'd it quite, and cast the castle down.[88]

Taylor's verse reveals a recognition of the multiplicity of elements involved in the creation and identity of a social space. It displays the role of myths, political

movements and upheavals, the agency of individuals and the march of time in producing particular social spaces. William Burton shows a similar sense of this dynamic in his *Description of Leicester Shire Containing Matters of Antiquitye, Historye, Armorye, and Genealogy* published in 1622. Here Burton describes the town's Roman roots, its state when William the Conqueror took possession, and the the fortunes of the city as is weathered changes in the times. Interspersed in this civic narrative are strange tales like the one about a maid who survived for seven years eating only the sacrament, and stories of famous citizens like Gilbert Foliott, a Bishop who stood with Henry II in his quarrels with Becket. [89] Burton's text, like Taylor's presents a narrative of social space produced through a rich experience of the mythic and the real.

Baron Waldstein, a traveler to England, also registers this quality of contemporary social space when he visits Woodstock in 1600. In his journal he writes:

> In the afternoon we turned some 6 miles off our route to the Palace of
> Woodstock, which is a very extensive royal residence built by Henry
> the First. He gave it a large park surrounded by a stone wall, the first
> of its kind … The thing above all to see in this palace is the room in
> which the present Queen Elizabeth was kept prisoner for a whole four
> years by order of her sister Mary. Even now one can read her verses
> in English, written on the wall in Elizabeth's own handwriting …
> They say that she wrote other things too with a diamond on one of the
> windows, but these inscriptions no longer exist … The ancient circular
> chapel here is also well worth seeing, and near the palace are the
> remains of the house where Rosamund Clifford, the mistress of Henry
> II, is said to have lived … To hide her from the malice of his Juno of a
> wife he had a labyrinth constructed within the building. This
> Rosamund is buried in the town of Godstow.[90]

In this spatiality, described as Woodstock, exists histo/mythic characters, epic conflicts, decaying bones, and actual texts, the diamond cut poems, which are in the process of becoming mythic. He simultaneously "sees" what is, materially before him, while registering that which is no longer present, but continues to inform the spatiality. In his description he overlays history with myth. The jealous queen is a Juno, while Henry II becomes a Jupiter, and Rosamund, one and at the same time all,

of the maidens Jupiter possessed. Waldstein could be appropriating for his narrative images found in Samuel Daniel's poem, *The Complaint of Rosamund.* In this poem Henry gives Rosamund an engraved casket with the scene of Jupiter and Io. Waldstein reminds the reader of the myth of the labyrinth Henry created to protect his prize, though he notes no trace of this exists at the time of his visit. What does exist are verses from the captured princess, Elizabeth, who during the reign of her sister Mary was imprisoned there, referring the reader back to the ancient myth of the labyrinth with its allusions to captivity. Waldstein's Woodstock, like Burton and Taylor's Leicester, illustrate a way of seeing through the mental overlaying of different versions of place in one spatiality; the recognition of the presences and absences which produce a heterotopia.

That this conception of a heterotopic spatiality permeated society can also be illustrated by the many descriptions of "designer heterotopias," places where this interpenetration of the many cultural experiences existing in a social space is reproduced within a contrived setting. Waldstein describes a room in William Cecil's grand manor house just outside London, Theobalds. Here a heterotopic space is created inside the house, providing the visitor an experiences of many spaces within one social space:

> In the first room there is an overhanging rock or crag (here they call it a 'grotto') made of different kinds of semi/transparent stone, and roofed over with pieces of coral, crystal, and all kinds of metallic ore. It is thatched with green grass, and inside can be seen a man and a woman dressed like wild men of the woods, and a number of animals creeping through the bushes. A bronze centaur stands at the base of it. A number of columns by the windows support the mighty structure of the room: these columns are covered with the bark of trees, so that they do in fact look exactly like oaks and pines. In this same room there is an exceedingly fine alabaster fireplace, and also another in black and white marble.[91]

Hammond also describes this sort of space created at Enstone, the home of a Mr. Bushells. Hammond explains that his traveling companion "shew'd me a strange and admirable Rocke ... which place is of itself sufficient to take up a Volume; for the naturalnesse thereof, and the Art and Industry that the ingenious Owner hath added thereunto." He describes this place which was situated on the side of a hill, which

features a rock, "of some 11. or 12. Foote high."[92]   In this place a stream erupts from the bottom of the rock, like "a hedge of water made streaming up, about a mans height [sic], crossing like a plash'd Fence."[93] This rock, he tells, forms one of the walls of this building, which has battlements and a garden. Inside he describes even greater wonders:

> There is a fayre chamber over this Rocke; the Seiling therof is curiously and artificially painted to the Life, the woman of Samaria drawing water for our saviour … And in this Chamber is a naturall Rocke, like unto the head of a Beare; on the top thereof, the water rises and spouts forth, falling … from about the middle of this Chamber, they make a Canopy of Raine … which with the reflection of the Sunne at high Noone makes appeare to our fancies Rainbowes and flashings like Lightning.[94]

The pools which form outside the house, at the bottom of the hill, are described by Hammond as "curious Pooles and rare Waters" which he terms "Hermits diet drinke" from which he and his companions "satisfy'd our thirsty desires."[95]

These fabricated localities were not unique. They also appear in places like the "High Great Chamber" in Hardwick Hall with its massive height and impressive frieze of Diana which encircles the room on three sides, the grand windows on the fourth side, looking out past forest and country side. At Burton Agnes the plaster work on the massive screen in the "Great Hall" and imposing chimneypiece portray several myths from a variety of sources: classical mythology, the bible and indigenous fables (fig. 2-5). The room becomes a spatiality informed by the visual experience of the viewer engaging with the spaces represented through these tales. Indeed, the fabrication of these "designer hetertopias" are a salient feature of the culture, informing many social spaces, including civic pageants, regal progressions, as well as interior and exterior domestic architecture. The ostentatious rhetoric of these spaces is derived from a culturally encrypted spatiality recognized in the surroundings, places like Woodstock or Leicester.

All these imagined yet real spaces, both those created through time and those produced through artifice, participated in a dialogue with the overwhelming numbers of heterotopic spaces that existed in every part of the country. This was a spatiality where the past—the ancient, myths, legends, political events, natural and not so natural phenomena, sacred spaces, cryptic spaces; along with the contemporary

Figure 2.5: Great Hall at Burton Agnes, Yorkshire

create a single, endlessly reproduced conceptual space, that of the map, representing a world and a universe that was knowable, able to be possessed, and indeed "created." The "organic" or absolute spatiality would "relinquish the field to the political principle" with important implications for perceived space and the ways in which spatiality was imagined and represented in the period.[98] Maps, in their various incarnations were an important means to accomplish this, their visual representations promoting and participating in the accelerated transformation of social space in the early modern period as Lefebvre suggests:

> This transformation was a result of the increasingly rapid regulation
> and commodification of space and time. The spaces of exchange
> assumed their own identity. This identity was illustrated visually
> through the proliferation of maps and panoramas providing "birds eye
> views," tableauxs of human possession of space.[99]

This positioning of fixed point perspective, with the growing importance of visual accuracy, transformed the role of the map. Swen Voekel observes that medieval maps were a symbolic representation of humanity's place in the world, an *"imago mundi,"* an "overarching interpretive framework within which the viewers were to situate themselves providing spiritual rather than geographical guidance."[100] They functioned more as representational spaces than conceived spaces.

However, by the mid sixteenth century geographically accurate maps were to be developed in England by Christopher Saxton, Speed, Norden, Humphrey Lhuyd, Laurence Nowell and others. Victor Morgan notes the set of circumstances which facilitated the creation of a particular cartographic image of England. These included the rise of the professional surveyor in the wake of increased requests for graphic depictions of property in land transactions following the Reformation, technical innovations in surveying, the wide market for maps, and the growing administrative needs of a centralized government.[101] The result was a representation of Britain drawn with a single perspective and geographical accuracy, coupled with the emblematic cartouches, coats of arms, place symbols and other visual renderings. In terms of Lefebvre's analysis, the symbolic joined the objective, reflecting an increasingly commodified perspective where space appears as a realm of objectivity.[102] Those in power participated, indeed promoted this objectification of space. As Voekel explains, "These maps are the palimpsests of a new kind of

political entity, the nation-state, whose gaze looked inwards, over a firmly demarcated national territory to be described, anatomized and controlled."[103]

The conceptual spaces of maps became increasingly involved in the production of a social space that was promoted as "a space that locates specificities, places or localities, both in order to control them and in order to make them negotiable; and a space, finally, that is hierarchical, ranging from the lowliest places to the noblest, from the tabooed to the sovereign."[104] It is a spatiality that is evident in William Lambarde's praise of the map of Kent drawn by Philip Symonson: "whereby not onely the Townes and Hundreds, with the hilles and houses of men of woorthe, are more truely seated: but also the Seacoastes, Rivers, Creekes, Waterings and Rilles, be more exactly shadowed and traced."[105] This is a spatiality that can be also recognized in the description of Richard Hakluyt's "cartographical conversion,"

> M. *Richard Hakluyt*, my cosin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple …
> at a time when I found lying open upon his boord certeine bookes of
> Cosmographie, with an universall Mappe: he seeing me somewhat
> curious in the view thereof, began to instruct my ignorance, by
> shewing me the division of the earth into three parts after the olde
> account, and then according to the latter, & better distribution, into
> more: he pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes,
> Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and
> Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall
> commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of trafficke, &
> entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied.[106]

George Wither also displays a consciousness of a hierarchical spatiality in his poem, written on the occasion of his being left alone in a dining room decorated with a tapestry map of Britain. In his poem he lists and briefly describes the relationship of the counties and islands of Britain to the whole, and their connection to the power of the sovereign:

> FAIR England, in the bosom of the seas
>> Amid her two and fifty Provinces,
>> Sits like a glorious Empress, whose rich throne
>> Great Nymphs of Honour come to wait upon …
> Their mistress, England, with a royal train.
>> Yea, for Supporters, at each hand hath she,

The Wight and Man, that two brave islands be.[107]

This iconographical connection made visual through the conjoining of sovereign and land was constantly reproduced in maps of the period. In the Ditchley portrait Elizabeth stands on a map of England (fig. 2-6), in the Armada portrait she has one hand on a globe.

These maps, with their use of iconographical significations, depicted the "latter & better distribution" of the world. Like the chorographical descriptions that either accompanied them, or which they were used to supplement, the detailed a spatiality that was becoming more and more defined by the nation-state both economically and politically, as Hakluyt's comments show. Indeed by the time John Speed published his atlas of 1611, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine,* the symbolism of commodification is given an almost comic identity on many maps in the Jacobean rendition of an advertising banner which states that the maps are sold in "Popes head alley by G. Hubell." This "advertisement" recognized contemporary interest in the kinds of maps that Speed and others were producing. Possession of the knowledge these maps contained was recognized as an important tool to success. On Saxton's county maps Burghley wrote in a list of the county Justices of the Peace, the government's representative at the local level. On the Ortilius' world map he noted the route to the West Indies.[108] Both these actions speak of a connection, in the consciousness of the most powerful representatives of the state, between the map and their sovereign power. Indeed, while most of the cartographers were not directly employed by the central government, they expected the leading administrators would be interested in the progress and use of their maps.

As early as 1562 Laurence Nowell petitioned Burghley to be allowed to compile an accurate map.[109] The maps he included with his petition show signs of Burghley's hand. In his *The Boke Named the Governour,* Sir Thomas Elyot points to map making as an important tool of governments seeking to control and expand their realm; citing the example of Alexander, who

> caused the countrayes wherunto he purposed any enterprise, diligently
> and counningly to be discribed and paynted, that, beholdynge the
> picture, he mought perceyve whiche places were most daungerous:
> and where he and his host mought have most easy and covenable
> passage ... Semblably dyd the Romanes ... settynge up a table openly,
> wherin Italy was painted.[110]

Figure 2.6: Ditchley Portrait of Queen Elizabeth, National Portrait Gallery, London

Elyot contends that "a man shal more profite, in one wike, by figures and chartis, well and perfectly made, than he shall by the only reding or heryng the rules of that science by space of halfe a yere."[111] Dee agrees:

> Geographie teacheth wayes, by which, in su[n]dry formes, (as
> *Sphærike, Plaine* or other), the Situation of Cities, Townes, Villages,
> Fortes, Castells, Mountaines, Woods, Havens, Rivers, Crekes, & such
> other things, upo[n] the outface of the earthly Globe (either in the
> whole, or in some principall me[m]ber and portion therof co[n]tayned)
> may be described and designed, in com[m]ensurations Analogicall to
> Nature and veritie: and most aptly to our vew, may be represented. Of
> this Arte how great pleasure, and how manifolde commodities do
> come unto us, daily and hourely.[112]

The famous injunction by Robert Beale in his *A Treatise of the Office of a Councellor and Principall Secretarie to her Majestie* of 1592 also illustrates the growing importance of the use of mapping in the exercise of power:

> A Secretarie must … have the booke of Ortelius' Mapps, a booke of
> the Mappes of England, w[i]th a particular note of the divisions of the
> shires into Hundreds, Lathes, Wappentaes, and what Noblemen,
> Gent[lemen] and others be residing in every one of them; what Citties,
> Burrows, Markett Townes, Villages … and if anie other plotts or maps
> come to his handes, let them be kept safelie.[113]

As early as the 1550s maps were associated with places intended for pageantry, propaganda, and government. They were displayed in the royal palaces of Whitehall, Greenwich, Hampton Court and St. James.[114]

Yet, the very power these maps served to promote required that their conceptualized space be recognized by large numbers of the populace. The administrative benefits of maps encouraged gentry with administrative responsibilities to access them. Likewise, the educational value of maps encouraged their use in educational institutions. Leslie Cormack documents a growing interest and purchase of contemporary maps and chorographies among university students in the late sixteenth century. By the 1570s a wide market for maps of all types emerged within the educated elite.[115] Norden comments in his *Chorographical Description of Middlesex and Hartfordshire* "there are many men of rare perfection in Geographie

and of the Mathemitikes in this land and by industry of many they increase dayly."[116]
A probate inventory of the "goods and chattells" of Sir John Elliot of Port Eliot,
Cornwall in 1633 records that he owned "three mapps."[117]

Maps were also used for decoration and entertainment. Elyot extols the
experiences maps provide the viewer:

> For what pleasure is it, in one houre to beholde those realmes, cities,
> sees, ryvers and mountaynes, that uneth in an olde mannes life can nat
> be journaide and pursued ... I can nat tell what more pleasure shulde
> happen to a gentil witte, than to beholde in his owne house every
> thynge that within all the worlde is contained.[118]

Wither, as mentioned earlier, devises his poem on England when his host

> Alone did leave me in his dining-room;
>
> Where I was fain (and glad I had the hap!)
>
> To beg an entertainment of his Map.[119]

Dee also relates how these maps were used by those affluent enough "liketh, loveth,
getteth, useth, Mappes, Chartes, & Geographicall Globes" for one purpose or another;
often using them to "beautifie their Halls, Parlers, Chambers, Galeries, Studies, or
Libraries."[120] Indeed, he owned "two Globes of Gerardus Mercator's best making;
on which were my divers reformations, both Geographical and Celestial."[121] Maps
were often displayed on tapestries such as the county tapestries from the
Warwickshire workshop of Ralph Sheldon, at Barcheston, Warwickshire. The Earl
Harcourt so prized his three tapestry maps from the Sheldon looms that he intended to
erect a Gothic tower to display them.[122]

The mapping of Britain, and indeed the world, in a more and more "accurate"
and geometrically objective style played an increasingly important role in an
emerging spatiality which Lefebvre would denote as abstract space. It is not a
coincidence that the titles of these map collections used words like Theatre and
Speculum, terms which denote an objectifying of space. Yet neither these maps, nor
the spatiality they conceived, were representations of space existing in isolation.
Voekel's descriptions of these maps as palimpsestic is fitting in the sense that these
maps hold within them visible traces of the past. Indeed, Frank Lestringant contends
that these maps, and the chorographies so closely attached to them, were "a profuse
and indefinitely fragmented receptacle of local legends and traditions that were rooted
in vagaries of relief, hidden in folds of terrain, and readable in toponymy and

folklore."[123] He describes them as "cartographic *bricolage*" which was "never established on entirely fresh ground, but always inherited from previous maps a not inconsiderable—even a preponderant share of its information." Later he uses the term "montage" to describe early modern cartography.[124]

John Giles goes further, claiming that Renaissance "cartographization of space" engaged within its discourse with the rich lore of the period, including those aspects of the ritual transversal of space, rather than simply the "detached vision" of a mathematical conceptualization. He points out the importance of itineraries; Renaissance pageantry, with its use of geographic personifications; royal progresses and narratives of escape; and sojourns and reintegration found in many cultural discourses, which existed alongside and even within cartographic discourse.[125] Even John Norden warns the readers of his innovative table of miles in his *Intended Guyde for English Travailers,* "it is not possible for any Artist, so precisely to delineate so great (nay a farre lesse) Countrey … but that some errours of necessitie will be committed, especially by reason of hills, dales, woods, and other impediments."[126] Giles's provides an example from Edmund Spenser's *The Fairie Queene* that reveals how the "cartographization of space" in the early modern period was still fully engaged in a dialogue with a fundamentally heterotopic spatiality:

> … The great Magitian *Merlin* had deviz'd,
>
> By his deepe science, and hell-dreaded might,
>
> A looking glasse, right wondrously aguiz'd,
>
> Whose vertues through the wyde world soone were solemniz'd.
>
> It vertue had, to shew in perfect sight,
>
> What ever thing was in the world contaynd,
>
> Betwixt the lowest earth and heavens hight,
>
> So that it to the looker appertaynd;
>
> What ever foe had wrought, or frend had faynd,
>
> Therein discovered was, ne ought mote pas,
>
> Ne ought in secret from the same remaynd;
>
> For thy it round and hollow shaped was,
>
> Like to the world it selfe, and seem'd a world of glas.[127]

This "world of glas" is both like a map and a globe, but is also derived from the cryptic spatiality of absolute space. It contains within it those simultaneities that

Foucault describes as elements of a heterotopia. Indeed, Foucault, like Spenser, uses the mirror as an image of heterotopia.

Cartography emerged as a tool through which spatiality could be controlled through the commodification and commercialization of space, as well as emptying the significations of social space in order to reinscribe it. Yet, in this period the cartographic images also contained within them evidence of a spatial dialogue with aspects of abstract social space still present in the culture. This dialogue included legends and lore, the mytho/historical events, and the mysteries of nature and humanity. These early modern mapping projects, while beginning to draw upon developing conceptualizations of space, continue to draw upon and reveal qualities of absolute space. Maps, because of their growing prominence in the culture, provided a useful metaphorical concept which could be appropriated by writers of the period, as does Spenser in the *Faerie Queene*, Drayton in his *Poly-Olbion*, John Donne in many of his poems, Isabella Whitney in *To London*, and many others.

VI.

The mapping of Britain allowed an individual, as Elyot and Dee suggest, within the space of an hour, to view the "important" parts of the country. Mapping is not neutral as has already been noted. Morgan contends that Christopher Saxton's maps "determined the visual image of England" for over a century (fig. 2-7).[128] The "reading" of an early modern map gives a clear indication of what aspects of social space were valued; what places were recognized as privileged. One of the most salient features any reader of these maps notices are the ubiquitous palaces, parks, and pales of the elite. Paul Hentzner commented during his travels in 1598, "Such parks are common throughout England, belonging to those that are distinguished either for their rank or riches"[129] The chorographers also give eminence of place to the demarcation and description of elite estates. As noted earlier, Lambarde praises the map of Kent drawn by Philip Symonson and notes the way in which he shows the "houses of men of woorthe" more "truely seated."[130] The travel journals of foreign noblemen also describe these places in great detail. Even the jovial William Kemp's dancing journey to Norwich, records the places where the gentry and nobility reside. Indeed, great space is devoted in most of these texts to these recent arrivals on the spatial scene, which were replacing the crumbling castles, representative of a feudal

Figure 2.7: Christopher Saxton's Map of Hampshire, 1579.
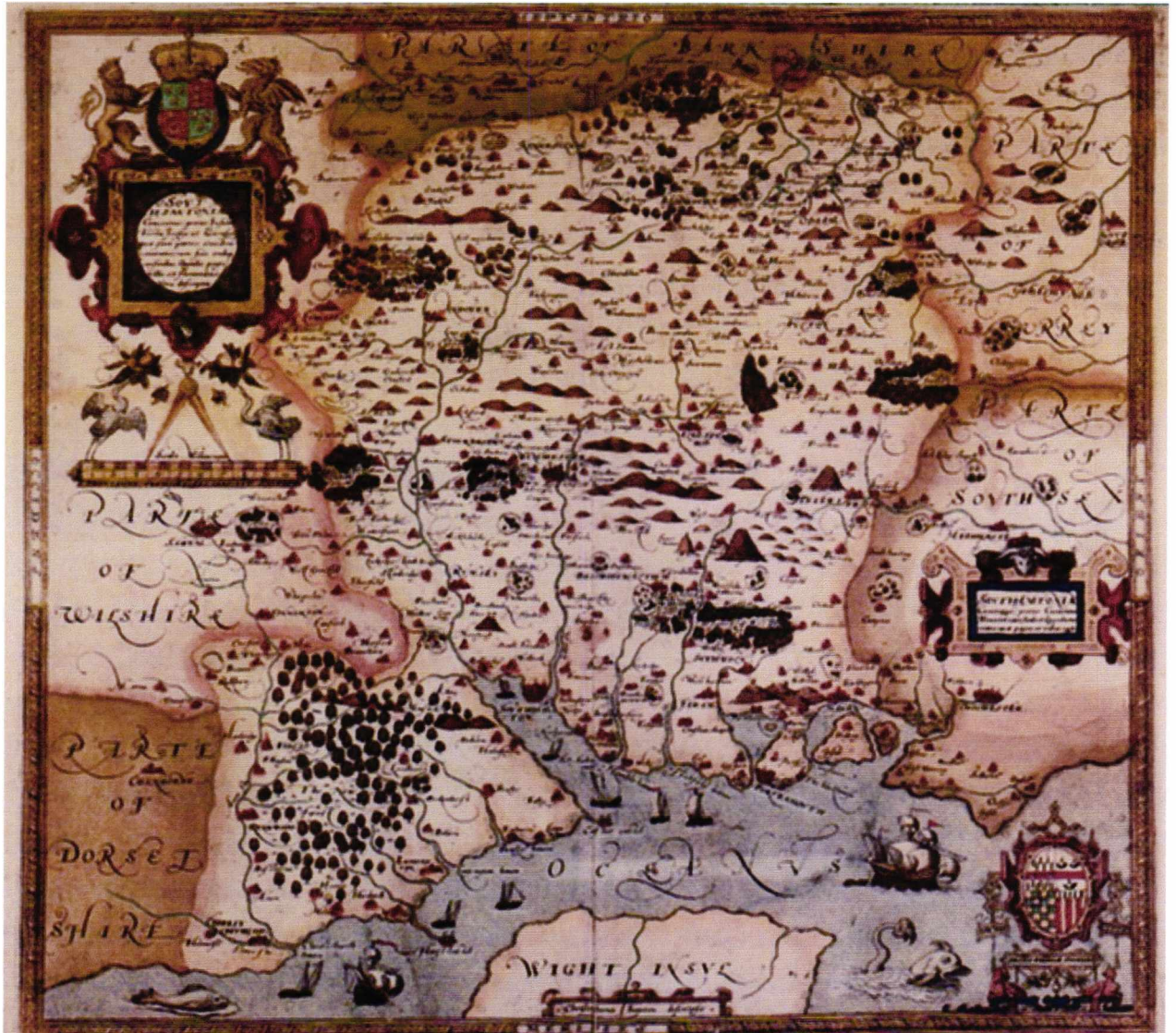
power structure, with magnificent houses built through a direct relationship with the sovereign. This textual fixation on the abodes of the upper classes in the work of the chorographers was a distinct innovation from Higden and other medieval chorographers.

Again, Leland offers the pattern that others follow. He mentions several houses as part of his general survey of the areas he travels through. In Warwick, along the course of the Avon he notes, "a myle and halfe lower it [from Fulborke Parke] leveth Charlecote Mr. Lucies mannour place on the left ripe."[131] In the Oxfordshire village of Ewelme he describes a manor "in the valley of the village: the base court of it is fair, and is buildid of brike and tymbre."[132] Camden, with an even greater attention to the genealogies of the families involved identifies most of the houses of men of importance including "Holdenby-house, a faire patterne of stately and magnificent building maketh a faire glorious showe, which Sir Christopher Hatton one of Queene Elizabeths privy Counsell … built upon the lands and inheritance of his great grand mother, heir unto the family of the Holdenbies." He mentions "Clarindon, a very large and goodly parke, passing fit for the keeping and feeding of wild beasts, and adorned in times past with an house of the Kings," and observes "The Vine sheweth itselfe, a very faire place, and Mansion house of the Baron Sands, so named of the vines there."[133] John Norden describes one of William Cecil, Lord Burghley's houses as, " Standinge on the north side of the Stronde, a verie fayre howse raysed with brickes, proportionablie adorned with four turrets, placed at the four quarters of the howse; within it is curiously bewtified with rare devises, and especially the Oratory, placed in an angle of the great chamber."[134] Thomas Wilson, writing in 1600, succinctly describes this aspect of early modern social space when he explains, "It is true that in England there is noe great reckning made of Castells and fortresses, for they doe willingly lett them goe to ruine and in stead thereof build them stately pleasant houses and palaces."[135]

These modest identifications do not simply reflect a thorough, encyclopedic rendering of the spaces of the realm. Buildings are not neutral. Lefebvre notes that buildings serve as signifiers for the relations of production.[136] The growing importance in the building, rebuilding, placement and community responsibilities of these houses were directly related to the centralization of power, as discussed earlier. Through the network of country houses the counties were administered in relative accord with imperial will. This network allowed the crown to exert power over the

country. Jean Baudrilliard describes power as "distributional; like a vector, it operates through relays and transmissions."[137] The prodigy houses, grand manors, and more modest country homes of the culture's elite participated in these relays. Out of this participation emerged a "country house discourse" which allowed for the creation of representational spaces through literary texts as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Early modern spatiality was made up of other networks and places as well. Mercantile enterprises produced the perceived spaces of markets. Leland describes many of the market towns of the period including Cheltenham, Malton, and Malmesbury, which boasted of "a right fair and costely peace of worke in the market place made al of stone and curiusly voultid for poore market folkes to stande dry when rayne cummith."[138] In Faversham also, after the dissolution of the abbey there, the market moved from its place on the outer boundaries of the town to a new purpose-built building, advertising the central importance of its mercantile dealings. The most famous of the new market buildings, the Royal Exchange in London, is described by Waldstein as "a quadrangle just like the one at Antwerp, and is used for commerce and banking. There is a further gallery upstairs in which all kinds of merchandise are on sale."[139] Hammond mentions markets often, in positive terms, "Her [Northampton Towne] Market Place is very large, sweet and cleane,"[140] while in Sandwich "There is a fayre Towne Hall in the Markett Place."[141] Even the religious Margaret Hoby makes her way to the nearby market "after I Came hom I praied and then went to dinner: after, I went in to the faire and bought divers thinges."[142] Wilson, in his *The State of England* in 1600 lists 641 Market towns.[143]

These markets, as well as the country houses of the elite, were connected by networks of travel. These networks, made up of waterways and land roads, both functioned as perceived space, and provided a discourse which informed metaphors and images, contributing to the creation of representational spaces of the period. Burton uses metaphors of the body to describe the rivers of England: "To speake something of the Rivers wherewith this Country is watered, which do naturally so ranke their streames into such fit distances, and passe into such befitting tracts, that they may very well be compared to the natural veines uniformely running in due parts throughout the body"[144] Camden uses rivers as an organizational strategy in his *Britannia*, following the main rivers of the region and describing the cities found sited upon them. Saxton and Speed did not indicate roads on their maps at all, while the rivers of the country spread, blue-veined, nourishing, as it were, the land. Wilson

reports 554 rivers in England in 1600.[145] Drayton creates a topomythos of Britain based on his deification of rivers in his *Poly-Olbion*. Accompanying each county "song" is a map featuring elaborate depictions of the river deities (fig. 2-8).[146]

Though perhaps the text which creates the most vivid experience of the waters' ways in early modern spatiality are the writings of John Taylor, the "water poet." Taylor illustrates, in his descriptions of contemporary waterways, the play of mercantile, topographical and mythic associations. His texts participate in the topomythos Drayton perfects, while revealing the more prosaic ways in which the waterways served the commercial and transportation needs of the country. This is shown in his description of the Isis from Oxford to Staines:

> From Oxford two miles Ifley distant is,
>
> And there a new turne pike doth stand amisse …
>
> At Newnham locke there's plac'd a fishing weare,
>
> A gravell hill to high, scarce water there …
>
> At Clifton there are rocks, and sands and flats.[147]

Yet in the midst of this professional description of the state of the river, Taylor interjects a description of a holy well, which takes up several lines of the poem:

> Untill we came unto a mungrill spaw,
>
> A bath, a spring, a fountain, or a rill,
>
> That issues from the bowels of a hill …
>
> Whose water (cleare as chrystall, sweet as hony,)
>
> Cures all diseases (except want of mony,) …[148]

These waterways, along with roadways created networks radiating out from London, connected the counties to the political and mercantile center of the country. Norden and Nowell, unlike Saxton and Speed, include roads in their maps. The primary purpose of these roads was to link market towns and provide access to the country homes of the powerful new gentry families. Statutes to protect roads make clear that the development and upkeep of a network of roads was becoming increasingly important. Harrison describes a Parlimentary statute "Wherefore by authoritie of parlement an order is taken for their [the main highways] yearelie amendment"[149] This statute stipulated that the common people were to work for six days in the summer repairing the roads. And while Harrison complains that the intent of the statute was not always borne out in the execution of it, the very fact of parliamentary interest proved the growing importance of roadways. Indeed many

Figure 2.8: The map Herfordshire from Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, 1622.[151]
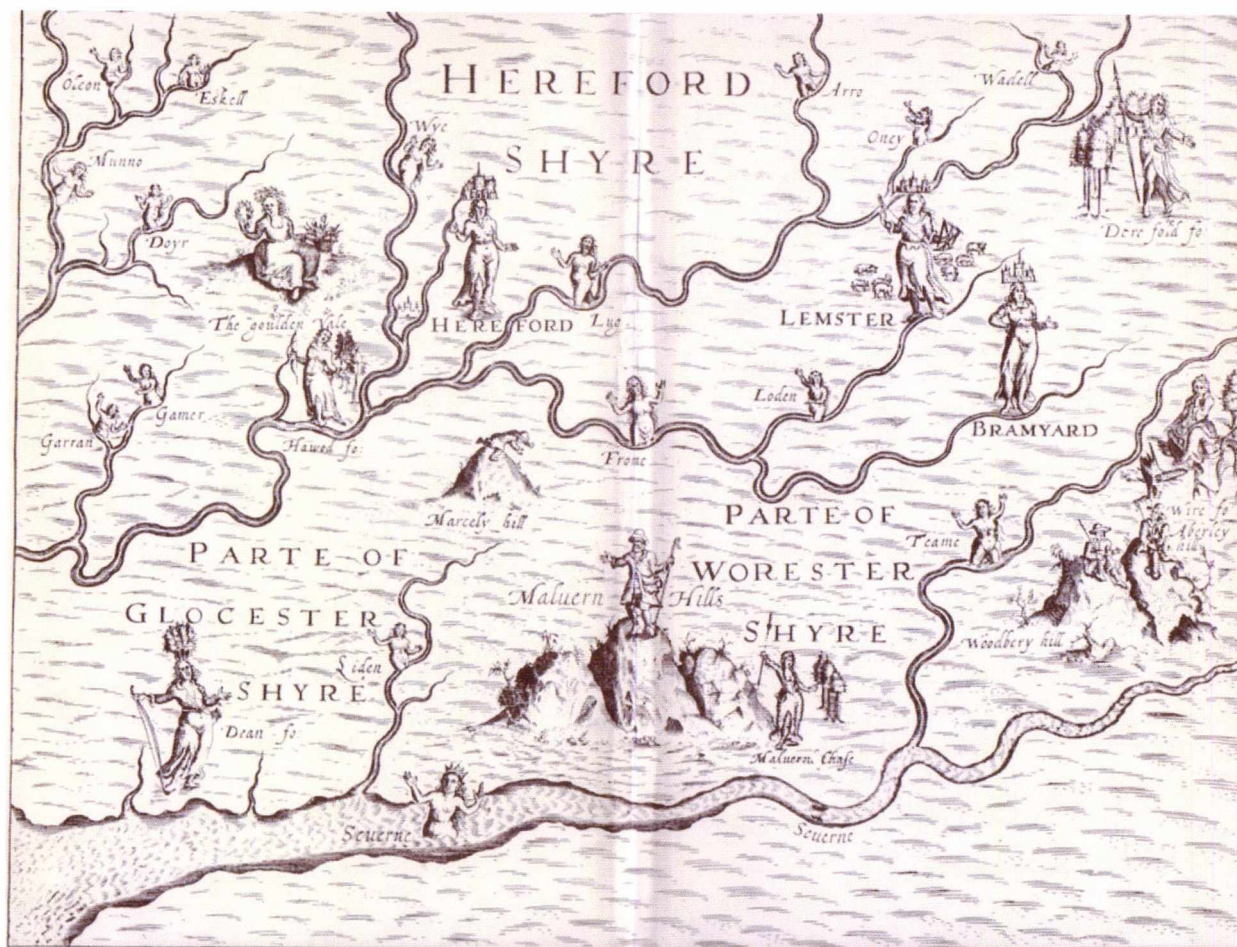
travelers traversed the roads with relative ease.

Waldstein accomplished his tour mainly on the roads. Hammond too "march'd through but 7. shires, or Counties … travell'd 700 odd Miles" in seven weeks.[151] On his way to Canterbury he "had the happinesse to light upon some Travellors, bound/my Road." This group included a "Madamoiselle, who, beeing well mounted, would be sure to be alwayes on the Front … and leave a whole Cloud of choking dust behind her."[152] William Kemp not only traversed the road between London and Norwich, he danced it. And notwithstanding the occasional muddy puddle, "At length comming to a broad plash of water and mud, which could not be auoyded, I fetcht a rise, yet fell in ouer the anckles at the further end."[153] He does, famously, arrive in nine days, even with a few days of relatively short travel. Even gentlewomen found the roadways of England relatively passable. Margaret Hoby describes several trips to York, two to London, and many shorter visits to relatives and friends in Yorkshire; traveling on the roads by coach or on her horse. While Anne Clifford records, "Upon the 9th I set out from Brougham Castle towards London. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon we came to Roses. All this day I rode on Horseback on River's mare, 27 miles that day."[154] Though it should be noted that ease of travel on the road ways was dependent upon seasonal conditions, many roads becoming impassible in the colder and wetter months of the year.

Early modern spatiality in England can be described using many of the terms previously discussed: palimpsest, montage, bricolage, representational spaces. Yet all these terms refer one back to the concept of heterotopia. The spatiality of the period was essentially heterotopic; its production part of a process Ardener describes as "cumulative interdependence."[155] Its complexity is reflected in Drayton's choice of the title *Poly-Olbion* for his topographical epic. Indeed, this social space was a "poly" Albion, a many faceted England, an England of crumbling castles and eroding city walls, of vast exchanges of property and a fundamental change in the relationship between individuals and the land. In England the folk-lore of the past is recorded alongside the discovery of fossils, Roman antiquities, prehistoric stone configurations and ancient burial mounds. The new prodigy and gentry houses were replacing the older hall-based manor houses and castles of previous times. The very shape and nature of this spatiality was both local and increasingly global. The celebration of the local was illustrated in the chorographies, literature, travelogues, correspondence, and many county histories appearing during this period. While, at the same time the

culture was also participating in, and laying claim to, no less than the entire world. Halkyut boasts about this nascent globalization in the dedication of his *Principall Navigations* in 1589:

> For, which of the kings of this land before her Majesty, had theyr
> banners ever seene in the Caspian Sea? … dealt with the Emperor of
> Persia … saw … an English Ligier in the stately porch of the Grand
> Signor at Constantinople? … found English Consuls & Agents at
> Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balsara … who ever heard
> of Englishman at Goa before now? what English shippes did
> heeretofore ever anker in the mighty river of Plate? … and traffike
> with the princes of the Moluccaes, & the Isle of Java, double the
> famous Cape of Bona Speranza, arive at the Isle of Santa Helena, &
> last of all returne home most richly lade[n] with the comodities of
> China, as the subjects of this now flourishing monarchy have done?[156]

During the period, even the universe was beginning to appear knowable, and thus obtainable. Sir Henry Wotten in a letter to the Earl of Salisbury wonders at the new discoveries lately made by that "Mathematical Professor at Padua," Galileo, who has "discovered four new planets rolling about the sphere of Jupiter, besides many other unknown fixed stars" with the aid of his new "optical instrument" and thus "overthrown all former astronomy."[157] This England of many Englands, this Poly Albion, was a multi-faceted spatiality. For, as Lefebvre contends, "nothing disappears completely … nor can what subsists be defined solely in terms of traces, memories or relics. In space, what came earlier continues to underpin what follows."[158] It was also a spatiality participating in the "continual motion" or as Foucault states the "communicating, polymorphous, continuous and irreversible condition of space" which "will not stand still for definition."[159] In the spatiality of the period was, as Lefebvre terms it, the nascent transformation from an encompassing absolute space.[160] "What was about to disappear was absolute space; it was already crumbling as its supports gave way. What then was about to emerge? The space of a secular life, freed from politico-religious space."[161] The acceleration towards abstract space is certainly evident in this period. However, the heterotopic qualities of the spatiality, drawing on the many salient aspects of absolute space, still recognized and functioning in the spatiality of the period, provided discourses through

which writers could participate in and give "voice" to the spatial dialogue and thus the production of the social space of the period.

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[135] Thomas Wilson, "The State of England (1600) By Sir Thomas Wilson," ed. F.J. Fisher, *Miscellany 16, Publications of the Camden Society* 3rd ser. 52 (1936): 12.

[136] Lefebvre, *Production* 33.

[137] Jean Badrillard, "Forget Foucault," *Forget Foucault* (New York : Semiotext(e), 1987) 42.

[138] Leland, vol. 1: 132.

[139] Waldstein 175.

[140] Hammond, *Westerne Counties* 83.

[141] Hammond, *Westerne Counties* 21.

[142] Margaret Hoby, *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605*, ed. Joanna Moody (Stroud: Sutton, 1998) 82.

[143] Thomas Wilson 11.

[144] Burton 5.

[145] Thomas Wilson 11.

[146] Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion* (London, 1613); *Poly-Olbion, The Works of Michael Drayton*, ed. J. William Hebel, vol. 4 (Oxford: Shakespeare Head P, 1961).

[147] John Taylor, *Travel's Through Stuart Britain*, ed. John Chandler (Stroud: Sutton, 1999) 142.

[148] Taylor, *Travels* 142-143.

[149] Harrison 113-114.

[150] Drayton, ed. Hebel 126.

[151] Hammond, *Westerne Counties* 93.

[152] Hammond, *Westerne Counties* 10.

[153] William Kemp, *Kemps Nine Daies Wonder: Performed in a Daunce from London To Norwich*, ed. Alexander Dyce, *Publications of the Camden Society* os 11 (1840): 8.

[154] Anne Clifford, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*. ed. D.J.H. Clifford (Stroud: Sutton, 1990) 42.

[155] Shirley Ardener, "Ground Rules and Social Maps for Women: An Introduction," *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*, ed. Shirley Ardener (New York: St. Martins, 1981) 12.

[156] Hakluyt 2v-3r

[157] Wotten, Henry , "Sir Henry Wotten to the Earl of Salisbury," *Renaissance Letters: Revelations of a World Reborn*, eds. Robert J. Clements and Lorna Levant (New York: New York UP, 1976) 178-179.

[158] Lefebvre, *Production* 230.

[159] Michel Foucault, *Death and the Labyrinth: The World of Raymond Roussel* (London: Althone, 1986) 80.

[160] Lefebvre, *Production* 252.

[161] Lefebvre, *Production* 256.

Chapter 3

Aemilia Lanyer's Appropriation of Country House Discourse

Aemilia Lanyer frames her verse portrayal of the crucifixion, *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum,* with several dedicatory poems to prominent women at the beginning, and ends with the country house poem, "The Description of Cooke-ham." This ancient, royal manor of Cookham provided a "place" for the spiritual and political contentions, she sets out in her poem. Places, as Michael Godkin explains, "are more than entities which provide the physical stage for life's drama. Some are profound centers of meanings and symbols of experience."[1] So while Lanyer might proffer the well-known metaphor to Anne Clifford: "For well you knowe, this world is but a Stage/ Where all doe play their parts, and must be gone,"[2] her poem ornaments a particular "stage" or "place" offering an alternative construct of social space set in opposition to the emerging spatiality of the period. This emerging spatiality was increasingly defined by what Lefebvre terms as the "property principle" which was progressively becoming a "dominating space—and this in the literal sense of subjecting it to its dominion."[3] As Don E. Wayne explains, "There is some linguistic evidence that in the sixteenth century, if not earlier, the self began to be thought of in territorial and possessive terms"[4]

As an alternative to the "property principle" Lanyer offers a conception of the spatial which is relational. It accesses those spaces not quite expunged from the culture, spaces Lefebvre terms "absolute" or Foucault's construct of the heterotopic. Throughout the poem she represents what Lefebvre would define as feminine spaces, those "hidden spaces" of mystery, of wonder, of relationships unmediated by the "law" of the phallus,[5] replacing a "cruel God-the-Father" with the "syncretic unity of an Earth-Mother."[6] She places this construct in the political milieu of the first decade of the seventeenth century, where Margaret Clifford, Duchess of Cumberland is posited as the "Earth-Mother," or "Dowager of all" (62: 257), alternative to the "cruel God-the-Father" figure of James I. She does this by accessing what Kari Boyd McBride describes as an emerging "country-house discourse" through which Lanyer uses a "double-articulation" to create a spatial discourse that appropriates contemporary significations.[7] These offer up an alternative spatiality, a representational space, constructed in order to insert contention in a spatiality

increasingly represented by Renaissance privileging of logic, of the visual and the authoritarian "property principle."

I.

Through the emergence of the "property principle," and the social and economic revolution which participated in its creation, developed a "country house" discourse. It was a discourse that utilized and refined images of elite country estates to produce significations of social qualities and characteristics seen as desirable within the culture. However, this valorizing of qualities was not unproblematic. The significations country house discourse draws upon served not only to develop and promote cultural qualities deemed socially beneficial, but also to challenge and continually redefine them. It was a discourse found in much poetry and prose of the period. Authors used descriptions of manor houses and elite country estates, and the activities portrayed in these places, to serve narrative strategies in works such as Sidney's *Arcadia*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, and Mary Wroth's *Urania*. Indeed, it was an ubiquitous signification in the period, to be discovered constantly in literature; most notably the emerging genre of country house poem, as well as in painting, architectural drawings, design books, travel journals, letters, chorographies, maps, tapestries, and music. These mediums, through which this country house discourse emerged, formed a "discourse field that articulated a web of socio-economic concerns about the right use of land, and the logical relationships that land engenders, concerns that cohere in the symbol of the country house."[8] This discourse provided a potent metaphor, derived from social space, which was accessed extensively in this period.

Gérard Genette discusses the way in which metaphoric figures, such as those used in this country house discourse, function. The figure, for Genette, "is simply a sense of figure, and its existence depends completely on the awareness that the reader has, or does not have, of the ambiguity of the discourse that is being offered to him." He goes on to quote Sartre's observation that "it is he [the reader] ... who enables the significance" of each figure to be understood. The figure becomes a hermeneutic circle which "depends on the gap between these words and those that the reader perceives, mentally beyond them, 'in a perpetual supersession of the written thing.'"[9] Consequently, as James Duncan explains, "objects and certainly abstract groupings

such as landscapes have no intrinsic meaning. The meaning they have is social; it arises out of social interaction and is conferred upon them by social groups."[10] For Genette's figure to work within a given societal context, "a set of shared meanings held in common by members of the group" must exist, requiring a certain degree of consensus for as Duncan notes, "communication through the medium of landscape requires considerable consensus concerning the symbolic meaning of landscapes."[11]

During the early modern period, landscape practices, especially the construct of the "country house," became an attempt to create a fixed meaning of place. Doreen Massey describes the way in which space can be enclosed and defended by constructing "singular, fixed and static identities" which are interpreted "as bounded enclosed spaces defined through counterposition against the Other who is outside."[12] McBride contends that the discourse of the country house "is concerned with the ordering of society and legitimate exercise of power that is both visible in and engendered by the right relationship of human being to land that has been mapped, tilled, and walled—land that confers relative rank and power upon those who inhabit the noble house that dominates it."[13] In England, during the early modern period, there were few more fertile images for the complex socio-political psyche than that of the landscape of the country house.

At this time, the country house developed a political position that situated it beyond mere use. In his essay "Of Building" Francis Bacon may have begun with the well-known sentiment, "*Houses* are built to Live in, and not to Looke on: Therefore let Use bee preferred."[14] Yet his essay goes on to describe an ideal manor that could compete for power and prestige with any in the realm. The country house came to represent political status, and also the means through which one gained that status and power, in the Tudor and Stuart reigns. Maurice Howard remarks that during the reign of Henry VIII, "A splendid house in the fashionable style of the day might be as much part of the 'uniform' of the favoured courtier as the white and green of the King's colours that he wore at Court as the sign of his allegiance."[15] Sir Richard Grenville's letter to Cromwell, asking for the priory of Launceston, makes clear the social importance of a country house estate to one's social position. He pleads, "Nor I do not this for no covetousness, but to stand in the case of others."[16]

The possession of country house estates became of even greater importance during Elizabeth's reign, as the "function of administration displaced that of warriorship as the chief mark of honor among those of rank."[17] Mark Girouard

explains, "Increasingly, in dealing with the reign of Elizabeth, one becomes aware of a cohesive group, those who had accepted (and been accepted by) the new regime and become part of the machinery of government ... With a few exceptions, it was the families in the swing, proud to be the leaders of a Protestant elite and eager to demonstrate their pride, who built the great Elizabethan and Jacobean houses."[18] This elite not only built because of their position, but to maintain and enhance this position. The country houses functioned not simply as a promotion of existing social relationships, but to redefine these in relation to a growing number of ambitious families. The great prodigy houses—Wimbledon, Hatfield House, Audley End, Theobalds, Holdenby, Wilton and Burghley House—"fulfilled quasi-public function" as alternative political venues, promoting the advancement of families.[19] William Cecil's letter to Christopher Hatton, one of Elizabeth's favorites, connects Holdenby to the political body of the Queen: "Sir, I may not pass out of this good house without thanks on your behalf to God, and on mine to you, nor without memory of her Majesty, to whom it appeareth this goodly, perfect, though not perfected work is consecrated."[20] William Cecil's own Theobalds, "increased by occasion of Her Majesty's often coming, whom to please I never would omit to strain myself to more charges than building it."[21] He records, in his "Notes of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," alongside the affairs of state, each visit the Queen makes to Theobalds between 1577 and 1583.[22] On the occasion of the 1583 visit he reveals the political importance of these visits: "her Majesty hath a disposition to leave her own stately palaces, and to vouchsafe to survey my poor house after Easter; which, I am sure, if it had sense as the Master hath, would stoop down with so much pride to be possessed of her Majesty."[23] William Cecil also records major grants of lands and manors the queen makes to her subjects. In March 1584 he recounts, "A Graunt to Sir Christopher Hatton, Vice-Chamberlayn, of the Isle of Purbeck."[24] In 1587 he notes, "A Graunt of the Lands of Anthony Babington to Sir Walter Raleigh,"[25] and "Jan 1587 [1588] A graunt to the E. of Huntingdon of the Mannor of Ashby de la Zouch and other lands, that were his, during eighteen Yeares, yelding 600*l*."[26] That these and many other grants of land and manors are recorded in Cecil's notes mainly dealing with important affairs of state show the way in which property participated in the larger political arena. The use and display of land was a vital component of the strategy through which courtiers attempted to gain greater political power.

Robert Sidney, in the hopes of enhancing his status with King James, plotted a ruinous course to expand both house and parklands, which drew the criticism of his steward (fig. 3-1):

> How your Lordship hath struggled with hopes I know and they have been an especial cause of your ruinous estate. Consider ... whether a greater or two parks be necessary in this place. Your Lordship knows well that this parte of the countrey is not pleasant nor sportely, and therefore not lykely to have yt visited by suche for whose sake you would inlardge yt.[27]

In a letter to his wife, Sidney complains, "If I find no meanes for my workmen my building cannot go forwards which wil be disgrace to me."[28] Sidney's predicament was enacted many times over throughout the country, for as Nicholas Cooper points out, "Aspirants and new arrivals expressed their ambitions in houses that proclaimed their gentility, while by rebuilding their old houses established members of the ruling class made sure that they were not outshone by the newcomers."[29] Sir William Savile of Thornhill was advised by his uncle:

> Considering your houses in my judgement are not suitable for your quality, nor yet complete with furniture, I conceive your expenses ought to be reduced to two thirds of your estate, the rest saved to the accommodation of you in that kind.[30]

William Woolley "condemned Godfrey Clerk's house at Chilcot in Derbyshire as 'not equal to his estate and quality, being Knight of the County and married to Catherine, daughter of Philip, Earl of Chesterfield.'"[31]

Powerful men designed their houses with the express purpose of creating a grand and emotive effect. Alice Friedman points out that "a long, ceremonious approach on axis, symmetry and order in the elevations and, inside, a 'stately ascent' from hall to the great chamber" all played a role in creating the aura of greatness.[32] Sir Francis Wollaton built Wollaton Hall framed with ornamental stonework, on top of a hill, spectacularly visible across the countryside. Elizabeth Shrewsbury's Hardwick Hall is an impressive building made up of "six towers, of the same size and treatment, placed symmetrically around an oblong block, with bay windows of different shapes and sizes, with round staircase turrets, and sometimes with gables" which "greatly increase the vertical stress with results that can be both compressed

Figure 3.1: Robert Sidney's addition to Penshurst Place, Kent; 1601.

Figure 3.2: Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, 1597

and soaring" (fig. 3-2).[33]   Hardwick Hall's impressive facade of glass necessitated the building of its own glassworks during the building period.[34]

Christy Anderson identifies this effect of the miraculous, otherworldly, and inventive, as "a recognizable, if not clearly definable, quality of English aesthetic experience and artistic creation,"[35] It should not be confused with mere "playfulness" or a desire to create an effect for the purpose of delight. This very quality of wonder was integral to the role these houses played in the representation of social power in space. For as Girouard points out "houses which had been compressed into one soaring and stately whole were an irresistible advertisement of the dignity and glory of their owners."[36] The windowed towers of Hardwick Hall can still be seen from miles away across the valley and must have carried significant symbolic weight as a witness to the power of the elite who resided in such an impressive building. Francis Willoughby's Wollaton Hall "commanded views of distant Nottingham and the surrounding countryside and was itself supremely visible for miles."[37] William Camden records "Sir *Francis Willoughby* a Knight … in our daies built out of the ground with great charges … a stately house with artificiall workmanship, standing bleakely, but offering a very goodly prospect to the beholders far and neere.[38] Robert Reyce wrote in 1618: "Our building at this day is chiefly to plan the houses where they may be furthest seen, have best prospect, sweetest air and greatest pleasure" (fig. 3-3).[39]

These houses, and the landscape that encased them, were integral to the identity and status of the owner: thus the investment, the savings, the financial sacrifices were all seen as legitimate strategies to signal their place and promote their advance in the social structure. They were built above all to impress "blatantly and nakedly."[40] Their size and symmetry, their fantastic grounds, their bright lantern like effect shimmering above the surrounding countryside, were powerful visual significations of elite status and power. The country house functioned, Don Mitchell notes, as a "vast system of *signs*, signs that 'advertise' meanings … to those watching them," functioning as a text, or a stage upon which the "director was power itself."[41] Tom Williamson and Liz Bellamy contend: "This image of the role of the landowner

Figure 3.3: Chilham Castle Kent 1603

had considerable political implications; the landed elite frequently justified their dominance of political power on the basis of their ability to understand the needs of the community."[42] Or as Yi-Fu Tuan more succinctly puts it, "What the 'great' houses do is break the scale by an act of will corresponding to their real and systematic domination of others."[43] This was accomplished on the ground through the setting of boundaries dictated by those in positions of dominance. If as Gillian Rose proposes, landscape is a meaningful way of viewing class relations, one can speak of these relations as a "visual ideology."[44] It was based again, on the property principle, and primarily in the conceptual framework of boundaries.

The creation and maintenance of boundaries both social and physical was integral to the early modern conception of power, and participated in the ongoing development of the property principle as a site of domination. For as Geraldine Pratt suggests, "borders are saturated with inequality, domination, forced exclusion; they are social and political constructions that are used to construct differences."[45] Indeed, the advances in surveying and mapping techniques of the period were concerned primarily with demarcating the boundaries of manors and estates for the use of, and the exploitation by, the elite. Richard Scudmore wrote to Philip Hoby in 1550, "I receavyd a letter from Symon with a copye of the survey [map] of Lenchwyck and Norton, but Lenchewick yef it might be obteyned by itself is above the yerely value of xxxi*l* by the yere."[46]

These estate plans, as Maurice Beresford explains, were commissioned by landlords who wished to develop their estates, secure rights away from the claims of tenants, and help in litigation over property. They were instrumental in the performance of enclosures and the depopulation of villages by landlords keen to thoroughly revise the uses that estates had been previously put to in the Middle Ages.[47] Even Christopher Saxton's collection of county maps primarily illustrates the landscape of the elite, identifying them both on the map and on the cartouches that illustrate the page. His maps, Beresford observes, "provided in the late sixteenth century a series of 'archetype' maps and 'archetypal meanings.'"[48] Estate maps served the property principle by providing the means for men to "visualize their properties and scattered holdings; they needed to 'see' the country to which they belonged when bargaining over territory and conquest, the resources and strength of their rivals at home and abroad." [49] This was not a neutral space, but one socially charged with implications for the power relations between gender and class.[50]

Lefebvre describes this space as that of the "Phallus, symbol of power and fecundity" creating a spatiality "where the eye would usurp so many privileges." This eye "would be that of God, that of the father or that of the Leader:"

> A space in which this eye laid hold of whatever served its purposes would also be a space of force, of violence, of power restrained by nothing but the limitations of its means. This was to be the space of the triune God, the space of kings, no longer the space of cryptic signs but rather the space of the written word and the rule of history. The space, too, of military violence—and hence a *masculine* space.[51]

It would be this eye that eventually triumphed over native haptic or tactile sense of sight as an experience of surfaces and textures; a "looking at" an object rather than "seeing through" one. This "haptic" sight provided a more participatory relationship "which saw the eye as the source of rays exploring the world 'rather as fingers palpate objects'" as discussed in Chapter 1.[52]

This elevation of the eye of "perspective" by "insisting on the pictorial surface," Catherine Belsey explains, reaffirms "that the source of that access is itself a signifying image, and the effect of a discipline" which was increasingly to be identified with the hegemonic position of the monarch.[53] "For and the eye be not satysfyed, *the* mynde can not be contented," cautions Andrew Boorde in his *First Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* written in 1547.[54] Henry Wotton concurs:

> For as there is a Lordship (as it were) of the Feete, wherein the Master doth much joy when he walketh about the Line of his owne Possessions: So there is a Lordship likewise of the Eye which being a raunging, and Imperious, and (I might say) an usurping Sence, can indure no narrow circumscription; but must be fedde, both with extent and varietie.[55]

This passage is replete with phallic displacements. Here Wotton clearly connects the power of sight, of the eye, with authority. He terms it an "usurping Sence" which refuses, like a monarch, to endure any control or sharing of power, instead insisting on the primacy of its own power position. In this way, of course, sight becomes metonymically associated with the monarch, and the centralized authority which had replaced earlier forms of political organization that had required cooperation and reciprocity between monarch and nobles. This conception of the functioning of sight was also replacing the more "haptic" or relational experiencing of sight, as a sense

working in cooperation with other senses. This elevation of the visual had important implications for gender and class relations in the period.

Through this authoritarian conception of sight, the power of the state permeated society to its most intimate space, the domestic. The authority of the master of the house came to represent the power of the court-centered state, which required a "structural homology between domestic order and political rule" providing "constant reminders of the father's authority in every household of the realm."[56] The social spaces of the country house supplied these "constant reminders" through the country house discourse it engendered. "The power, wealth and respect invested in the country house find their imaginary equivalent in the representation of those houses as central rather than peripheral."[57]

The discourse of the country house reasserted the authority of the elite, but it did so by the fashioning of a façade behind which the real power, held through spatial control of boundaries and property possession. Country house culture was idealized by a representation of a reciprocal, even symbiotic relationship between landlord and tenant.[58] William McClung outlines the basic characteristics of the genre, which include praise of a particular estate's "building and grounds, gardens, fields and meadows, the master's virtue, his charity to his dependents, and his hospitality to friends (the poet among them) and to strangers."[59] Ben Jonson's "To Penshurst" is the oft-cited model for the genre and incorporates all of these qualities. The reader is drawn through the "natural" wild paths of the meadows surrounding the estate of Robert Sidney into the more paradisal gardens connected to the house. Here "the blushing apricot, and woolly peach / Hang on thy walls, that every child may reach." The "farmer and the clown" bring "a capon, some a rurall cake, / Some nuts, some apples" and their "ripe daughters" carry baskets of plum or pear. All these gifts are given freely, without hope of gain; the rustics "have no suit." The lord himself is presented in a pastoral role, preserving the community through his just stewardship.[60]

Decades earlier, in 1586, Geoffrey Whitney also used a similar discourse in his "Patria Cuique Chara: To Richarde Cotton Esquier." Here he likens Cotton's estate to:

> A Comon-wealthe, by this, is right expresse:
> Bothe him, that rules, and those, that doe obaye:
> Or suche, as are the heads above the rest,
> Whome here, the Lorde in highe estate dothe staye:

By whose supporte, the meaner sorte doe live,

And unto them all reverence dulie give.[61]

Cotton's Cumbermaire estate is seen as "A stately seate" where Cotton spends his time to his

... praise, and to your countries good:

This is the hive—your tennaunts, are the bees.

And in the same, have Places by degrees."[62]

Camden, in his colossal *Britainnia*, also adopts the discourse of the country house from time to time as his description of Guy's Cliffe illustrates:

Under this hill, hard by the river *Avon* standeth *Guy-cliffe*, others call it *Gib-cliffe*, the dwelling house at this day of *Sir Thomas Beau-foe* descended from the ancient Normans line, and the very seat it self of pleasantnesse. There have yee a shady little wood, cleere and cristall springs, mossy bottomes and caves, medowes alwaies fresh and greene, the river rumbling here and there among the stones with his stream making a milde noise and gentle whispering, and besides all this, solitary and still quietnesse, things most gratefull to the Muses.[63]

Implicit in this country house discourse is the presentation of the country estates of the elite as a "political or moral microcosm."[64] Indeed Wotton goes so far as to claim:

Every Mans proper *Mansion* House and *Home*, being the Theater of his *Hospitality*, the *Seate* of *Selfe-fruition*, the *Comfortablest part* of his owne *Life*, the *Noblest* of his Sonnes *Inheritance*, a kinde of private *Princedome*; Nay, to the *Possessors* thereof, an Epitomie of the whole *World*.[65]

In addition, through what Roman Jakobson describes as contiguity, the moral qualities of the owners became metonymically associated with the building itself.[66] Charles Molesworth notes that a 'strategy of metonymy' becomes a way of establishing the connection between value in the sense of property and value in its more spiritual sense. A man's estate is viewed as the "effect" of his virtue.[67] Langham demonstrates this in his description of the 1575 celebrations at Kenilworth, when he praises the beauty of Robert Dudley's Kenilworth (fig. 3-4), "the stately seat of Kenelwoorth Castle, the rare beauty of bilding that his Honor hath avaunced" [68]

Figure 3.4: Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire

Above: View of Kenilworth from the "Great Mere." Leicester's building, for Queen Elizabeth is on the right hand side of the picture.
Below left: Leicester's Gatehouse. **Below right**: Leicester's building.

Philip Sidney also accesses this strategy as he describes the house of the virtuous Kalendar. Sidney infers the moral character of the owner as the visitors are brought,

> to the house: about which they might see (with fitte consideration both of the ayre, the prospect, and the nature of the ground) all such necessarie additions to a great house, as might well shewe, *Kalander* knew that provision is the foundation of hospitalitie, and thrift the fewell of magnificence. The house it selfe was built of faire and strong stone, not affecting so much any extraordinarie kinde of finenes, as an honorable representing of a firme stateliness... each place handsome without curiositie, and homely without loathsomnes.[69]

Philip Sidney uses this metonymy of virtue even in his correspondence, when he humbly begs the queen to "reed my hart in the cource of my life, and though it self bee but of a mean worth, yet to esteem it like a poor hows well sett."[70] Jonson boasted that it was his vocation as a poet to show "the exact knowledge of all vertues, and their Contraries; with ability to render the one lov'd, the other hated, by his proper embattaling them."[71] In "To Penshurst" Robert Sidney is seen not merely to build but to "dwell" in harmony with human, animal and mineral upon his estate.[72] In like manner, Whitney presents Cotton as the master who "hath no stinge" where all "in the hive with him doe live in blisse[73]" Mary Sidney in her elegiac poem to her brother, uses the metonymic image of Philip Sidney as a "goodly building ... /cut off by fate."[74] In Sonnet 80 Shakespeare describes the subject as a "tall building and of goodly pride."[75] Shakespeare also subverts this imagery when he has the Roman Lucius describe the headless corpse of the villainous Cloten, in Cymbeline: "The ruin speaks that sometime/ It was a worthy building."[76]

Country house discourse in emblem books, chorographies, plays, letters, literature and most particularly, the country house poem, allowed an elite a language that McBride suggests "provided the script, set, and cast for the performance of legitimacy."[77] The genre of country house poem, and use of the houses of the elite as metaphors for power and virtue, emerged as part of the redefinition of social space brought about by creation of a highly centralized hegemony. As Don Wayne explains, the "architecture and landscape, and subsequently the poetry in which these were celebrated, constitute stages in the preliminary 'mapping,' as it were, of an

ideological domain."[78] And yet, as bell hooks asserts, "Spaces can be interrupted, appropriated, and transformed through artistic and literary practice."[79] Amelia Lanyer utilizes this country house discourse in her poem "The Description of Cooke-ham," in conjunction with the entire text of *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*, to insert alternative values into the tropes and metonymies of this discourse. She does this in an attempt to suggest a different kind of spatiality than that dictated by the property principle and the authoritarianism of her society.

III.

In order to create this alternative way of viewing the social space of her culture, Lanyer accesses the quality of "place," the identity of which Massey describes as "always unfixed, contested and multiple."[80] She does this by appropriating the very country house discourse other writers used to promote the prevailing cultural hegemony. Signification systems are always fluid, appropriating cultural artifacts that both, as Wayne notes, "perform an ideological function and yet project changes in the ideology it serves."[81] Schleiner identifies Lanyer's strategies in this poem as participating in an "energetic contestation" between "dominant and less dominant parties."[82] Country house discourse allowed for the use of landscape tropes as a means to circumvent cultural constraints upon giving voice to anxieties and tensions within the culture. Through this discourse Lanyer was able to explore these tensions and propose strategies for their alleviation.

Lanyer's exploration is conducted through the use of a textual strategy through which she uses country house discourse to create a "double-articulation." She acknowledges through her use of this discourse the presence of a particular semiotics of place, which participates in the creation of space through the imposition of boundaries and a hierarchal structure of social relations that preserves the power of the cultural hegemony. Massey suggests this allows for a "notion of identity that crucially hinges on the notion of articulation: 'a subject constructed at the point of intersection'"[83] This is the first articulation. Sited in this intersection Lanyer uses her poetry to reveal, through the relationship of a subject and the wider social spatiality, how the subjects within this spatiality in turn "produce the place." The identity of this social space, as created, becomes a "double articulation."[84] Instead of presenting through her work a static picture of the country house, from the "all seeing"

perspective of the authoritarian vision, Lanyer uses the very discourse that promotes this ideological position to offer an alternative: that of an unbounded social space constructed through relationships.

Central to this alternative representational space is Lanyer's choice to use the manor of Cookham as the site of this particularly female *locus amoenus*. This manor was given by Archbishop of Canterbury Æthelheard to the Abbess Cynedritha in 798, later becoming a crown manor in 975 where it formed a part of the dowry of the Queens of England from Edward I until the reign of Henry VIII. Thus, the manor was historically connected to women.[85] The setting of the "Feast" (7: 84), to which Lanyer invites the women of the dedications and "all virtuous Ladies in generall," can be seen as located metaphorically in this place. Cookham is mentioned in the opening stanzas of *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum* as "that delightful place" of "pleasant groves, hills, walks and stately trees" (51-52: 18, 23), though its fuller presence in the poem is deferred to the end of the book. The status of the Cookham manor as once, though no more, a part of the traditional dower land of queens, also works well thematically as Margaret Clifford, the Duchess of Cumberland, had just begun a bitter legal battle to secure her dower lands and the lands of her late husband for her daughter, Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset. Lanyer's poem offers itself up as a palliative to this painful condition of "homelessness," proposing the unbounded spaces of the relational as superior to the bounded, hegemonic spaces of the culture. She comments:

> Thou from Court to Countrie art retir'd,
>
> Leaving the world, before the world leaves thee:
>
> That great Enchantresse of weake mindes admir'd. (58: 161-162)

Instead, Lanyer invites Margaret Clifford to enter that spatiality Lefebvre terms absolute. For Lanyer does not draw on merely idealized conceptions of future possibilities, or nostalgic reminiscences of what has gone by, but on a conception of unbounded spatiality not quite erased from contemporary consciousness.

This spatiality can be seen throughout the poem *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum,* preparing the reader for Lanyer's specific evocation of this space in "The Description of Cooke-ham" at the end of the book. Through the figure of Christ all spaces converge. He "rides upon the wings of all the windes" (54:81). He "in the waters laies his chamber beames, /And cloudes of darkenesse compasse him about" (55: 97-98), and dwells on a "holy hill" (55: 103). The righteous shall "possess the Land"

(54: 86), but this is a land unlike the bounded possessed land mapped by Saxton or Norden. It is a place where "Hills melt like wax in the presence of the Lord" (55: 95), and the "Poore" are raised "out of the dust" and brought to dwell in a "Tabernacle" (56: 124, 129). And of this kingdom "there should be no end" (97: 1066). It is "Christs bloody sweat, the Vineger, and Gall, / The Speare, Sponge, Nailes, his buffeting with Fists" that both gain "us Heaven" and make Margaret Clifford "Dowager of all" (62: 261-262, 257, 264). Lanyer describes her poetic depiction of the crucifixion as a "map of death" (64: 314). Christ is a deity who wraps his painful supplication in the darkness of "Sweet *Gethsemaine*" (67: 362), and wins the kingdoms of Heaven and Earth through suffering and death (69: 413). The "real" sites of biblical Jerusalem are superimposed upon the metaphorical site of unbounded spaces, illustrating a heterotopic spatiality.

In "The Description of Cooke-ham" this dynamic, heterotopic spatiality is more specifically connected to the contemporary space of the early modern. Lanyer prefigures this through the language she uses to depict the crucifixion. This choice of imagery, while creating a vivid portrait of death, is paradoxically filled with potent tropes of life. She transforms the spaces of Christ's death into a spatiality of pastoral richness. The path Christ takes to Golgotha is transformed into "Flora's banks," through the women's tears, which are figured as "shewers of Aprils raine" 93: 974). Christ's mother gathers his blood "Knowing he was the Jessie floure and bud, / That must be gath'red when it smell'd most sweet" (95: 1021-1022). His tomb is "Imbalmd and deckt with Lillies and with Roses" (106: 1280). Through these tropes Lanyer connects an unbounded spatiality associated with the divine to the alternative social space she creates in "The Description of Cooke-ham." The poem also sets up the position Margaret Clifford will hold within that spatiality, as "dowager of all" who possesses the "Keyes Saint Peter did possesse" which are indeed, the keys to all spaces simultaneously (109: 1369).

Michael Grossman contends that the very conception of "The Description of Cooke-ham" is based on "the alternative notion of a lateral or synchronic community of women."[86] In this space the company of women "often sing, / ...And in sweet musicke did your soule delight" (133: 87, 89). Under the oak atop the hill they "walke with Christ and his apostles" (133: 82). Lanyer fondly recalls her relationship in that place with Anne Clifford, whose activities, "my selfe did alwaies beare a part" (135: 121). Yet the representational space that Lanyer presents in this poem does

more than simply show an ideal community of virtuous women, in the tradition of Christine de Pizan's *City of the Ladies*. It appropriates the cultural discourse of the country house, which, while not recognized as a genre at the time Lanyer writes, was certainly, as discussed above, providing widely recognized cultural significations. Through this discourse she challenges and offers alternatives to the "property principle" which effected the exclusion of women like Clifford and Lanyer, and indeed through the legal mechanisms of the day, all women.

In "The Description of Cooke-ham" she includes the basic requisites of the discourse described by McClung. She praises the estate, calling it a "princely Palace" and "sweet Place" (130: 5,7). The portrait of the estate is painted with pastoral tropes, the "Walkes" in their "summer Liveries" the "Trees with leaves, with fruits, with flowers clad," and the "little Birds in chirping notes did sing" along with *"Philomela and her sundry leyes"* (131: 21,23,29,31). The master, or in this case, the mistress, Margaret Clifford, is charitable to dependents, as represented by Lanyer herself. Clifford includes her in all their activities. At one point Clifford is depicted taking the poet "by the hand" in a gesture of friendship and comfort (136: 162). Finally, the virtue of the owner of the estate is praised. It is here that Lanyer manipulates the discourse. The estate of Cookham had no legal connection to Margaret Clifford. Indeed as an estate of the Crown, now removed from its traditional role as part of the Queen's dower land, Cookham was symbolically aligned to the cultural structures, including King James's policies, responsible for assigning away lands Clifford strongly identified with, and wished to bequeath to her daughter. In addition, the estate of Cookham was leased from the crown by Margaret Clifford's brother, William Russell, who allowed her to stay in the property, at least in 1603. This was during her estrangement from her husband, George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, a notable adulterer and adventurer. At this time he refused to provide for his wife and daughter, even though he could spend lavishly "at home and abroad" equipping "no less than eleven expeditions to various parts of the world" and owned estates that were "estimated in size as almost 90,000 acres."[87] This recalcitrance was in despite of assurances George Clifford made to support his wife and daughter, as is shown in a letter dated June 1603, and summarized below:

> Sir Drue Drury, Sir John Peyton and Mr. Beale, who induced the Earl
> of Cumberland to agree to certain financial arrangements for the
> maintenance of his wife, daughter and household. However he did not

observe them, and the matter was then taken up by Lord Cecil, who
persuaded the Earl to conclude a similar agreement whereby he
granted allowances to his family and discharged their debts. Again he
did not honour this undertaking, despite appeals and requests from
Lord Cecil and the Countess of Cumberland.[88]

Thus, ostensibly, Cookham as an actual site does not appear to be a propitious choice
for displaying the virtue of Margaret Clifford, considering her very presence in that
place was a result of her powerlessness, and the inequities of the culture in which she
lived. However, these circumstances allow for an emptying of the sign, and in the
vacant space Lanyer is able to show more than the human virtue of a Robert Sidney in
"To Penshurst" or a Robert Cotton in relation to Cumbermaire. In place of these,
through the representational space she creates in "The Description of Cooke-ham,"
she presents a celestial virtue of uncompromised brilliance.

In Cookham, it is Margaret Clifford's virtue that animates the estate, not
heredity, or legal ownership. In her presence

> Oh how me thought each plant, each floure, each tree
> Set forth their beauties then to welcome thee:
> The very Hills right humbly did descend,
> When you to tread upon them did intend ...
> The gentle Windes did take delight to bee
> Among those woods that were so grac'd by thee ...
> The swelling Bankes deliver'd all their pride,
> When, such a *Phoenix* once they had espide.
> Each Arbor, Banke, each Seate, each stately Tree,
> Thought themselves honor'd in supporting thee. (131-132: 33-36, 39-
> 40, 43-45)

Lanyer figures Clifford not as the mortal owner of an estate, but as a being in a space
which "embodies *all* places" where she walks with the apostles, Moses, David, Joseph
and Christ himself. From the vantage point of the "holy Hill" she surveys the world
(133: 85), a signification of place that through out *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*
repeatedly represents the site of the divine. Here Lanyer presents an unbounded
space, "A Prospect fit to please the eyes of Kings: / And thirteene shires appear'd all
in your sight" (133: 72-73). "A Prospect" was one of the essential attributes of a
country house, Boorde insisting "*the* prospect to and fro the place be pleasaunt, fayre,

and good to the eye, to beholde *the* woodes, the waters, the feldes, the vales, the hylles, & the playne grou*n*de" (fig. 3-5).[89] At Cookham, Margaret Clifford possesses a prospect that in all of "Europe could not affoard such delight" (133: 74). This prospect rather than being simply the manufactured artifice of a builder, as in most country houses, becomes a metaphor for Clifford's ability to "see" in a way unbounded by the actual realities of any identifiable estate. Of course, there is no prospect in the hills of Berkshire that allows one to see thirteen shires. Instead, from this idealized "prospect" she holds court where,

> Hills, vales, and woods, as if on bended knee
>
> They had appeard, your honor to salute,
>
> Or to preferre some strange unlook'd for sute." (133: 68-70)

It is in these images that Lanyer sites Clifford's virtue as active, participatory and relational within the unbounded space of a Cookham that "embodies *all* places." And it is in these images that one can find another discourse intersecting with the tropes of the country house.

IV.

This is the discourse emanating from a nostalgic remembrance of the reign of Elizabeth, a discourse that was revitalized in the later part of the first decade of the seventeenth century in response to the overtly authoritarian political fashioning of the Jacobean court, fraught with partiality and prodigality.[90] Almost simultaneously with the writing of "The Description of Cooke-ham" were the parliamentary debates of 1610 where "parties invoked the memory of Elizabeth" in their ideological struggles with James I and his strident patriarchal positioning.[91] From these debates it is clear that a mythic construction of "Elizabeth's constitutionally golden reign" was emerging, drawing on Elizabeth's use of the "discourses of accessibility, accommodation, mutual complaisance of the monarch" that foregrounded "Elizabeth's preferred public language of reciprocity."[92] Helen Hackett notes that from an early stage in Elizabeth's reign her subjects "embraced the idea of her as mild and tender mother of the nation," an imagery which implies a relationship that while

Figure 3.5: Prospect from Hardwick Old Hall

hierarchical, allowed for close mutual affection, and connection between monarch and subject.[93] In James's reign, Arabella Stuart complained of the demise of this relationship of reciprocity once practiced in Elizabeth's court,

> But if ever theare weare such a Vertu as courtesy at the Court I marvell what is becomm of it? for I protest I see little or none of it but in the Queen who ever since hir comming to Newbury hath spoken to the people as she passeth and receiveth theyr prayers with thanckes and thanckfull countenance barefaced ... I would not have you thinck the French Imbassador would leave that attractive virtu of our Late Queene Elizabeth unremembred or uncommended when he saw it imitated by our most gratious Queen.[94]

While Stuart looks to the new Queen, Lanyer overtly and continuously offers up Margaret Clifford as a replacement for the growingly mythic Elizabeth.

Lanyer clearly participates early in *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum* in this mythologizing of Elizabeth's reign, lamenting that she has lived "clos'd up in Sorrowes Cell, / Since great *Elizaes* favour blest my youth" (8: 109-110). Lanyer, in her young adulthood, existed on the fringe of court society, her exact status and access there hard to determine. Simon Forman claimed, "She hath bin favored moch of her mati [majesty] and of mani noble men & hath had great gifts & bin moch made of. and a noble man that is ded hath Loved her well & kept her and did maintain her Long."[95] The nobleman was Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, whose magnificent tomb Elizabeth caused to be built in Westminster Abbey as a witness to his greatness and her favor. Suffice it to say that Lanyer would have been familiar with the Elizabethan courtly discourse which positioned Elizabeth as divine, her subjects in a continual state of worship.* Lanyer draws from this discourse, framing a narrative of Margaret Clifford as a new Elizabeth. An example of the language Lanyer draws from can be seen in Richard Niccols' *Englands Eliza* [sic] published in 1610, a year prior to Lanyer's publication of *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*. In his eulogy he depicts Elizabeth in a natural, yet exalted setting. The hill figures as a metaphor for Elizabeth's clarity of vision—both symbolically and actual:

> Beneath this loftie hill shot up on high,

---

* See Chapter 7 for a more detailed discussion of Elizabeth and the discourse of the divine.

> A pleasant parke impaled round doth lie,
>
> In which the plaine so open lies to sight,
>
> That on this hill oft times with great delight
>
> That heav'nly Queene, Plantagenets great blood,
>
> The faire Elizaes self hath often stood.[96]

Lanyer places Clifford in a similar setting, appropriating its symbolism to invest the countess with qualities associated with Elizabeth:

> That Pleasure in that place might more abound:
>
> The swelling Bankes deliver'd all their pride,
>
> When such a *Phoenix* once they had espied.
>
> Each Arbor, Banke, each Seate, each stately Tree,
>
> Thought themselves honor'd in supporting thee ...
>
> Hills, vales, and woods, as if on bended knee
>
> They had appeard your honour to salute. (132: 41-45, 133: 67-68)

Niccols, like Lanyer, depicts an animated spatiality that actively responds to the presence of the virtuous being within its midst:

> It was to wit, that wel knowne happie shade,
>
> Which for delight the royall Britaine Maid
>
> Did oft frequent, as former times can tell,
>
> When her sweet soule in mortall mould did dwell:
>
> It is a walke thicke set with manie a tree;
>
> Whose arched bowes ore hed combined bee,
>
> That nor the golden eye of heaven can pepe.[97] 778

In Lanyer's Cookham the trees protect the Countess in a similar fashion:

> The trees with leaves, with fruits, with flowers clad,
>
> Embrac'd each other, seeming to be glad,
>
> Turning themselves to beauteous Canopies,
>
> To shade the bright Sunne from your brighter eies. (131: 23-26)

As early as 1601 John Mundy also described nature's response to Elizabeth using imagery Lanyer later uses for Clifford. Mundy describes Elizabeth's movement through the landscape as:

> Lightly she whipped o'er the dales,
>
> Making the woods proud with her presence;
>
> Gently she trode the flowers, and they as gently kissed her tender feet.

> The birds in their best language bade her welcome,
>
> Being proud that Oriana heard their song ...
>
> Whilst the adjoining woods with melody did entertain their
>
> Sweet harmony.[98]

Similarly, in "The Description of Cooke-ham," in the presence of Margaret Clifford "each floure, each tree/ Set forth their beauties then to welcome thee" (131: 33-34). While

> The little Birds in chirping notes did sing ...
>
> And *Philomela* with her sundry leyes,
>
> Both You and that delightfull Place did praise (131: 29-31)

In keeping with these pastoral tropes, Lanyer figures Clifford as the goddess Diana:

> The little creatures of the Burrough by
>
> Would come abroad to sport them in your eye;
>
> Yet fearfull of the Bowe in your faire Hand,
>
> Would runne away when you did make a stand. (132: 49-52)

Elizabeth was often presented as a Diana. This was an important mythic identification; disseminated in the culture through print, portraiture, pageants. It was even inscribed in buildings, as in the scene of Diana's hunt which dominates the "High Great Chamber" in Hardwick Hall. This imagery communicated a conception of Elizabeth as possessing unassailable integrity, just as Diana's virginity was unassailable. Lanyer's allusion to Diana in her depiction of Clifford, while subtle, adds to the weight of imagery she utilizes in promoting Clifford as possessing integrity bordering on the divine.

Yet, these pastoral appropriations simply set the scene as Lanyer's poem builds towards offering up Clifford as a protestant heroine, just as Elizabeth was celebrated as the "savior" of true religion. Lanyer describes Clifford in *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum* as the Bride of Christ, "Still reckoning him, the Husband of thy Soule" (62:253). This was a powerful religious and political image applied to Queen Elizabeth many times, including her Accession Day celebrations. In a speech recorded in Thomas Bentley's *The Monument of Matrones*, God pronounces:

> Thou art my daughter in deede, this daie have I begotten thee, and
>
> espoused thee to thy king CHRIST, my Sonne; crowned thee with my

gifts, and appointed thee QVEENE, to reigne upon my holie mount Sion.[99]

Lanyer, likewise, places Clifford on a hill, conversing with holy patriarchs of old, a "mount Sion." Here Clifford walks,

> With Christ and his Apostles there to talke;
>
> Placing his holy Writ in some faire tree,
>
> To meditate what you therein did see,
>
> With *Moyses* you did mount his holy Hill,
>
> To Know his pleasure, and performe his Will. (133: 82-86)

The imagery used here connects Clifford to the Protestant tradition of individual Biblical exegesis.

It is appropriate to read this moment of the text as an image of Protestant women participating in a religious activity with potent implications for the promotion and practice of Protestant values. Walking abroad with one's "testament" was a common, and often communal activity of the time for Protestants. Anne Clifford records in her diary, "This day I spent walking in the Park with Judith, carrying my Bible with me," on another occasion noting, "I spent my time in working & hearing Mr. Rose read the Bible, & walking abroad."[100] The study of Biblical texts, along with discussions of these texts was a core Puritan-Calvinist activity and thus a self-conscious act of Protestant piety. Grace Mildmay's diary reveals the model for scriptural reading practiced by devout protestant women:

> I did read a chapter in the books of Moses, another in one of the
>
> Prophets, one chapter in the Gospels and another in the Epistle to the
>
> end of the Revelation and the whole Psalms appointed for the day,
>
> ending and beginning again and so preceded in that course.[101]

Clifford is shown in Lanyer's poem as participating in, and modeling these valorized Protestant behaviors, in a social space that she has posited earlier, in *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*. Through the figure of Christ, as suggested earlier, all spaces converge into a divine heterotopia, an absolute space unassailable by contemporary political realities. This spatiality appears again upon the hill, where through Clifford's interaction with "Christ and his Apostles," she and her household, including Lanyer, enter into and at the same time produce this heterotopic spatiality of the divine first depicted in *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*.

In the first stanza of *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum* Lanyer makes the proposition "Sith *Cynthia* is ascended to that rest … to thee great Countesse now I will applie" (51: 1 & 9). Throughout "The Description of Cooke-ham" she does just this, accessing the powerful symbolism which surrounded Elizabeth, as divinely appointed protector of Christ's people, in her positioning of Margaret Clifford as a new "Eliza." In this poem she advocates the transference of emotional and spiritual allegiance from the dead Elizabeth to the living Clifford. She proposes to all "virtuous" women an alternative spatiality of the relational and reciprocal, as practiced by Clifford at Cookham, rather than the authoritarian. She depicts this social space as a divine heterotopia where Jesus Christ and his apostles exist as palpable entities made accessible through the Protestant practices of virtuous women.

This intermingling of the related discourses of the country house with the Protestant mythology of Elizabeth, allows Lanyer to position her representational space as a legitimate alternative to the political system she believed denied women literally a space to exist. In "The Description of Cooke-ham," the same reciprocity perceived in the reign of Elizabeth, especially through the lens of contemporary mythologizing, is presented by Lanyer as existing in the female relationships at Cookham. In the poem this reciprocity allows for emotionally and spiritually beneficial relationships between classes which produces a social space inhabited by the divine. That this reciprocity is set within the confines of a hierarchical society, as Lisa Schnell complains,[102] does not diminish the fact that the model of human interaction Lanyer portrays in "The Description of Cooke-ham" is reciprocal and relational, and portrayed as blessed. Lanyer posits a social space in her letter to Anne Clifford where:

> Titles of honour which the world bestowes,
>
> To none but to the virtuous doth belong;
>
> As beauteous bowres where true worth should repose,
>
> And where his dwellings should be built most strong: …
>
> What difference was there when the world began,
>
> Was it not Virtue distinguisht all? (42:25-34)

"The Description of Cooke-ham" advocates what Massey terms as a place "where localities can in a sense be present in one another, both inside and outside at the same time … which stresses the construction of specificity through interrelations rather than through the imposition of boundaries and the counter position of one identity against

another." Lanyer asks her readers, to do what "many feminists have argued for, thinking in terms of relations."[103] She offers to "all virtuous ladies" an alternative to the growingly abstract and authoritarian social space emerging in the period. Her proposal is no less than heaven on earth, a spiritual heterotopia where the virtuous walk with the divine. It is a spatiality she offers up not as a idealization, but as realizable; her own experience with Clifford at the Cookham estate providing a model for its creation.

V.

The very structure of the poem supports this reading. It is constructed loosely around Clifford's communal walks on the estate with her daughter and at least one gentlewoman, Lanyer. Lanyer begins the perambulation around the Cookham estate, at the "princely Palace," that "sweet place" where "Virtue then did rest." (130: 4-6) She describes this place briefly, and then only in relation to female "housewifery." "The house receiv'd all ornaments to grace it, / And would indure no foulenesse to deface it" (131: 19-20). It is a house "ornamented" gracefully. Ornamentation functions symbolically to enforce the norms of the social hierarchy through "the emotive pressure of the status symbol."[104] Ornamentation of households fell primarily to women; they created, through needlework and other domestic arts, many of the textile arts which defined the character of the interior of these houses. Women were also often involved in the purchasing of furniture and other "ornamentations," including at times overseeing the installation of fireplaces, plastered ceilings, screen carvings and other elements of interior decoration. Hugh Cholmley wrote of his wife "she contributed much to the beautefeing of the house at Whitby, being a good contriver with indoores, and haveing a most singuler faculty to make and order furneture for houses, and dresse it after the best mode ... which guift she had from her Mother bred up in Queen Elisabeths Court." He records that his wife made a "suite of greene cloth hangeings with flowers of needle worke wrought by her selfe and mayds, which I much esteemes and prisse itt."[105] Garthine Walker explains, "Housewifery was the measure by which every woman was judged."[106] Through her brief mention of the interior of the house Lanyer is able to assert Clifford's honor, which for women was measured, as Cholmley's praises suggest, by their labour. Thus, Clifford's virtue is asserted through the good ordering of the household, where "no foulnesse" did

"deface it" (131:20). Yet these lines function to infer more than traditional virtuous housewifery.

Much more fundamentally, Lanyer's reference to ornamentation evokes the complex relationships among women at the time in connection with these labors. Susan Frye discusses how through needlework women formed alliances, creating a sub-culture "within which patterns and pictures articulated their lives." Needles became pens, "as women worked patterns and narratives into their lives that conveyed their sense of themselves in the world."[107] The communal activity of needlework was fundamentally relational, forming communities of women who not only sewed together, but exchanged patterns, needlework gifts, as well as other information regarding the needlework arts as practiced by women of the day. It was an art which was also integral to the "ornamentation" of these houses, participating in the cultural discourse of which, as has been discussed earlier, they were so much a part. Indeed the discourse of needlework functioned as form of political discourse, given the Queen's own practice of it. In the entertainments at Bisham in 1592, the home of the Hoby family and the ambitious Elizabeth Hoby Russell, two shepherdesses are shown "sowing in their samplers." During the subsequent conversation with the lascivious Pan, the women use metaphors derived from sewing, including the double-stitch, and the Queene's stitch. Alexandra F. Johnston concludes that most probably the parts of the two shepherdesses were performed by Russell's two daughters, Elizabeth and Anne, the stitchery references serving as a sort of advertisement for their worthiness; Russell was keen to have them chosen as Maids of Honor in the Queen's court. Indeed, in this Russell was successful, and another powerful political link between Russell and the Queen was forged.[108] Thus, in Lanyer's oblique reference to ornamentation and the interior of the house she draws upon an effective cultural discourse of female community.

Indeed, Lanyer has already made these connections early in *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*. If the organizational strategy of "The Description of Cooke-ham" can be compared to a gentle perambulation, the structure of the poem collection can be compared to the structure of a house and the social ordering of entertainment within this spatiality. Lanyer invites the many women addressed at the beginning of *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum* to a feast. She asks the Queen "to this Feast, / To which your Highnesse is the welcom'st guest" (7: 84-85). In the next dedicatory poem to the princess Elizabeth, she again invites her "unto this wholesome feast" (11: 9). The

"Ladie Susan, Countesse Dowager of Kent" is also asked "to grace this holy feast" (18: 6), as is Mary Sidney and Anne Clifford. After reiteratig this trope several times she presents the crucifiction as the spiritual food to be presented at the feast. Lanyer's choice of imagery makes clear that she seeks to connect the women in her dedicatory verses with the celebration of the communion, indeed with the apostles. This conflation is further enabled by the English Protestant practice which moved the altar of the Catholic communion from its position at the front of the congregation, relocating it as a "table" in the body of the church. This change redefined the communion as a feast as demonstrated in a poem by George Herbert, where love, as Christ, bades him to sit and eat at a holy feast. [109]

After this narrative, follows "The Description of Cooke-ham" which in the vernacular of contemporary hospitality, must then be the "void," desert or banquet. Its position in the poem as well as its subject matter supports this extended metaphor. Girouard describes the "void" as "an intimate rather than a formal function." [110] Those "chosen" were those who shared a strong relationship with their host or hostess, or those with whom a closer relationship was desired. In Lanyer *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*, the great ladies of the prefatory poems are not "chosen." Instead, it is Margaret and Anne Clifford who are welcomed into this intimate space, their relationship within the poem signified as primary.

Banqueting or "void" spaces were, by very definition, representational spaces, often architecturally fantastic and "conceited." They presented an alternative spatiality, which again was a particular space, and yet "embodied all spaces." The banqueting houses on the roof of John Thynne's Longleat provided a panoramic view of the surrounding countryside, designed with "Their fish-scale roofs and miniature classical lanterns." These tiny rooms allowed Thynne's guests to break up "into intimate groups." [111] Thynne instructed his workmen that they were to have "stares Ryse above the house and to be typed, and IIII to have lytle stares wonne fro the roofe so as they may seve as banketting houses." [112] On the roof of Coughton Court a small octagonal banqueting room allows for the intimacy of two or three companions, providing a comprehensive view of the surrounding Warwickshire countryside (fig. 3-6). One of the towers of Elizabeth Hardwick's Hall also served as a banqueting room, which again, provided an intimate space, situated in the infinite space of sky and rolling Derbyshire countryside. These spaces were also used for devotional practices.

Figure 3.6: Banqueting House, Coughton Court, Warwickshire

3.7: Great Hall at Penshurst, Kent [112]

The Lady Elizabeth Berkeley built a banqueting house on the north side" the "polite work of the lady Elizabeth … And the retired cell of her soul's soliloquies to God her creator."[114] This use would also have informed Lanyer's metaphorical appropriation of this space in her poem.

Indeed, many banqueting houses were not connected to the house at all, but were set in the gardens surrounding the estates, as was the case at the palace of Nonsuch or in the water gardens at Wellbeck.[115] Through her structural allusion to banqueting houses in the dedications and *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*, Lanyer already places Clifford outside traditional spatial structures of authority. In "The Description of Cooke-ham" Lanyer again, this time explicitly, removes Clifford from the "Palace" and culturally specific forms of female honor and allowed authority, to unbounded spaces, spaces outside the house. For, in the words of Ramon Gomez de la Serna, "Doors that open on the countryside seem to confer freedom behind the world's back."[116]

This is a strategy that is a direct reversal of the traditional structure of the country house poem, as exemplified by Jonson's "To Penshurst." In Penshurst one moves from meadow, to gardens, to hall. The "Great Hall" was the traditional social space of authority, hierarchical in their plan. Friedman explains, "The hall was intimately identified with the public face of the household: it served as a gathering place, a place for the performance of rituals of service and for the offering of food and shelter and thus as an expression of the lord's hospitality and power."[117] The hall often served as the site of estate business and manorial courts. It could also function as a grand reception space, and as such was decorated with imagery representing the power and authority of the house; portraiture, heraldic devices, allegorical figures, weaponry and other symbolic objects. Jonson makes much of the perfect ordering of the activities in the "Great Hall" at Penshurst, suggesting traditional authority (fig. 3-7). That the movement in Lanyer's poem is away from this bounded and authoritarian spatiality, moving instead "behind the world's back" is indicative of her desire to situate women in a spatiality which empowers them in ways which were inaccessible within the confines of that "Palace."

Here Lanyer draws upon the common female experience of walking about their estates often in the company of other women. Margaret Hoby records "I walked into the feeldes wth my maides."[118] While Anne Clifford notes "being Saturday, my

Lady Lisle, My Lady ——, my Coz. Barbara Sidney & I walked with them all the Wildernesse over & had much talk."[119] Jane Berkeley, in her orders to her household in 1601, makes clear she often walks about the estate:

> Further, when I shall walk any way out of the park as into the fields, as mor or any of my outward grounds, then I would have the gentleman usher and the rest of y gentlemen be in readiness to wait upon me.[120]

Indeed, Hoby, Clifford, and Berkeley document a habitual pattern of retreat away from their houses into gardens and fields, often in the company of other women. Hoby, like Lanyer's description of Margaret Clifford's meditations, portrays herself as a woman looking for a place where she can experience "wanderinge Coggetation" without the hindrance of "buseneses" emanating from her duties connected with her domestic responsibilities.[121] In the 1590's John Smyth remarks that Katherine Berkeley often,

> retired herself into her chamber and private walks; which each faire day in garden, park, and other solytaries for her sett houres, she constantly observed: not permitting either her gentleman usher, gentlewoman, or any other of her house to come nearer to her then their appointed distance.[122]

Thus, in "The Description of Cooke-ham" Lanyer reconceptualizes contemporary spatiality to effect what Rose terms "the rearticulation of traditional space so that it ceases to function primarily as the space of sight for a mastering gaze, but becomes the locus of relationships."[123]

Lanyer offers up an alternative spatiality of relationships that was realizable in some degree in early modern society. For her it was a fleeting moment in time, but one upon which a model for future social interaction could be built. In "The Description of Cooke-ham," at least temporarily, Lanyer offers an escape from the "cruel God-the-Father" represented by James and his policies and instead posits a spatiality of reciprocity symbolized by the "Earth-Mother," or Demeter figure of the mythologized Margaret Clifford. She draws upon the material culture and social practices of her time in order to present her representational space of relationships in "The Description of Cooke-ham." By so doing, Lanyer participates in what Peter Sacks terms the "elegiac strategy" through which the poet mounts a literary defense against loss. The beloved object is relinquished, but is recovered anew in a

sublimated and symbolic form.[124] In this way, Suzanne Woods sees the poet as "gracing" the subject with an "eternizing" power even as she "holds a mirror up to a decaying world and pronounces lastly on its deeds."[125] Lanyer says as much when she writes:

> This last farewell to *Cooke-ham* here I give,
> When I am dead thy name in this may live,
> Wherein I have perform'd her noble hest,
> Whose virtues lodge in my unworthy breast,
> And ever shall, so long as life remaines. (138: 205-209)

"The Description of Cooke-ham" has been labeled nostalgic. Barbara Lewalski terms it a "long lament for the loss of this happy garden state."[126] Massey notes that many would claim ideas of "place" are inevitably backward-looking nostalgia, static and reactionary. A good example of the way in which nostalgia functions in the literary text can be seen in Andrew Marvell's "The Garden." In this poem the male speaker retreats into a space within a garden where he expresses a longing for "that happy Garden state,/ While man there walk'd without a Mate." Here the speaker yearns for a purely male, Adamic Eden prior to Eve's creation, where "Two Paradises 'twere in one/ To live in Paradise alone."[127] Marvell's speaker yearns for a lost spatiality, gendered male, where he can exercise solitary lordship over the world. The nostalgia expressed in Marvell's poem contrasts strikingly with the community of women Lanyer constructs within the place of Cookham, produced through relationships, rather than the exercise of authority. While Lanyer's experiences at the Cookham manor are described retrospectively, her poem does not simply present a nostalgic view of the past, where she wistfully yearns for what has gone and cannot come again. Instead, it functions as an exemplum to inspire the creation of alternative social spaces like Cookham. Though Massey notes that descriptions of place may be nostalgic, they are not inevitably so. Rather, she asserts, "another view of place is possible … it is important to argue for an alternative view."[128] bell hooks does just this:

> Thinking again about space and location, I heard the statement "our struggle is also a struggle of memory against forgetting"; a politization of memory that distinguishes nostalgia, that longing for something to be as it once was, a kind of useless act, from that remember that serves to illuminate and transform the present.[129]

"The Description of Cooke-ham" as well as the complete poetry collection of *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*, avoids nostalgia through this quality of politization. McBride recognizes that Lanyer's poem has "the paradoxical power both to restore the lost community of women at 'Cooke-ham,' to make it live again forever."[130] She explains that "in place of the social structure predicated on a divine-right monarchy, Lanyer substitutes a society of grace and virtue."[131] Lynette McGrath describes Lanyer's Cookham as a "community detached from the masculine, and responsive to women's intellectual, spiritual, material and erotic longings."[132] In other words, Lanyer's poem depicts a representational space that foregrounds relationships in an unbounded, undominated spatiality. The etymology of the place name Cookham takes it back to the word "home." However, Lanyer's poetry posits a home unlike that suggested in the domestic tracts of the seventeenth century, which showcase a Penshurst with its bounded, authoritarian domination. Instead the "home" Lanyer presents is a home which bell hooks asserts:

> enables and promotes varied and everchanging perspectives, a place
> where one discovers new ways of seeing reality, frontiers of
> difference. One confronts and accepts dispersal and fragmentation as
> part of the construction of a new world order that reveals more fully
> where we are, who we can become, an order that does not demand
> forgetting.[133]

Lanyer's construction of a community allows the creation of a space where, separated from the authoritarian structures imposed upon them, women are allowed to explore their own subjectivity. In this way, Lanyer's poem is political, promoting an ideal spatiality that suggests the possibility of change and the mechanisms through which this change can be realized.

The last act Lanyer portrays in "The Description of Cookham" is an act of appropriation. From the "faire tree" the old oak, symbolic of patriarchal power, she steals the kiss bestowed upon it by the countess, participating in the ancient ritual through which the kiss joins one's soul with another; "that kiss according to him [Chrysostom] effects a real meeting and union of souls."[134] This kiss also, in Christian mythos, represents, as Perella explains "Christians are also kissing Christ ... every Christian who has the Spirit within him is another Christ."[135] Lanyer's poem consistently effects just this identification of Clifford with Christ. Through the kiss, Lanyer ceremoniously enacts her connectedness to both Clifford and Christ: a

signification of "election" so sought after in many Protestant meditations. This connection is portrayed metaphorically as those "rich chaines" (138: 210), forging a permanent bond between Clifford, Lanyer, Christ, and the community of women moving through Lanyer's poem: Eve, the virgin Mary, Pilate's wife, the Marys at the tomb, the great ladies of the Jacobean court, and all virtuous women. In this way, Lanyer claims a victory over the "struggle of memory against forgetting." Those virtues which for a short period of time found expression in the manor of Cookham, are now, through the agency of the kiss, removed from this space, and are lodged in Lanyer's "unworthy breast" (138: 208). These virtues are then returned to the world through the representational space created by Lanyer's poem.

Lanyer's signification of Cookham as a representational space offers an alternative conception of the spatial, that of an unbounded, relational "home" to set against the property principle that so often proved to be a frustrating and illusory social practice that left women vulnerable and "spaceless." As Kathy Mezei and Chiara Briganti explain, "Our imagination, our consciousness, needs to locate itself in a particular space, to find a home, to articulate its homelessness, its longing for home, its sickness for home."[136] For Lanyer, this longing leads her literary imagination to Cookham.

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[25] William Cecil, *State Papers* 785.

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Chapter 4
"To London:" Isabella Whitney's Metropolitan Complaint

In 1559 Queen Elizabeth entered London through the Tower Gate. In doing so she was entering a world which even as "the richest Jewell in her Kingdome, chief possession in the realm,"[1] remained an uncontainable spatiality. In a report of the event, *The Quenes Maiesties Passage through the Citie of London to Westminster the Day before her Coronacion*, printed and "on sale" within nine days, this quality of the city is represented through asides, repetitions and digressions. While the civic leaders of London carefully scripted the strictly routed procession and pageants through the center of the city, the pamphlet shows that the city itself answers in a language that is both chaotic and triumphant. Several times in the opening pages of the description, the text discloses a tumultuous multitude that creates an uneasy tension. The Queen sends courtiers ahead to "require the people to be silent for her majestie."[2] Again, later in the procession "she feared for the peoples noyse," though the author, quick to understand the implications of that reaction, explains her annoyance was only "that she should not here the child."[3] Often she pauses in order to ascertain the meaning and the substance of the individual pageants, as wary of the motives of the civic authorities as she is of the reactions of the citizens. Throughout the procession she moves cautiously through the city streets. These streets present a heady display of London's carnivalesque materiality, with its "Tapistrie, Arras, clothes of golde, silver, velvet, damaske, Sattyn, and other silkes,"[4] provided by the wealthy of the city, as well as "nosegaies," "Rosemarie" and the "supplications" of the poor.[5] In the festivities described there is a sense of the multitudinous, pulsing crowd where the "companies of the citie … stoode alonge the streates one by another enclosed with rayles."[6] While the scene is outwardly presented as a jubilant and compliant London welcoming their new queen, the very nature of its festival belies this surface message. The gift of "a purse of crimosin satin richly wrought with gold, wherein the citie gave unto the Quenes majestie a thousand markes in gold,"[7] reminds her of the terms and the underlying threat of the City's relationship with their Queen. This relationship was set out in a letter written shortly after she ascended the throne. In it Thomas Gresham counsels her to "keep up your credit and specially with your own merchants, for it is they must stand by you at all events in your necessity."[8] The populace also shows

itself capable of a disturbing multiplicity of emotions. One of Elizabeth's gentlemen points out amongst the happy, cheering throngs, an "auncient citizen, which wepte, and turned his head backe."[9] While Elizabeth interprets this contrary behavior as "gladness" the author of the pamphlet undermines this interpretation by suggesting that the behavior is normalized, not because in reality all the citizens in London are happy, but because the Queen "would turne the doutefull to the best."[10] Elizabeth "entred the citie with a noyse of ordinance," the carefully orchestrated welcome under civic direction. She leaves the city to a sound just as deafening, the riotous "shooting and crieng of the people."[11]

Within a few years of Queen Elizabeth's coronation procession through the city, another young woman entered London; not through Tower Gate, but perhaps through Aldersgate, coming from distant Cheshire, or the not so distant Smithfield.* There were no fanfares, no processions, no "credit given" as she is at some pains to make clear. What Isabella Whitney found was an urban spatiality, chaotic in nature, that provided a space where she found a public voice. She not only inhabited this social space, but participated in its production through her physical interactions with the city and the works she created through them.†

I.

Steve Pile, in discussing the spatiality of the city, comments, "there is something paradoxical here about the individual's relationship with city life: it is both liberating and stifling, both stimulating and deadening."[12] A number of historians view early modern London as unstable social space, on the brink of political and social chaos. Many contemporary writers speak of the vice, while others celebrate London as a city nonpareil.[13] "The Maner of her Wyll & What She Left To London:

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* Whitney most likely grew up in Cheshire, though she claims to have been London-bred and mentions Smithfield. R.J. Fehrenbach notes that while she could have spent portions of her youth in Smithfield, she makes clear her Cheshire roots in the dedication to George Mainwaring. Whitney was certainly the sister of Geoffrey Whitney, author of *Whitney's Choice of Emblemes*. It is probable that she is the "sister Eldershae" mentioned in Geoffrey Whitney's will.

† Whitney's first published poetry "A Copy of a Letter; Lately Written in Meter, by a Yonge Gentilwoman: to Her Unconstant Lover" and "An Admonition to al Yong Gentilwomen, and to all Other Mayds in General to Beware of Mennes Flattery" were printed by Richard Jones in 1567 in a volume which also includes two poems written by men. In 1573 *A Sweet Nosgay, or Pleasant Posye* appeared, also printed by Richard Jones. This collection contains her "Wyll and Testament to London." It is also likely that she contributed to others of Jones' verse collections. "The Lamentation of a Gentilwoman upon the Death of her Late Deceased Friend William Gruffith Gent" in Jones's *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* printed in 1578 has been attributed to Whitney.

and to All Those in it: at Her Departing" in Whitney's miscellany, *A Sweet Nosegay*,[14] reveals just such a paradoxical relationship to early modern London. It is a relationship which is intimate and proprietary, while at the same time it presents an ambiguity revealed through a language of both desire and dearth. "To London" is infused with an anxiety and a tension regarding this urban spatiality, which Whitney's rhetorical strategies seek to contain. The poem is conducted through the trope of the will, which is both appropriated and disassembled, functioning both as an organizing and (dis)organizing force through which Whitney attempts, but fails, to construct a coherent representational space. Instead her text reveals a London which is a spatiality of fragmentation, for which her rhetorical strategies attempt a variety of constructions. In this way Whitney's poem reveals and participates in the complexity of urban spatiality. Her poem displays a spatiality that Lefebvre defines as "mediated yet directly experienced, which infuses the work and the moment, is established as through the dramatic action itself."[15]

Elizabeth Wilson describes the early modern city as something more than a location. Rather the city was (and continues to be) an ontologically unstable inhabited space of the senses which is traversed and vacated, which amplifies and concentrates, "punctuated by the ensemble of everyday activities, sonic and otherwise, that constitute the city as an ongoing event."[16] Social relations, according to Lefebvre, are derived from the "sensible." In this way the city is produced through the senses, for social reality is created through forms and relations attached to objects and things.[17] It is within this complex spatiality that "does not yield itself up ... it hides itself without discovering itself,"[18] that Whitney creates her poem, both depicting and informing a representational space personified as "London." The poem reveals a spatiality Bachelard describes as "restored to the powers of imagination and invested with our inner space" which reveals that "unique space, intimate space" opening up to the world.[19] In this way the highly heterotopic city becomes a spatiality where, as Lefebvre points out, "the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays the physical space, making symbolic use of its objects."[20] In the opening lines of the poem Whitney makes clear her appropriation, her figuring the city as an object to be possessed and disposed of in the "The maner of her *Wyll*,"

> And now let mée dispose such things,
>
> as I shal leave behinde:
>
> That those which shall receave the same,

may know my *wylling minde*.

I first of all to London leave ... (E3v) [italics added]

The London Whitney experienced as a sometimes-employed waiting gentlewoman in early modern England, and which she drew upon to create her poem, is described by the roughly contemporary Peter Heylyn as a "monstrous growth of which impoverisheth all the rest of the Members, by drawing to it all the animal and vital spirits, which should give nourishment unto them."[21] In 1631 he gives the population figure at 400,000 and in 1652, 600,000. While this hyperbolic reckoning is wildly inaccurate it indicates the anxiety this urban spatiality created in the minds of many. Donald Lupton exclaims in his satire on London, "She may be sayd to be alwayes with childe, for shee growes greater every day."[22] The population did rise rapidly during this period from about 10 per cent of the country's total population in 1520 to over 15 per cent by 1600.[23] The total number of London inhabitants in the time Whitney was writing has been widely estimated to be somewhere between 75,000 to 120,000.[24] Accompanied by this steep rise in population was a fundamental change in the way space was utilized and allocated in the city. Peter Hall notes that "The monk and friar decamped from the city, followed by the noble and his retinue; their place was taken by merchants and craftsmen. Trades flourished."[25] John Stow illustrates the transformation in his *Survey of London*, describing gardens and pleasant walks turned into houses of pleasure for the rich (or becoming refuse heaps), houses of religion transferred to temporal control, and the building of the Royal Exchange.[26] He also chronicles the expanding suburban areas, as well as the busy river ports and the ever-expanding commercial activities of the city. Early modern London was a city struggling with its traditional concepts of social space and its development as a modern capitalist city. Andrew McRae describes the period as one of "unsettling change in London, characterized by rapid population growth, the movement of commercial and industrial practices towards capitalist structures, and devastating outbreaks of dearth and plague"[27]

From these "unsettling changes" emerged a London "characterized by mobility, diversity, alienation, freedom" and economic opportunity that was often strategic rather than authorized.[28] The attraction of this social space is testified by its numbers, but even those participating in what John Davies of Hereford remarked was "the Faire" that "lasts all year,"[29] grafted their anxieties upon the spatiality. Lefebvre describes the city as a text, yet it is a text constantly transformed by the projected

mental and social forms and structures of those who inhabit the city-space. He describes urban spatiality as "a production and reproduction of human beings by human beings, rather than a production of objects."[30] It is these human beings who "write" the city. They collectively and individually assign, signify, order and stipulate the "text."[31] In just this way, Whitney's text must be placed in the multiplicit dialogue of "London." It is a dialogue of celebration, pride, anxiety, disgust, fear, and a fascination derived from all of these. Whitney becomes one of many voices in London joining the choir or cacophony of texts defining, encapsulating, fearing, wondering, loathing, and exalting this complex urban spatiality as the following quotations show.

Michael Drayton includes a paean of praise for the city in his massive verse chorography, *Poly-Olbion*:

> But Goodly *Londons* sight their further purpose broke:
>
> When Tames his either Banks, adorn'd with buildings faire,
>
> The City to salute doth bid the Muse prepare.
>
> Whose Turrets, Fanes, and Spyres, when wistly she beholds,
>
> Her wonder at the site, thus strangely she unfolds ...
>
> And on by *London* lead, which like a Crescent lies,
>
> Whose windowes seem to mock the Star-befreckled skies;
>
> Besides her rising Spyres, so think themselves that show,
>
> As doe the bristling reeds, within his Banks that growe.
>
> There sees his crowded Wharfes, and people-pestred shores. [32]

Drayton's imagery of stars and sky presents the city as a fantasy of light. Here he draws from the "country-house" discourse discussed in Chapter 3, where lightsomeness" * was metaphorically associated with clarity of vision and spiritual

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* Girouard quotes the following contemporary accounts illustrating the value placed upon the quality of "lightsomeness" in country houses, and its metaphorical connections to the "sun" or "son" i.e. Jesus Christ. Kenilworth during a visit by Queen Elizabeth is described as "'a nights, by continuall brightnesse of candel, fyre, and torch-light, transparent thro the *lyghtsome* wyndz, az it wear the Egiptian Pharos relucent untoo all the Alexandrian coast: or els (too talk merily with my mery frend) thus radiant az though Phoebus for his eaz woold rest him in the Castl, and not every night so travel dooun unto the Antipodes" George Whetstone in *The Heptameron of Civill Discourses* of 1575, writes "Mine eye fastened upon a stately pallace, ye *brightnes* whereof glimmered through the branches of the younger woodde, not unlyke the *Beames of the Sonne* through the Crannelles of a walle." William Cecil, in a letter to Christopher Hatton praises Hatton's unfinished house at Holdenby, Northamptonshire "I found a great magnificence in the front or front, pieces of the house ... your chamber answerable with largeness and *lightsomeness*' [italics added]" (Girouard, *Robert Smythson* 19). Leland comments on the "fair and lightsum" parlor of Ewelme manor (Leland, v. 1, 113).

election. Yet the final lines betray an anxiety related to burgeoning population. The contrast between "windowes" which are so beautiful they mock the "Star-befreckled skies" with "people-pestred" shores jars the reader, the word "pestred" very closely linked to pests and pestilence. This anxiety is more pronounced in Thomas Dekker's portrayal of the city. His London is an alluring yet subversive place:

> O *London*, thou art great in glory, and envied for thy greatnes: thy
> Towers, thy Temples, and thy Pinnacles stand upon thy head like
> borders of fine gold, thy waters like frindges of silver hang at the
> hemmes of thy garments. Thou art the goodliest of thy neighbors, but
> the prowdest; the welthiest, but the most wanton. Thou hast all things
> in thee to make thee fairest, and all things in thee to make thee foulest;
> for thou art attir'de like a Bride, drawing all that looke upon thee, to be
> in love with thee, but there is much harlot in thine eyes.[33]

Dekker notes the "lightsomeness" of the city as well, but he ascribes this to "light" or depraved behaviour, and not a sense of clarity of vision, or spiritual sight. The "lights" he describes in the city come from gold and silver, material substances of excess and duplicity. The city is a false bride adorned with shiny baubles, not the starlight of the heavens.

Fynes Moryson also sees the city as "light" or wanton as he disapprovingly describes the amusements of the city:

> The Citty of London alone hath foure or five Companyes of players
> with their peculiar Theatres Capable of many thousands, wherein they
> all play every day in the weeke but Sunday, with most strang
> concourse of people, besydes many strange toyes and fances exposed
> by signes to be seene in private houses … Not to speake of frequent
> spectacles in London exhibited to the people by Fencers, by walkers
> on Ropes, and like men of activity, nor of frequent Companyes of
> Archers shooting in all the fieldes … [34]

Yet for all this entertainment, in Moryson's "London" men are not well entertained at all:

> And indeede generally that towne gives ill intertaynment to the very
> English, as fewe men of the better sorte will lodge there, but upon

necessity. From thence strangers are directed to like hosts at London, where they may be ill used for expences, and there perhapps are sometyme arronged by the insolency of the baser sorte of Prentisces, serving men Dray men, and like people, which presuming upon theire nombers doe many like insolences to English gentlemen and laydies.[35]

Here Moryson magnifies Drayton's anxiety of London's "people-pestred" shores, depicting the citizens of London as pests indeed, which pray upon their betters. Thomas Churchyard begins much in the vein of Drayton in his praise of the city, but in his portrayal he creates an interesting tension. After presenting an idealization of the city, he employs a language of criticism that acknowledges the presence of destructive elements, those pests, which exist underneath the surface of his "Maiden toune:"

> Here are Embastours feasted still, and forraine kynges have bin,
> Here are the wheeles of publike state, that bryngs the pagent in,
> And here is now the Maiden toune, that keepes herself so cleane,
> That none can touche, nor staine in trothe, by any cause or meane …
> Then here ought be no member left, that maie infecte the reste,
> Whip faultors hence, and plage the worst, and make but of the beste:
> Let stubburne route be taught to work, hid paltrars packe awaie,
> Give Idell folke no lodgyng here, cause wantons leave their plaie,
> Search out the haunts of naughtie men, & break the nest of theves,
> Yea plucke their livrey oer their eares, and badges from their sleves …
> This Citie is no harbrying place, for vessels frought with vice.[36]

Ben Jonson goes beyond anxiety in his pungent satire "Upon the Famous Voyage" down the Fleet ditch, portraying a London anything but "clean:"

> Through her wombe they make their famous road,
> Betweene two walls; where, on one side, to scar men,
> Were seene your ugly *Centaures*, yee call Car-men,
> *Gorgonian* scolds, and *Harpyes*: on the other
> Hung stench, diseases, and old filth, their mother,
> With famine, wants, and sorrowes many a dosen,
> The least of which was to the plague a cosen …
> And many a sinke pour'd out her rage anenst 'hem.[37]

Others join Jonson in acrimony against the city. George Whetstone warns, "Beware of taylers curious cuts for they will shake your bags, / The merrie men I hold for best tweene roysting silks & rags. / The tipling taverne, and such like, to haunt have small desire."[38] Donald Lupton warns in 1632, "She [London] is the country-man's Laborinth, he can find many things in it, but many times looseth himself."[39] Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene lament,

> In thee more sinnes then Ninivie contains …
>
> Corruption, whordome, drunkenesse, and pride.
>
> London awake, for feare the lord do frown …
>
> Repent O London, least for thin offence.[40]

The journal of Henry Machyn, a tailor and citizen of London, allows for a less exaggerated view of the rhythms of the city. His diary presents a city of contrasts and extremes. He shows an awareness of the multiplicit experiences, both positive and negative, within the city which shares much with Whitney's portrayal of London. He positions himself as part of the life of the city recording the events he comes to hear of in the ordinary course of his day. Unlike Drayton, Dekker, Jonson and the other writers previously quoted, he does not position himself "above" the city, describing, criticizing and judging it. Rather the authorial voice of Machyn is indeterminate, he speaks from an indistinct position within the city:

> The furst day of June was the Yrmongers' fest keptt in
> Fanchyrche strett be-syd [blank] time, and ther dynyd the ii shreyffes
> and [blank] althermen.
>
> The iiii day of June ther was a chyld browth to the cowrte in a
> boxe, of a strange fegur, with a longe strynge commyng from the
> navyll …
>
> The v day of June the Quen ('s) grace removyd from
> Westmynster unto Grenwyche by water, and ther was grett shutyng of
> gones at the Tower as her grace whentt, and in odur places.
>
> The vi day of June was ther on [one] Crane wyff, dwellyng in
> Basyng lane, toke a kneyff and frust [thrust] here-seylff be-tweyn the
> small rybes, and she ded the morowe after …
>
> The xiii day of June was a man sett on the pelere at Westmynster,
> for he toke money and was hyryd for [to] kylle on man, and ys here
> was cutt off.[41]

Within his text, this Londoner reveals the lived reality of his experience of the city. This experience is informed by royal and civic pageantry, human despair, anxiety and morbid curiosity. His choices of incidents to include his diary do betray a degree of anxiety evident in other writings of the period. Yet alongside this anxiety is an appreciation of the multiplicit nature of the city.

These many voices, many texts, illustrate the capacity of urban spatiality to possess and appropriate significations "for saying them, for writing them (to stipulate and to 'signify' them).[42] Drayton appropriates the language of contemporary country house discourse in his depiction of the city. Others, like Moryson, Dekker and Greene draw upon the language of morality expounded from pulpits and in ubiquitous religious publications of the period. In many instances, but especially in Jonson's poem on the Fleet ditch, imagery derived from contemporary gender discourse is employed; imagery that posits things female as monstrous, corrupt, duplicitous and depraved. Whitney's "To London" joins these texts in entering into a public discourse about the nature of London.

This is a discourse where the wonders of the city are portrayed along with an inherent anxiety. In order to contain these anxieties, the satires especially, attach themselves to a familiar cultural metaphor imported from medieval and classical sources. Gail Paster discusses how in the Satires of Horace, daily life in the city exhibits and encourages "excessive behavior, extreme attitudes, and an immoderate use of material abundance."[43] Horace asks the "many-headed monster" of the city, "'nam quid sequar aut quem?' [What am I to follow or whom?]" revealing a disquiet derived from a loss of personal control and sense of self.[44] Whitney's poem, while ostensibly lighthearted, exhibits many of these anxieties; anxieties which her text, like other texts, seeks to contain.

The spatiality of a city is, by its very nature, a space of conflict, of "social relations stripped to their barest essentials."[45] The city comedies, Stow's chorography, and Jonson's "Voyage" all try to confine their anxieties in a structure, an enclosure that begins to take on the quality of a Lefebvrian "representation of space" as they display a "knowledge (savoir)—i.e., a mixture of understanding (connaissance) and ideology."[46] Stow's perambulation moves methodically from ward to ward, cataloguing a city strangely empty of living people, though fully populated with the dead, recent and ancient. Jonson's "Voyage" appears to lose itself in its scatological referents, yet is carefully organized along the well-ordered trope of

the journey. The city comedies may display a roisterous populace, but their plots always include a closure which re-establishes order. This is best exemplified in the ending of Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* where Justice Overdo invites the characters home to supper, a standard trope for the reassertion of order in these plays. He says in Latin that his project is "*ad correctionem, non ad destructionem, ad ædificandum, non ad diruendum*" [for correction, not for destruction; for building up, not for tearing down.][47] Here Jonson's metaphor signifies the activity of building, certainly one that, according to Stow, was ongoing in the burgeoning city, but also an activity privileged through the language of country house discourse discussed in Chapter 3. To build was to make visible the power structures which administered order in the realm.

Whitney's "London" also negotiates the anxieties of her position within this spatiality. She, like other writers does access an organizing strategy for her portrait of London, that of the last will and testament. Yet rather than containing, controlling, or binding the anxious energy of the city, Whitney, through her "wyll" portrays a London that is chaotic, affectionate, disturbing, and personal. It is a palimpsest of juxtaposed ideologies, folklore, and festival. It resembles closely that depiction of the city which Lefebvre describes as an *oeuvre*, a work of art. The "use" of this work of art, "that is, of its streets and squares, edifices and monuments, is *la Fête* (a celebration which consumes unproductively, without other advantage but pleasure and prestige and enormous riches in money and objects)."[48] Indeed, the poem contains the qualities of Bataille's festival, which he describes as "the unrestrained consumption of its products and the deliberate violation of the most hallowed laws."[49] David Harvey also recognizes this quality in the concept of the city:

> It is a place of mystery, the site of the unexpected, full of agitations
> and ferments, of multiple liberties, opportunities, and alienations; of
> passions and repressions; of cosmopolitanism and extreme
> parochialisms; of violence, innovation, and reaction.[50]

Whitney's construction of London can be understood through this concept of Festival. In the representational space created through Whitney's text, exist extremes in wealth and poverty. The city parades its affluence through its "buildyngs rare" (E3v). Those with money can purchase "silke so rich … juels … plate … silver and … gold," and dress in "French Ruffes, high Purles" and "Gascoyne" trunks, as well as well as purchase "Purse or Knives, for Combe or Glasse, / or any needeful knacke" (E4r). However, the "poore" in the Fleete must rely on coins dropped into their

begging "boxe," while they languish in "a certayne hole, / and little ease within" (E5v). The young gentlemen of the Inns of Court live lives "full of Activytie" who "when they are with study cloyd" recreate themselves at:

> Tennis Courts, of dauncing Scooles,
>
> and fence they store shal finde.
>
> And every Sonday at the least,
>
> I leave to make them sport.
>
> In divers places Players, that
>
> of wonders shall reporte. (E7r-E7v).

In contrast, the women at Bridewell must be content with "Chalke wel chopt, and spinning plyde; / and turning of the Mill" (E7r), the aged in Spitalfield, abide in "spitle, blynd and lame" (E7r), and the mad at "Bedlem" are condemned to remain as public spectacles who "out of tune doo talke" (E7r).

Whitney's London is also a place of violence, passion and depravity. The young roisterers "cut it out / That with the guiltlesse quarel wyl / to let their blood about" (E4v). Worse yet, in this London live,

> such whose deedes deserveth death,
>
> and twelve have found the same:
>
> They shall be drawne up Holborne hill. (E5v)

On the streets of London Whitney also hints at the sensual pleasure available through her use of puns, "For Women shall you Taylors have" who "Bodymakers bee" (E4v) While,

> handsome men, that must not wed
>
> except they leave their trade.
>
> They oft shal s é eke for proper Gyrles,[*]

---

[*] The term "proper gyrles" has elicited a variety of responses. Betty Travitsky and Martin Randall do not make any notation for this term. Louise Schleiner takes this phrase to mean male prostitutes (11), while Marion Wynne-Davies defines the term to literally mean women "of good character and social standing" (217 *n*117). Danielle Clarke believes the term means prostitutes. (*Isabella Whitney* 293 *n*117). I believe this term is ironic and ambiguous by design. Writers of the period often use the term "proper" ironically. The next two lines of the poem invite the reader to invest the term with a variety of meanings. The "proper gyrles" can be young women the apprentices marry for money ("lucre lures") or sexual desire ("need compels"). Or the term can refer to the prostitutes who were lured by "lucre" or set upon by "need." The phrase contains both meanings, and provides a convenient way for Whitney to present the danger of female sexual exploitation in the city without running the risk of being accused of immodesty.

and some perhaps shal fynde:

(That neede compels, or lucre lurss [)](E5r)

Indeed, her very catalog of material items has a sensual quality to it: butchers, bakers, brewers, and banquets—those empty and fantastic confectionary creations served in the houses of the rich—silks, precious gems, gold, silver, and "sleeves of lawne." That, London, according to Whitney, is a place capable of providing for all human appetites is quite obvious, with the boy at the "Stoks" ready to procure "what you lack" (E4r).

Yet, alongside this simultaneously disturbing and enticing aspect of Whitney's London, exists a place of folktales and the fantastic. In this representational space, the poor maids and men find spouses rich:

> For Maydens poore, I Widdoers ritch,
>
> do leave, that oft shall dote:
>
> And by that meanes shal mary them,
>
> to set the Girles aflote.
>
> And wealthy Widdowes wil I leave,
>
> to help yong Gentylmen. (E6v)
>
> Those condemned to death may find escape:
>
> Well, yet to such I leave a Nag
>
> shal soone their sorowes cease:
>
> For he shal either breake their necks
>
> or gallop from the preace" (E5v-E6r).

For the ill there are the "Phisicians … Diseases for to stop," while for those hot blooded roisterers "cunning Surgions leave, / some Playsters apply" (E4v). To the depraved, Whitney

> houses leave,
>
> for people to repayre:
>
> To bathe themselves, so to prevent
>
> infection of the ayre. (E5r)

Whitney infers that in physical cleansing lies an opportunity for spiritual cleansing in religious buildings about the city, the "Churches store, / and Pauls to the head" (E3v).

Whitney's "London" is a place of extremes: of poverty and wealth, dangers and opportunities. For the author this extremity does not elicit disdain for the city, instead as Lefebvre explains, "Violent contrasts between wealth and poverty, conflicts

between the powerful and the oppressed, do not prevent either attachment to the city
… These groups are rivals in their love of the city."[51] Yet despite Whitney's obvious
attachment to London, it would be foolhardy to claim she feels completely secure
there. Her poem, like Drayton's verses of the city, or Machyn's observations, reveals
an undercurrent of anxiety. This is shown in the references especially to prisons,
where she reveals a fear of losing herself in such places:

> I thinke it is, because that I
>
> to Ludgate nothing geve.
>
> I am not now in case to lye,
>
> here is no place of jest:
>
> I dyd reserve, that for my selfe,
>
> yf I my health possest.
>
> And ever came in credit so
>
> a debtor for to bee.
>
> When dayes of paiment did approch,
>
> I thither ment to flee.
>
> To shroude my selfe amongst the rest,
>
> that chuse to dye in debt. (E6r)

However, this anxiety is part of a complex dialogue of many disparate elements in her
"London," which she catalogues, or inventories, as for a will, throughout the poem.
While Whitney cannot successfully contain or deny the more negative, and indeed
frightening, characteristics of the city, her poem is able to negotiate a representational
space which acknowledges these elements, while not allowing them to overwhelm the
dynamic intersection of multiple narratives inherent in London, and in all cities.[52]

II.

For Whitney, this chaotic "festival," this "faire that lasts all the yere" becomes
a place bell hooks believes

> enables and promotes varied and ever-changing perspectives, a place
> where one discovers new ways of seeing reality, frontiers of
> difference. One confronts and accepts dispersal and fragmentation as
> part of the construction of a new world order that reveals more fully
> where we are, who we can become.[53]

Bobby M. Wilson agrees. He contends that the creative self searches for new situations in order to benefit from a wider control of one's environment.[54] For Whitney, this new situation was the urban spatiality of London, which she makes clear she loves. In this social space, she hopes rather than "huswyfery intend," "to writing fall" (D2r). Yet, these opportunities are often purchased through a loss of security.[55] For Whitney, "fragmentation" was realized in the perceived spaces of the city she inhabited. As a part of her ambiguous social classification as a waiting gentlewoman, Whitney would have experienced what Patricia Fumerton describes as "a spaciousness of itinerancy, fragmentation, disconnection, and multiplicity that produces a very different topographical mapping of societal relations."[56] Whitney's book is a bid to reestablish connection, to regain a sense of place and identity. She portrays her book as a gift, an offertory:

> Unto a vertuous Ladye, which
>
> tyll death I honour wyll:
>
> The losse I had of service hers,
>
> I languish for it styll. (C6v)

"To London" and the companion poems and letters in *A Sweet Nosegay* reveal the strategies through which Whitney negotiates her feelings of "itinerancy, fragmentation, disconnection and multiplicity." She, like many in London, sought to access greater opportunities of creative and intellectual expression within her culture in an attempt to exert more personal control in a world where self-determination, and even survival, were often difficult to attain.

One of these strategies can be seen through her use of dedicatory letters. These letters form a sort of community, creating a textual space where her family: sisters, brother, cousins and friends can exist. In *A Sweet Nosegay*, relationships with friends and relatives highlight a communal reciprocity. The letters included in the verse collection emphasize this reciprocity. They are open texts inviting responses, some of which are actually printed in the text, others remain open and unfixed. She asks her brother Geoffrey:

> Then cannot I once from you heare
>
> nor know I how to send …
>
> Wherfore mine owne good brother graunt …
>
> A messenger to harke unto,

> that I to you may wryte:
>
> And eke of him [a messenger] your answers have
>
> which would my hart delight. (C6r-C6v)

Her brother Brooke she anxiously questions: "Good Brother *Brooke*, I often looke, / to heare, of your returne" (C7r). To her sisters, "serving in London" she sends wholesome advice, ending with a prayer for their continued well being. To her married sister she asserts their bonds of sisterhood,

> for nature dyd you bynde:
>
> To doo mee good: and to requight,
>
> hath nature mee inclynde. (D1v)

These familial dedications, dedications to friends, as well as the first dedication to George Mainwaring, a member of an important Cheshire family, attempt to recreate a community through which Whitney can retain a position within a social space created through connections with other human beings.

This attempt to create community through a text can be compared to Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*. Whitney begins, as Lanyer does, by positing a community among whom she speaks. In this way she defines her position within the greater social milieu, signifying significant human relationships which resonate throughout the poem. Like Lanyer, Whitney recognizes that these human relationships are often unsustainable given personal circumstances and the dictates of society. Therefore, both poets turn to the creation of representational spaces, in Lanyer's case, "The Description of Cookham," while Whitney creates her panoply "To London." Yet, while Lanyer's poem is structured as a perambulation which moves steadily towards its destination, both metaphorically and symbolically, on the sacred hill, Whitney's text is much more chaotic, reflecting the qualities of urban spatiality. In an attempt to "represent" the city, and thus exert textual control, Whitney utilizes a strategy of representation which allows her to assert textual control of her situation.

Whitney's "London" is writ small; it is a spatiality presented through a minutiae of detail, unlike the civic dialogue of the pageants, the chorographical spaces represented by Stow, or the broad satires of the male poets. In Whitney's "London" the reader is treated not to the grand spectacle of the city, but to the minutia from which this grand spectacle is created. Whitney presents her reader with an "inventory," of the city, drawing on the trope of the will. Wills were a way in which

bonds of obligation and community were maintained, creating a material affinity between those present and the one now absent from their community. J.S.W. Helt notes that the will bound families and communities together through obligations to the departed.[57] Wendy Wall contends that "many women writers' works gained power and authority through the articulation of the final legacy, a framework that allowed them to command their mental possessions."[58] Whitney does just this, mentally possessing the city through the details she records and metaphorically gifts away. Her poem creates a long list of the material objects of the city: candles, soap, Papists in the Fleet prison, a fruit wife at every gate under the wall, a horse in Smithfield, daggers and artillery, beds, shoes and boots, wool, linen, jewels, plate, hats, combes, plasters, coggers, sergeants, friends, widows, girls, law students, criminals, and sewing women—along with a multitude of other people, places and things. Through these minutiae, a representational space Whitney controls is created.

She does this by positioning her poetic persona in a place of authority in relation to the subject: the city space. Certainly, the cataloguing of elements within the space contributes to this authority. However, the tone of the poem also serves to reinforce Whitney's authority. Louise Schleiner describes this tone as "sympathetic" and affectionate "like a whimsical motherly version of Jesus looking out over Jerusalem."[59] Whitney appropriates the fixed perspective, which as discussed in Chapter 2, was emerging as a position from which authority could be derived from the visual, and through which one's perceptions from this position were becoming synonymous with "truth." Through this fixed perspective the control of space was appropriated by early modern culture.* In "To London" Rhonda Sanford notes that the speaker positions herself at a point resembling a "map view" (fig. 4-1). From this vantage she takes possession of London.[60] The places mentioned in the poem are not connected through proximity. Rather, the areas Whitney "sites" are spread throughout London. She mentions Holborne hill, The Fleete, St. Paulles, tennis courts, St. Martins, Cheape, Smithfield, Temple Bar, Canwyck street, and many other places, as though she were looking at the city from an angle 45° degrees above the horizon, the same angle used by many map makers of the time. Through the faculty of sight she has the ability to visually list and thus "distribute" the space of which she has taken visual possession. Harvey explains that, "the very act of naming

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* See Chapter 2, pp. 78-79.

Figure 4-1 City of London from Braun and Hogenberg *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* 1572

geographical entities implies a power over them, most particularly over the way in which places, their inhabitants and their social functions get represented.[61] In "mapping" London, Whitney accesses a practice, which was becoming increasingly an activity involved in the acquisition and disposition of power in Europe. Through mapping activities, the very power structures of the country, and indeed vast swathes of the world, were being negotiated. Sanford connects Whitney's poem with these mapping activities, likening it to early maps of London,[62] thus crediting Whitney with an appropriation of the developing strategies of the visual to create a position of power and ownership. Martin Holmes, in 1969, argued that John Stow had access to the complete Copperplate map of London. I suggest that Isabella Whitney had a similar access to this or other early maps of London,[*] allowing her to position her poetic persona as taking visual possession of the entire city (fig. 4-2),[63]

And yet, through mapping one creates representations of space, conceptualized space that tends toward signification systems. The early maps of London, to which Sanford refers, are dominated by signs indicating housing, public buildings, civic power, patterned with streets leading generally to and from the river, and Westminster—the seat of political power in the realm. The functioning of this type of signification system has little in common with the "lived" space revealed through Whitney's poem even though a fixed perspective; another component of conceived space is clearly present here. Thus, as Lefebvre rhetorically questions,

> What intervenes, what occupies the interstices between
> representations of space and representational spaces. A culture
> perhaps? Certainly—but the word has less content than it seems to
> have. The work of artistic creation? No doubt—but that leaves
> unanswered the queries 'By whom?' and 'How?' Imagination?
> Perhaps—but why? and for whom?[64]

In the case of Whitney's "London" the answer must return to the mode of construction she employs in the creation of her poem.

While she does access fixed perspective, draws attention to streets, buildings and other signposts of conceived space, Whitney's rhetorical positioning should be read as a strategy through which she disrupts the authoritarian gaze by employing

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[*] These early maps of London include the Copperplate map, ca. 1553-1559, of which only three of the original 15 to 20 plates still exist, and are on display at the Museum of London; the Agas map ca 1561-1570, and George Braun and Frans Hogenberg's map of London first published in 1572, see fig. 4-1.

Figure 4.2: Copperplate Map, North Section [65]
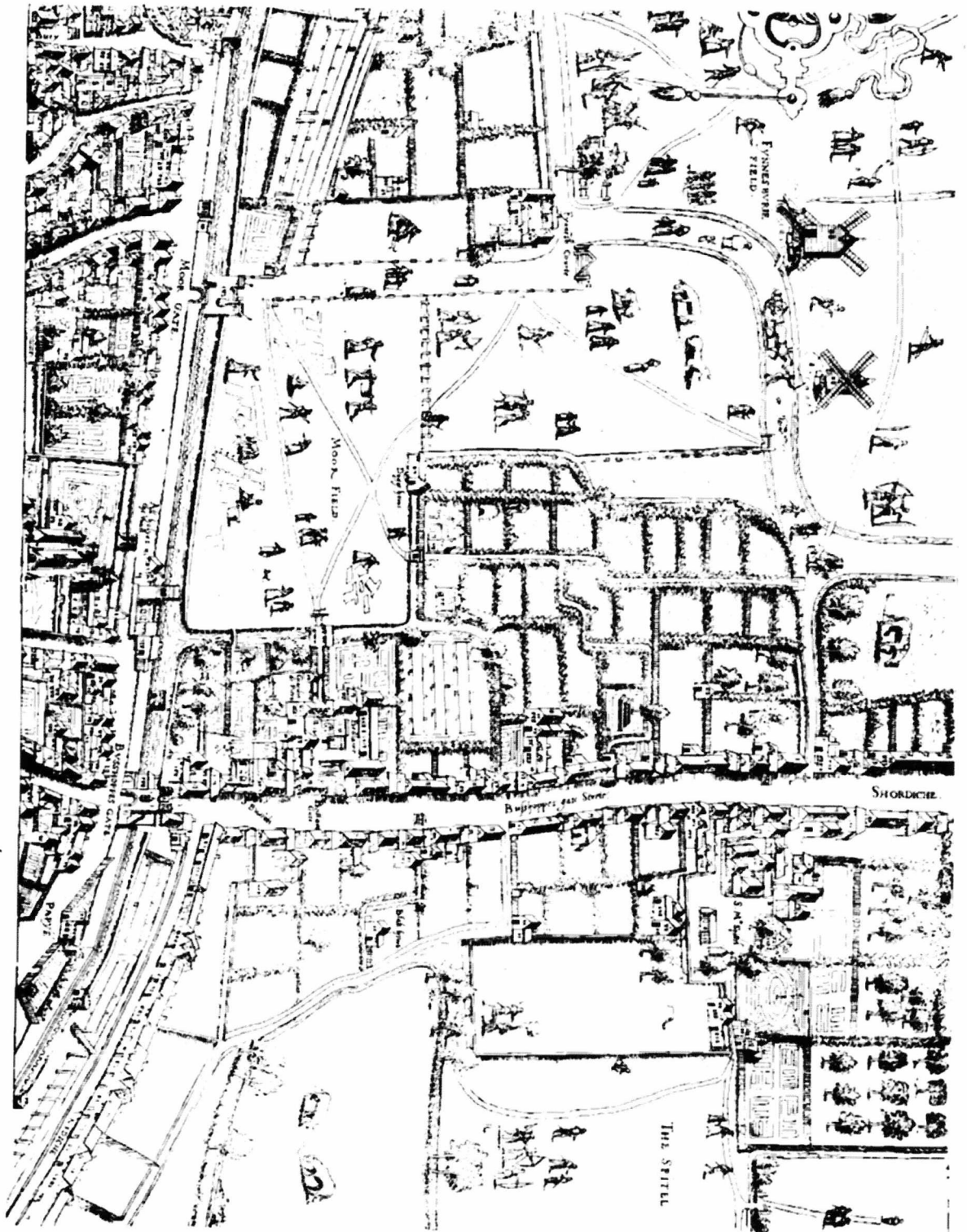
"strategies of position, scale and fragmentation."[66] She does this through the many juxtapositions, ironies, and focal changes which replicate those amplifications and concentrations Elizabeth Wilson identifies as part of urban spatiality.[67] Her way of "seeing" London is more closely related to a "haptic" visualization of social space.[*] Her representation of her visual experience of the city as presented in the poem is exploratory, like fingers touching the objects on display, rather than the sweeping visual possession of an entire vista from a distance. This way of visualizing more closely approximates how one would explore the intimate spaces of ones home in preparation for will making, which requires attention to the material objects that surround one in daily life. The testator surveys his/her possessions visually while circulating physically the house, lifting favored objects, each becoming a mnemonic entity connecting the person with ideas, feelings and impressions from his/her life. It is this haptic, sensual, "fond" way of seeing the city that is expressed in Whitney's poem and points to gendered ways of seeing.

Jane Burns notes "Female knowledge, skills, and talents ... feed into an elaborate economy of women's collective work grounded in sight, hearing and touch."[68] Whitney's poetic creation in many ways more closely resembles textile arts, than mapping enterprises.[†] The creation and maintenance of tapestry and domestic textile arts was practiced extensively by sixteenth-century gentlewomen, as discussed in Chapter 3. "To London" shares many of the qualities of the tapestry in its intricate detail, its sensuous quality and its use of the symbolic to inform the reader/viewer. The needlework table carpet, "The Judgement of Paris" dated 1574, is a good example of this sort of detail (fig. 4-4). In it are heraldic, mythological and nature images, creating a visual tension, the variety of images in constant competition with each other. The sight is drawn from the grotesque heads on the frame of the central medallion, to the unicorns, camels, stags rabbits, birds, dogs and owls; whose images are themselves entwined with pears, grapes, apples, nuts, cherries, roses, and briar vines. Heraldic devices are set in the corners; two are placed on diagonal corners of

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[*] See Chapter 3, p. 114.
[†] Of course, maps and textile arts were not mutually exclusive. Map tapestries were popular in the day, the best known of these came from the workshop of William Sheldon in Barcheston, Warwickshire. A fine example of Sheldon's work is the map tapestry of the county of Warwickshire, at the Warwickshire county museum at the market square in the town of Warwick (fig. 4-3). And yet, even when a tapestry depicts a map, the tactile quality of the tapestry remains, inviting, interestingly enough, multiple ways of seeing, the haptic and rationalized sight, both the eye that experiences sensually the textures it explores and the eye that beholds conceptually, intellectually.

Figure 4.3: detail of Sheldon Tapestry Map of Warwick, Warwick County Museum, Warwick.
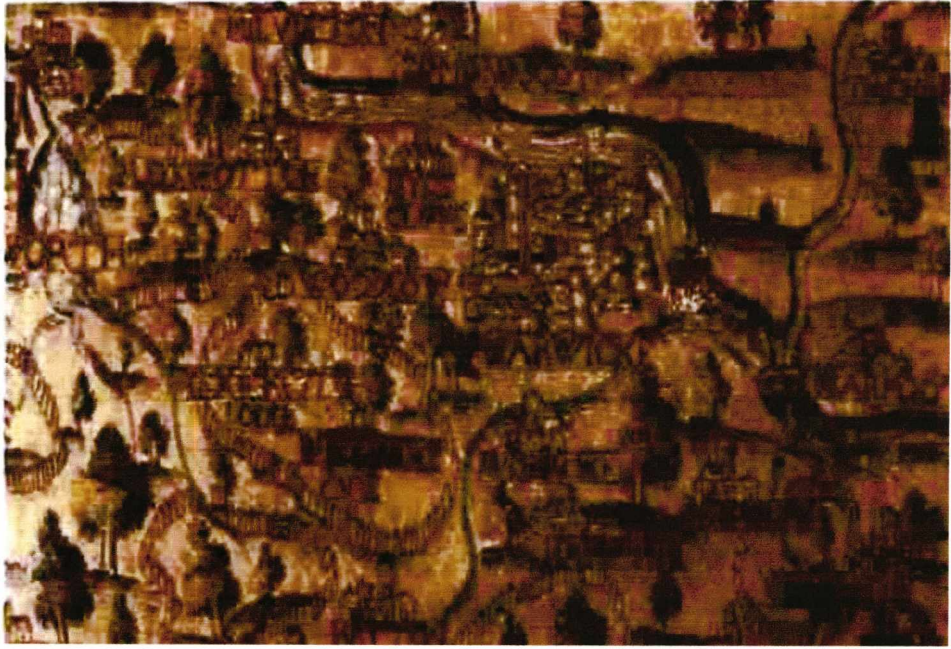
Figure 4-4: Judgement of Paris[69]

the outside frame, two on the opposing diagonal on the inner frame. Inside the inner frame is a medallion which depicts the judgment of Paris, again comprised of multiple images: sheep, dogs, flowers, figures, trees and buildings. It portrays a rich panoply, as does Whitney's "To London," and shows a similar juxtaposition of diverse images.[70]

Indeed, Lucy Gent connects much literature of the period to tapestry art, noting that "Literature frequently evokes the rich surface, as in the descriptions of Hero in Marlowe's 'Hero and Leander', or in Spenser's tapestried chambers, or in many Elizabethan sonnets."[71] Certainly, the invasion scene in *Cymbeline*, where Iachimo takes note of the tapestries and other furnishings of Imogen's room is designed to appeal to sensual vision, rather than intellectual sight.[72] Whitney's "To London" operates within this tradition. Yet, while certainly a haptic experience of the visual was experienced throughout the culture, the relationship between tapestry and textile arts had gender implications. While men were surrounded by tapestries, women were the largest practitioners of the art, providing many with an opportunity for artistic and creative expression. From their participation in textile arts a gendered discourse evolved.* Susan Frye, discusses how the subject matter and symbolism treated in tapestries and needlework reflected the subjectivity of the creator.[73] This can also be said for Whitney's poem. Again, Lefebvre connects the subjectivity of the individual with the creation of a representational space, defining this space as "directly lived … the space of inhabitants."[74]

In choosing to present of "To London" in a manner reminiscent of contemporary textile arts, Whitney reveals a subjectivity through which her relationship with the spatiality she creates manifests itself. The many images of the city Whitney "sees" become "appliqués" of conceived space. They are removed from the context of their representation, the single perspective eye of authority seen in maps and chorographies of the period, and incorporated into Whitney's representational space. This removal of material significations from one context to another is illustrated by Elizabeth Talbot and her embroiderers. They used the designs cut from ecclesiastical copes and introduced them into their tapestries, appropriating and reassigning symbolic meaning in the context of the work of art they

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* See Chapter 3, p. 131.

created.[75] In this same way Whitney preserves in her "London" a quality of the city described by Italo Calvino:

> With cities it is as with dreams: everything imaginable can be
> dreamed, but even the most unexpected dream is a rebus that conceals
> a desire or, its reverse, a fear. Cities, like dreams, are made of desires
> and fears, even if the thread of their discourse is secret, their rules are
> absurd, their perspective deceitful, and everything conceals something
> else.[76]

III.

Whitney's "To London" illustrates the qualities of the city Calvino enumerates. Her poem operates in many ways as a coded message of her desires, employing the same strategies as the popular love sonnets of the time. Fumerton discusses how these sonnets function by hiding "the self's secret" behind an outer frame of metaphor and conceits, publishing an attractive outer form calculated to incite interest and curiosity.[77] Elizabeth Heale discusses how in the Tudor sonnets, "the lover's tortured consciousness becomes the main focus of attention."[78] In her address to the personified "London," Whitney appropriates, as did the sonneteers, this language of the Petrarchan love poem. The attributes of the city fore-grounded in Whitney's poem can be seen in the basic qualities of the Petrarchan object of love. The features of the beloved are minutely anatomized, their allure celebrated, their being inexpressible and the full enjoyment of their presence always denied. Indeed, Gary Waller contends that the Petrarchan love poem "functions in a theater of desire—one in which men have the active roles and the women are assigned silent, iconic function, and are notable primarily for their absence in the script." Woman in the love poem becomes "the forbidden, the alluring, the mysterious."[79] In her poem Whitney turns the gender table, and creates a male persona, "London," through which she characterizes her attraction to the city as that of a woman to her lover, stating in the opening lines of the poem:

> But many Women foolyshly,
> lyke me, and other moe.
> Doe such a fyred fancy set,
> on those which least deserve. (E2v)

Whitney's poem participates in one of the predominant stylistic strategies of the period, illustrated by the court poets, beginning with Wyatt and Surrey, continuing into Elizabeth's reign contemporaneously with Whitney through George Gascoigne, Barnaby Googe, Samuel Daniel and others. These poets access "The supremely 'literary' posture of the Petrarchan lover, yearning for an ever-elusive mistress, and creating from the void of desire a voice of personal lament." From this positioning, the poets go beyond a sensual desire to "meditate on what it is to be excluded from court, indulge the agonies of yearning which result from their exclusion."[80] Through the poems fictions are created where "alienation and failure can be analysed and represented as refinement and suffering, so that lack of success becomes almost a mark of virtue, revealing the quality of the inner man," or in the case of Whitney, the inner woman.[81] In this way Whitney's lingering and affectionate farewell appropriates this position of the yearning, virtuous sufferer:

> So fare thou well a thousand times,
>
> God sheelde thee from thy foe:
>
> And styll make thee victorious,
>
> of those that seeke thy woe.
>
> And (though I am perswade) that I
>
> shall never more thee see:
>
> Yet to the last, I shal not cease
>
> to wish much good to thee. (E8r-E8v)

Earlier in the poem she laments, as the court poets do, that her separation from that which she loves is the fault of others who could have helped her remain:

> And unto all that wysh mee well,
>
> or rue that I am gon:
>
> Doo me comend, and bid them cease
>
> my absence for to mone.
>
> And tell them further, if they wolde,
>
> my presence styll have had:
>
> They should have sought to mend my luck:
>
> which ever was too bad. (E8r)

By accessing the genre of the Petrarchan, or courtly love poem, Whitney creates for herself a position through which to speak her desires, writing along with other early

modern women, "within but against the center of the traditions that surrounded them, using Neoplatonic and Petrarchan discourse in revisionary and interrogatory ways"[82]

Whitney's desires themselves are analogous to those expressed by the courtly love poems, for as Colin Burrow points out, the conceit of the lover wailing for his beloved was often used to express political ambitions and a desire for power.[83] While Whitney's desires are more modest than poets such as Sidney or Spenser, she does position herself as a desiring subject, using the word "wyll," as a constant pun through out the poem.* This "wyll" is to access the opportunities of the city, which will allow her to creatively express her subjectivity and to have some agency in the placement of her person. Her lament at the beginning of "To London" makes clear the alternative: "upon her Friendes procurement" she *"is constrained to departe"* [italics added] (E2r). Her text protests against this constraint even as it appears to accede to it; in her last lines she challenges her London friends to intervene and help her to remain in the city (E8r).

Whitney's desire, like those of the court poets and later practitioners of these conceits, was to secure herself a position through which she could gain some degree of personal autonomy and power within her culture. London, unlike many social spaces within the culture, provided an opportunity for women like Whitney to participate in the emergent opportunities for individuals developing in the culture. This was in contrast to the prescribed domestic sphere women were finding more and more restrictive in the countryside. Jacqueline Eales explains, "where social control was weak … more women were economically independent, including towns."[84] The majority of literate women, outside of the highest ranks of society, resided in London, indicating greater acceptance of female literacy in the city, and greater independence of physical movement.[85] London was a destination that women, across social classes, perceived as providing more opportunities. Alison Wall recounts how many young women "opposed their parents' plans by going to seek work in the capital."[86] Other young women, like Whitney and the two younger sisters she mentions in *A Sweet Nosegay*, came up to London to serve "a vertuous Ladye" (C6v). Jeremy Boulton contends that out of a sample of east-enders from 1580-1640 only 13% had been born in London.[87] A large number of these immigrants to the city were women. A

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* Whitney uses a form of the word "wyll" 60 times throughout the collection, *A Sweet Nosegay*. In "To London" alone she uses the word 19 times.

contemporary, William Warner, in a satirical ballad, gives evidence of women immigrating to London, "I (quoth she) the Countrie left to be a *London* Las."[88]

Even women from the highest strata of society saw in London a freedom denied them in their grand country houses. Anne Clifford, in the early seventeenth century, yearns for the liberation of this city, complaining, "All this time my Lord was in London where he had all and infinite great resort coming to him. He went much abroad to Cocking, to Bowling Alleys, to Plays and Horse Races, &[was] commended by all the World. I stayed in the Countrey having many times a sorrowful & heavy Heart."[89] Clifford's husband used banishment to the country as a means to control and punish her for her intransigence in issues relating to her inheritance. Maria Thynne also expresses her desire to leave the country and go up to London, through a barely veiled sarcasm, in a letter written to her husband, "Alas I sit at home … When my sisters will be in London at their pleasure, I am talking of foxes and ruder beasts at home."[90] Elizabeth Willoughby went up to London in 1573 in order to be near her doctors, but then decided to stay on in the city alone—a decision contrary to her husband's wishes, who complained, "London standing in the eye of the world, it would not stand great with her credit to be still riding in the streets."[91]

Once in London, women habitually went to the various markets for professional or household purposes, attended sermons, visited the various entertainments of the city and engaged in the social activities of their respective classes. Women also participated as spectators, and sometimes took active roles in the various political and social pageants staged in London throughout the year. Foreign visitors often remarked on this greater freedom of women in London. Thomas Platter noted upon visiting London that English women "have far more liberty than in other lands" making the city "a woman's paradise."[92] Emanuel Van Meteren marveled that London women "go to market to buy what they like best to eat. They are well-dressed … They sit before their doors, decked out in fine clothes, in order to see and be seen by the passers-by."[93] Nicander Nucius also found female freedom in the city worth noting: "And one may see in the markets and streets of the city married women and damsels employed in arts, and barterings and affairs of trade, undisguisedly."[94] Lupton satirically displays this greater liberty of London women:

> Some of their wives [of Cheapside merchants] would bee ill prisoners,
> for they cannot indure to be shut up; and as bad Nunnes … many use

to visit a Tavern and the young attendant must want his eyes, and
change his tongue, according as his mistress shall direct.[95]

David Cressy concludes that legal documents of the time give "strong evidence" of the "independent social life of metropolitan women."[96]

Whitney's "To London" illustrates a familiarity with the city, which implies she possessed significant freedom of movement, social associations, and intellectual activities within this spatiality. This liberty had implications for Whitney's conception of the social space, "London," as evinced in her poem. Shirley Ardener explains, "The environment imposes certain restraints on our mobility, and, in turn, our perceptions of space are shaped by our capacity to move about, whether by foot or by mechanical or other transport. So: behaviour and space are mutually dependent."[97] I would go further and contend that these restraints are not only environmental but to an even greater degree social. Whitney recognized and illustrated a social space that allowed an autonomy which enabled her to circumvent restrictive cultural proscriptions on female behavior. Elizabeth Wilson explains that early modern cities, "evolved political organisations which displaced existing paternalistic and patriarchal forms, and so the way was opened both to individualism and to democracy during the transition from feudalism to capitalism."[98] She asserts that the city is "a place of liberation for women. The city offers women freedom. After all, the city normalizes the carnivalesque aspects of life ... at every turn the city dweller is also offered ... pleasure, deviation, disruption."[99] Whitney used her position on the margins to speak of her desire, which was no less than to be allowed an individual voice in a society that preferred its women voiceless. As Margaret Tyler laments, in her preface to her translation of the *Mirrour of Princely Deedes and Knighthood* (1578), "But amongst all my il willers, some I hope are not to straight that they would enforce mee necessarily either not to write or to write of divinitie."[100] London provided Whitney the opportunity, both through its use as a poetic device and the social space itself, to speak as an individual and thus engage in the cultural discourse which produced this urban spatiality. hooks speaks of this when she discusses the ways in which marginalized individuals "invent spaces of radical openness. Without such spaces we would not survive. Our living depends on our ability to conceptualize alternatives, often improvised." These spaces on the margins then become "the site of radical possibility, a space of resistance." [101]

Through the nascent print industry of London, Whitney found this space of resistance. Alan Sinfeld explains that in the early modern print culture the conditions were there "for writers to find themselves at points of relative, writerly autonomy."[102] Burrow asserts that "the creaky mechanisms by which the authorities sought to regulate the press left plenty of room for the sharper wits of creative writers to fashion invisible or semi-visible means of reconfiguring the political orthodoxies of the period."[103] Richard Jones, Whitney's publisher, was keen to "whet contemporary appetites, and certainly his poetic collections appealed to current literary fashions."[104] Whitney enters, through her poem and prose miscellanies, a relationship with her publisher which was "a collaboration among printer, poet and a growing audience of readers-as-consumers."[105] Whitney was one of Jones's regular contributors, who included Thomas Churchyard, Jasper Heywood, and Thomas Howell.[106] Her anomalous position, as an unmarried woman in the city of London, allowed her to access an industry that was still in the process of defining itself. The very novelty of her voice mediated in her favor during this period of disorderly exuberance in the print industry, as Lisa Jardine explains: "Novelty … was a key selling point, to which authors and publishers consistently drew attention in their prefatory material."[107] George Gascoigne advised his fellow poets in 1575: "The first and most necessarie point that even I founde meete to be considered in making of a delectable poeme is this, to grounde it upon some fine invention … some good and fine devise."[108] Her texts, being female authored, conformed well to the criteria valued in poetry collections of the period. They were contemporary, novel and grounded in a "good and fine devise."

Through print Whitney, like many men, found that she was able to participate in the discursive practices of her culture, experimenting with rhetorical strategies and giving expression to her ideas, in a public forum. In the marginal life of an unemployed servant in London Whitney participated in what Edward Soja describes as "a meeting place where new and radical happenings can occur beyond the centered domain of the patriarchal urban order."[109] For as she attests,

> Had I a Husband, or a house,
>
> and all that longes therto
>
> My selfe could frame about to rouse,
>
> as other women doo:

> But til some houshold cares mee tye,
>
> My bookes and Pen I wyll apply. (D2r)

Whitney's yearning to participate in this industry, not quite prohibited to the female and offering an opportunity to experience an existence beyond the social "tye"s of house and home, are revealed in her bequest to the "Bookebinders by Paulles:"

> To all the Bookebinders by Paulles
>
> because I lyke their Arte:
>
> They evry weeke shal mony have,
>
> when they from Bookes depart.
>
> Amongst them all, my Printer must,
>
> have somwhat to his share:
>
> I wyll my Friends these Bookes to bye
>
> of him, with other ware. (E6v)

This "bequest" functions in many ways. The "Bookes" she mentions refer the readers back to the very text, *A Sweete Nosegay,* which they are reading, inviting them to buy this and other texts by her and those with whom she is in business. Through this strategy she attempts to provide the financial means that would enable her to continue to participate the urban spatiality of London, and thus to access the liberty provided by her existence in the city-space. The unique opportunity provided to her by the industry explains her exuberance and the language of largess and plenty she ascribes to it:

> For whom I store of Bookes have left,
>
> at each Bookebinders stall:
>
> And parte of all that London hath
>
> to furnish them withall. (E7r)

We cannot know how successful Whitney was in her bid to remain a part of this fractured, liberating, anxiety laden spatiality; this "faire" that lasts all year. Given it was these qualities of London that Whitney was allowed to speak, her removal from the city is aptly characterized as a kind of death. Indeed, once removed from the publishing center of London, for Whitney "the rest is silence." She laments,

> And let me have a shrowding Sheete
>
> to cover mee from shame:
>
> And in oblivyon bury mee
>
> and never more mee name.

> Ringings nor other Ceremonies,
>
> use you not for cost:
>
> Nor at my buriall, make no feast,
>
> your mony were but lost.
>
> Rejoyce in God that I am gon,
>
> out of this vale so vile. (E7v)

And yet, unlike many male-authored texts that ascribe their failures, anxieties, dislocation, and disillusionment to the city space, Whitney "wylls" that others may enjoy her London when she is gone:

> I make thee sole executor, because
>
> I lov'de thee best.
>
> And thee I put in trust, to geve
>
> the goodes unto the rest. (E7v)

The rhetorical strategies Whitney employs assert her possession and "wyll" even as she is dispossessed. By accessing the language of law, that of the will, and referencing the metonymies of power, "Paper, Pen and Standish," she reminds the reader that this act of representation emerges from her "wylling mind," ending the poem with the language of agency and appropriation with which she began; affirming she "Did write this Wyll, with mine owne hand/ and it to London gave" (E8v). This space she bequeaths to London is her "London." The language of the will, and the markers of performance, "In witnes of the standers by" make this clear (E8v).

Whitney's poem creates a representational space which functions in such a way as to encompass the lived and conceived spaces of early modern London. "To London" contains beauty and ugliness, poverty and excess, opportunity and the destruction of that opportunity. It reveals a rich multiplicity of meaning arising from her use of analogy, symbolism, and realism as well as the language of poetic and other cultural discourses. In this way Whitney weaves her tapestry; pulling bright colors here, limning with shadows there, working into the pattern a highly individualized, symbolic space, just as she would have when she "wrought" in the house of that "vertous ladye." Yet this time, the social space that was early modern London provided her the liberty to "publish" this story of herself outside the domestic, allowing her to participate publicly in the political and cultural milieu of ideas in her culture. Her poem, "To London," represents both that lived space of the city recognizable by her contemporaries and also an imaginary space created as a place for

her to voice her "wyll." Whitney's text leads, in Lefebvre's formulation, "out of what is present, out of what is close, out of representations of space, into what is further off, into nature, into symbols, into representational spaces."[110] "To London" presents a spatiality "rich in fantasies or phantasmagorias" through which she challenges those aspects of the city space emerging in the period which were rational, state-dominated, bureaucratic, monumental,[111] for "spaces," hooks contends, "can be real and imagined. Spaces can tell stories and unfold histories. Spaces can be interrupted, appropriated, and transformed through artistic and literary practice."[112]

[1] Thomas Dekker, *The Seven Deadly Sinnes Of London: Drawne In Seven Severall Coaches, Through The Citie Bringing The Plague With Them* (London: 1606) A2v.

[2] *The Quenes Maiesties Passage through the Citie of London to Westminster the Day before her Coronacion*, ed. James M. Osborn (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale UP, 1960) 36-37.

[3] *Quenes Maiesties Passage* 37.

[4] *Quenes Maiesties Passage* 45.

[5] *Quenes Maiesties Passage* 62.

[6] *Quenes Maiesties Passage* 44.

[7] *Quenes Maiesties Passage* 45.

[8] Thomas Gresham, "Thomas Gresham Reviews Early Tudor Financial Policy In A Letter To Elizabeth I 1558," *English Historical Documents*, ed. C.H. Williams, vol. 5 (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1967) 1022.

[9] *Quenes Maiesties Passage* 61.

[10] *Quenes Maiesties Passage* 61.

[11] *Quenes Maiesties Passage* 59.

[12] Steve Pile, "What is a City?" *City Worlds*, eds. Doreen Massey, John Allen and Steve Pile (London: Routledge, 1999) 44.

[13] Edward T. Bonahue Jr., "Citizen's History: Stow's Survey of London," *Studies in English Literature*, 38 (1998): 62-63.

[14] All quotations from Isabella Whitney's *A Sweet Nosegay or Pleasant Posy* (London, 1573) refer to the British Library edition, shelf mark: C.39.b.45, and will be parenthetically referenced within the text. The poem "The Maner of her Wyll & What She Left To London: and to All Those in it: at Her Departing," found at the end of this collection will be referred to as "To London" throughout this chapter. This book is also available in a facsimile edition in: *The Poets I. Isabella Whitney, Anne Dowriche, Elizabeth Melville (Colville), Aemilia Lanyer, Rachel Speght, Diana Primrose, Anne, Mary and Penelope Grey*, ed. Susanne Woods, et. al. (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2001).

[15] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991) 188.

[16] Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City: Urban life, the Control of Disorder, and Women* (London: Virago, 1991) 4.

[17] Henri Lefebvre, *Writing on Cities*, trans. and ed. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996) 103.

[18] Lefebvre, *Cities* 103.

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Chapter 5

Margaret Hoby's Body-Ballets and Time/Space Routine

Allen Pred contends that "biographies are formed through the becoming of places, and places become through the formation of biographies."[1] Hägerstrand describes this "life-biography,"as composed of "internal mental experiences and events ... related to the interplay between body and environmental phenomena."[2] The diary of Lady Margaret Hoby (1599-1605), of Hackness in northeastern Yorkshire, provides a narrative illustration of this becoming of places and the dialectical relationship between the movements of bodies in space and the creation of that space.[3] By tracing an individual's path through space, "a connectedness is imparted to the formation of a person's biography through a complex 'external-internal' dialectic and a 'life-path daily-path' dialectic."[4] For "life is place-dependent," and through this dependence a coherence between Lefebvre's conceived and perceived spaces is attained.[5] Through the contexts of "already existing, directly encountered social and spatial structures" human beings make histories and produce places.[6] This intrinsic connectedness between the individual and the spatial requires the recognition of relationship through which identity itself is in some manner constructed, leading Bachelard to suggest that the exploration of this identity through place, a topoanalysis, could perhaps provide an insight even more fertile than psychoanalysis.[7] Michael Godkin goes so far as to define place as a "discrete, temporally and perceptually bounded unit of psychologically meaningful material space."[8] Hoby's diary is the personal record of one Tudor woman's life that is primarily described through spatial referents. Her record of social space provides the opportunity to accept Bachelard's invitation to explore how "we inhabit our vital space, in accord with all the dialectics of life, how we take root, day after day, in a 'corner of the world.'"[9]

I.

The meaning of place has many dimensions, "symbolic, emotional, cultural, political, and biological." People "have not only intellectual, imaginary, and symbolic conceptions of place, but also personal and social associations with place-based networks of interaction and affiliation."[10] The qualities of this inhabited space are always determined through human action, behavior and space being mutually dependent.[11] David Seamon contends that, "Underlying our depiction of spatial

cognition, is a view of behavior which, although variously expressed, can be reduced to the statement that human spatial behavior is dependent on the individual's cognitive map of the spatial environment."[12] Given this, Seamon discusses the concept of "body-ballet," (a series of movements in space) which create a "time-space routine" made up of "habitual bodily behaviors which extends through a considerable portion of time." Through these habitual bodily behaviors this mutual dependence between space and cognition can be explored.[13]

Hoby's diary, sometimes termed laconic for its lack of emotive expression, presents instead a time-space routine made up of a series of these "body-ballets." Those who have written about Hoby's journal have focused primarily on the spiritual exercises she records and on the repetitive nature of the entries, especially for the years 1599 and 1600. What seems to have gone unnoticed is the fundamental spatial organizational pattern in the diary. The repetitions reveal a body-ballet through which she "maintain[s] a continuity" which allows her "to do automatically in the present moment" what she "has learned in the past."[14] In this way, Hoby illustrates what Seamon describes as the essential role of the body-ballet in one's interaction with space: "In managing the routine, repetitive aspects of daily living, time-space routines free people's cognitive attention for more significant events and needs."[15] These needs, in Hoby's case, certainly appear to be spiritual and emotional.

The time-space routine that the diary reveals is one which structures all of her daily activities. By plotting the spatial activity through the first two years of the diary one can create a description of Hoby's routine in great detail. In the diary, she begins her day at 6.00 a.m. in her closet with private prayer. She then continues in her closet writing notes in her testament, writing up sermons she has heard, or other writing activities. Alternatively she might read in her closet, or move into her chamber to hear the family cleric, Master Rhodes, read to her or discuss religious topics. At about 8.00 a.m. she proceeds to breakfast (probably served in the great chamber). She then moves on to take care of household business, going "about the house." After dinner (again served in the great chamber) she works with her maids, or attends to household or estate business. This is also the time she goes for short walks in the fields, about the house, in the gardens, or in the grass courtyard; sometimes she goes even further a field to her farm at Harwood Dales, or to supervise agricultural activities at Hackness. This afternoon time is also used to receive company, again in the great chamber, or alternatively to retire to her own chamber for more devotional practices. In the evening she shares supper with her household in the great chamber,

after which she may again walk abroad or visit with company. Finally, she participates in the household's public prayers, which are usually held in the great chamber, though on one memorable instance to be discussed later they are held in the hall. Hoby uses the time before she retires to discuss religious topics with her cleric, or occasionally her husband; to listen to readings on religious issues in a public room, again most likely in the great chamber; or to write letters or meditate on religious themes in her own chamber or closet. Afterwards she regularly records praying privately then retiring to bed.

This general pattern, or time-space routine is punctuated with deviations, yet it remains consistent throughout the 1599-1600 entries. It is implied in the rest of the diary that this pattern, or as Hoby terms it, her "customary practice;" continues while the diary goes on to record other events and curiosities that occur in her day. In this way the diary records amplification and contraction in the way she conceives her movements. Her time-space routine does not significantly alter throughout the diary. What does alter is the way in which this time-space routine is recorded. Certain places, practices and events are relegated to the foundational backdrop of each day, others emerge with greater regularity at certain points in the diary, while later being mentioned less often. One must assume through their periodic re-emergence in the diary that these aspects of the time-space routine continue, but have also been added to the category "customary practice." These modifications give insight in to the mental processes whereby Hoby integrates her movements through social space.

One example of this occurs in the entries beginning in January of 1600. Here, Lady Hoby begins to record nursing in the service rooms on the ground floor of the house. She often mentions dressing wounds of her servants and the poor of the community just after breakfast and just before private prayers in the evening if the nature of the injury requires two dressings. Interestingly, given the facility with which she attends to these matters, it must be assumed she has been nursing for quite some time. Therefore the addition of these activities in the diary become an indicator not that Hoby has begun a pattern of nursing in the service areas of the house, but that this practice has achieved a degree of importance in Hoby's cognition of her daily movements.

Another innovation to Hoby's time-space routine occurring at this time is the taking of medicine at 6.00 a.m., directly following private prayer. This occurs after her visit to York in May 1600, where she consulted with her doctor. In this case, it is more probable that the medicinal treatment began at the time it is recorded. Yet

again, given the succinct nature of the diary, any additions indicate the activity must be recognized as possessing an importance in Hoby's cognitive processes, even if, on the face of it, the activity appears to be banal. In this way the text reveals a process and a site of negotiation between differing versions of self—defined, depicted and explored spatially. Bachelard contends that how one perceives one's spatial practice is a fundamental aspect of the construction of "self." He suggests that the use of topoanalysis provides a valuable method through which to explore the psychology of the individual. Hoby's diary invites just such a topoanalysis as one seeks to understand the ways in which her conception of "self" is revealed through a text heavily constructed of movements in her social space, rather than emotive details of her inner life.

This inner life is revealed even more clearly when Hoby visits her mother's home in Linton and later Newton—and during her trips to York, and visits to London. At these times Hoby records a consistent adherence to her established time-space routines, recreating them as far as possible in environments other than the Hackness estate. Consequently, Hackness and its environs become in the terms of Seamon's argument, "more than locations and space to be traversed" taking on instead the quality of existential insidedness—"a situation" as Semon defines it "in which 'a place is experienced without deliberate and self-conscious reflection yet is full with significances.'"[16] Hoby reveals this "existential insidedness," with the repetition of familiar patterns one could term "Hackness" outside of this specific spatiality.

This can also be clearly seen on her visit to London on October 17, 1600. Immediately upon arriving in London she establishes her familiar time-space routine:

> The :18: *day*
>
> After I was readie, I wrett by our men to Mr. Rhodes then: and then I praied, and talked with my Cosine Cooke that cam to me : after, I praied and dined : after diner I looked upon accountes and wrought some worke : and then I, at night, I praied and so, after supper, havinge provided for the next day, I praied and went to bed. (119)

This is surprisingly similar to a number of Hackness entries, as for an example this one from 1599:

> Wensday 29
>
> After privat praier I reed of the bible and wrought tell dinner time, before which I praied : and, after dinner, I continewed my ordenarie Course of working, reading, and dispossinge of busenes in the House,

> tell after 5:, at which time I praied, read a sermon, and examened
> my selfe : and then, goinge to super, it pleased god to send me ease of
> the tothache wher with I was troubled. Sonne after I went to praers,
> and, after som talk with some of the sarvantes of househould mattres,
> I went to bed. (12)

It is only after these attempts to re-establishing her time-space routine that she begins to experience the city, beginning within the framework of her customary spatial practice. Of course, in London much of this practice has been disassembled, and cannot be authentically reestablished. Instead, Hoby's diary records a performance of remembrance at a moment of necessary transition. Lefebvre explains, "Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of *competence* and a specific level of *performance*."[17]

At the beginning of her stay in London, Hoby almost exclusively restricts her movements about the city to those venues that she "recognizes" spatially. These include the homes of aristocratic families: "I went abroad to vesitt my lady burley and my lady Russill, so that it was allmost night before my Cominge home" (119), and places of worship: "After praier I went to westminster Church … after, I went by water to the blake friers and hard Mr. Egerton" (120).* She also quickly resumes her walks, going to "Mr. Deans Garden, with my Mother, to walke" (124). While these social spaces are obviously not the same social spaces as Hackness, they are an analogous spatiality. Her recording of these in the diary is indicative of behaviors common to individuals when entering a spatiality removed from his/her own spatial routine. Bobby M. Wilson explains:

> Over time, however, through the person's interaction with a number
> of individuals and groups, his role may be no longer differentiated; his
> social space becomes the product of the *generalized other*—i.e.
> extensive reference relationships. The concept of the generalized
> other implies that an individual may be consistent in his thoughts and
> behavior even though he moves in varying socio-spatial
> environments.[18]

Hoby's relationship to space in London reflects this consistency. Her consistent attachment to her habitual spatial practices points to what Seamon

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* A description of one of Egerton's speeches can be found in *The Diary of John Manningham*, ed. John Bruce, *Publications of the Camden Society* os 99 (1868): 101-102.

describes as "the conservative force" inherent in these routines "which may be a considerable obstacle in the face of useful progress or change."[19] Relevant is Wilson's observation that time-space routines, or "mental schemata" provide one with "a coping mechanism."[20] Hoby's visit to London was not a pleasure trip, but an experience fraught with immense emotional trauma. She and her husband were pursuing a suit against parties who invaded their home, and which could be characterized as a rape, as will be discussed later. In addition, the rebellion, trial and execution of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, Hoby's former brother-in-law from her first marriage to his brother, Walter Devereux, also occurred during this visit.[*] Given the already heightened emotional climate surrounding the visit, Hoby's consistency in her spatial practices is even more understandable.

Yet, despite Hoby's spatial conservatism her text does show evidence of the expansion of her initial spatial experience in London, though her cognitive mapping of space is not significantly altered. She begins to "walk" in areas that are more remote and less enclosed than Master Dean's Garden. On December 2 she "walked to the Comune Garden" (127), while on December 16 and several times after this, she "went in a Cotch in to the feeldes (presumed to be either Lincoln's Inn Fields, or the fields of Hampstead) and there walked" (129). At one point she witnesses the pageantry of an official procession through London, "I went to a standinge to see the quene Come to London" (124). She goes to see a "glase house", or glass works, a nascent industry in London, and still a curiosity of Hoby's time (134), and an industry of growing importance for the domestic, with the massive use of glass in the architecture of the period. She also finds occasion to visit the famed Royal Exchange, "I went to the exchange to buy a new years guifte" (132).

Notwithstanding these events, Hoby's text does not show a knowledge of London that one finds in the texts of Isabella Whitney and other women. During her

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[*] Moody characterizes Hoby's remarks concerning the Earl of Essex's plot, and the subsequent trial and execution as "guarded," and that she "barely" refers to them (138 *n*244) However, when compared to her inclusion of other political events throughout the diary, her many entries concerning the Earl are actually quite extensive. Hoby's entry for the rebellion was written after the event. Unusually she writes a single entry which covers January 26-Feb 8 (the day of the rebellion) this entry is written across the entire page for nine lines without Hoby's habitual margin. Mead contends that this rupture in the spatial layout of the text on the page is indicative of strong emotion (Meads 277-278 *n*436). E.M. Tenison, in his discussion of contemporary feelings concerning Walter Devereux, Hoby's first husband, flippantly suggests that Hoby "felt better after hearing" of Essex's death (443). This comment reveals only a very superficial analysis of the text. Tenison is correct in asserting that Essex had been displeased with Hoby because of her hasty second marriage after his brother's death (see *Fortescue Papers* xvi). However, given the general character of Hoby as revealed in the diary, her attitude towards this death cannot be read as gleeful as Tenison asserts. Whatever Hoby's emotions were concerning Essex, her diary clearly shows these emotions were strong.

stay in London she maintains a strict adherence to her habitual spatial practice, which is performed much more conservatively than at Hackness, where there are many more deviations and alterations in her time-space routine. Indeed, in London we see her practice distilled, providing access to the cognitive map through which she creates a protected spatial experience. However, as Wilson asserts, "An individual's behavior in space and the self which expresses and organizes that behavior cannot be viewed as being static, but changing via a complex learning process."[21] Back in Hackness the dialectical, productive quality of Hoby's spatial practice becomes much more apparent. Freed from the constraints of an unfamiliar and emotionally charged spatial situation, Hoby's diary begins to illustrate more clearly a fluid and participatory spatial practice.

II.

Hackness can be termed a locale, as Giddens uses the term, to refer to the use of a space which provides the settings of interactions.[22] A "locale" is a physically bounded area that provides a location for institutionally embedded social encounters and practices. It is a site where a "specific combination of presences and absences, a particular combination of physical resources, a specific conjunction of human artifacts and (or) elements of the natural world" enables and focuses the interactions within the social space.[23] Hoby's diary reveals that Hackness was rich in these "presences and absences" while it records the particular combinations and conjunctions of the natural and the human, revealing practices and interactions that create the "locale." Hoby's participation in the workings of the manor, as well as the surrounding community, helped to shape the character of this locale throughout the time it remained in her possession.

The manor of Hackness, long before Hoby arrived, was once an abbey, donated to St. Hilda of Whitby Abbey. Here St. Hilda established a community of women and also a community of monks to support them. The community was destroyed by Vikings in the ninth century but reestablished in the thirteenth, and was finally disbanded in 1539 by Henry VIII. The Tudor manor house was built on the foundations of the monks' housing, and made from the stones of the abbey. The manor was granted to Robert Dudley in 1563 who conveyed the property to Sir John Constable of Burton Constable in 1564. From the time the monks decamped to the period of Hoby's ownership the manor was administered by officers of non-resident

owners. It was not until 1589, when Arthur Dakins, the Earl of Essex and the Earl of Huntingdon, purchased the property for Hoby upon her first marriage to Walter Devereux for £6500, that Hackness had a resident and participatory owner.[*]

Because of Hoby's administration, the implications for this "locale" were profound. It seems likely from what little is known of her first two marriages that the estate was primarily her concern and under her control from the beginning of her ownership. She consistently refers to Hackness and its constituent parts as "hers," going so far as to differentiate in her diary between her workmen and those of her third husband, Thomas Posthumus Hoby. It appears that Hoby's first husband, Walter Devereux, spent little time at Hackness, being often in the company of his brother, Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex. Within weeks, or even days of her marriage to Devereux, he is recorded as being aboard the ship the *Swiftsure,* accompanying Essex on an unauthorized mission to join the fleet on a voyage to Portugal.[†] He arrived back in England sometime in July, an absence from his new bride, and Hackness, of nearly four months.[24] He left again to join Essex on an ill-fated French expedition in 1591, where Devereux was reported to be in Dover with the force no later than the 28th of July[25]. Devereux met his death in France on that expedition. During their two and a half year marriage there is documentary evidence that Hoby's husband was abroad for at least six months. Aware of the close relationship between Essex and his brother, Christopher Hatton wrote to Essex after Devereaux's death, urging him not to allow grief to move him to a suicidal action in prosecution of Essex's military duties.[26] Because of this close relationship it is reasonable to assume Devereux spent even more time away from Hackness at court and in the company of his brother than has been recorded. Indeed, Henry Hastings, Lord Huntingdon, who was Hoby's guardian, chided Devereux for his long absences, entreating "that your good wife, for so I may rightly term her, may receive that comfort of your coming to her, as in right, and by her desert is due unto her."[27] After Devereux's death at the siege of Rouen in 1591, Hoby quickly married Thomas Sidney, but he also appears to have spent periods away from Hackness. Robert Sidney wrote to his wife in April of 1594 that he and his

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[*] Dorothy Meads discusses the history of Hackness on page 3. A detailed account of this history is also to be found in A. Hamilton Thompson's article, "The Monastic Settlement at Hackness," in the *Yorkshire Archeological Journal,* 27 (1924) 388-407. Hackness is also mentioned in a survey dated June 29-October 3, 1563 of the "lands of Lord Robert Dudley, made by John Dudley and others" (Bath Longleat Manuscripts 167).

[†] John Gough Nichols recounts that William Camden believed Essex risked the anger of the Queen in sailing out on the *Swiftsure* to meet the fleet. He is said to have felt a sense of duty to support the colonels and captains of the expedition as they had been preferred to their positions by his brother, Walter Devereux. See Thomas Coningsby, "Journal of the Siege of Rouen, 1591" 67 *n*5.

brother would soon arrive at Penshurst in Kent. There is no mention of Hoby accompanying her husband.[28]

Hoby's administration, her consistent and continual presence and her involvement in the community largely produced the social space of the Hackness manor of the period. She actively promoted her religious views, reading to the good wives, counseling both men and women of the community, inviting visiting clerics and encouraging and supporting local clerics. She knowledgeably managed the agricultural business of the manor, and was consulted by others in the community on matters of husbandry. She served as the primary source of medical care for those on the estate. She also maintained a large network of social connections from "old mother Pat" to Lord Thomas Cecil, Second Baron Burghley, First Earl of Exeter and President of the Council of the North, creating a sort of social nexus for her community; she was the link connecting the most humble persons to one of the most powerful members of the realm. In considering these activities it becomes obvious that through her interaction the social space of Hackness was recognizably different than that which had existed before her arrival.

Indeed, by 1595 her own topographical integration with the manor and its environs can be attested to by decisions taken after the death of her second husband, Thomas Sidney. Unfulfilled conditions of the purchasing of the manor led to a lawsuit challenging Hoby's ownership and played an important part in Hoby's decision to marry Thomas Posthumus Hoby.[29] She had strongly rejected this suitor initially. Rowland Whyte's letter to Robert Sidney, Thomas's brother, makes her initial distaste for the marriage clear: "They say your sister Sydney takes your brother's death very heavily … Sir Posthumus Hobby is gon to see her, with my Lord of Huntingdons letters of commendation and others, but 'tis thought she will give no eare unto it."[30] A month later Whyte informs Sidney that Thomas Hoby had again visited the young widow, where she responded by saying: "she is in substance much worse than when she knew your brother."[31] Edward Stanhope accompanied Thomas Hoby for his first visit to Hoby at a manor in Hull where she had retreated after the death of Thomas Sidney. Stanhope records in a letter to the Earl of Huntingdon,

> I found her layde complayninge of payne in her eyes and heade, which
> I founde to proceede of great lamentacion for the losse of the worthy
> gentleman her late husbande, for she coulde not thene speak of him
> without teares … the tender love she bare to him that was dead, made
> yt grievous to her to hear of any newe.[32]

Hoby's reception of her suitor was characterized as "some few repulses" by his own account written on the 20th of November 1595.[33] She even wrote to her former guardian, Huntingdon, of her wish to decline Thomas Hoby's suit, to which Huntingdon replied on the 9th of December, "He does not beleeve that you wyll geve such a denyall as your letter mentioneth."[34]

Unfortunately, the death of the Earl of Huntingdon just five days later left Hoby in a vulnerable position. The new Earl of Huntingdon claimed Hackness for himself and commenced a chancery suit. In the light of the possible loss of Hackness, Hoby was advised by Edward Stanhope, "if you would so farr use your faithfull servant Sir Thomas as dyrect him by your appointment to trye his credytt with my L. Threr. [William Cecil, Lord Burghley, married to Thomas Hoby's aunt] for you, I know his Lp. may sway the matter wholly."[35] Rather than lose the estate, a spatiality in which she was thoroughly invested by this time, she chose to marry a man who, by many accounts, was not a particularly attractive choice.[36] George Carew wrote to Thomas Roe, noting upon the death of Thomas Hoby's elder brother Edward, that Edward Hoby "hathe lefte his bastard sonne his heyre, nott so much as once remberinge his brother Sir Thomas Hobye with any thinge which he could take from him."[37] In addition, Hugh Cholmley identified Thomas Hoby as one of the "crosse accydents" of his father's life, decribing him as "a troblesome vexatious neighbour one Sir Thomas Hoby who haveing married a widow the inheritor of all Hackness lordship haveing a full purse noe children, and as it was thought not able to get one, delighted to spend his mony and tyme in sutes."[38]

Hoby's choice to marry this less than idyllic husband was not unusual in this circumstance. Anne Clifford also contracted her second marriage with Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, in order to reclaim possession of lands through which she defined herself. This marriage puzzled and amazed Clifford's friends and relatives and indeed the editor of her diaries, D.J.H. Clifford.[39] Yet, Anne Clifford's comments make it clear that this marriage to a favorite of Charles I was contracted in the hope that his connections would further her decades-old pursuit of the Clifford lands, left away from her by her father,

> On the 3rd Daie of June ... I marryed ... my 2nd Husband, Philip
> Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Ld Chamberlain of the
> King's Howsehold and Knight of the Garter; he being then one of the
> greatest subjects in the kingdom ... This 2nd marriage of myne was
> wonderfullie brought to pass by ye Providence of God for the

> Crossing and disappointing, the envie, malice and sinster practices
>
> of my Enemyes.[40]

These enemies were her uncle and cousin whom she believed to be in illegal possession of her lands. Like Anne Clifford, Hoby contracted marriage to Thomas Posthumus Hoby in order to remain in possession of the manor, maintaining the spatial connections which had come to define her identity. After Hoby's marriage to Thomas Posthumus Hoby she continued to manage the non-political business of the manor, taking in rents, supervising and managing agricultural business, as well as supervising and participating in the more traditional household duties assigned to women, as her daily diary entries attest. This husband was also frequently absent from the estate, involving himself with parliamentary duties, administration of local justice, and other political positions and duties as they presented themselves.[41] Hoby's habitation of Hackness, and the choices she made to maintain her possession of the estate, can be seen as not only participating in the production of a social space, but in the creation of a spatial being.

This process of creating a spatial being, of developing a personal geography of place, is revealed though what Pred describes as "production, distribution and consumption practices ... interwoven by human movement along the ground and through seconds, minutes." He contends that to trace one's daily paths is to construct one's personal geography.[42] This construction of a spatial being develops in conjunction with the habitus in which the individual resides. Pierre Bourdieu describes "habitus" as a generative and unifying principle which retranslates the intrinsic and relational characteristics of a position into a unitary lifestyle, that is, a unitary set of choices of persons, goods, practices.[43] Consequently, the production of a habitus is dependent upon the relationship between individuals and groups within a locale. In this way, all knowledge, including knowledge of the self, results from "the particular habitus used to generate practices and monitor, interpret, reconstruct and ultimately confirm them."[44] Bourdieu makes clear the relationship between the individual and the habitus within which the individual functions: "As an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted, the habitus engenders all the thoughts, all the perceptions, and all the actions consistent with those conditions and no others."[45] Clifford Geertz also discusses the uniqueness of one's habitus: "the shapes of knowledge are always ineluctably local, indivisible from their instruments and encasements."[46] Indeed at least some of the characteristics of Bourdieu's habitus would have been recognized in

the early modern period under a different term, that of a "house." Thomas Smith, in his *De Republica Anglorum*, written from 1562 to 1565, defines a "house" as "the man, the woman, their children, their servauntes bonde and free, their cattell, their housholde stuffe, and all other things, which are reckoned in their possession, so long as all these remaine togeather in one."[47] Thomas Tusser rhymes it similarly, "so household and housholdrie I doe define,/ for folke and the goodes that in house be of thine."[48] Both these writers go on to describe the multiplicit relations through which this social space is defined, approximating in many ways that sense of place described by the term habitus.

Hoby's text, in its illustration of a time-space routine interwoven in the constraining and enabling web of her "house," reveals a particular habitus. Their role in forming Hoby's personal geography can be explored through examining the "totality of fragments" which comprise the manor of Hackness. The manor of Hackness was made up of a Tudor manor house, two hundred messuages (tenement and small property leases) and four mills, along with land in "Silpho, Suffielde, Everle., Hacknes Dale, Harewoode Dale, Brexay, Burneston, Huton Bushell, and Ayton, also the rectory and advowson of the vicarage of Hacknes" church.[49] It is located in the North Riding of Yorkshire, approximately five miles west of Scarborough. It sits at the foot of two moorland valleys, Lowdale and Highdale. Effectively the Tudor manor house would have sat in a bowl surrounded by field and moorland ascents, with the river Derwent flowing past (fig. 5-1). The village church, St. Peter's, was positioned quite close to the manor house,* a short walk for Hoby. A seventeenth-century painting of the house and environs shows several cottages lining the street adjoining the church (fig. 5-2). The house itself was built in the traditional form of many provincial manors. It had two symmetrical wings placed at each end of the building, creating an outer courtyard, which was enclosed in the front by a low wall. The house also had an inner courtyard, as well as gabled additions jutting out in right angles on both sides of the wings. The picture shows substantial outbuildings. Nicolas Cooper notes the exterior of houses of the period "made a visual equation between house and household, and between status, function and order. [50] These "public statements" would have been easily read by the inhabitants living in buildings and cottages nearby, with a clear view of the manor house–the manor house, in turn

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* The Tudor manor house was demolished in 1798 after the completion of the eighteenth-century building which remains today.

Figure 5.1: Hackness, Yorkshire. (The Tudor manor would have been in the middle of this picture, directly in front of the "new" Hall. St. Peter's church is in the clump of trees to the left, the top of the spire is barely visible.)

Figure 5.2: Seventeenth-century painting of Hackness Hall, Hackness estate. [51]
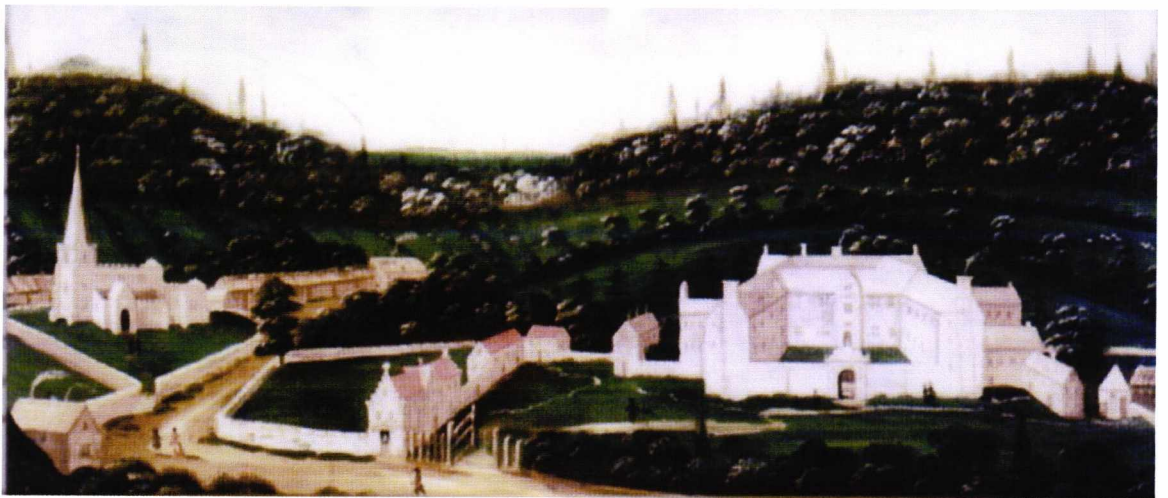
dominating the social space of the village.

This manor of Hackness clearly functions as more than simply a stage where Hoby played out the actions of her life. Her diary reveals a complex relationship to her locale. Pred contends that this relationship developed and was maintained, through "the bodily interweaving of a multiplicity of structuring processes that are simultaneous and yet of varying geographical extent and temporal depth." This involves "bodily circulation, from activity to activity, within a multi-layered configuration of institutionally based power relations ... within an assemblage of partially overlapping yet distinctly identifiable interaction networks."[52] As Bachelard notes, and Hoby's diary attests, "inhabited space transcends geometrical space."[53] Her writings are replete with evidence of bodily circulation, particularly her own, and situate this circulation within the locale she inhabits. Through this record of Hoby's circulation within a particular social space power relations are revealed, networks delineated, and Hoby's personal geography emerges.

It is useful to begin the examination of Hoby's habitus by first considering the interior spaces of the household. Her diary reveals this house through her recordings of bodily movements. Houses are "read with the body, in and through the movements and displacements which make the space within which they are enacted as much as they are made by it."[54] Bernard Jajer agrees:

> To enter a building means to come under the sway of a certain choreography and at the same time to become the subject of a certain disclosure. Like a certain bodily attitude, a building opens a particular world of tasks, outlooks, and sensibilities ... To enter and come to inhabit a place fully means to redraw the limits of our bodily existence to include that place.[55]

Hoby's diary allows a reader to track the choreography of her movements in the inner spaces of the house, as well as to ascertain the power-geometry imbedded within the spatiality. Hackness Hall had the traditional ground floor hall, and a great chamber above, which was approached through the grand staircase leading from the hall (as court documents during the Eure case reveal.)[56] An estate survey reveals other rooms in the building, including bed chambers, two kitchens, a buttery, pantry, brew-house, bake-house (pasterie), other service rooms and outbuildings.[57]

During this period, the great chamber replaced the hall as the space of social interaction for the upper classes, creating a physical as well as symbolic boundary

between those who served and those who were served (fig. 5-3).[58] Cooper

recounts a pretty story of the courtship of Elizabeth Willoughby, carried out in the

great chamber.[59] In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* the preparations of the artisans

reveal that the Duke of Athens will hold the wedding entertainments in the great

chamber.[60] By this period, the great chamber had become the ceremonial center of

the household.[61] This was a space that proclaimed the status of the family through the

use of elaborate decoration denoting heritage and family/personal mythos. The great

chamber at Gilling proclaimed the familial connections of the Fairfax family.[62] The

"High Great Chamber" at Hardwick Hall, with its magnificent frieze depicting the

adventures of Diana, asserted Elizabeth Shrewsbury's connection with Queen

Elizabeth (fig. 5-4).[63] Lieutenant Hammond describes the great chamber at

Kenilworth as "fretted above richly with Coats of Armes, and all adorn'd wth fayre,

and rich Chimney Peeces, of Alablaster blacke Marble, and of Joyners worke in

curious carv'd wood"[64] While Hoby does not describe the great chamber at

Hackness, she certainly records it as a site for privileged activities. One afternoon,

"Mr. Hoby, Mr. Rhodes, and my selfe, talked of maters Concerninge the good of the

paritioners" in the great chamber (60).[*] Hoby records the visits of many gentry

neighbors. It is likely the these visitors were entertained in the great chamber.

William Eure, in a letter, relates that his party went into the great chamber, where "Sir

Thomas came to us."[65] Robert Nettleton, one of the serving men at Hackness, reveals

that public prayers were "usually said in the great chamber morning and evening."[66]

At Hackness, the bed chambers of Hoby and her husband, and gentry

household members were also in the upper stories of the house. William Eure's letter

makes clear that Hoby's chamber was reached through an intermediary chamber off

the great chamber. Hoby records many activities occurring in this relatively private

spatiality. She often records being "busie" in her chamber. Here Mr. Rhodes reads to

her, and she retreats for private prayers. When she is ill she remains in her chamber.

Beyond this room was an even more private space of the closet.

Hackness, like other houses of the period, included these small rooms off

private chambers which allowed greater privacy for individual family members.

Sasha Roberts explains that "closets were usually found leading off the bedchamber,

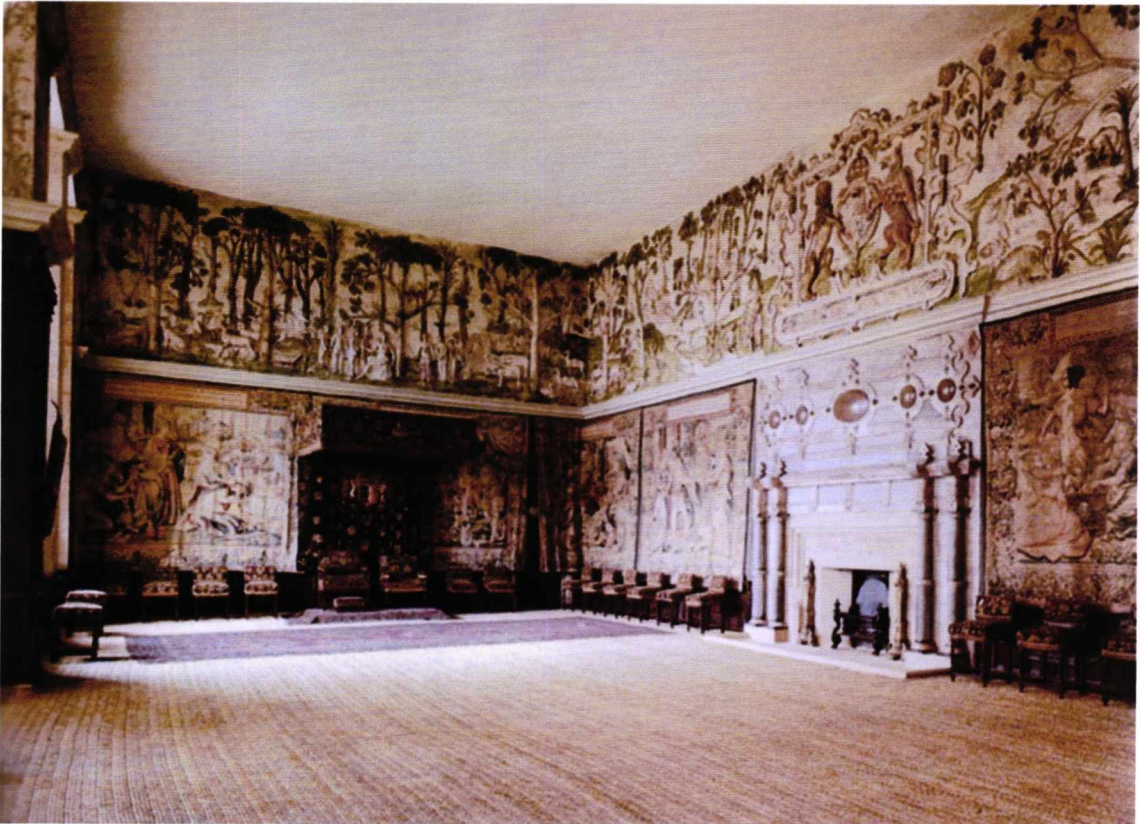or perhaps secreted into walls and passages: among the accounts for improving York

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[*] In the diary Hoby uses term "the chamber" to describe the great chamber, and "my chamber" to
delineate her own private bed chamber.

Figure 5-3: Great Chamber, Sutton House, 1535 Hackney, London.

Figure 5-4: "High Great Chamber," Hardwick Hall, 1597 Derbyshire.

House in 1607, for instance, are payments 'to make a little closset in the passage for the Lady francis.'"[68] Hoby uses her closet as a private and privileged space. Her list of activities performed there include: private examination and prayer (46), writing (59,105), 'ordringe thinges' and taking note of things in her closet (95, 100, 101,115). At one point she records a retreat into her closet as a private refuge from marital disharmony, as will be discussed later.

The diary entries reveal a subtle distinction between different modes of work and worship, which are inscribed in the social spaces of the "house." Certainly, a physical separation between the above and below-stairs activities was developing in aristocratic houses throughout England. In these upper spaces Hoby entertains the many guests and "strangers" of her class who visit her, sometimes playing her lute-like orpharion (56). It is also in these above spaces that "genteel" household tasks take place. This is where Hoby and her maids "wrought" the tapestries and needlework which adorn these spaces of privilege, participating in its production through this signification of status. Hoby and her mother air linen in the upper chambers (125). The "above" with its tapestries, furnishings, "stately ascent," and "gentle" activities is marked symbolically as a place of social exclusion. Access to this area increasingly came to translate into greater power for those who possessed this access. In this way the upper floors of the house gained a heightened status.[69]

In contrast, Hoby's entries also illustrate the growing sense of "below" as a space of work and service. She speaks of being "befowe [sic] with my maieds busie" (42), while on another occasion she notes, "I wend downe upon occasion of busenes, and, after, came up and wrett in my bible notes" (56). In this case the entry displays a conscious assignment of the upper reaches of the house as places of spiritual, intellectual, and artistic endeavors, the lower as places of work. At times she does bring her Bible down to the kitchens, but this is to instruct those individuals who are not eligible by status to receive the Word in the upper stories of the house.

These lower stories at Hackness are mainly concerned with the business of running the estate. The most grand room on the ground floor at Hackness would have been the "Great Hall" (fig. 5-5). Again, William Eure noted that his party entered the house through the hall (242). Eure expected to be greeted here by servant members of the household, demonstrating the way in which the hall, during late Tudor times, was increasingly used as a grand entry. In a busy manor like Hackness, the hall was often

Figure 5-5: Great Hall, Knole, Kent [70]

**Figure 5-6:
Elizabethan
Kitchen,
Burghley House,
Nottinghamshire.** [71]
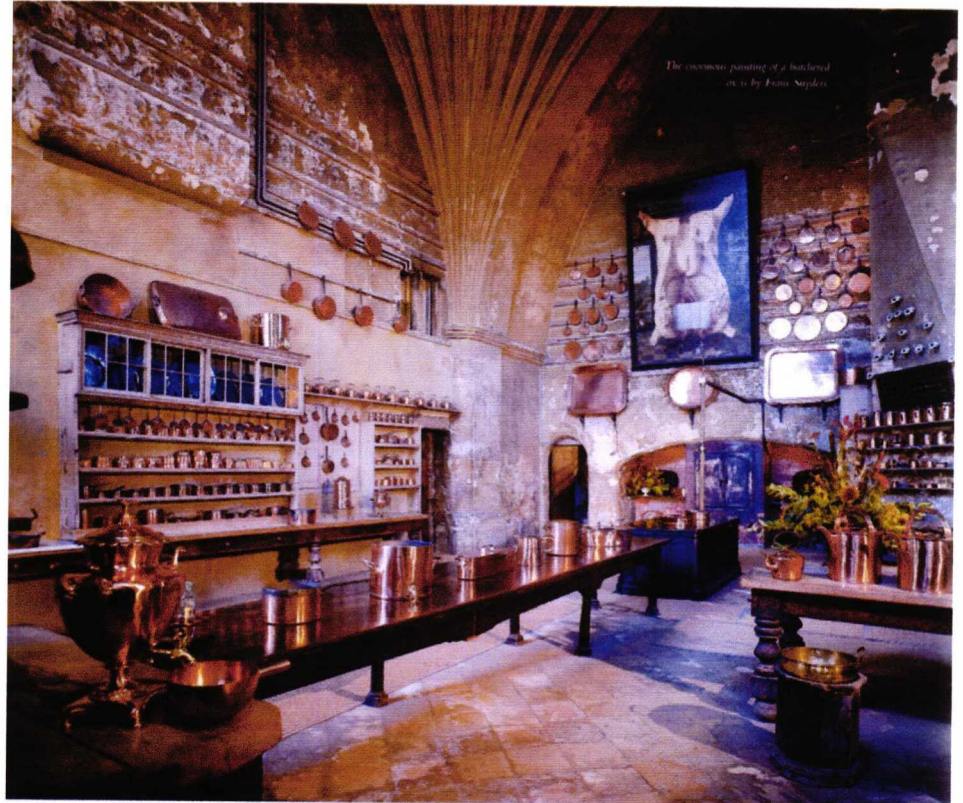
used for estate business. One can reasonably guess that the manor court proceedings which Hoby mentions were held in the hall—"I was busie in the house, havinge manie strangers, because of the Courte" (158). It is also likely that Hoby receives rents in the hall (27, 116), as well as pays wages there (167). On one memorable occasion, the family prayers, usually conducted in the great chamber, were conducted in the hall. However, this unusual shift of venue was the result of chaotic interference in the usual routine of the house, resulting in the disruption of the time-space routine as will be discussed.

Beyond the hall a number of service rooms were located on the ground floor and in outbuildings, as the estate surveys suggest (fig. 5-6). Hoby lists several of these spaces specifically including the kitchen (28, 47), the pasterie (or bakehouse) (154), and the stilling room (104, 166). Other spaces can be inferred from the sorts of activities she performs: spaces for making medical remedies (99,112, 143), rending oil (101), dyeing wool (32, 70, 146), and practicing medicine (58, 59,161). Hoby records activities in the kitchen where she makes gingerbread (44), sweetmeats (104,107), and preserves fruit (26,27, 56, 66, 105, 194). It also becomes clear that the "below" spaces are not only reserved for household tasks, but for activities more social and communal in nature including charitable activities and religious education. On Christmas Eve of 1599 she records "served divers poore people with wheet and beeffer, then was busie in the kitchin untell .5 a Clock" (47). December 27, 1599 Hoby's entry reads "after, to supper, then into the kitchine wher beinge and with good talke [religious matters] spent the time tell :10: a Clock" (48). She also records practicing medicine in these spaces, providing a salve for a poor woman (112), and being consulted on the matter of a sick beast (143). She performs an operation on a baby "who had no fundement" (161), as well as dresses the wounds of the poor and the household members at Hackness. In this way, Hoby can be seen to be replacing the services to the community lost when the abbey of Hackness was dissolved. Many elite women of the period were involved in local medical treatment, serving as an important means of medical care for many. In 1633, the Edinburgh minister, Archibald Johnston called in Lady Currihil when his wife fell ill.[72] Grace Mildmay maintained an extensive correspondence with medical men on the identification and treatment of illnesses, treating many in her locale.[73] Like these two women, Hoby provided a necessary medical service to the community. While she often consults a

doctor in York for the treatment of her ailments, lower status inhabitants of the area turned to her for their medical needs.

Through the examination of both above and below activities, the diary reveals a growing differentiation between those rooms above—the great chamber and the private family rooms—and those below, the hall and service rooms, which was occurring throughout England at the time. However, Hoby's diary also illustrates the overlapping and interaction networks. At Hackness, the many fragments of social space are shown to be interdependent, and contribute to the creation of Hackness, as a habitus or a "house." Hoby's depiction of this habitus reinforces Shirley Ardener's general contention, "that space reflects social organisation, but of course, once space has been bounded and shaped it is no longer merely a neutral background: it exerts it's own influence."[74] At Hackness the spatial practices reveal this. Hoby has access to all spaces of the house; this fact demonstrated through her often-used phrase, "I went about the house." However, others of the household are constrained to accommodate their time-space routines to the will of Hoby or her husband, Thomas. This recalls Herrmann's observation that maximum power has been achieved when one can dispose of the space of others.[75] Buttimer comments, "places and spaces (areas, nodes, pathways, edges) assume spatial dimensions that reflect the social significance they have for those who use them."[76]

The only space of social intercourse available to all members of the Hackness household are the ceremonies of public prayer in the great chamber. This daily event reflected the Puritan values of Hoby and her husband, which promoted an equality in spirituality that was not afforded individuals in their social roles. Ardener terms these spatial relationships based on hierarchies or other ranking patterns as "social maps" which are realized "on the ground" by the placement of individuals in space.[77] Hoby's diary shows evidence of this social mapping in its depiction of the disposition of interior space. It reveals a growing practice amongst elite households, which Roberts explains resulted in the "increasing specialization of space in the elite house [making] it a complex domain, with different thresholds of communal and personal, private and public space."[78]

At Hackness, Hoby sets up the terms for negotiating the complexities of her particular "house." She both "works" with her maids upstairs designing and executing textile arts, while in the kitchens and work rooms below she dyes wool, makes candles, and produces other domestic products with her maids. Hoby delineates areas of access for these maids, their movements between places within the

house directed by Hoby, while she exhibits her independent agency, constantly crossing all areas of the house. In this way, Hoby maintained a continual presence throughout the house. In worship, as well as work, Hoby translates upstairs activities into downstairs activities. By bringing down her Bible into the kitchen, she invites, and perhaps compels, those relegated to below-stairs to participate the mode of Christian worship she favored, creating an interesting connection between worship and space. Her diary records this religious instruction was also provided to lower status members of the wider Hackness community, extending Hoby's ministry in St. Peter's church nearby, and later further a field in the little chapel at Harwood Dale, built by Thomas Hoby after the death of his wife, with money she had set aside for this purpose. By transporting of a material object, a Bible, from the intimate space of her closet into the kitchen where those from the wider community came to listen to her speech, Hoby extends her influence beyond her immediate household into the greater locale. At the same time Hoby reinforces a social/space demarcation. She may talk of religious subjects both above and below stairs, but the social status of the hearer determines where this goodly conversation takes place. Beyond simply responding functionally to the social spaces of her "house," Hoby translates and adapts upstairs activities into downstairs activities. Yet her actions are more than simply functional. Instead the diary reveals Hoby as both a proprietor and a negotiator of the complex of social space inherent in the early modern household.

Hoby participates in activities located outside the house in a similar manner. While the exterior spaces of the manor present a more mutual and participatory engagement between the gentle and serving groups, Hoby's diary again asserts her role as administrator of these spaces. Hoby actively participates in the creation and maintenance of agricultural activities in this space. Her diary records her involvement in every phase of agricultural production. She records, "I was busie, some time at the plowers," while the next day she records, "I exercised my selfe as I was accustomed, and had sowen of Rye :5: pecks" (165). Later she "was buseed about settinge some wheat," and then goes on to "settinge Corne" (165). During the growing season she walks "abroad to some hay"(157), she also walks to see the wheat (163). She participates and directs the harvest work and ceremony. On July 8, 1600 she participates in a haymaking supper, going "in to the feeldes, wher I did eate my supper with my Mother and other freindes" (97). Later in the week one senses an urgency when inside activities are abandoned, and Hoby "went about the house & gott all out to the hay" (97). Another time she "walked to same haymakers" (160). She

records preparing rooms for the corn harvest (159), receiving the corn into its place of storage (34), and working in the granary (6,17). She undertakes to hire millers in this final phase of grain production (164, 164 *n*184).

The "locale" of Hackness is further defined by other activities Hoby directs. She "went abroad with my Maides that were busie pullinge hempe" (157). She keeps bee hives: "then I went to take my Beesse … then I went to se my Honnie" (13). She spends several hours, to entire days in her garden—"I went into my Garden, and was their busie tell 5 a clok … all the day I was busie in the Gardin" (80, 211). Hoby also participates in wool production at the manor, the production of which has interesting connections to interior spaces and the kinds of "work" done in these spaces. She records involvement again in all phases of the process. She clips wool and weighs wool (64, 217). She shows her knowledge of livestock when she advises her male cousin Dakins on the purchase of sheep (152). She also checks with one of her farmers on the sale of sheep (148). These "outside" activities are continually integrated to the "inside" spaces of Hackness. The garden Hoby tends not only provides foodstuffs, but also flowers and herbs to improve the atmosphere of interior spaces, as well as herbs for the treatment of illnesses. The production of wool moves from the outside spaces, to the inside of the house through the act of dyeing and spinning of the wool. The dyeing Hoby notes, is done below-stairs, while the spinning was a more elite activity. Hoby records buying two spinning wheels in London and often notes spinning with her maids above-stairs. Indeed, most of the outdoors activities have direct connection to those inside the house. In addition to producing goods for consumption, outdoor work would also be translated into wages and other forms of monetary exchange. Many of the products of Hackness are taken to the local market, or "faire" (82, 215). This income, would in turn, support the activities of the house.

Hoby's diary records the ways in which her bodily interactions within her environment function to create and maintain the interior and exterior social spaces of Hackness. Hoby's social space, as with all social spaces according to Bourdieu, is produced by this interaction, creating the locales of Hackness.[79] This returns us to Bachelard's topoanalysis where subjectivity can be revealed through one's relationship to social space. Hoby's diary does just this. In it she discloses a deep connection to the environment. Buttimer contends, "most life forms need a *home* and *horizons of reach* outward from that home. The lived reciprocity of rest and movement, territory and range, security and adventure, housekeeping and husbandry,

community building and social organization—these experiences may be universal."[80] Christopher Tilley agrees:

> People routinely draw on their stocks of knowledge of the landscape and the places in which they act to give meaning, assurance and significance to their lives. The place acts dialectically so as to create the people who are of that place … They give rise to a power to act and a power to relate that is both liberating and productive.[81]

Hoby's actions reveal this dialectical relationship; illustrating the ways that participation in a locale both produces the locale and significantly influences the subjective being who is the agent of this production. Hoby's diary illustrates this relationship revealing a consistent and participatory experiencing of her locale. As previously mentioned, walking is an integral part of Hoby's time-space routine. She walks into the fields with her maids (82, 107, 151), with her husband (165), with her mother (167) and with friends (93). She takes her coach and goes out for a drive when her health, the weather, or her mood requires (16, 45,48, 95, 109). She rides her horse "abroad" (80, 84, 91). In addition to these "customary exercises," Hoby visits a wide number of households. Some of this visitation is charitable. She "visits Munkman's wife" who is mentally ill (200). She attends the bedside of Master Proctor who is near death (158). She calls on a sick man at Birstall (17), and visits the elderly Mother Pat (151). Her visitations throughout the area reveal a sense of "community building." She attends several births, going to "awiffe in travill of child" (6). She takes her coach to attend Mrs. Dawnay's lying in (79). Twice she attends cousin Boucher's wife (171, 203). She also records attending her cousin Isons wife during her travail (177).

Hoby's "intersections" in space include the recreational activities that also contribute to community building, and the creation of "locale." She goes to a "faire" and buys "divers things" (82), often in the company of friends (215). She dines at a network of houses in nearby communities, visiting Seamer, Newton, Trutsdale and Eaton. She attends religious services in various churches in the neighborhood, including the church at Wintringam (153, 192) and at Weaverthorpe (153). Hoby goes to Scarborough with friends (94), and on one occasion enjoys a boating expedition (203). Her movements around the larger Yorkshire community create connections between the locale of Hackness and a larger locale made up of connections between aristocratic families. These visits serve as important connections to the wider hierarchical "power-geography" of Elizabethan England, for

as Pred reminds us, "Locales are nested within locales, or are hierarchically organized and differentiated."[82] Hoby goes to Malton to see Lady Eure (97), a member of a powerful Yorkshire family. She goes to Snape, and to King's Manor in York, homes of the 2nd Lord Burghley, Thomas Cecil, and his wife, Dorothy Neville. She visits "Master Vauans house, at byland Abie" (183). Indeed, many of her trips to York serve to maintain connections with important families in the Yorkshire region.

Hoby's choice to record these varied, but often repetitious movements in social space, possess a ritualistic quality. Each day becomes an enclosed time-space within which mental as well as physical rituals are performed. In this way the ritual reproduction of this locale functions as a means of continually repossessing space, logging in conscious memory Hoby's physical relationship with Hackness. She asserts her centrality to her community by recording a spatial choreography, revealing the fundamental link between her cognition of "self" and the spatiality she inhabits. More important, the diary becomes a space in and of itself. Like Lanyer's "The Description of Cooke-ham" and Whitney's "To London," the diary posits a representational space, through which Hoby constructs a spatiality dependent upon her presence.

This construction reveals a tension between the daily activities she records as "lady of the manor" and other aspects of Hoby's "self." The diary negotiates between Hoby's depiction of herself as central to the maintenance of her "house," and her need to secure a place of her own, a place where she can find, as Pred terms it, "unguarded moments in which rules may be undermined, unobserved areas where norms may be flouted, times and places sometimes allowing for more full disclosure of the self."[83] These competing constructions of self Hoby sets out in the diary. The diary records few moments where Hoby can be alone, free of constraint, able to exist in her own thoughts. Even though she speaks often of working in her closet, certainly a space delimited as private, the diary records many instances of this space being filled with other presences, Mr. Rhodes, the demands of household business, an unwelcome letter from her husband. The diary reinforces what is known of the placement of the Elizabethan closet, that this most private of interior spaces is connected to the house through a series of gateways. Therefore even in her closet she is still accessible to the greater household. Instead, the only spaces recorded in the diary that allow Hoby a degree of personal autonomy, unconstrained by the various demands upon her as a "lady of the house," are the fields and moors surrounding the Hackness estate. It is only here that she is truly "unavailable" and able to participate

in the "wanderinge Coggetation" (67), she values so highly, without fear of interruption or censure.

The very way in which Hoby describes her sojourns into the fields confirms this. She is not simply out for a stroll in the garden within shouting distance of the house. Instead she often walks several miles, up the ascents of the dales, into fields and moorlands of a challenging physical topography (fig. 5-8). The diary mentions several walks to the dales, including Harwood Dale, a farm over three miles from Hackness, which would have taken her alongside a stream known as Lowdales Beck (146 *n*257). She records on June 29, 1601, that she "walked to the dalls" (153). Again, on July 7th she notes, "In the after none walked to the dals" (155). On several other occasions she records these walks, or more generally simply states that she "walks abroad." That from these walks she is seeking a freedom only available in the unenclosed spaces of the open countryside is confirmed when she writes with irritation, "I did goe about to diverse places wher I find that buseneses hindereth wanderinge Coggetation" (67). In some ways a comparison of this behavior to Charlotte Brontë's description of Emily Brontë's relationship, more than two hundred years later, with the Yorkshire moors can be fruitful: "My sister Emily loved the moors ... She found in the bleak solitude many and dear delights; and not the least and best-loved was—liberty. Liberty was the breath of Emily's nostrils; without it she perished."[84] Like Emily Brontë, Hoby appears to be accessing a space where she can "find liberty" in the words of Charlotte Brontë, or "a more full disclosure of self" as Pred terms it. The constant and insistent inclusion of this activity in the spare prose of Hoby's diary reveals the importance of these walks. Even when Hoby is in London, when one would expect many more interesting entries into the diary, instead one finds Hoby recording her walks in "fields" in the middle of December. By recording her attempts to find environments favorable to "wanderinge Coggetation" during her social visits, her visits to York and even in such alien places as London, Hoby reveals the importance of this solitary activity. The spatial interactions Hoby chooses to record in her diary reveal the tensions implicit in Hoby's construction of identity. Her writing attests to her ongoing desire for the solitude with the need to construct a self defined through her activities as the "lady of the manor." By creating a representational space through the written text of the diary Hoby is able to negotiate the tensions inherent in these competing desires.

Dorothy Meads notes that Hoby's diary reveals her Hackness, as "the centre of

Figure 5-7: Hackness Topography

the neighborhood," involved in "every aspect of life, economic, intellectual, physical and religious."[85] Hoby's text reveals what Buttimer would describe as a synchronized or harmonized lived-space horizon which, "provides a center for one's life interests."[86] That Hackness provided just such a center for Hoby is clear, as her diary entries show. Her diary is rich with the details of her Hackness life, seldom interrupted by entries outside the rhythms of her daily existence and can be described in Lefebvrian terms as a spatial relationship where "from the point of view of these subjects, the behaviour of their space is at once vital and mortal: within it they develop, give expression to themselves, and encounter prohibitions; then they perish, and that same space contains their graves."[87] Indeed Hoby's grave can still be found in the Hackness village church of St. Peter to this day, while "her future resurrection will be to inherit that Eternall habitation in Gods Heavenly Kingdome" her monument proclaims that her "body was intyred in this chancel" (fig. 8)* Her diary creates a representational space through which Hoby self-consciously enacted her relationship in the production of her locale and in the functioning of her "house."

III.

If social space is created through a participatory engagement in the development of a habitus, it is often threatened through crisis. Crises delineate the boundaries of space and also their vulnerability. The defining characteristic of containment, as Paul Hoggett explains, "is that it constitutes some kind of bounded space within which both meaning and anxiety can be held and therefore worked upon." These boundaries can assume many forms, "physical boundaries, time boundaries, social boundaries."[88] In other words, the boundaries of routines, ritual and power all participate in the relationship between the individual and social space, providing the individual with "the basis of the primary social medium which will support us in our humanness. But it will do this only if it proves trustworthy, able to withstand the worst fears we have of it."[89] The ability of Hackness to withstand the "worst fears" is tested in three major crises related in the journal. All involve the disruption of space.

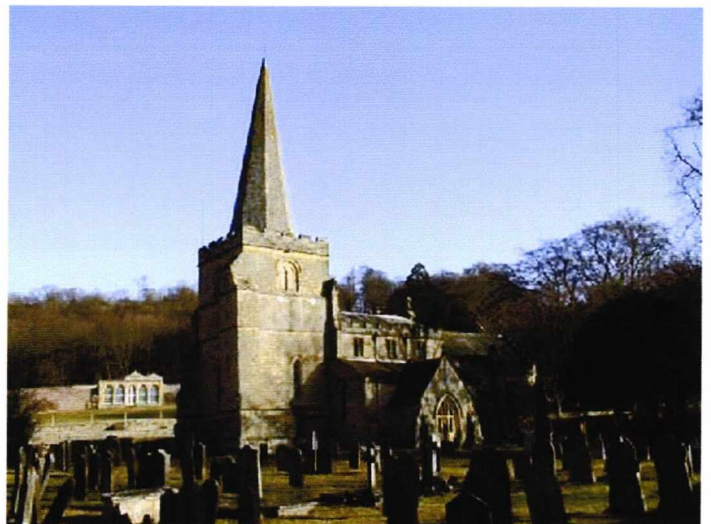* This epitaph is from the Margaret Hoby's monument, St. Peter's Church, Hackness, Yorkshire.

Figure 5-8: Margaret Hoby Monument, St. Peter's Hackness.
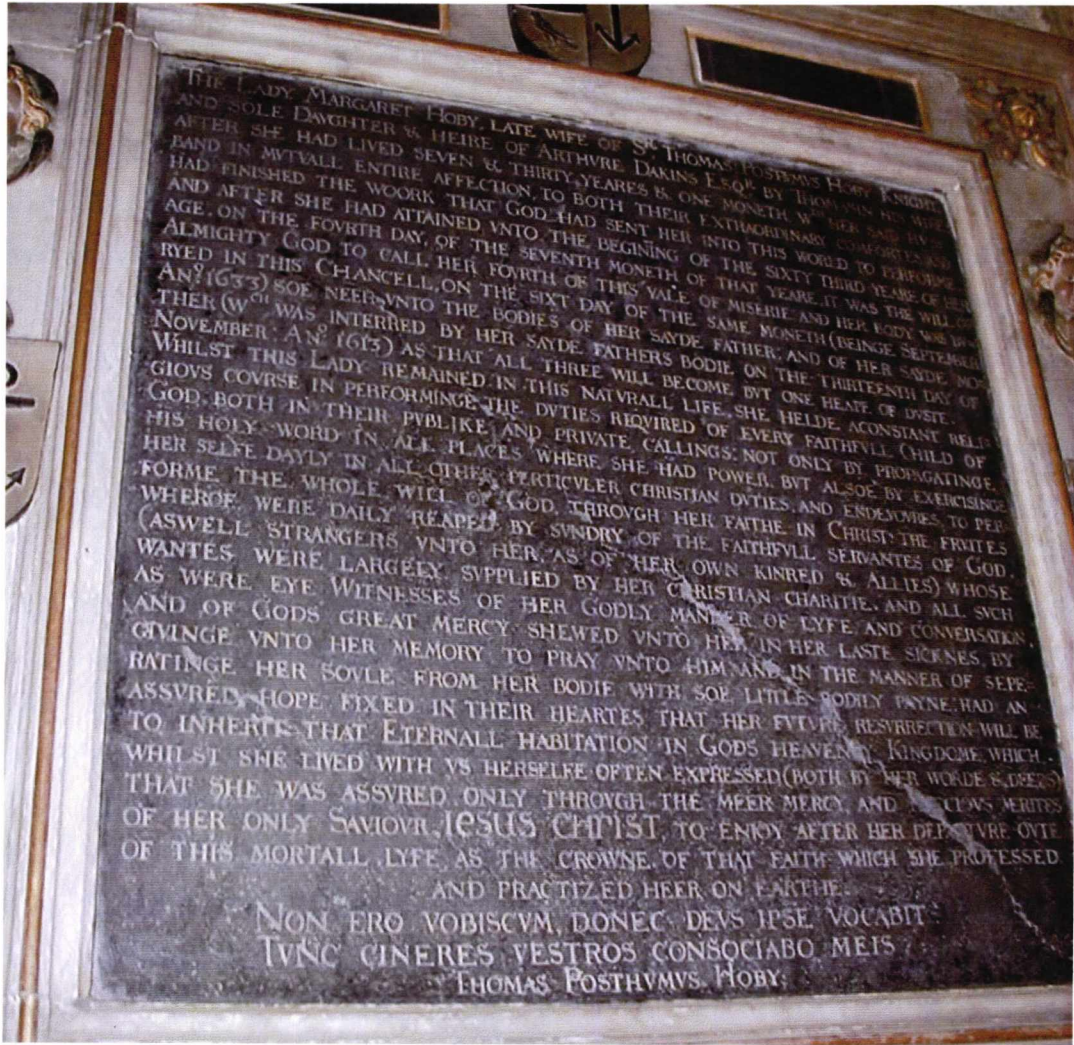
St. Peter's Church, Hackness.

Margaret Hoby Monument

The most dramatic of these crises was the ritual invasion, or charivari of Hackness Hall* by a party of young men from local gentry families including William Eure, Sir William Eure, Richard Cholmley, William Dawnay, William Hylliarde the younger, Stephen Hutchenson and George Smyth, a falconer in the service of Lord Eure, on August 26, 1600.[90] Hoby's initial comments in the journal concerning this event are brief to the point of terseness:

> The 26:
>
> After privat praier I did worke some thinge, and, after, praied and medetated often ; some thinge I did eate, and then did reed, and made provision for som strangers that Came: after I went to privat examenation and praier, then I went to privat [prayer], supper, and after to bed. (108)

What this passage does not reveal to the reader comes out in the testimony of Hackness servingman, Robert Nettleton, who gave in evidence that the party of young men arrived in the evening, Thomas Hoby greeted them; Hoby did not, having retired to her chamber. The reason for her absence given by Thomas Hoby was that his wife was ill, though the diary, which usually records her illness, does not mention her in such a condition. The young men,

> fell to cards in the great chamber … At supper time, his master [Thomas Hoby] keeping them company, Master Stephen Hutchinson drank a health unto his master, and Sir William Eure did drink a health unto his master and to my lady's health: to whom his master replied that, if drinking would make my lady well, he could find it in his heart to drink himself drunk but otherwise, since it would do her no good and himself hurt, he desired them to pardon him, for he would drink but his ordinary. After supper his master went to see each of their lodgings prepared, then came to them again, and finding them still at play, told them that, if they would repair to their chambers, they were fit and he would bring them to their lodging. They, however, desired him to bear with them, for they would play awhile … Sir Thomas then gave order to his servants to go to prayers in the hall … then when they were singing of the psalms, three of the

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* Felicity Heal explains that a charivari, or ritual of humiliation was a popular form of justice, but one which was not generally employed by men within the "honour community," that is men of status (169).

guests' servants came and stood in the hall, laughing and making of
a noise during the whole time of prayers. In the chamber over them
the guests also made a noise, and some coming out to the stairs that
led down into the hall, made a noise with singing of strange tunes.[91]

Hoby, in her chamber, connected to the great chamber through a small
intermediary chamber, certainly heard the drunken and riotous young men close by.
Yet, on the following day she records of the guests only, "After I was readie I spake
with Mr. Ewrie, who was so drunke that I sone made an end of that I had no reasen to
stay for" (108). In fact a much more dramatic scene with profound spatial
implications was taking place. Nettleton's testimony describes a tense scene where
the young men returned to the great hall in the morning:

Some drank healths one to another, beer and wine in plenty being
provided for them … After breakfast the guests made a great noise in
the great chamber with hallowing and shouting, and my lady's
chamber being very near, Sir Thomas sent them word that, if they
would use some other quieter exercise they should be welcome, for
that they did disease my lady.[92]

Upon hearing Hoby named, the young men decided they would go to see her, and
afterwards, "go their way." Hoby sent word that she would see Mr. Eure only after
she was ready, "because she was sickly and kept to her chamber." This answer,
according to Nettleton, seemed to anger young Eure, who exclaimed:

By god thy master sends me such scurvy messages as I care not for
them. I came not for his meat and his drink but to see my lady and
therefore let him send me word what it lies in him and I will pay for it,
and will set up horns at his gate and be gone.[93]

This message was delivered to Hoby and her husband, who was waiting in her
chamber, verbatim by their manservant, Jarden. Thomas Hoby sent back a terse
message telling them to leave or to challenge him.[94] What proceeds next has the
troubling implications of a transgression of boundaries and the worst fears these
produce in an individual:

After this being delivered to Mr. Eure, he being in a little chamber
betwixt the dining chamber [great chamber] and my lady's, he said he
came to see my lady and would see her ere he went, for they were
strong enough to keep that chamber if there came twenty or forty
against them. And Sir William Eure, looking out of a window, seeing

country-men come towards the house, said the country was raised. Whereunto Jarden answered him that they were country people that came to town about a commission ... Sir William replied that he and his company were strong enough to keep that little chamber against all the country ... After this my lady was willing to see Mr. William Eure, who wished the rest of the guests to go forth of that room in to the dining chamber, and Jarden ordered Nettleton to bolt the door after them because my lady would speak only with Mr. Eure. When Nettleton tried to do this, the guests thrust the door open upon him, and took hold of him, and threw him against the table end in the great chamber ... And so they went into that little chamber again, and would not afterward suffer him to bolt the door ... George Smith went forth and fetched his horse, and having pulled up two stiles, passed through a newly leveled courtyard, and trampled it across to and fro, galloping up and down.[95]

Nettleton also testified to seeing four "quarries" of glass broken in one window in his master's dining chamber, which was said to be done with throwing of stones by one of the defendants of their company.[96] Sir Thomas Hoby, in his complaint sent to the Privy Council, elaborates on Eure's parting scene, relating that "coming to the uttermost court, Mr. Ewre said he would go to the top of the hill and fling down mill-stones and would play young Devereux, at the same time throwing stones at the windows and breaking four quarrels of glass."[97]

This household invasion involved the Hobys in a long series of legal actions through which they attempted to restore that virtue of the house, which Bachelard describes as

protection and resistance [given] the physical and moral energy of a human body. It braces itself to receive the downpour, it girds its loins. When forced to do so, it bends with the blast, confident that it will right itself again in time, while continuing to deny any temporary defeats.[98]

As discussed earlier, the early modern conception of "house" was formed of not only the social space Bachelard describes, but also those that dwell within it. Thus, the disruption or violation of one's "house" includes a violation of those within it. Contemporary society of the period exhibited a profound sense of insecurity in relation to their places of abode. Heather Dubrow discusses the variety of threats to

homes in the period, including trespass, and the ways by which this insecurity was revealed in literature of the period.[99] It becomes apparent, both through the legal actions the Hobys pursue as well as the continual references to the incident which appear at regular intervals in the diary, that it is essential to reestablish their social space as one which can "deny any temporary defeats."[100] Certainly, the Eure invasion threatened the stability of the Hackness household. Buttimer discusses the repercussions of such defeats, asserting, "people's sense of both personal and cultural identity is intimately bound up with place identity. Loss of home or 'losing one's place' may often trigger an identity crisis."[101]

The attack, as the description shows, resulted in a temporary loss of "Hackness." The violation of this locale threatened Margaret and Thomas Hoby with a loss of their identity, which was firmly rooted in their possession, legal and physical, of the Hackness estate. As Sir William Eure boasted, these young men were able to hold the house against a crowd of country men. This, claims Thomas Hoby in his letter to the Privy Counsel, was done "to disgrace Sir Thomas Hoby, and force him into a quarrel to save his reputation."[102] They hold the room, and do not allow Jarden to lock them out, or to reassert the Hobys' control of their space. Orlin explains how the door in the early modern period signified "ownership, exclusion and the enclosure and protection of possessions, principally including the wife."[103] That Thomas Hoby cannot control that door, and thereby literally access to his wife, would be profoundly disturbing, creating a sense of insecurity in the household. Indeed the goal of "disgracing" or emasculating Hoby is stated fairly clearly in the references to the "horns." Eure's parting comment introducing the name of Hoby's first husband, Walter Devereux, would also be an oblique challenge to Thomas Hoby's legitimacy as owner of Hackness, as would Eure's insistence that he came only to speak to "my lady," and cared not for the hospitality of Thomas Hoby. Eure would be well aware of the cultural expectations of husbands to protect their house. Thomas Floyd in 1601 asserted that no man is "fit to govern anywhere, or to bear authority that cannot govern his own house."[104] John Dod and Robert Cleaver agree, writing in 1598 that "none will think or believe that he is able to be ruler, or to keep peace and quietness in the town or city, who cannot live peaceably in his own house."[105]

The insults levied against Thomas Hoby during this house invasion were a direct challenge to his attempts to gain influence and power in the neighborhood. He used his marriage to Hoby and her ownership of Hackness to propel himself to a position of regional prominence. In doing this he pursued legal actions which

destabilized and challenged the power structures which favored the established families of the Eures and the Cholmleys. Sir Hugh Cholmley went so far as to term Thomas Hoby his father's "old enemy"[106] The Eure invasion was part of what would continue for decades as a feud involving the power and benefits of spatial control in the area. A letter dated April 15, 1599 from John Ferne to Robert Cecil confirms the enmity which existed in the area. Ferne, hoping to raid and take possession of a house reputed to be the staging place of priests and fugitives, asks for assistance as Thomas Hoby was at that time in London, and no other "assistance for 20 miles" available. He complains that Hugh Cholmley has interfered with the apprehension of recusants, and warns that "revenge against Sir Thomas Hoby" had been threatened.[107]

Indeed the violence surrounding the entering of Hackness in general, and Hoby's chamber in particular, can be seen in the terms of a rape, or ravaging.[108] The breaking into a house, often figured as female, was associated with sexual penetration. Dubrow also suggests that the house can be gendered male as well as female, as metonymic associations between a man and his "house" were common in the period. In this way, the Eure invasion could be seen as not only the ravishment of Margaret Hoby, but the sodomizing of Thomas Hoby as well.[109] Dubrow explains that these illicit spatial incursions contaminate "those edifices with doubt, and the dwelling places in question are exposed as at once representing protection and permeability."[110] She claims that Shakespeare's Sonnet 48, a poem which deals with theft and violation, "is typically less interested in the moment of loss *per se* than in the longterm [sic] processes of anticipating, grieving, combating, and substituting that may be generated by the fear or the realization of loss, processes mimed on formal levels as well."[111]

This purpose of this invasion was certainly to humiliate Thomas Hoby, which explains the pertinacity with which he pursues the suit, refusing to drop it even at the request of Thomas Cecil and the Bishop of Limerick.[112] However Margaret Hoby also shows herself in the diary to be profoundly disturbed and just as determined to seek redress. In this way she demonstrates the process of coming to terms with a violation of self as described by Dubrow. As discussed earlier, Hoby's definition of self was closely connected to her sense of agency and control of the Hackness estate. The invasion threatened this agency, creating deep unease which is registered in the diary. Upon examination of the passage of the diary which records the arrival of the party, Hoby describes them as "strangers." This could not have been literally true. Hoby was well acquainted with the Eure family. She maintained friendly relations

with Lady Eure, William Eure's mother, throughout the period of the diary, recording a visit to her at Malton on September 18, 1599, "I went to breakfast and, sonne after, took my Cocth, [sic] and wente to malton to salute my Lady Ewre, with whom I staied about :2: howers" (18). Hoby's choice of the word "strangers" reveals how very disturbed she was by this incident, denying even in the private pages of the diary any familiarity with the men involved; as if even to name them was in some ways to be complicit with them. If, as Mead contends, there was also the possibility of some emotional attachment, Hoby's oft mentioned "temptation," between Hoby and William Eure, the situation would carry an additional element certain to cause distress.[113] Even without this possibility, the repeated suggestions of cuckolding during the incident would have been a grave insult to the extremely modest and religious woman, exacerbating her feelings of violation. The processes also appear to play an important role in the actions and observations Hoby records in her diary through the next two years as she and Thomas Hoby prosecuted their suit, seeking to combat on that "formal level" the despoliation of Hackness.

One of the first changes one sees in the diary is that Hoby records speaking with her husband more frequently and takes note of his travels when they involve the lawsuit against the Eures. He quickly goes to York to prepare for the lawsuit, when he returns she goes to speak with him as soon as she sees him, her entry betraying a sense of urgency, "when I sawe Mr. Hoby Come home, I talked with him" (111). On October 3 she notes talking to Mr. Hoby "of our buesenes," a term she does not use elsewhere, usually clearly differentiating between the "buesenes" of Thomas Hoby, and her own (115). On October 8 she leaves for London for the case to be heard (116), involving herself in a six month absence from Hackness, as described earlier. Throughout her time in London the case comes up continually, in talks with her husband (119), a lawyer, Mr. Jenkens (126), and her cousin (126). In London the couple runs into the Eures at the home of Thomas Cecil and choose to leave rather than allow themselves to be "provoked" (137). This action again has disturbing spatial implications, as the Eures continue to possess the power to distribute others in space, in this case the Hobys. Once back in Hackness, Hoby notes when members of her household, including her mother, are to be questioned by the court. In addition to events regarding the lawsuit, Hoby mentions several stories involving the transgression of physical boundaries, including most specifically those boundaries of the body. In London she records a conversation with Mr. Jenkins who tells her a story about the rowdy young Goodericke who drew his "Dager and strikinge one before the

Readers, was finded /200^{li}/, expulsed the house, impresoned, bound to the Good behaviour, and injoyned to Confesse his fault and aske pardon in all the Courtes" (126). The detail with which this event is related contrasts with her usual laconic entries and invites the reader to assume this is exactly what she would like seen done with the young men who attacked Hackness. In December 1601 she describes in detail the murder of young Farley by one of his father's servants. This Farley, she recounts, had threatened to kill the servant, and in self-defense the servant,

> havinge a pike staff in his hand, rune him into the eie and so into the brane : he never spoke after : this Judgment is worth notinge, this young man being extreordenarie prophane, as once Causinge a horsse to be brought into the church of god. (174)

Again, Hoby writes in a detail which is unusual for the diary, and foregrounds the concept of justice in this young man's punishment. In late March 1602 she records the condemnation of a man for "plottinge of Harisons Murder and his wiffe" (178). She notes on 8 April "Andrew Harison Died, being a Young man (178).

On the 29th of July the culmination of the lawsuit is a decision in their favor. On this day, she records:

> Came the Lord Ewry his men to Hacknes to pay 100^{li}: wch was appointed them and others to pay, by the Lordes of the prive Counsill in the starr Chamber, for their riott Comitted and unsivill behavour att Hackenes : and so it fell out that, as it was done in the sight of our tenantes, so many of the tenants were bye when the mony was brought: wch I note, as seeinge the Jstuice and mercie of god to his servants in manifestinge to the world, who little regardes them, that he will bringe downe their enemes unto them. (180-181)

As noted earlier, the entries in the diary tend toward brief, unemotional listing. Here she appears to be writing a post script to an event, the details of which she certainly knows, and has no need to enter into a private diary. Again, this is a ritual. She notes that there are several participants in this ritual, the offenders, those offended against, and an audience, significantly the tenants of Hackness manor. The importance of this audience should not be dismissed. Hoby believes the coincidence of the payment arriving at the same day as a gathering of the tenants was divinely appointed, and thus proves divine protection of Hackness. Through this ceremony of restitution, Hoby receives her justice. Boundaries are reestablished and the inviolate nature of

Hackness is reaffirmed. It is worth noting that Hoby does not mention crimes of trespass in the diary again.

Unfortunately the trespass of men is not the only crisis which can threaten social space. The diary records the steady march of plague from London to Hackness. On the 24th of August 1603 Hoby maps the plague in her catalogue of afflicted cities (fig. 5-9) noting that Robert Nettleton came "from York, and tould us that the number of those that died of the plauge at London :124: ; that Newcastill was greovsly veseted w[t] a sore plaug, likewise Hull" later in the week she notes the plague had hit Whitby, less than twenty miles from Hackness. (191) By the 10th of September plague arrives at Hackness village, requiring that she abandon her proposed return to the hall and instead remain with her mother in Newton, further in the country:

> Mr. Hoby and my selfe went to Newton to my Mother, and on
> Saterday the :10: day Came backe from thence to Hacknes, wher we
> hard that one in the towne, havinge binne in Harwoodall at Mr.
> Busshills house whouse childrine were Come from whitbie was fallen
> sicke w[t] :3: of his children more : upon which, fearing the worst, we
> Returned the same night to Newton againe, wher we remaine untill
> god shall please, in mercie, to deall w[t] us. (192)

Again, Hoby finds the necessary human requirement of a protected space most often metaphorically termed "home" is denied her, creating an anxiety which will remain throughout the rest of the journal, even after she is able to return to Hackness. Though King James orders a public holiday and fast on October 4th no rituals or ceremonies can prove effective against this biological transgressor. Instead, Hoby relies on a continual mapping of the ebb and flow of the plague in their community, recording this in her diary and calculating spatially the risks of the disease to her social space.

The third crisis of space, occurring contemporaneously with the plague, is the death of Queen Elizabeth. Hoby records, "The 23 of March: which day the Quene departed this Life" (186). The Queen's death (which actually occurred on the 24th), results in concerns about Thomas Hoby's administrative position in the community. Hoby and her husband respond immediately by traveling to York, but break their

Figure: 5-9: Detail of East Yorkshire from John Speed's map of Yorkshire

journey off when they receive word that the king desires all men to "Continewe" in their places "until all thinges were established" (187). In April they travel again, to York then to London. Here ceremony also plays an important role in establishing a new ruling elite, through placement in space. Ardener describes the way these ceremonies function and their spatial relationship:

> The incorporation of new elements into a space (which involves a breach of the boundary) may thus be accompanied by ceremonies. New members of the House of Commons come before the Bar of the House (a white line, symbolically the boundary), accompanied by sponsors. Students may be matriculated. Such ritual behavior concentrates public attention on the change in attribution, and allows readjustment to the situation."[114]

Hoby records this replacement of one monarch by another through ceremonies that are essentially spatial, physically reassigning bodies to their appropriate place. In the diary she writes, on the 28th day of April "Was our Late gracious Quene buried at wesminster, in that sort as became so great a prince" (189). Anne Clifford gives a more detailed description of this ceremony witnessed by them both, "When the corpse of Q. E. had continued at Whitehall as the Council had thought fit, it was carried with great solemnity to Westminster, the Lords and Ladies going on foot to attend it, my Mother and my Aunt of Warwick being Mourners."[115] In May Hoby records the arrival of the King, "The 7 day, our kinge to London from Tebales [Theobalds]" (189). Again, Anne Clifford enlarges on the event in her diary, "From Tibbalds the King went to Charterhouse, where Lord T. Howard was created Earl of Suffolk and Lord Mountjoy Earl of Devonshire … Likewise created many barons."[116] The plague intervenes at this point in the diary and rather than staying for the coronation, that quintessential ceremony of social space and boundary, the Hobys remove, on the King's orders, first to Kent, then home to Hackness. Hoby records one last ceremonial moment in this transfer of the country from one monarch to another. On her return journey she meets the new Queen at Ashby, remarking, "I kissed the Quenes hand" (190).

The diary records one other conflict which threatened Hoby's relationship with Hackness. This conflict was personal and ongoing, the bitterness of the diary entries on this issue attest to the concern it caused for Hoby. Orlin mentions that shortly after her marriage with Thomas Hoby, he began a campaign to have her

translate her lands, especially Hackness manor, into his name.[117] Meads believes
this to be the subject of the only domestic discord recorded in the diary.[118] On July
16, 1600 Hoby recounts receiving "apaper [sic] that wrought a farther humiliation in
me" from her husband (99). The following day Hoby "wrett an answer to a demand
Mr Hoby had given me over night" (99). During this period Hoby retreats into her
closet, and after giving the letter to her husband records going early to her chamber,
ill, using this private space as a sort of refuge during this period of marital strife.
Despite the obvious grief this dispute causes her, she resists her husband's
importuning for thirty-two years, only transferring her lands to her husband by deed
of settlement in 1632, just over a year before her death. She did this after receiving
assurances that her husband would honor property and financial bequests to her
family—which in the end he did not—the bulk of Hoby's properties ending up in the
hands of her husband's relatives.[119]

      Hoby's reactions to these crises of social space illustrate the ways in which
Hackness provided her with what Ulf Strohmayer terms "A place to be, the I becomes
a harbour hosting desire only to the point at which acts are interpreted as a series of
individual appropriations of specific places in a given context."[120] It is telling that the
last pages of the diary become little more than a record of movements in her social
space, leading one to return to Bachelard's concept of topoanaylisis, for "a society is a
space and an architecture of concepts, forms and laws whose abstract truth is imposed
on the reality of the senses, of bodies, of wishes and desires."[121] Margaret Hoby's
diary gives a glimpse into the way in which one early modern woman participated in
the creation of a locale and the way in which that locale contributed to the creation of
her. Through her diary she reveals a relationship with this space that Bachelard can
only idealize:

> And what a great life it would be if, every morning, every object in
> the house could be made anew by our hands, could "issue" from our
> hands ... Make and remake everything oneself, make a
> "supplementary gesture" toward each object, give another facet to the
> polished reflections, all of which are so many boons the imagination
> confers upon us by making us aware of the house's inner growth.[122]

Or, as Hoby puts it:

> After privat praers I did eate and then went about the house and was
> busie tell dinner time : after, I praed, dined, and after talked with a
> friend of mine : then I went about busenes, and after walked a

fisshinge with a freind that Came to me for that purposse : after, I
Came home and did goe to privat examenation and praier : after, I
went to supper, then walked abroad and, after I had hard the lecture, I
went to bed. (87)

[1] Allan Pred, "The Social Becomes the Spatial, the Spatial Becomes the Social: Enclosures, Social Change and the Becoming of Places in Skåne," *Social Relations and Spatial Structures,* eds. Derek Gregory and John Urry (London: Macmillan, 1985) 340.

[2] Torsten Hägerstrand qtd. in Anthony Giddens, "Time, Space and Regionalization," eds. Derek Gregory and John Urry (London: Macmillan, 1985) 269; Torsten Hägerstrand, "Survival and the Arena" *Timing Space and Spacing Time,* eds. T. Carlstein, D. Parkes and N. Thrift (London: Edward Arnold, 1978) 123.

[3] Margaret Hoby, *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605,* ed. Joanne Moody, (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1998). All subsequent references to this work will refer to this edition and will be referenced parenthetically within the text. The reader may also wish to refer to *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605,* ed. Dorothy M. Meads, (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1930). Meads provides the reader with an excellent introduction and useful explanatory notes. Evelyn Fox in "The Diary of an Elizabethan Gentlewoman," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 3rd ser. 2 (1908): 153-174, gives background on Hoby's life which both Meads and Moody access. Elizabeth Hoby's diary, in her own hand, is Egerton ms. 2614, British Lib., London.

[4] Pred, "Social Becomes the Spatial" 340.

[5] Andrew Merrifield, "Space and Place: A Lefebvrian Reconciliation," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (4) 18: 525.

[6] Allen Pred, Making Histories and Constructing Human Geographies: The Local Transformation of Practice, Power Relations, and Consciousness (Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1990) 41.

[7] Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space,* trans. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon, 1969) 9.

[8] Michael A. Godkin, "Identity and Place: Clinical Applications Based on Notions of Rootedness and Uprootedness," *The Human Experience of Space and Place,* eds. Anne Buttimer and David Seamon. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980) 73.

[9] Bachelard 4.

[10] Anne Buttimer, "Home, Reach, and the Sense of Place," *The Human Experience of Space and Place,* eds., Anne Buttimer and David Seamon (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980) 167.

[11] Shirley Ardener, "Ground Rules and Social Maps for Women: An Introduction," *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps* (New York: St. Martins, 1981) 12.

[12] David Seamon, "Body-Subject, Time-Space Routines and Place-Ballets," *The Human Experience of Space and Place,* eds. Anne Buttimer and David Seamon (New York: St. Martin, 1980) 151.

[13] Seamon 158.

[14] Seamon 159.

[15] Seamon 158.

[16] Seamon 161.

[17] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1991) 33.

[18] Bobby M. Wilson, "Social Space and Symbolic Interaction," *The Human Experience of Space and Place,* eds. Anne Buttimer and David Seamon (New York: St. Martin, 1980) 143.

[19] Seamon 158.

[20] Bobby M. Wilson 140.

[21] Bobby M. Wilson 140.

[22] Giddens 271.

[23] Pred *Making Histories* 22.

[24] G.B. Harrison, *Life and Death of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex* (London: Cassell, 1937) 38-44.

[25] Walter B. Bouchier, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex in the Reigns of Elizabeth I, James I and Charles I, 1540-1646* (London, 1853) 221-222.

[26] Harris Nicolas, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton* (London, 1847) 494-495.

[27] Claire Cross, *The Puritan Earl: The Life of Henry Hastings Third Earl of Huntingdon 1536-1595* (New York: St. Martin's, 1966) 56.

[28] D'Lisle and Dudley Manuscripts, *Calendar of the MS of Lord De L'Isle*, vol. 5 (London: Historical Manuscript Commission, 1942) 152.

[29] Meads, introduction 9.

[30] De L'Isle ms vol. 2:173.

[31] De L'Isle ms vol. 2:181.

[32] *The Fortescue Papers,* ed. Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *Publications of the Camden Society* os 1 (1871): xii.

[33] *Fortescue Papers* xv.

[34] *Fortescue Papers* xvi.

[35] *Fortescue Papers* xviii.

[36] Joanna Moody discusses Hoby's courtship and marriages in her introduction, xxvii-xxviii. She also prints several letters concerning the courtship in her Appendix 1, 229-237. Additional sources on Hoby's courtships can be found in Mead, 8-12, 24-32, and Fox,154-155. Documents concerning Hoby's courtships were published in *The Fortescue Papers*, i- xxv (letters in Moody's Appendix I come from this source). Another interesting viewpoint concerning Hoby's feelings for Thomas Sidney, and the courtship of Thomas Posthumus Hoby is given by Rowland Whyte in his letters to Robert Sidney in the De L'Isle Manuscripts, vol. 2: 152, 181, 186.

[37] George Carew, *Letters from George, Lord Carew to Sir Thomas Roe: Ambassador to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1617*, ed. John MacLean, *Publications of the Camden Society* os 76 (1859): 91.

[38] Hugh Cholmley, *The Memoirs and Memorials of Sir Hugh Cholmley of Whitby 1600-1657*, ed. Jack Binns (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2000) 72.

[39] Anne Clifford, *The Diaries of Anne Clifford*, ed. D.J.H. Clifford (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1990) 89.

[40] Anne Clifford 89-90.

[41] Meads 48.

[42] Pred, *Making Histories* 184.

[43] Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason* (London: Polity, 1998) 8.

[44] Nigel Thrift, "Flies and Germs: A Geography of Knowledge," *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, ed Derek Gregory and John Urry (London: Macmillan, 1985) 368.

[45] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1977) 95.

[46] Geertz Clifford, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays In Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983) 4.

[47] Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, ed. Mary Dewar (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982) 59

[48] Thomas Tusser, *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*, ed. James Tregaskis (Oxford : Oxford UP, 1984) 12.

[49] Meads 9.

[50] Nicholas Cooper, *House of the Gentry*, 1480-1680 (New Providence, NJ: Yale UP, 1999) 70.

[51] Moody, back cover.

[52] Pred, *Making Histories* 27

[53] Bachelard 47.

[54] Bourdieu, *Outline of Theory of Practice* 90.

[55] Bernard Jajer, "Body, House And City: The Intertwinings Of Embodiment, Inhabitation And Civilization," *Dwelling, Place and Environment: Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World*, eds. David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1985) 219-220.

[56] Documents concerning Hoby v. Eure case can be found in the following: Cecil Papers, vol. 10: 302-304*, 325*, 391, 392; vol. 11: 11-12*; 456, 546; vol. 12: 32, 105; vol. 14, 189, vol. 23: 81 and Public Record's Office, Kew: STAC 5/H22 [Star Chamber 5, Proceedings 43. Eliz., Bdle. 22, no 21] (The evidence of Robert Nettleton).* Asterisked entries are printed in Moody's edition, all quotations will be taken from this edition unless otherwise noted in the text.

[57] Joanna Moody, introduction, *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, by Margaret Hoby (Stroud, Gloucester UK: Sutton, 1998) xxxiv.

[58] Don E. Wayne, " 'A More Safe Survey": Social-Property Relations, Hegemony, and the Rhetoric of Country Life," *Soundings of Things Done: Essays in Early Modern Literature in Honor of S.K. Heninger Jr.,* eds. Peter E. Medine and Joseph Wittreich (London: Associated University Presses, 1997) 278; Mark Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale UP, 1983) 59.

[59] Nicholas Cooper 293.

[60] William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997) 266: 3.1.51-57.

[61] Girouard, *Smythson* 59.

[62] Timothy Mowl, *Elizabethan Jacobean Style* (London: Phaidon, 1993) 21.

[63] Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Providence, NJ: Yale UP, 1997) 270.

[64] [Lieutenant] Hammond, *A Relation of a Short Survey of the 26 Counties,* ed. L.G. Wickham Legg (London: F.E. Robinson, 1904) 71.

[65] Moody 242; Cecil Papers, *Calendar of the MS of the most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury,* vol. 11 (London: Historical Manuscript Commission, 1906) 11-12.

[66] Moody 243; PRO STAC 5/H22/21, Proceedings 43. Eliz., Bdle. 22, no 21: the evidence of Robert Nettleton, Public Records Office, Kew.

[67] Mark Girouard, *Hardwick Hall* (London: National Trust 1989) 33.

[68] Sasha Roberts, "Shakespeare 'creepes into the womens closets about bedtime': Women Reading in A Room of Their Own," *Renaissance Configurations: Voices/Bodies/Spaces, 1580-1690,* ed. Gordon McMullan (New York: St. Martin, 1998) 35.

[69] Alice T. Friedman, "Architecture, Authority, and the Female Gaze: Planning and Representation in the Early Modern Country House," *Assemblage,* 18 (1992): 44.

[70] Robert Sackville-West, *Knole, Kent* (London: National Trust 1998) 12.

[71] Victoria Leatham, Jon Culverhouse and Eric Till, *Burghley House* (Derby: English Life Publications 2000) 23.

[72] Archibald Johnston qtd. in David Booy, ed. *Personal Disclosures: An Anthology of Self-writings from the Seventeenth Century* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2002).

[73] See Grace Mildmay, *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman, Lady Grace Mildmay, 1552-1620,* ed. Linda Pollock (New York: St. Martins, 1993)

[74] Ardener 12.

[75] Claudine Herrmann, *The Tongue Snatchers*, trans. Nancy Kline (Lincoln : U of Nebraska P, 1989) 14.

[76] Buttimer 27.

[77] Ardener 13.

[78] Roberts 32.

[79] Bourdieu, *Outline of Theory of Practice* 90.

[80] Buttimer 170.

[81] Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments* (Oxford: Berg, 1994) 26.

[82] Pred, Making Histories 22.

[83] Pred, Making Histories 23.

[84] Charlotte Brontë qtd. in Elizabeth Gaskell, Life of Charlotte Brontë (London: Smith Elder, 1909) 138.

[85] Meads 48, 61.

[86] Buttimer 171.

[87] Lefebvre, Production 67.

[88] Paul Hoggett, "A Place For Experience: A Psychoanalytic Perspective On Boundary, Identity, And Culture," Environment And Planning D: Society And Space 10 (1992): 349.

[89] Hoggett 349.

[90] Moody 240.

[91] Moody 243-244.

[92] Moody 244.

[93] Moody 244.

[94] Moody 244.

[95] Moody 244-245.

[96] Moody 244-245.

[97] Cecil Papers, *Calendar of the MS of the most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury,* vol. 10 (London: Historical Manuscript Commission, 1904) 304; Moody 241

[98] Bachelard 46.

[99] Helen Dubrow, *Shakespeare and Domestic Loss* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999) 80-141.

[100] Bachelard 46.

[101] Buttimer 167.

[102] Moody 241.

[103] Lena Orlin, *Private Matters And Public Culture In Post-Reformation England* (Ithaca : Cornell UP, 1994) 192.

[104] Thomas Floyd qtd. in Orlin, *Private Matters* 71. See also Thomas Floyd, *Picture of a Perfect Commonwealth* (London: 1600) E12r.

[105] John Dod and Robert Cleaver qtd. in Orlin, *Private Matters,* 71-72 *n*113. See also John Dod and Robert Cleaver, *Godly form of Household Government* (London, 1598) N1r,

[106] Cholmley 95.

[107] John Ferne, "John Ferne to Sec. Cecil," *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, Addenda 1591-1601*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London, 1969) 188:99.

[108] Helen Dubrow, "The blemish'd fort": The Rape of the Hearth in Shakespeare's *Lucrece," Form and Reform in Renaissance England*, eds. Amy Boesky and Mary Thomas Crane (London: Associated University Presses, 2000) 104-126.

[109] Dubrow, "The blemish'd fort" 117.

[110] Dubrow, *Shakespeare and Domestic Loss* 20.

[111] Dubrow, *Shakespeare and Domestic Loss* 20-21.

[112] Moody *l*.

[113] Meads 267.

[114] Ardener 20.

[115] Anne Clifford 22.

[116] Anne Clifford 33.

[117] Lena Orlin, "Chronicles of Private Life," *Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1500-1600*, ed. Author F. Kinney (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000) 254.

[118] Meads 26 *n*357.

[119] Meads 43-44.

[120] Ulf Strohmayer, "Belonging: Spaces of Meaning Desire.." *Space and Social Theory: Interpreting Modernity and Postmodernity,* eds. Georges Benko and Ulf Strohmayer (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997) 170.

[121] Lefebvre, *Production* 139.

[122] Bachelard 69-70.

Chapter 6

Elizabeth Russell's Inscriptions of Identity in Monumental Space

Along the Thames—in the Abbey at Westminster and the small church of All
Saints at Bisham, in Berkshire—Lady Elizabeth Hoby Russell created two separate
sets of tombs memorializing two husbands, a brother-in-law, seven children and
herself. Rivers in early modern iconography were represented as living veins which
continually connected and gave sustenance to the politicized spatialities of the
country; the Thames being the mightiest, as it brought all to London. This river,
quietly passing the modest Bisham church, likewise provides a useful symbol for
Russell's ambitions through which she sought the promotion of her family and a
definition of her self. These ambitions were, of necessity, focused down-river on
London and the royal court at Westminster, while the means to realize them were
provided through her relationship with the up-river Bisham estate and community,
where she established her family after arriving as a young bride. These ambitions are
narrated, and at the same time promoted and advanced, through the tombs she created
in All Saints, Bisham and Westminster Abbey. The elegiac poems in English, Latin
and Greek inscribed on the tombs, along with architectural motifs and heraldic
symbols, reveal Russell's strategies for achieving her ambitions. They begin in the
Hoby chapel at All Saints with the portrayal of a bereaved woman mourning her
losses, forced to renegotiate an identity and the position of her young family
jeopardized through the death of her first husband, Thomas Hoby. Later, in
Westminster Abbey, the tomb to her second husband, John Russell, proclaims the
elite status she was able to achieve for her family and herself. Russell's use of tombs
to negotiate and promote a place within the political hierarchy of her society was not
unique; indeed it was a widespread practice, accelerated by political changes in the
country brought on by the Reformation. Families, in their attempts to advance their
place in society, accessed newly emptied spaces in religious buildings throughout the
realm to inscribe and advertise either the social position they wished to protect, or to
which they aspired. The textual and visual monuments Russell designed illustrate the
ways in which this social space functioned in relation to these ambitions. These
actions in space, the creation of monuments, interacted with other modes of spatial
production in the period, most saliently the construction of country house where

religious houses once stood as discussed in Chapter 2. These activities produced the hierarchical and privileged spatiality that existed in early modern England.

I.

Elizabeth Russell's first husband, Thomas Hoby, died while on a diplomatic mission to France, on July 13, 1566. Russell records the circumstances of this death on a series of tablets forming a frieze around the chest of his tomb (fig. 6-1):

> And being Embassador for Quene Elizabeth in France
>
> Died at Paris the 13 July 1566 at the age of 36.
>
> Leaving his wife great with childe in a strange country
>
> Who brought hym honorably home, built this chapel.

This event, coming at the point of Hoby's career where, freshly knighted by the Queen, he was poised to advance his aspirations and the honor of his house, was a devastating blow to his family of one young son, two young daughters, and an another child yet to be born. Hoby's death thrust his young family into the uncertainty such a position entailed. While Russell was well connected, and Hoby a respected gentleman, their estate was not large and social advancement was difficult for a single woman in the period. Many years later, Russell experienced the death of her second husband John, Lord Russell. This second death threatened the material and social prospects of her two Russell daughters in much the same way the first death threatened her Hoby children. Both deaths also disrupted Russell's own sense of self and her place in society. In an attempt to negotiate these crises Russell engaged in a spatial act, the creation of a tomb or monument, accessing a potent cultural space from which to speak.

The strategy of the monument functions through connections, participating in an interconnectedness created through visual imagery, text and spatial performance, where as Rob Sheilds describes it, "people extend themselves—mentally and physically—out into space much as a spider extends its limbs in the form of a web. We become as much a part of these extensions as they are of us."[1] By accessing a complex assortment of architectural motifs, heraldic symbolism, effigies and text Russell attempts to access what Lefebvre calls the "fantasy of art" in order "to lead

Figure 6-1: Monument of Thomas and Philip Hoby, All Saints Bisham

out of what is present, out of what is close, out of representations of space, into what is further off, into nature, into symbols, into representational spaces."[2] In this way, mental actions are realized through a chain of social activities occurring in the sacred spaces of the period where the "imaginary is transformed into the real."[3] Russell's monuments create a representational space of the symbolic, participating in absolute space which Lefebvre notes is "the space of death, the space of death's absolute power over the living."[4] In the spaces of Westminster and All Saints, Bisham, these monuments require those who look upon them to "partake of an ideology; they will contemplate and decipher the symbols around them; and they will thus, on the basis of their own bodies, experience a total being in a total space."[5] The consumers of this spatial experience would intrinsically recognize that many of these symbols had connections in wider arenas of social space. The interpretation of significations would have drawn upon a particular practice within the church, that of funerary and memorial customs, as well as referred the viewer outward—to the heraldry of the elite, the grand architectural structures of their dominating houses, and even the mode of dress, that ubiquitous marker of placement in the social hierarchy.

The complexity of this spatial experience, drawing upon a multiplicity of interpretations, functions to mitigate the anxieties which emerge from the contemplation of ideological power represented by the tomb. In this respect, Lefebvre argues, the monumental work erases the "negativity and aggressiveness in social practice, and replaces them with a tranquil power and certitude which can encompass violence and terror."[6] The symbolic power of the tomb promotes a social hierarchy through markers of death. It does this while sublimating the means through which this hierarchy is maintained. The monumental work encompasses the codes through which the society functions while surpassing them in the creation of the sense of a totality—an "absolute" and certain spatiality which the monument both represents and produces.[7] The monument draws its power from the way in which its physical presence constantly asserts this certitude. It is a privileged act that draws upon conceptions of the sacred and the authority of tradition.

In this way, monuments serve the elite or "priestly castes and the political powers they exercise or serve," replacing representations of deities from pre-Reformation England with new symbols of a temporal divinity.[8] In early modern England the priestly and political were made one through the Reformation. In the

aftermath of the Reformation, which removed most religious iconography, family monuments became the most vibrant and politically potent visual experience in the newly whitewashed environment of the reformation church. The monuments identify those of the elite through the widespread imitation and repetition of significations of elite status. It is not coincidental that the vast majority of tombs were manufactured from Southwark workshops, with sculptors and artisans drawing from a limited number of basic designs that were then modified according to the requests of individual patrons. The tombs of local lay landowners became "increasingly numerous, varied, costly and imposing, as if to represent the growing importance of these individuals in the community."[9] David Howarth discusses how those who actively participated in the political transformation of the period, the newly ennobled families involved in shaping the revolution of Tudor government, used monuments as one means to stabilize their power base. In many places these ambitious families set up elaborate monuments as part of a strategy of dynasty building, showing a clear understanding of the power of these spatial acts to confer legitimacy and promotion.[10] In some cases these "new men" manufactured tombs for their ancestors, and even appropriated the tombs of other men.[11] Prominent local families increasingly cleared the charnel houses, using this once communal sacred space to create their own elaborate burial vaults.

While the common dead would soon mingle in obscurity in the grounds outside the church, increasingly the artistic and cultural investment once devoted to representations of saints in churches was redirected into the creation of monuments. These tombs proclaimed the connections between important secular families within the Tudor power structure. In pre-reformation churches the ubiquitous Last Judgment, or "Doom" paintings, like that in the Guild Hall chapel in Stratford-upon-Avon, St. Peter, Wenhaston in Suffolk and St. Mary's church in Newington near Sittingbourne(fig. 6-2), assured the congregation that in death there would be an equality of souls, judged on their acts, not their social worth. In most of these depictions of the last judgment, situated generally above the chancel arch, souls are naked, their place in the social hierarchy difficult to determine (though in some cases head pieces signify status). After the Henrician Reformation these images were almost totally erased, the signifiers inscribed on the monuments proclaimed instead a strict hierarchy in death, as well as life. The most powerful families buried their

Figure 6-2: Medieval Doom paintings in English parish churches

Above: St. Peter Wenhaston, Suffolk

Below: Newington-next-Sittingbourne, Kent

members in churches, commemorating them with magnificent tombs. Chantry chapels were replaced with mortuary chapels within the local churches, built by the leading sculptors of the day. David Cressy wryly comments:

> Some aristocratic families were united in death more closely, more
> publicly, and certainly more permanently than they ever were in life.
> The cluster of family tombs was a striking reminder of power,
> continuity and cohesion. The Essex Darcys of St. Osyth, for example,
> dominated their local community in death as in life, through strategic
> interment in the parish church.[12]

Timothy Mowl describes the parish church of St. Mary the Virgin at Bottesford, in Leicestershire, as a "knackers yard of nobility," where the tombs are so numerous they fill the church, interfering with the view of the altar by the parishioners and requiring that they take a circuitous route, wending their way around the tombs in order to take bread and wine at the communion table (fig. 6-3) .[13] In Bottesford it is without a doubt that those of the parish would be forced to recognize the Manners family, Earls of Rutland, as the locus of local power with important connections to the national power structure.

The political importance of monuments is made clear by the way the tombs of important families were often (though not always) protected during the iconoclastic fervor of the English Reformation. While much of the church fabric was destroyed or appropriated, many, like Lord La Warr. successfully petitioned Thomas Cromwell for the preservation of family monuments.[14] This concession shows the role the monuments of important families played in the continuation and promotion of the political ideology of the elite, and how that ideology was recognized at the highest level of government. Indeed, the destruction of family monuments during this period was a tool used by Henry VIII's government as a form of punishment, or as a way to destabilize the power base of those families of concern to him. Two years into Elizabeth's reign, she published a proclamation forbidding the desecration of tombs as believing such destruction led to the,

> extinguishing of the honourable and good memory of sundry vertuous
> and noble persons deceased; but also the true understanding of divers
> Families in this Realme (who have descended of the bloud of the same
> persons deceased) is thereby so darkened, as the true course of their
> inheritance may be hereafter interrupted, contrary to Justice.[15]

Through these representational spaces, "the gentry who trooped to church in style and sat in the most privileged pews could view the likenesses and read the inscriptions commemorating members of their kindred and their class,"[16] The rest of the community viewing the monuments were instructed in the power dynamics under which they existed. The Jacobean preacher Robert Hill (no doubt speaking from a pulpit amongst monuments) expounded that tombs distinguish "betwixt person and person; for, though all die alike, yet all must not be alike buried."[17] John Weever, writing in 1631 also promotes this standard:

> Noble men, Princes, and Kings Had (as it befitteth them, and as some of them have at this day) their Tombes or Sepulchres raised aloft above ground, to note the excellencie of their state and dignitie; and withal, their personages delineated, caved, and embost ... as neare to the life, and with as much state and magnificence, as the skill of the Artificer could possibly carve ... And as stately monuments were not due, nor allowed, to every man ... so swelling titles, lofty inscriptions or epitaphs, were prohibited to bee inscrib'd, insculpt, or engraven upon the sepulchres of men of meane desert: but onely upon the monuments of such as were of vertue, wisedome, and valour.[18]

These funeral monuments participated in the representational spaces of the period that reserved for the elite spatial practices which, through placement and magnificence of display, continually reaffirmed the prevailing cultural ideology of class. For as Pierre Bourdieu asserts, rites which utilize separation and aggregation tend to produce a consecrated elite, "not only distinct and separate, but also recognized and recognizing itself as worthy to be so."[19] These rites, emanating from "a universally recognized authority, and which was therefore founded on the *consensus omnium*" become above all a recognition of the institution from which the elite receives its consecration.[20]

Alan Sinfield concludes that this tactic of promoting the elite formed a part of Elizabeth's strategy of rule. He notes that Elizabeth "was adroit at stimulating" spatial practices, including the building of elaborate tombs, which utilized secular and religious symbolism to ratify and project the power structure "onto a supernatural dimension," thus disseminating the political ideology of the time through the churches.[21] Most members of the community were not privileged enough to walk in the long galleries and great chambers of the elite in order to view the magnificent portraits of local families. Yet the importance of the visual image in promoting an

ideology for the masses was not lost upon the political leaders of the period. The monuments projected the visual presence of these leaders within the body of the church where all members of the community could not avoid viewing them each week at their compulsory church attendance. In this way the images of local families were guaranteed to impact the local populace; this imagery supporting the preferred political message of the desirability and permanence of the contemporary social hierarchy.

Russell's elegies, and the tombs upon which they are inscribed, participate in just this "elite" rite. They show a recognition of the importance of establishing connections and asserting privilege, not so much in honor of the dead, but in the service of the living. Russell makes clear, in her Hoby effigies, the pedigree which positions her and her children—her "house"—firmly in the ranks of the elite. On the tomb of Thomas and Philip Hoby she first celebrates the royal connections of her brother-in-law Philip Hoby:

> PHILIP, the first, in Caesars Court hath Fame,
>
> Such as, tofore few Legatts like possessed.
>
> A deepe discovering Head, a noble Brest,
>
> A Courtier passing, and a courteous Knight.[22]

Next she creates a connection between Philip's position and that of her husband, Thomas Hoby, who metaphorically takes his place.

> THOMAS in France possessed the Legats Place,
>
> And with such Wisdom grew to guide the same;
>
> As had encreas'd great Honour to his Race,
>
> If suddaine Fate had not envied his Fame. (205)

Finally she connects herself to them both through the trope of the grave:

> And now the same burial will receive your bodies.
>
> Both sister and wife, I have planned one tomb for you
>
> In common and for me, when my fates strike. (205)

On the tomb of John Russell, in Westminster Abbey, she also makes clear the elite standing of this husband, proclaiming his status: "*Vere novo haeres Comitis* (indeed so lately heir of an earl)" (48). She repeats on another portion of the tomb the noble status of her family, calling her daughters "*Haeredi Comitis* (heirs of an earl)" (48-49). Her use of Latin on the Hoby tombs, and a combination of Greek and Latin on the Russell tomb, is also a signification of elite status. W.J. Loftie claims

Russell's were the first epitaphs in Greek to appear on the tombs in Westminster Abbey.[23] Russell utilized this strategy to further assert the nobility of John Russell's "house." These textual significations clearly show Russell's attempts to negotiate and promote an elevated position in the hierarchal structure of her culture. In this strategy, Russell joined other tomb builders, their oft-repeated assertions of social status registering a degree of tension, as family groups attempted to better their position within the society. Her use of privileged scholarly language, along with other cultural significations—heraldry and architecture, appropriation of sacred spaces—create a complex representational space through which Russell positions herself and her family within the social hierarchy.

By limiting ostentatious commemoration to that part of society with a traceable lineage, extensive landholding, and civic or mercantile interests, the social hierarchy was maintained. Nigel Llewellyn asserts the function of heraldry, along with the text, siting of the monument, type of material used and the designs all establish a "collective memory" which affixed the social status and "honourable reputation" of the deceased in space.[24] Henry Peacham, writing in 1622 supports this assumption:

> How should we give nobility her true value, respect, and title without notice of her merit? And how may we guess her merit, without these outward ensigns and badges of virtue which have been anciently accounted sacred and precious, withal discern and know an intruding upstart, shot up with the last night's mushroom, from an ancient-descended and deserved gentleman whose grandsires have had their shares in every foughten field by the English since Edward the First, or myself a gentleman know my own rank [?][25]

Those creating monuments were well aware of the high value accorded to heraldic devices; these devices being ubiquitous among tombs of the period. On the monument to Nicholas Wotton in Canterbury Cathedral heraldic shields are placed at the pinnacle of the monument as well as on each side of the prayer desk at which he kneels, showing through the iconography of the devices his connections with several elite families and institutions (fig. 6-4) The double tomb of Sir Samuel and Sir Edwin Sandys in Wickhamford, Worcester again shows a prominent display of heraldic arms at the top of the canopy above each man.[26] The tombs in Westminster Abbey are resplendent with these devices, the most ostentatious being the monument to Henry
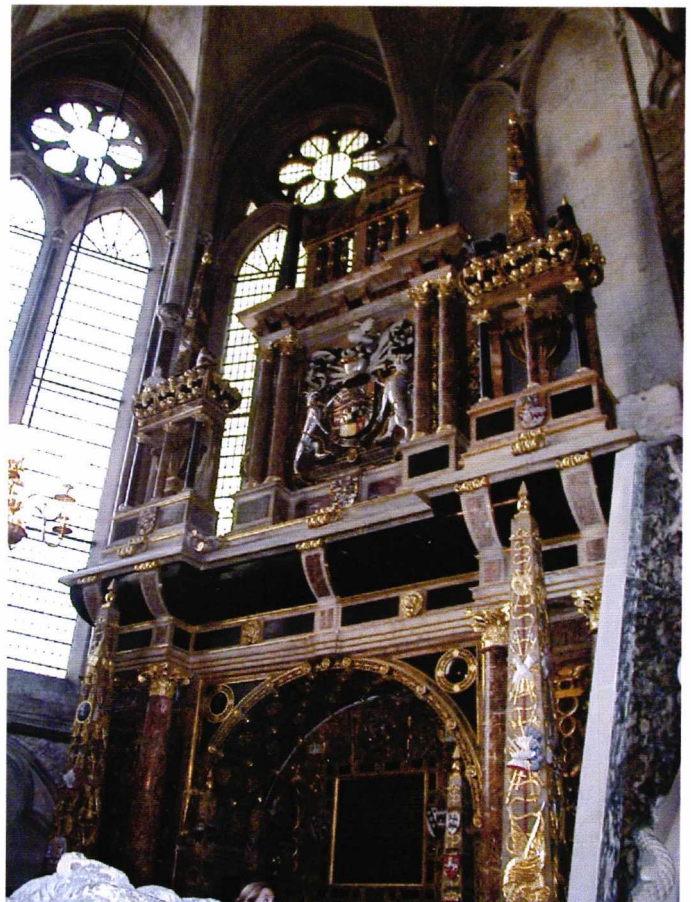
Figure: 6-3: Bottesford tombs, Leicestershire.
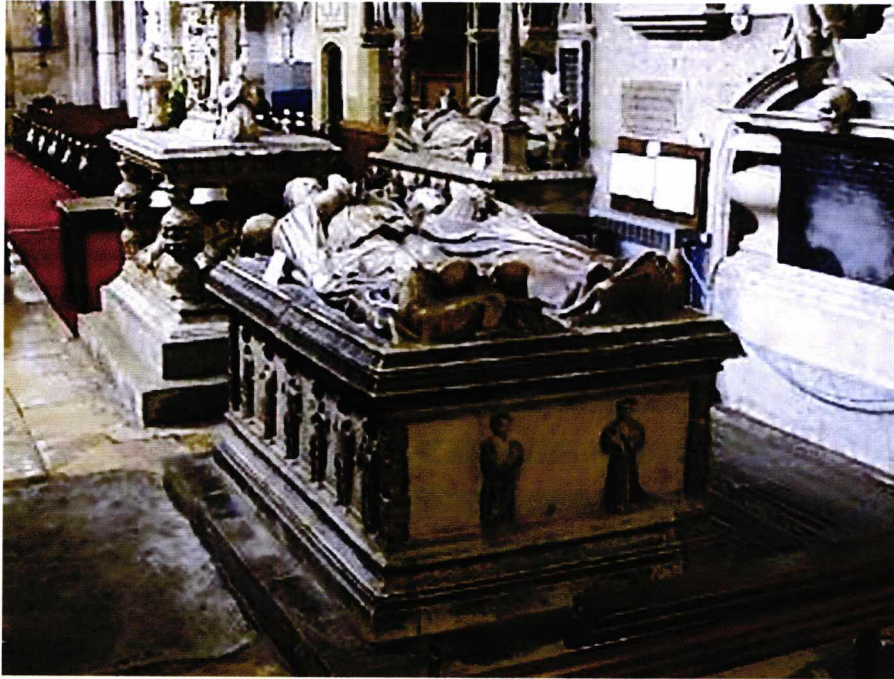
Figure 6-4: Nicholas Wotton's tomb,
Canterbury Cathedral, Kent.

Figure 6-5:
Hunsdon Monument, Westminster Abbey

Carey, 1st Baron Hunsdon, whose tomb is an excellent example of a monument that serves as a vehicle for displaying heraldic devices (fig. 6-5). It has more than fifty representations of heraldry decorating it. These devices serve to represent the man who is not present on the tomb in effigy. Instead the heraldic significations work to create the persona. This most conspicuous monument, the tallest still in Westminster Abbey, proclaimed not only the elite standing of Henry Carey, but the magnificence of the Queen herself. Carey was her cousin and an important member of the political power structure of the Elizabethan state. The magnificence of his tomb, depending as it does upon heraldic signification, participated in promoting the political ideology of the day.

Russell, unsurprisingly, also accesses the signification system of heraldry to promote the recognition of her "house" as elite. The tomb of Philip and Thomas Hoby contains three heraldic shields–two on the plinth, and one more elaborate cartouche above the monument, though initially this shield was placed on the left hand side of the monument because a window was in place above. On the nearby monument Russell created to celebrate her own life, there are twelve shields representing her familial connections to other elite families (fig. 6-6).* In addition she shows herself and her daughter Anne in coronets, a legitimate signification in the case of Anne, who married the Earl of Worcester. However, Russell was not technically entitled to this sign of nobility, as her husband died without an heir before he inherited the title of the Earl of Bedford—he had been granted use of the title of Baron as a courtesy. Regardless of this technicality, Russell, well aware of the importance of elite symbolism, termed herself the Dowager Lady Russell throughout

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* A description of the twelve shields on Russell's tomb will serve as an example of the complex web of connections heraldic devices signify. In the center of the entablature is a shield representing Russell's mother's family, the Fitz Williams of Gaynes Park. In the spandrels of the arched recess under the canopy are shields for the Russells and Hobys. On the wall behind the figures at either end without the canopy are Russell arms impaling Cooke arms. On the pedestals of the columns supporting the canopy are the arms of Lord Herbert of Raglan impaling those of Anne Russell, and Sir Edward Hoby's arms and his wife, Margaret Cary's. Along the base of the monument are the arms of William Cecil, Lord Burghley and his wife Mildred Cooke, Russell's oldest sister; Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper and Anne Cooke, another of Russell's sisters; Sir Anthony Cooke and Anne Fitz William, father and mother of Russell; Hoby impaling Bacon though no such marriage can be traced; and Sir Henry Killigrew and Katherine Cooke, another of Russell's sisters. For this and further discussion of the heraldry of the Hoby chapel see William Page, ed., *Berkshire. The Victoria History of the Counties of England*, vol. 3 (1923; London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1972) 149-151.

Figure 6-6: Monument of Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell, All Saint's Bisham,
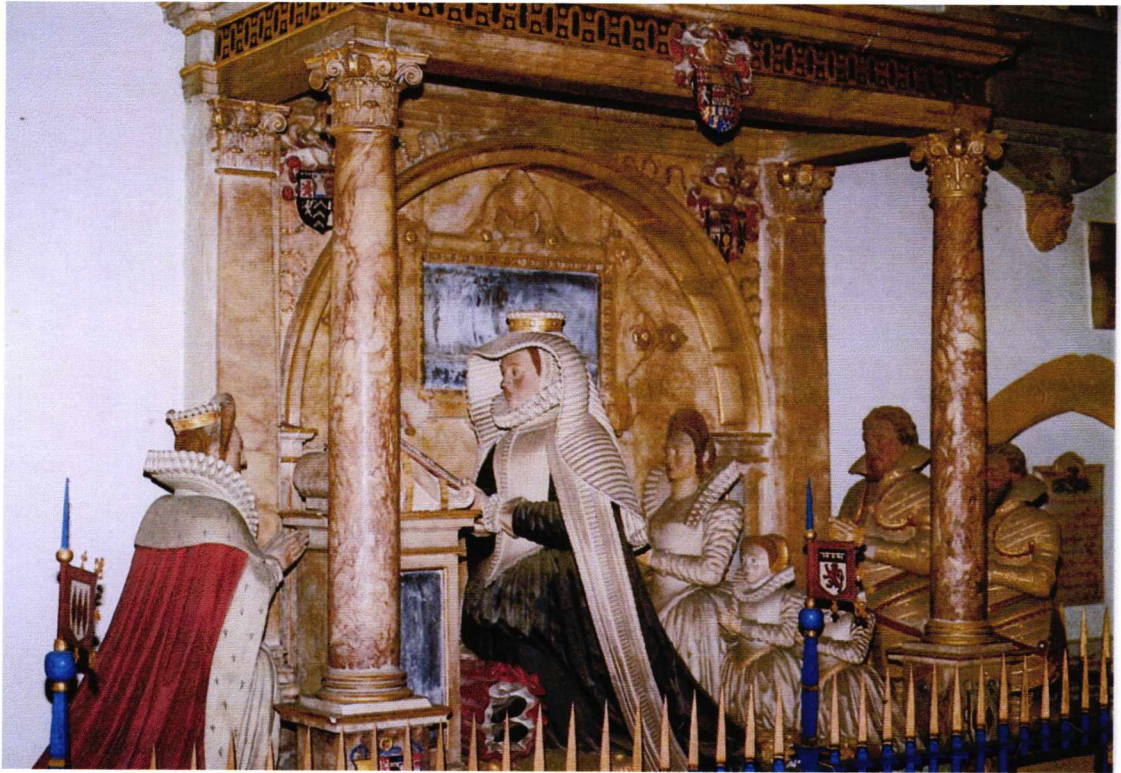
Detail from Elizabeth Russell's Monument

Portrait of Elizabeth Russell,
Bisham Abbey.

her widowhood. This claim ignited controversy during the celebrated Star Chamber matter dealing with her claims to Donnington Castle, when Charles Howard, the Earl of Nottingham protested she had no right to the title.[27] In death it seems Russell had the last word on this matter;* the coronet was a signification of status which would be recognized and acknowledged by those of the parish and the frequent royal visitors to Bisham Abbey.[28] Russell understood that heraldry engaged in a double allusion—to the owner's family ties and chief local connections, as well as to the relationship to the monarch. Through what Maurice Howard terms the "juxtaposition of personal, local and familial heraldry with royal," the elite positioned themselves near the top of a complex social hierarchy.[29] Families "published" their arms on the tombs of the dead, to be seen by parishioners as well as visitors. The sanctity of the space validated a family's claim, as did the tombs' constant and awesome presence—a narrative of elite status literally carved in stone. Heraldry also connected families spatially, the arms referring the viewer to the estates of families throughout the country. The arms on Russell's tombs can be mapped, forming connections with several different counties, and the families who wielded political power in each.

The use of heraldry augmented the information displayed through human images found on most tombs. These images were not limited to the dead, but often portrayed a panoply of other family members: spouses, children and step-children were often portrayed. In the early modern period, one's "house" or family was an integral part of one's identity. The very term, "house" was connected metonymically with one's family, as discussed in Chapters 5. Russell's ambitions throughout her life, and aggressively pursued through her tomb-making projects, cannot be viewed separately from her position as a leading family member. In most of her actions she sought the promotion of her family within the social hierarchy. Indeed, in the Elizabethan period, the political and material enhancement of one's family was seen

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* The Donnington dispute concerned the castle, park and manor of Donnington in Berkshire. Russell had been given the keepership of Donnington after the death of her second husband. She saw the ownership of this manor as essential to the maintenance of her social status and that of her children. She constantly pursued a lease on the castle through her brother-in-law, William Cecil, and his son, as well as through gifts to the Queen. The manor was given in outright gift to Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham and Lord Admiral, as a reward for his naval services. After years of uneasy truce, where Russell attempted to at least maintain the keepership of the castle, the matter ended in Council of the Star Chamber. Russell, now in her seventies, prosecuted the case herself in a spirited manner and suffered a humiliating loss in the end (Heal 163, 164-169, 177-178). Through her monument Russell continued to communicate with those who were involved or knew of the Donnington case, asserting her rights to the coronet of a viscountess and all other perquisites of noble status, including Donnington Castle.

as a legitimate goal and duty. "Self" or identity (both male and female) was often defined through familial relationships. Contemporary monuments attest to the way in which one's immediate family was inextricably linked to the way one defined his/her identity. One example of this is found in Thomas Mildmay's will of 1566:

> My executors shall bestow upon a comely tomb or monument of hard stone … forty pounds within short time after my decease, in which shall be engraven my arms and the arms of my wife together with the pictures of us both and fifteen children, the one half men children and the other half women children, as a remembrance to our children and friends left behind us.[30]

On an Elizabethan tomb in St. Leonard's Church, at Charlecote Park in Warwickshire, fourteen children are displayed kneeling in relief on the chest of the tomb; the wife, life sized, is depicted kneeling between the sets of girls and boys, while the effigy of the father lies on top (fig. 6-7). Above the tomb of Anne and William Clopton, in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-upon-Avon, is a painted frieze with the figures and names of their seven children, some portrayed still in their swaddling bands (fig. 6-8). John Hayes of Rettendon left instructions for "a marble stone and superscription thereupon, with my image, my wife's and my children, to be laid on my grave."[31] The narrative Hale monument in Canterbury Cathedral creates a complicated web of connections as it displays the suicide of the elder James Hale in the Stour, and the shipboard death of his son, Sir James, on an expedition against the Spanish. Alice Hale Lee kneels in front of the narrative of these tragedies. Her son, Cheney, is depicted below, also kneeling. The monument inscription, in Latin, reveals that the tomb was commissioned by Alice's second husband Richard Lee who obviously felt that his relationship to the Hale family served to connect him more firmly to the elite than his own family status.[32] On Russell's Bisham tombs she portrays all her children; the living situated outside the columns holding up the canopy while the dead occupy the space underneath the canopy with her. As Llewellyn explains, in order to support the hierarchy of the culture it was vitally important to have relationships between family members recognized—who was married to whom and which wives carried which children, which husband begat which children. The depictions made clear to the consumers of these images the aristocratic alliances spread throughout the communities and the families.[33]

Figure 6-7: St. Leonard's Church, Charlecote Park, Warwickshire.
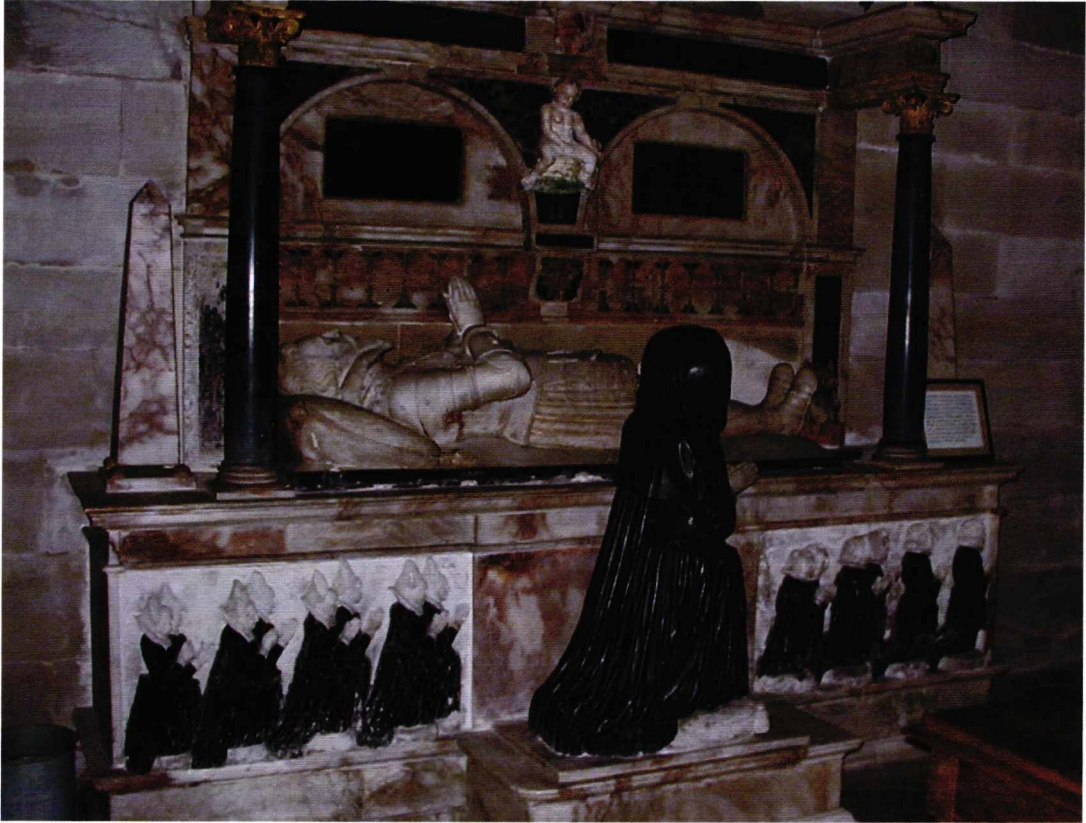
Figure: 6-8: Clopton Monument, Holy Trinity Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire

Portraying the children, and other important family connections on the monuments, illustrated these alliances through which the dead played a crucial role in the "maintenance of gentle dynastic continuity."[34]

Effigies worked, then, within the spatiality of the church to display and promote elite status. However, the structure of the tombs themselves was more than simply a vehicle for cultural symbols. The architectural elements employed in the creation of the monuments contributed a potent cultural signification forming metonymic connection between the microcosmic world of the church and the social spaces outside the church door in the surrounding landscape. As discussed in Chapter 2 and 3, architecture played a significant role in promoting the social hierarchy of early modern English society. The tombs created a visual affinity with the elite and their houses, those significations of power in the landscape. That contemporaries recognized this connection is made clear by Lieutenant Hammond who on his travels in the 1630s never fails to mention the great houses he visits or passes, nor the monuments he views in churches. He describes Elizabeth Shrewsbury's tomb in All Hallows, Derby, acknowledging the connection between the monument and her house: "And the 3d. is a fayre stately rich Monument, of an honourable Lady, [Elizabeth Shrewsbury] of brancht Marble, Alablaster, and Touch, such as her owne Grounds in that Country afforded."[35] Indeed, it was not uncommon for the same sculptor to create the house and tomb of a patron. Robert Smythson designed both Hardwick Hall and the monument in All Hallows Church, Derby, for Elizabeth Shrewsbury, both at her direction.[36] The sculptor Maximilian Colt was employed by Robert Cecil to work at his house, Hatfield, and to design his monument.[37] Colt also designed the monuments for Queen Elizabeth at Westminster and Christopher Hatton in the Old St. Paul's. He was Master Sculptor to the Crown and designed capitals and chimney pieces at Somerset house, and a great window at Greenwich.[38] Cornelius Cure, another sculptor from the Southwark workshops, designed the tomb of Mary Queen of Scots (which was completed by his son William Cure II),[39] as well as the ornamental chimney piece in the ballroom at Knole. Patricia Phillippy suggests that William Cure I may have had a building commission at Bisham Abbey and that the Hoby and Russell monuments at All Saints, Bisham as well as those of Elizabeth and John Russell tombs in Westminster Abbey were most likely from the Cure workshop.[40]

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It is not coincidental that the increase in the size of tombs and the development of increasingly massive architectural surrounds coincided with the building of larger, more ornate country houses. Large numbers of monuments use columns with elaborately carved capitals, which supported canopies whose ceilings are decorated with a variety of complex motifs. The ornate friezes which bedeck the tombs are reminiscent of rooms in the new country houses. Another interesting architectural component of these tombs is their similarity to doors, passages, or triumphal arches. The surround of monuments often looks distinctly like elaborate doorways, using lintels, pediments and decorative moldings. In Horton Court, Avon, the stone doorway of William Knight's house is a mixture of classical and heraldic motifs. It is a portal with pilasters on each side supporting the decorated lintel. The doorway to the gatehouse at Kenilworth Castle similarly integrates classical and heraldic motifs, again columns in relief, this time surrounding an arched entry (fig. 6-9). An interior doorway, carved in marble at Hatfield Hall (probably the work of Maximillan Colt) also combines these elements, the same elements that were used in the designs of hundreds of Elizabethan monuments, as do the doorways of Kirby Hall (fig. 6-10). Sarah Tarlow, in her study of Orkney memorials, identifies several tombs of this design noting that "seventeenth-century monuments frequently invoke a metaphor of gateway." [41] The metaphor of the doorway incorporated into these monuments was not simply the insertion of stylistic architectural device. Rather, the image witnesses to the conception of death as a passage from the material to the spiritual world, visualized in familiar architectural forms. The portrayal of these passageways also suggested a confidence among the elite classes that as they were among the "chosen" in this life, so would they be one of the "chosen" or "elect" in the next. These depictions are a far cry from the humility portrayed by the elite in medieval Last Judgment depictions, where stripped naked, even the elite waited anxiously at the gates of heaven hoping for admission.

This use of architectural elements, as well as significations of family, witnessed and celebrated elite positioning. These significations boldly published that a family's elite status would extend into eternity, evoking the certainty Lefebvre discussed as being part of the functions of monuments. However, the strategies practiced to imprint this "certitude" by those who wished to recognized as elite, also reveal anxieties inherent in this desire. In order to allay these anxieties, families

Figure 6-9: Doorway, Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire.

Figure 6-10: Doorways, Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire.
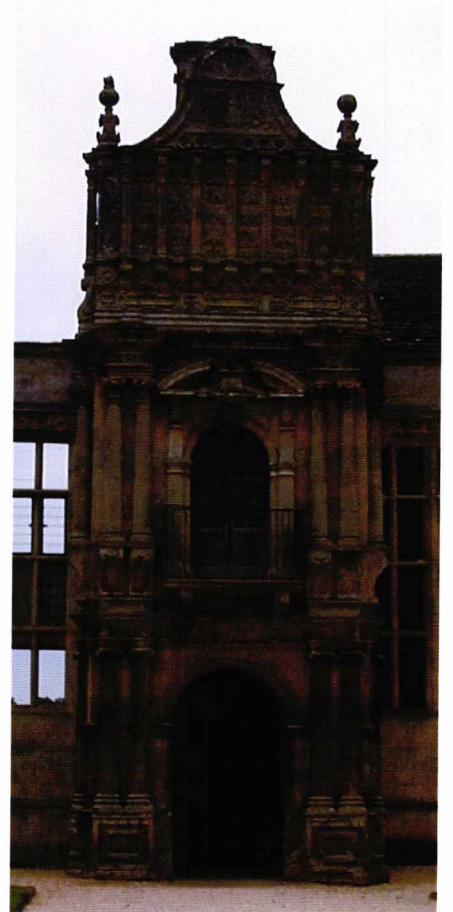
participated in spatial strategies to imprint significations of their privileged social status throughout the landscape as can be seen by the placement of the Cecil tombs (fig. 6-11). The monument to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, stands in Stamford, a mile from the grand Burghley House. His powerful son, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, lies in the parish church adjoining Hatfield House in Hertfordshire. The Cecils, like many other families, understood the importance of maintaining a presence in one's locale. However, they also understood the political value of familial representation as close to the center of power as possible. Before William Cecil was laid in his tomb in Stamford, his body first lay in state in Westminster Abbey for six days, after which it took its journey to Stamford. Obsequies were performed for him in both places on the same day, thus asserting his presence in the privileged location of Westminster, as well as in the county parish.[42] Cecil also ensured a more lasting presence in Westminster through the tomb he created for his second wife, Mildred (sister to Russell), and his daughter Anne DeVere, Countess of Oxford. His son, Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter and his wife, Dorothy Neville also have a tomb in Westminster Abbey. In death, as in life, the Cecil family was the pattern for social advancement. The internment of family members throughout the countryside, and concentrated in the center of power, Westminster, was a powerful signification of elite status that certainly would have assisted the Cecil family to allay anxieties and participate in the certitude of their social position.

This lesson was not lost on Russell, who also participated in this double placement by procuring a familial presence in Westminster as well as in her parish church at Bisham. The tomb she erected to John Russell, her second husband, was placed in the chapel of St. Edmund in Westminster Abbey (fig. 6-12). The heraldic devices on the tomb, and more especially the inscriptions, create a connection not only between herself and Lord Russell, but her Hoby children and the higher status Russell house. Indeed, two Russell children are commemorated in both sites: an effigy of the young Russell heir, Francis, who died in infancy is placed in front of his mother at Bisham and at the feet of his father in Westminster. Russell's daughter, Elizabeth "Bess" Russell, has a unique monument that was erected by her sister, Anne, to the left of John Russell's tomb. Bess Russell is also portrayed on Elizabeth Russell's tomb in All Saint's, Bisham, next to the two Hoby daughters who died as children. Members of the elite, like Russell, sought to place their tombs strategically.

Figure 6.11: Cecil Monuments

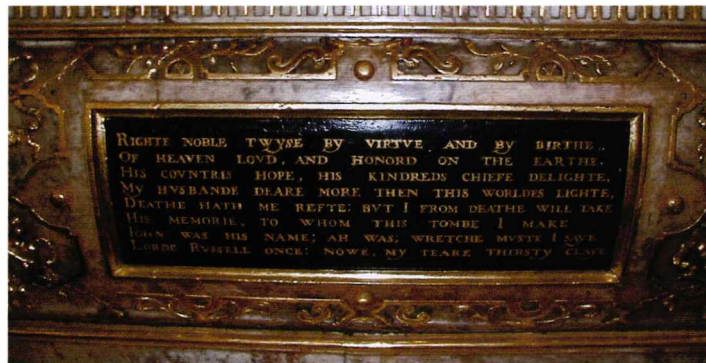**Above**: Thomas Cecil and Dorothy Neville, Westminster Abbey.

Left: William Cecil, St. Martins Stamford, Nottinghamshire.

Below: Robert Cecil, St. Ethelreda Hatfield, Hertfordshire.

Figure 6.12: Russell Monuments, Westminster Abbey

Family monuments in Westminster Abbey and other important ecclesiastical edifices, including their own parishes, provided the means for the members of the elite to publish and promote their social position both in the country and near the court; legitimizing their authority while at the same time producing images throughout the country that supported the political hierarchy. The Hoby/Russell tombs fully participated in this dynamic.

III.

In this way, Russell's tombs must be read as part of the tomb-building enterprises of the early modern period. She designed and placed her tombs in accordance with customary and approved practice, reflecting the social ambitions and implications inherent in her choices. Through these choices Russell communicated with the consumers of her works, projecting a voice that participated fully with monument conventions of the period, while also asserting an individual identity in the use and manipulation of these conventions. This is especially apparent in her texts, where she engages with the multiple significations of the tomb to communicate a construction of self which emerges from her experiences with death.

Lefebvre contends that "the ancient function of statues was to immortalize the dead so that they would not harm the living."[43] However, what this comment misses is that in dying the dead have already harmed the living. The memorializing of the dead with statues and monuments functions not as a preventative action, but a palliative one. Llewellyn explains that death in a community damages the communal fabric.[44] The religious changes brought about by the Reformation problematized death further by separating the dead more completely from the living than at any previous time in English theological history; and this at a time when political, individual and personal interactions, especially among the elite, were growing in importance.[45] J.S.W. Helt explains, "Death, because of its finality, leaves cultures vulnerable to disintegration as individuals are alienated by the loss of family members and friends, and as social groups suffer the loss of integral members."[46] In order to repair, in some manner, the damage caused by death, early modern English society built funerary monuments. They understood, that "a spatial action overcomes conflicts, at least momentarily, even though it does not resolve them."[47] They appropriated architectural structures and designs, for as Catherine Belsey explains, "Architecture encircles the vacancy brought into being by the loss of the object in the

real. It both invokes and circumscribes the void which is the memorial to what is lost."[48] This creation of monuments served, according to Helt, to "confirm and close the position of the living individual in the community and to repair the bonds of society broken by the loss of a life."[49] They formed a connection, through the motifs of architecture, texts such as elegies, portraiture, and other kinds of secular art, which served to rejoin the dead with the living.

In this way, the monument served the metonymic function of replacing the individual who had died. It re-established their personal identity, and more importantly their social position, even through the fabrication and manipulation of history. This monumental body functions above all to replace the social body, and thus the prestige of that social body, so essential to the perpetuation of the early modern elite in England. Through this process Llewelyn explains, "the body at death is transformed as its signification is established less and less by its natural aspect and more and more by its social aspect. Continuity is preserved as that which is signified becomes less and less dependent upon the signifier."[50] The monument became a medium through which the living rebuilt a relationship with the deceased individual. In pre-Reformation England this new relationship would have been based on the concept of purgatory which required the living to participate with the dead through intercessory prayers, chantry donations, and other forms of memorials through the traditional channels of Roman Catholic worship. After the Henrician Reformation the elaborate memorials built in London and parish churches throughout England replaced these, extending the "fame," honor and position of the dead into the realm of the living. In this way those memorialized remained close to the social life of their parish, their family, and in the case of the aristocracy, the close network of relationships upon which the entire edifice of elite political power was maintained, for as Reuben Rainey comments, monuments not only instruct a culture about its past, but remind its members of "present and future social and political obligations."[51]

It is in this social context that Russell created her tombs. Gittings wryly notes, "from what is known about the relationship between patrons and sculptors in Elizabethan and Jacobean England it would seem that the patron got what he [she] wanted."[52] It becomes clear from the very first tomb she created, the Hoby monument to her husband Thomas and his brother Philip, that what she wanted was a vehicle to repair the unquestioned damage death had wreaked upon her position. In

her inscription she clearly portrays the difficult situation she was left in upon her husband's death:

> Since in his Flower in Paris Towne he died,
>
> Leaving with Child behind his wofull Wife,
>
> In Forraine Land opprest with heapes of Grief. (205)

She repeats this information in the panels that border the top of the chest:

> And being Embassador for Quene Elizabeth in France
>
> Died at Paris the 13 July 1566 at the age of 36.
>
> Leaving his wife great with childe in a strange country.

This repetition creates an echoing lament, conjuring the picture of the widow doubly abandoned, heavy with child in a foreign land, "I take my husband's corpse and children's feeble limbs. /And so with filling womb I return by land and sea" (207).

On the tomb she designed for her second husband, John Russell, she also inscribes the damage done by the death on the tomb:

> My wounded mind is torn by death's pitiless feeding
>
> When the figure of your death, now solemnized, approaches.
>
> Indeed so lately heir of an earl, like a flower always,
>
> In falling you leave both me and mine wretched. (48)

Her concern here centers around the phrase "so lately heir of an earl." His death deprives herself and her daughters of the social rank she views as vitally important to the future prospects of the "house" he leaves behind.* She goes on to lament,

> Now dust has covered the sweet delight of my soul
>
> And house, and shining longing of this fatherland.
>
> Alas for the shorn ones, the widow and maidens his daughters. (48)

The damage of his death also echoed an earlier death, that of the infant heir Francis Russell, which John Russell's later death compounded as it took the earldom from Russell's blood family and reassigned it to John Russell's eleven-year old nephew. Russell laments:

> O comfort of a grandfather, a father's happiest desire,
>
> The very marrow of me, sad fate has taken you:

---

* The death of John Russell was a very real financial disaster for Russell and her daughters. John Russell did not leave a will and in any case had little to leave his family. Russell was left with her widow's portion from her Hoby marriage. In order to provide dowries for her daughters she entered into a lengthy legal battle to secure some share of the Russell estate (Elizabeth Farber, "The Letters of Lady Elizabeth Russell (1540-1609)," Diss. Columbia U, 1977, 49-50).

O that I, the mother, lay dead. (49)

These tombs thus give witness to the damage the deaths worked upon Russell's house. Her strategy to repair this damage is to create complex structures in space, accessing the cultural significations practiced in funerary monuments.

Russell does this through the significations of culture discussed earlier. Her texts, engraved on the tombs, complement these devices as she attests to the nobility and honor of the men she commemorates in Latin, Greek and English. First, in English she proclaims that Philip Hoby, her brother in law, was "A Courtier passing, and a courteous Knight,/ Zealous to God, whose Gospell he profest" (205). The use of the term "Courtier" would be well understood by her culture to encompass both a member of the court, and a person in possession of those qualities outlined in Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier,* which was translated and published by Thomas Hoby in 1561. In Latin she writes of Philip,

> No little glory have you and your family, PHILIP,
>
> Whose virtue was especially known abroad.
>
> Whom the land of ITALY and GERMANY both knew. (208)

On the same tomb she describes, in English, her husband Thomas as one who "with such Wisdom grew to guide the same;/ As had encreas'd great Honour to his Race" (205). He is the dutiful subject who, she says in Latin, served "your country, public affairs in hand,/ You have died, a sad corpse in an unknown land" (207). She proclaims both in English and in Latin the honor of these two men, trusted by monarchs, serving selflessly. These texts work with the visual signs of the tomb; the two armored men laying slightly on their sides, their heads tilted at an angle looking up to the heavens, resting on their helmets. At their feet are hobby hawks, a heraldic reference to their familial connections. As mentioned earlier, the tomb has three brightly painted heraldic sheilds, and is decorated with architectural motifs, columns, arches, frieze and other decorative details signifying their connections with the elite. This tomb, in All Saints at Bisham, made a significant visual and verbal connection to the house close by, Bisham Abbey, where Thomas Hoby's son, Edward, would continue to live and entertain members of the elite (fig. 6-13). Queen Elizabeth paid a visit to Bisham in August of 1592, while James I was a frequent visitor.[53] The tomb functions to support the Hoby claim to elite status in the immediate community, and makes clear the place of the family in the ranks of the social hierarchy, to the benefit
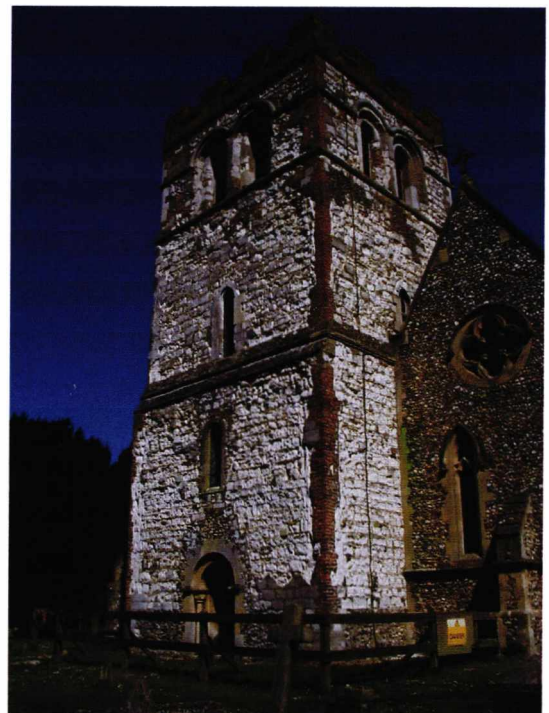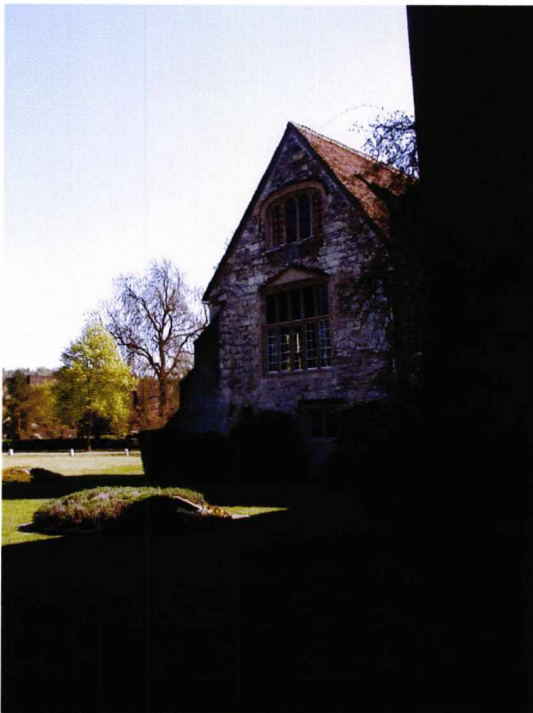
Figure 6.13: Bisham Abbey, Berkshire

Above: Bisham Abbey

Below: Bisham Abbey   **Below:** All Saints Bisham

of contemporary and future generations.

Russell employs the same strategy with the Westminster tomb of John Russell. She uses three languages on this tomb, English, Latin and Greek. In Latin this "heir of an earl" is described as a man of "elegance, looks, language, and just character," the "shining longing of this fatherland" (48). In English Russell proclaims him as,

> Right noble twice by virtue and by birth,
>
> Of heaven lov'd, and honour'd on the earth;
>
> His Countries hope, his kindreds chiefe delight. (50)

In Greek she terms him her "most illustrious husband Lord Russell" (47). She portrays him in his crimson coronation robes, a vibrant signification of his connection to the monarch. He too lies on his side, looking out with a bold stare. The tomb uses the architectural motifs in currency at the time: the arch, marble columns, decorated capitals, gilded and ornately designed chests. In addition there are gilded angels, and two stylized women, in contemporary dress, perhaps signifying his daughters, on either side of a tablet of text inset within the arch. The lintel is carved and gilded, with heraldic medallions across it. There can be no doubt that those who viewed this monument would connect him, and by association his family, with the elite. Russell makes clear in the texts that literally surround the effigy the exact relationship between the dead man and his family, that sort of precision Llewellyn identifies as vitally important. One Latin poem positions the daughters, Anne and Elizabeth Russell, as desolate mourners:

> Weep now, daughters, now chant out a mourning poem,
>
> Alas he has died, the only glory of our home.
>
> Bitter death has ravished that flower in bright nobility. (48)

Another poem on the tomb, this time written by Russell's son, Edward Hoby, affirms a connection between Russell's Hoby sons, and the Russell family, creating an advantageous and publicly proclaimed link between the Hoby sons and the honor and prestige of the Russell family:

> Who you were, what sort, and how much, your heraldry shows,
>
> Your unstained life teaches, and your woeful death proves.
>
> May it suffice for a step-son to have offered these few verses,
>
> You in spirit a father to him, he a son to you (50).

Russell's final tomb, her own, which she designed, also utilizes the strategies discussed above, but this time the purpose of the tomb, while certainly advantageous to the living by asserting a variety of elite connections advantageous to them, serves as a potent image of the identity of Elizabeth Russell. Her monument in All Saints, Bisham is spare in its textual inscription, unlike the other tombs she designed (fig. 6-6). Instead, the tomb relies on effigial iconography to provide a visual statement exemplifying the identity Russell struggled to create for herself through the texts she had inscribed on the monuments to her husbands, and tablet to her daughters. Fundamentally each tomb illustrates Russell's struggle to maintain a sense of "self," a unique identity in a culture where one's persona was inextricably linked to the demands of a hierarchal cultural ideology. This was true for all members of society, while for women the maintenance of a personal identity was additionally complicated by contemporary ideology which located and defined women more narrowly.

Through the representational spaces of the tomb Russell negotiates an identity that she portrays in its finality upon her monument. Phillippy identifies the "potential of early modern mourning rituals to enable powerful performance of subjectivity for the women who engaged in them."[54] Llewellyn explains that monuments such as Russell's—with its architectural motifs, heraldry and texts—portray a particular image of the subject's "monumental body," or social persona. This "monumental body" was not distinct from the identity of the subject, but integral to it, especially in the cultural milieu of the time. Llewellyn describes the monumental body as "an invented form designed to replace, in theory forever, the life that had been lost or was eventually to be lost."[55] The moment of birth into the elite, with its ceremonies of institution and the elaborate christening rituals, is, as Bourdieu explains,

> the imposition of a social essence. The process of institution, the assigning of an essence, a competence, is the imposition of a right to be, something. It is to signify to someone what he [she] is, and to signify to him [her] that he [she] must comport himself [herself] in a certain manner in consequence.[56]

The result is that, according to Bourdieu, individuals become what they "are."[57] Russell's tombs continually rehearse and assert what she "is" during these periods of crisis, as she explains to Robert Cecil, "I cannot bring my heart to be content to dishonour the dead, or not to give all due to my dead darling while I breathe."[58]

Russell reveals, through the "labour of symbolic production" an identity that emerges from "crisis situations when the meaning of the world is no longer clear."[59]

Influential in Russell's reconstruction of her identity following the tragedy of her first husband's death, and proving important for all her later epitaphs, is a letter Queen Elizabeth wrote to Russell shortly after Thomas Hoby's death:

> We hear out of France such singular good reports of your duty well accomplished towards your husband, both living and dead, with other your sober, wise and discreet behaviour in that Court and country, that we think it a part of great contentation to us, and commendation of our country, that such a gentlewoman hath given so manifest a testimony of virtue in such hard times of adversity. And, therefore, though we thought very well of you before, yet shall we hereafter make a more assured account of your virtues and gifts.[60]

This letter survives as a copy in the hand of William Cecil, Russell's brother-in-law, who, in his notes on the reign of Elizabeth, included this situation amongst great affairs of state :

> Sir Thomas Hobby dyed at Pariss, and the Lady his Wiff, being then with Child, brought his Body afterward into England. She being great with Child, which was born in England, and christened by the Name of Posthumus. [13 July 1566] [61]

It is certainly not coincidental that the inscriptions on the tomb, written after the receipt of Elizabeth's letter, make much of the Russell's much-praised behavior under adversity. In English, on the front of the sarcophagus, she laments:

> Since in his Flower in Paris Towne he died,
>
> Leaving with Child behind his wofull Wife,
>
> In Forraine Land opprest with heapes of Grief,
>
> From parte of which, when she discharged was
>
> By fall of Teares, that faithfull Wives do shed;
>
> The Corps, with Honour, brought she to this Place,
>
> Performing here all due unto the dead,
>
> That done, this noble Tombe she caused to make. (205)

The pathos of the text becomes increasingly lachrymose in its repetition:

> I take my husband's corpse and children's feeble limbs.
>
> And so with filling womb I return by land and sea

To our homeland, lost in sorrow, loving death. (207)

She repeats thrice more the effect of this death upon herself. On the first of the tablets set on the wall behind the reclining figures, in Latin, she speaks:

> You have died, a sad corpse in an unknown land.
>
> And the piteous children burn with feverish flames.
>
> What shall I do, ay me, immersed in such misfortune!
>
> I wander about a hapless wife, a hapless mother,
>
> I weep for you, my own body, husband seized from me.
>
> Plundered as here I've been, I leave these funereal lands. (208)

On the second of the tablets, again in Latin, she grieves: "O better thus the tomb will hold us joined/ Than my sad house will hold me now alone." Finally, on the panels surrounding the top of the sarcophagus Russell states in English: "Leaving his wife great with child in a strange country/who brought hym honorably home, built this chapel"

Clearly Russell positions herself as a "faithfull" wife. The tomb of Thomas Hoby becomes not simply a visual memorial to his honor, but also to her "faithfulness." Pregnant wife, bereaved widow, tireless mother, the monument's inscriptions attest to Russell's possession of these three symbols of honorable womanhood within the sacred space of her community. Yet, in creating this monument Russell does more than to simply to insure her community will recognize that she possesses accepted qualities of womanhood. The tears, the journey, the erection of the monument are all part of a performance of epic of womanhood. Most women in the culture followed accepted codes of behavior at the death of a spouse of their expected duty at the death of a spouse. As John Bale makes clear, "A wydowes offyce it is to burye the deade."[62] Yet while other women enacted this duty more or less appropriately, Russell goes far beyond required codes of behavior. Her monument attests to a journey beginning in a foreign court, where not only laden with the body of her dead husband, young children and unborn child, she had also become for a short period, as Elizabeth's letter makes clear, England's ambassador in France. From this position she travels across a foreign country, the sea, and finally returning, a female heroine, to her home. Rather than being the passive victim of a disaster, she shows herself to be noble, courageous, steadfastness, resilient and resourceful. These qualities are displayed in a constant refrain on her husband's tomb. They are the attributes of self Russell places in the sacred space of her parish church to be

consumed constantly, becoming inscribed on the consciousness of her community. Within this context, Elizabeth's letter becomes a form of applause, which does not simply validate but valorizes her acts. Through textual and visual significations Russell does present a culturally approved definition of the female self, that of the dutiful wife. Yet, her texts negotiate beyond this determination. The persona she presents is more than a grieving wife; she is a woman of courage, a woman of phenomenal strength whose behavior moved the admiration of a Queen.

Russell's epitaph to Philip Hoby is more dutiful and less emotional. Still, it participates in her narrative of female honor, providing an important setting for the more heroic actions portrayed on the rest of the monument:

> You, brother to my THOMAS, most worthy brother,
>
> Between whom there was one mind, one understanding.
>
> It was you, you wanted your brother THOMAS to marry me,
>
> Through your judgment I have been to you a sister.
>
> Thus to you I owe my husband, thus I owe each child,
>
> You had given me all of these in tribute. (208)

These lines, in Latin, follow immediately those where she praises Philip as an important ambassador for the crown, gaining honor in three European countries. That such an honorable man should give her as "tribute" his brother and heir, creates a potent witness for her value.[*] This epitaph reveals Russell's perception of honor as encompassing more than the dutiful behavior of a wife, but other qualities that marked her as elite. Indeed she had close at hand a manifesto of culturally defined honor in Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*. Unquestionably she at least read, if not actually helped edit, her husband's translation of this work. In it the qualities of an honorable woman are listed. They include:

> … wisedom, noblenesse of courage, staiednesse, and many moe, and likewise the conditions that are meet for all women, as to be good and descreete, to have the understanding to order her husbands goodes, and her house and children, when she is married, and all those partes that belong to a good huswife.[63]

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[*] This is a fairly accurate rendering of her courtship. Anthony Cooke, Russell's father, was a close friend to Philip Hoby. He brought his daughter to Bisham at Philip's invitation at Midsummer in 1557. Thomas Hoby records in his diary, "At Midsommer cam to Bissham Sir William Cecill, my Lady Bourn, my Lady Cecill, with her sister, Elizabeth Cooke" (126). In 1558, he writes again, "Monday the xxvii of June, the marriage was made and solemnised betweene me and Elizabeth Cooke" (127).

Russell's poems make clear that she accepted these prescriptions for female honor, promoting a belief in her own "honor" to be consumed by those viewing her monuments.

Another potent dimension to this identity was her devotion to her spouses, portrayed again through the monuments as heroic. The pathos of sentiment presented on the tombs enacts an intense emotional response to the death of these men. On both her husband's tombs she manipulates tropes of expected female behavior in order to portray herself as extraordinary. Yet the intensity also serves to signal that her attachment to her husbands was an important part of her conception "self." The tomb of John Russell is brief, but emotionally forceful text, placed strategically in the center of the tomb chest, in English:

> Death hath me reft: but I from death will take
>
> His memory to whom this tombe I make.
>
> John was his name, (ah, was) wretch must I say
>
> Lord Russell once, now my tear thirsty clay. (50)

In similarly powerful language, in Latin, she laments the death Thomas Hoby:

> What shall I do, ay me, immersed in such misfortune!
>
> I wander about a hapless wife, a hapless mother,
>
> I weep for you, my own body, husband seized from me.
>
> Plundered as here I've been, I leave these funereal lands …
>
> Husband dear to me, most excellent THOMAS,
>
> In whom was right and noble all that was:
>
> ELIZABETH, a wife most pleasing once to you,
>
> Declaims these words replete with pious tears.
>
> I could not keep off death, but this body of death
>
> So well as I can, I'll always hold in honor.
>
> O Lord, grant me a husband much like THOMAS
>
> Or let my fates return me to my THOMAS. (207)

These lamentations reveal a conception of self influenced by what John Donne terms as the "interanimation" of the male and female souls. Again, this belief is expressed in the *Book of the Courtier*:

> Even so of the felowship of male and female, there ariseth a
>
> compound preserving mankinde, without which the partes were in

decay, and therefore male and female by nature are alwaies together, neither can the one be without the other: right so he ought not to bee called the male, that hath not a female (according to the definition of both the one and the other) nor the female that hath not a male.[64]

By invoking this Neoplatonic concept, Russell sublimates traditional wifeliness, using her inscriptions on the tombs as a means to appropriate a culturally acceptable discourse through which to present a conception of self which is much more than her society will generally allowed to women. That Russell was successful in her strategies to be recognized in her society as a woman of "wisedom, noblenesse of courage" and "staiednesse" is attested to by John Harington. He publishes Russell's actions in the notes of his translation of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, asserting Russell's superiority to the famed Vittoria in Ariosto's thirty-seventh book. Vittoria is described as a faithful wife who confers on her dead husband a sort of immortality: "Whose learned pen such privilege can give/ As it can cause those that are dead to live."[65] Harington claims:

And for that cause [Ariosto] preferreth her [Vittoria] before Porcia, wife of Brutus, and divers other that dyed voluntarie soone after their husbandes, it was because she wrate some verses in manner of an Epitaph upon her husband after his deceasse. In which kynde that honorable Ladie (widow of the late Lord John Russell) deserveth no lesse commendation, having done as much for two husbands.[66]

However, on her final tomb, the husbands are absent except as heraldic references in the shields that adorn the tomb. Instead, Russell's tomb is a celebration of her agency. Again, she draws upon valorized female behavior, representing her fecundity and maternal duty. All of her children are portrayed on this tomb, those that predeceased her under the canopy, while those living at her death kneel outside of it. Certainly a potent aspect of Russell's identity was motherhood. Throughout the poems her children are continually referred to, the lamentations on the husband's tombs often focus as much on the ways in which the death has compromised the children as harmed Russell herself. On John Russell's tomb she writes in Latin: "Weep now, daughters, now chant out a mourning poem,/ Alas he has died, the only glory of our home," and then in Greek, "Alas for the shorn ones, the widow and maidens his daughters/ For he in dying took from them life's delight." (48). On the

Hoby tomb she inscribes the image of his "children's feeble limbs" (207). Her poems to her dead children are sorrowful texts. On her Russell infant, Francis, she writes:

> O comfort of a grandfather, a father's happiest desire,
>
> The very marrow of me, sad fate has taken you:
>
> O that I, the mother, lay dead, the light denied me,
>
> And he had first fulfilled my final rites! (49)

To the two dead Hoby daughters she inscribes on a stone tablet in the floor in front of the tomb of Thomas and Philip Hoby:

> ELIZABETH lies here (oh my visceral pangs), by fate
>
> You lie here, delicate maiden, scarcely grown.
>
> Dear to me you lived once, a daughter of your mother,
>
> Now live dear to God, a daughter of your father.
>
> Your death was cruel, a crueler one
>
> Because your younger sister ANNE died with you.
>
> ANNE, glory of your father and mother, after your sister's fate,
>
> After your mother's tears, golden maiden, here you lie.
>
> There was one mother, one father, one death for two,
>
> And here a single stone conceals two bodies.
>
> Together in one tomb, thus I your mother wanted you,
>
> Whom I, with joy and crying, carried in one womb. (209)

The devotion shown on the tombs is also attested to by a letter she wrote to Robert Cecil shortly after the death of her Russell daughter, Elizabeth, "my heart will not yet serve me to come to Court, to fill every place I there shall come in with tears by remembrance of her that is gone."[67] As with the representations of grief portrayed for her husbands, Russell utilizes language allowed to her by society to speak of her children, while at the same reinvigorating the discourse as a means of circumventing cultural bans on female ambition.

Russell's greatest ambition was the furtherance of her "house," revealing an identity dependent upon the outward acknowledgement of elite status by her society. Russell's letters give ample testimony to her very active participation in the social and political furtherance of her children and thus herself. The tombs themselves, as noted above, play an important role in her strategy for social advancement, creating connections between the Hoby and Russell families and documenting commitments of elite connections through the heraldry as well as the texts. Russell designed her

tomb as a monument not of her death, but as a tableau witnessing to the fulfillment of her ambitions, born perhaps of her early crisis as a young wife and the Queen's approbation. At Russell's death, her daughter, Anne Russell was a countess. Her Hoby son, Edward had found a place in the court of King James. Her second Hoby son, Thomas Posthumus, that child of her "filling womb," married an heiress and was a member of the Council of the North. All this is evinced on her tomb: her sons dressed in armor, kneeling outside the canopy at one end, Anne depicted with a coronet on the other end. The dead children—the infant Francis, Elizabeth Russell, Elizabeth Hoby and Anne Hoby—are also celebrated. The motif of the triumphal arch that frames this tomb, like so many others of its time, becomes the symbol of a portal, a passage through which the elect are allowed to pass. As Bachelard, quoting Porphyrus, notes, "a threshold is a sacred act."[68] These tombs mediated between the spatiality of the living and the dead. If one of the functions of an early modern monument was to be a sort of "reckoning" as Tarlow claims, this tomb asserts confidence. The central focus of the tomb is a majestic even regal Russell, dressed in black and white, with her co-opted coronet on her head. Her eyes are open as if perusing her text. She does not sleep like other sculpted figures of her time, but is active and aware. This monument gives witness spatially that Russell has counted her worth and not come up short.

Belsey asserts "To speak is to possess meaning, to have access to the language which defines, delimits, and locates power."[69] Lefebvre writes, "Words are in space, yet not in space. They speak of space, and enclose it."[70] Russell's elegiac writings and the tombs they adorned illustrate these perceptions. They speak, they possess meaning, they access the language of potency allowing for the negotiation of crises of death. In this way Russell is able to reassert her identity within the cultural framework of the period. Her words, while indeed existing in space, encompass and even entomb a much greater space, the social space of Elizabethan and early Stuart society. Through her texts she gives witness to Bourdieu's contention that,

> The social world embraces me like a point. But this point is a point of
> view, the principle of a view adopted from a point located in social
> space, a perspective which is defined, in its form and contents, by the
> objective position from which it is adopted. The social space is
> indeed the first and last reality, since it still commands the
> representations that social agents can have of it.[71]

Russell's tombs participate in this creation of representations. She, along with the many other members of the elite, fashioned elaborate monuments, representational spaces, that participated in the production of the hierarchical social space of early modern England. Parishioners sat among them, while travelers visited and described them. Their records are evidence of the cultural significance of these monumental spaces, as can be seen in the reading of the Tanfield monument (fig. 6-14), in St. John the Baptist, Burford, near Oxford by the traveler Lieutenant Hammond:

> in a neat Chappell, a fayre rich Monument stately built, with the sixe Pillers of Touchstone, and 4. Pillers, at the 4. Corners of white Marble, curiously cut, and engraven, and thereon lying that quicke and nimble Lawyer, and Learned Lord Chiefe Baron of the Exchecquer, [Sir Laurence Tanfield] and his worthy, and virtuous Lady; Hee in the Robes of a Judge, and Shee in her rich Garments. At their Head their onely Daughter, who was marry'd to that Lord, late Lord Deputy of Ireland. [Lord Faulkland] At their feet the now young Lord, the Grandchilde, who, with his Lady represented his living Personage that day at Church; And to reside /in, he hath 2. fayre Buildings at the one end whereof is in that Towne, and the other is not far off, but far richer: Many witty verses, and Inscriptions, are about the sayd Tombe.[72]

As this passage shows, the significations that adorned the monuments include: signs of elite status, judges robes and costly dress, connections to the houses owned by the living family member, and indicators of the family's participation in the aristocratic sphere of power. These significations create a spatial links, those webs of connection that in this case lead as far as Ireland, and make clear to the "reader" the network of elite connections of which those memorialized are a part. The connections cross the boundaries of mortality, linking the dead grandparents, and parents with their living son, forming a potent witness for the continuity of the contemporary power structure which travelers, parishioners and the family members themselves acknowledged.

In this way monuments of the period transformed, by a symbolic mediation, the lived space of the church. What resulted was a representational or heterotopic spatiality wherein the range of anxieties, desires, ideologies, ambitions, and

Figure 6-13: Tanfield monument, St. John the Baptist Burford, Oxfordshire
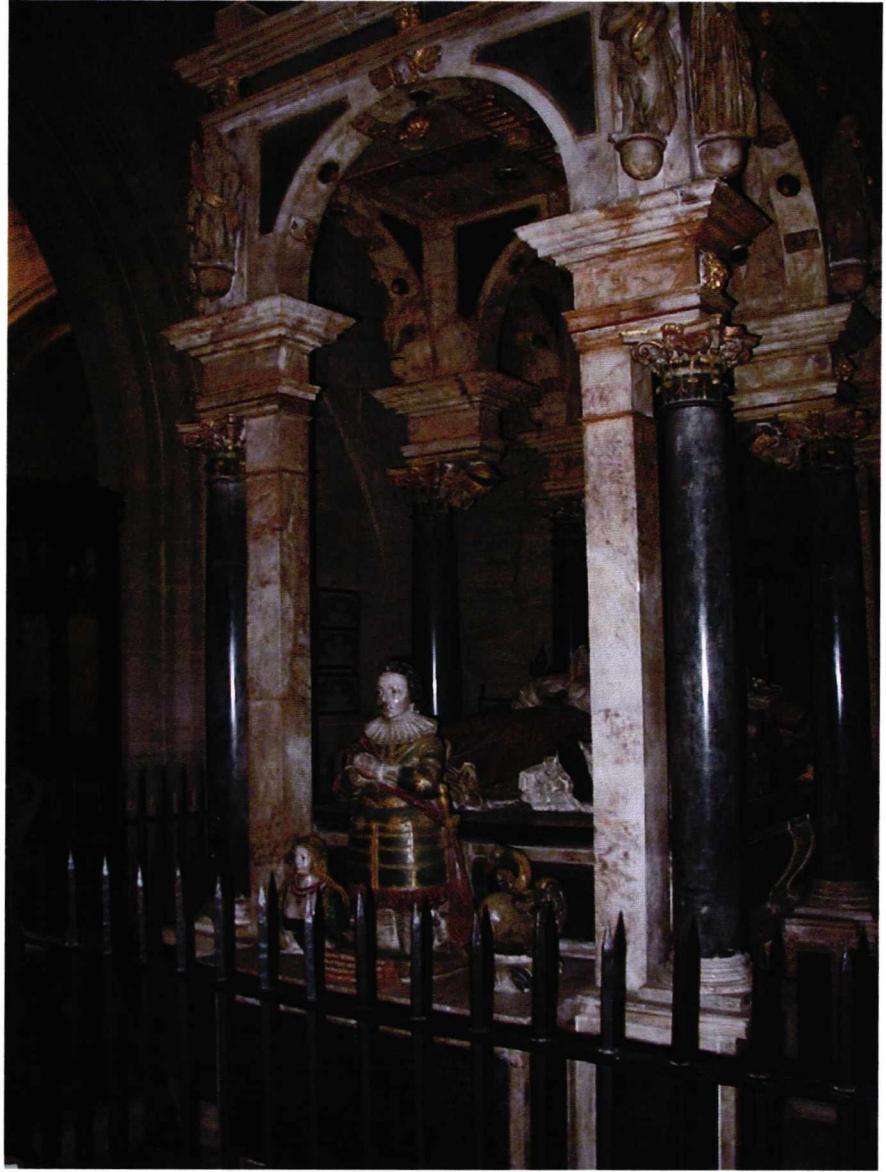
personalities were performed in a montage that while appearing static, functioned as a dynamic entity through the participation of those, like Lieutenant Hammond, who consumed the images. The Russell tombs participate fully in this dynamic. They perform a compelling narrative of a highly educated and courageous woman proud of her position, sure of her honor, beleaguered by circumstances, and grieved through adversity. In this narrative portrayed on the tombs she designed, hers is the most compelling identity–the husbands and children serve as objectified beings through which she portrays her "self." Through the symbolic functioning of the tomb Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell achieved what was denied her in life, a fixed and inviolate identity portraying her "self" as she understood and wished it to be. For in the representational space of death, narratives of self are manufactured out of dreams; imagination overlays images of life with symbols that both access lived experience and provide the means to transcend it. As Nico in Philip Sidney's *Old Arcadia* remarks: "Thy monument is laid ... so though thy body die, / The after folks shall wonder still at thee."[73]

[1] Rob Shields, *Lefebvre: Love and Struggle, Spatial Dialects* (London: Routledge,1999) 146-147.

[2] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1991) 231-232.

[3] Lefebvre, *Production* 251.

[4] Lefebvre, *Production* 235.

[5] Lefebvre, *Production* 221.

[6] Lefebvre, *Production* 222.

[7] Lefebvre, *Production* 222, 240.

[8] Lefebvre, *Production* 236-237.

[9] Tom Williamson and Liz Bellamy, *Property and Landscape : A Social History of Land Ownership and the English Countryside* (London: G. Philip,1987) 181.

[10] David Howarth, *Images of Rule* (London Macmillan, 1997) 153, 156,

[11] Eric Mercer, *English Art 1553-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962) 219.

[12] David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion, And the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997) 462.

[13] Timothy Mowl, *Elizabethan Jacobean Style* (London: Phaidon, 1993) 24.

[14] Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066-1550* (London: Routledge, 1997) 199-201.

[15] John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments with in the United Monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland and the Ilands Adjacent* (London, 1631) 52.

[16] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death* 470.

[17] Robert Hill qtd. in Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death* 471.

[18] Weever 10.

[19] Pierre Bourdieu, "Rites as acts of Institution," trans. Roger Just, *Honor and Grace in Anthropology*. ed. J.G. Peristiany and Julian Pitt-Rivers (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992) 88.

[20] Bourdieu "Rites" 88.

[21] Alan Sinfield, "The Cultural Politics of the *Defense of Poetry*," *Sir Philip Sidney and the Interpretation of Renaissance Culture*. eds. Gary Waller and Michael D. Moore (London: Croom Helm, 1984) 125.

[22] Louise Schleiner, *Tudor and Stuart Women Writers* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana UP,1994) 205. All subsequent references to translations of Russell's Greek and Latin tomb inscriptions on both the Hoby tombs and the Russell tomb will refer to this book and be referenced within the text. Tomb inscriptions in English will be quoted from the tombs themselves. The pages where they appear in Schleiner's book will be noted as a parathetically. Another edition of Latin texts from the Hoby tombs can be found in Elias Ashmole, *The Antiquities of Berkshire*, vol. 3 (London, 1719) 464-471. An Eighteenth-century translations of poems from the Russell monument appears in Paul Hentzner, *A Journey Into England by Paul Hentzner, in the Year 1598, p.* 26. See also Appendix I of this work.

[23] W.J. Loftie, *A Brief Account of Westminster Abbey* (London, 1894) 33.

[24] Nigel Llewellyn, "Honour in Life, Death and in the Memory: Funeral Monuments in Early Modern England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6th ser 6 (1996): 180.

[25] Henry Peachham, *The Complete Gentleman, The Truth of Our Times, and The Art of Living in London,* ed. Virgil B. Heltzel (Ithaca, New York: Cornell UP, 1962) 131.

[26] Katherine A. Esdaile, *English Church Monuments 1510-1840* (London, B.T. Batsford, 1946) 20.

[27] Felicity Heal, "Reputation and Honour in Court and Country: Lady Elizabeth Russell and Sir Thomas Hoby," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6th ser. 6 (1996) 167.

[28] William Page, ed., *Berkshire. The Victoria History of the Counties of England,* vol. 3 (1923; London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1972) 148.

[29] Maurice Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House: Architecture and Politics 1490-1550* (London: George Philip, 1987) 29

[30] Cressy 470.

[31] Cressy 471.

[32] J. Dart, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury* (London, 1726) 79.

[33] Llewellyn, "Honour" 193-194.

[34] Cressy 471.

[35] [Lieutenant] Hammond, *A Relation of a Short Survey of the 26 Counties,* ed. L.G. Wickham Legg. (London: F.E. Robinson, 1904) 61-62.

[36] Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984) 194.

[37] Michael Reed, *The Age of Exuberance* (London: Routledge, 1986) 128.

[38] Margaret Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain 1530-1830* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1964) 20.

[39] Whinney 17.

[40] Patricia Phillippy, *Women, Death and Literature in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002) 190, 197, 202, 206.

[41] Sarah Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archeology of Mortality* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999) 54.

[42] Llewellyn, "Honour" 187.

[43] Lefebvre, *Production* 74.

[44] Llewellyn, "Honour" 181.

[45] Tarlow 80.

[46] J.S.W. Helt, "Women, Written Memory and Will-Making In Elizabethan England," *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* eds. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2000) 190.

[47] Lefebvre, *Production* 222.

[48] Catherine Belsey, "Making Space: Perspective Vision and the Lacanian Real," *Textual Practice* 16 (2002): 33.

[49] Helt 190.

[50] Llewellyn, *Art of Death* 104.

[51] Reuben M. Rainey, "Hallowed Grounds and Rituals of Remembrance: Union Regimental Monuments at Gettysburg," *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, eds. Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi (New Haven: Yale UP. 1998) 69.

[52] Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984) 183.

[53] Page 147-148.

[54] Phillippy, 181.

[55] Llewellyn, *Art of Death* 102

[56] Bourdieu, "Rites" 83.

[57] Bourdieu, "Rites" 84.

[58] Cecil Papers, *Calendar of the MS of the most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury,* vol. 9 (London: Historical Manuscript Commission, 1902) 359.

[59] Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991) 236.

[60] Elizabeth Tudor qtd. in G.B. Harrison, ed., *Letters of Queen Elizabeth* (London: Cassell, 1935) 48-49. Elizabeth Tudor, "Letter to Elizabeth Hoby," *T. Baker Collectanea Oxoniensia*, Harley ms. 7035, British Lib., London. f. 161.

[61] William Murdin, ed., *A Collection of State Papers Relating to Affairs in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth From the Year 1571-1596* (London, 1759) 761-762.

[62] John Bale, *King Johan, Complete Plays of John Bale*, ed. Peter Happé, vol. 1 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1985) 86: 2185.

[63] Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier by Count Baldassare Castiglione.* Trans. Thomas Hoby (1928; London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1948) 190.

[64] Castiglione 199.

[65] *Ludovico Ariosto's Orlando Furioso: Translated Into English Heroical Verse by Sir John Harington 1591,* ed. Robert McNulty (Oxford: Claredon, 1972) 423.

[66] John Harington, Commentary, *Ludovico Ariosto's Orlando Furioso: Translated Into English Heroical Verse by Sir John Harington 159,* ed. Robert McNulty (Oxford: Claredon, 1972) 434.

[67] Cecil Papers, *Calendar of the MS of the most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury,* vol. 10 (London: Historical Manuscript Commission, 1904) 412.

[68] Porphyrus qtd. in Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon, 1969) 222.

[69] Catherine Belsey, *Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Differences in Renaissance Drama* (London : Methuen, 1985) 191.

[70] Lefebvre, *Production* 251.

[71] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, tran. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1977) 13.

[72] Hammond, *Short Survey of 26 Counties* 116-117.

[73] Philip Sidney, *The Old Arcadia*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999) 128.

Chapter 7

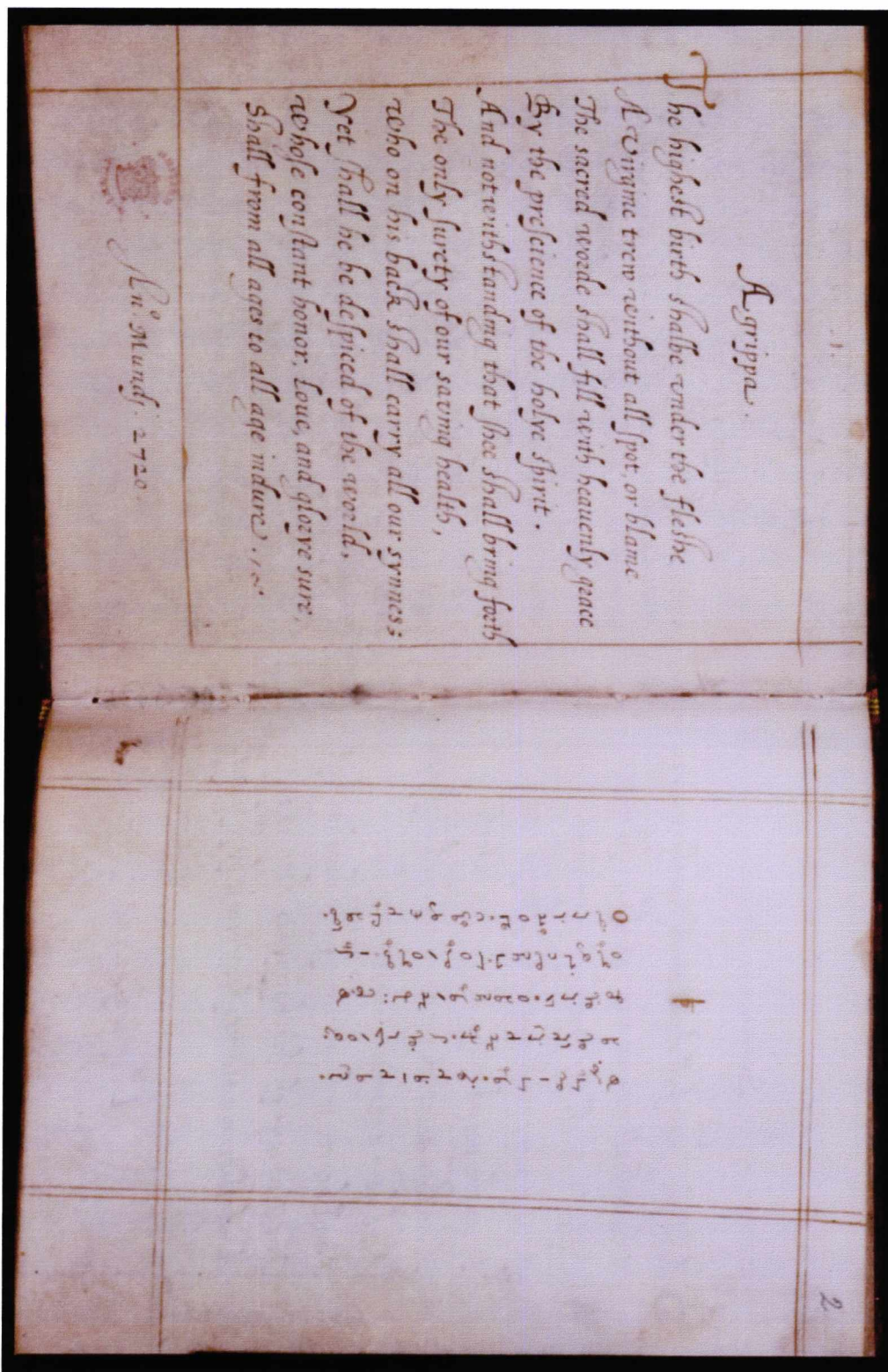## The Spatiality of Jane Seager's Sibylline Prophesies.

"Sibylla, who wrote in song-craft wise of Christ's birth, and of his passion, and of his resurrection," sang the monk Ælfric in his homilies for the Anglo-Saxon church.[1] A little more than five centuries later, an early modern woman would repeat this song-craft, creating out of Latin texts a beautifully crafted book of poems,[2] the songs of the sibyls who, at the time she wrote them, were beginning their slow decline into obscurity and irrelevance. Yet, in the last decades of the sixteenth century the sibylline prophesies enjoyed a final resurgence of attention and authority. These prophesies emerged from a sacred space geographically specific, while embracing all space through the totality of their visions. In the political and religious atmosphere of the 1580s and 1590s, with its ambitions and anxieties, the prophesies of the sibyls provided a unique imagery and symbolism through which to express and justify the Protestant imperialism of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

I.

Jane Seager uses this imagery in the gift book she created for Queen Elizabeth in 1589. Her hand-sewn and decorated book, covered in crimson velvet, contains the nativity prophesies of ten sibyls (fig. 7-1). Each poem is written on the facing page in neat italic script, while on the opposing page the poem is repeated in a shorthand developed by Dr. Timothe Bright and published in 1588 in his book, *Characterie An Arte Of Shorte, Swifte, And Secrete Writing By Character*. The poems are prefaced and concluded with Seager's addresses to the Queen. In choosing the sibyls as the subject of her work Seager appropriated a rich, if increasingly esoteric, tradition. W. Marsh notes in his treatise on the sibyls published in 1882:

> The traditions of women bearing this title, and possessed of prophetic
> gifts, point to a very remote antiquity. Already in the fifth century B.C.
> Aristophanes speaks of the sibylline verses as matters of old superstition,

Figure 7.1: page from J. Seager's *The Divine Prophesies Of The Ten Sibills*.

Agrippa.

The highest birth shalbe under the fleshe
A virgine trew without all spot or blame
The sacred woode shall fill with heavenly grace
By the presence of the holye spirit.
And notewithstanding that shee shall bring forth
The only surety of our saving health,
who on his back shall carry all our synnes;
Yet shall he be despised of the world,
whose constant honor, Love, and glorye sure,
Shall from all ages to all age indure.

An° Mundi: 2720.

and Plato, some forty years later, talks of the Sibyl with a certain measure

of respect, as a prophetess generally believed in and entitled to more than

ordinary credit.[3]

Indeed, more than ordinary credit was given to the sibyls up to the early modern period.

Images of these enigmatic prophetesses appear in works of art, drama, poetry, historical

chronicles, religious tracts and philosophical treatises throughout the medieval and early

modern periods. Initially the term sibyl was a generic term for a type of prophetesses

located in a specific geographical site.[4] These sibyls of place differed from "the

prophētai, and *promantides* of the various Greek oracle-centres as H.W. Parke explains,

"through their use of discursive verse and the subject matter of their prophesies which

were usually addressed to the world as a whole, rather than to a specific enquiry, with the

notable exception of the Cumæan in Vergil's *Aeneid.*"[5] The Erythræan sibyl was credited

with prophecying the destruction of Troy,[6] while the Tiburtine sibyl rebuked Caesar

Augustus for allowing himself to be worshiped as a god.[7] The Roman emperor

Constantine also spoke of a sibyl:

It has occurred to me to mention the various evidences of Christ's divinity.

The Erythræan Sibyl, who states that she was born in the sixth generation

after the Flood … prophesied in verse what would happen about God and

clearly by the initial letters of the verses, which is called an acrostic,

revealed the story of the coming of Jesus. [8]

Early Christian scholars appropriated sibylline prophecy as they sought to justify

their beliefs and proselytize in their pagan communities. The most influential of these on

the development of sibylline imagery into the early modern period was Lactantius who,

in the early fourth century, described ten sibyls, a list he derived from Varro:

It remains to speak of the prophetic women. Varro relates that there were

ten Sibyls—the first of the Persians, the second the Libyan, the third the

Delphian, the fourth the Cimmerian, the fifth the Erythræan, the sixth the

Samian, the seventh the Cumæan, the eighth the Hellespontian, the ninth

the Phrygian, the tenth the Tiburtine, who has the name of Albunea.[9]

Lactantius further states, "All these Sibyls, then, proclaim one God," thus explaining the

interest early Christian writers had in promoting these pagan prophet/deities as

independent evidence of the divinity of Christ and justification for the monotheistic religion practiced by early Christians.[10] Augustine, drawing on the work of Lactantius as well as other manuscripts, also presents the sibyls as pagan prophetesses who were divinely inspired to foretell the coming of Christ.[11] His acceptance of the existence and authority of the sibyls and of the verity of sibylline prophecy guaranteed their survival as potent images into the Middle Ages.

These enigmatic female figures feature often in mystery plays including the liturgical *Prophetae* of Laon and Rouen, the Towneley and Chester cycle plays,[12] as well as in the Ælfric Anglo-Saxon homilies,[13] the medieval *Dies Iræ*[14] and the twelfth-century "Lætabundus, Exultet Fidelis chorus" attributed to St. Bernard.[15] Geoffrey of Monmouth has shadowy, unnamed sibyls appearing at times of dynastic crisis.[16] Julia Crick notes that texts of sibylline prophesies are found to accompany eleven *Historia* manuscripts.[17] Christine de Pizan includes the Cumæan sibyl (called Althea) as a guiding figure akin to Dante's Virgil in the *Book of the Path of Long Study*. In the *Book of the City of Ladies* Pizan uses the example of the sibyls to support her case for the intellectual worth of women.[18] The Cumæan sibyl also features in Chapter 100 of Pizan's *Letter From Othea*, which retells the story of Augustus' rebuke. Boccaccio includes tales of the sibyls Erythræa and Amalthea in his *De Mulieribus Claris*[19] in the *Decameron.*

Visual images of the sibyls were ubiquitous throughout Europe well into the Renaissance, indeed experiencing something of a revival in sixteenth-century Europe as part of a renewed interest in the literature of ancient Greece and Rome.[20] They were common images in books of hours including the "Hours of the Diocese of Salisbury" printed by Simon Vostre, and Queen Isabella of Castile's *Breviarium* from the late fifteenth century.[21] In the Louvre four medieval sculptures from a series of sibyls survive (fig. 7-2). In the British Museum an impressive series of enamel plaques is displayed depicting the sibyls by Leonard Limousin, enameller to Francis I from the 1550s (fig. 7-3). Giovanni Pisano decorated the pulpit of Pistoia with sibyls while a series of sibyls, believed to have been produced at Botticelli's studio between 1472 and 75, are now at Christ Church in Oxford.[22] In the Cathedral at Siena one can see a mosaic of the sibyls created in the 1480s. Pope Alexander VI commissioned a fresco of the twelve sibyls from Pinturicchio for one of the rooms in his apartments at the end of the fifteenth

Figure 7.2: from 12 Sibyls, Limoges, France, 1535-40, British Museum, London

Figure 7.3: Medieval Sibyls, Louvre, Paris

century. Raphael painted a fresco of the sibyls at Saint Agostino, Rome between 1511-1513 (fig. 7-4). The marble casket inside The Holy House in Recanati by Donato Bramante has ten Sibyls, located in the upper niche sculptured by G. Battista Della Porta created between 1570 and 1573. Of course, the most famous visual depiction of sibyls is that by Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel. In England medieval series of sibyls are depicted on screens in churches at Ugborough, Heavitree, Exeter and Bradninch, while isolated figures remaining from similar medieval series occur on the screen at Ipplepen in Devon and in the east window at the parish church next to Coughton Court in Warwickshire.[23]

These series of sibyls tended to follow the ten named sibyls listed by Varro and Lactantius. However, in the fifteenth century two new sibyls were introduced, the sibyl Europa and the sibyl Agrippa, which Gilbert Creighton contends were at one point alternative names for two of the ten sibyls listed by Lactantius. The prophesies of these twelve are always related to the nativity, while the prophesies to do with the passion are depicted using only the traditional ten.[24] Edward Tasker attributes the introduction of these twelve, and the nativity prophesies, to a Dominican friar, Fileppo Barbieri, writing in the late fifteenth century.[25] In the sixteenth century several editions of Barbieri's sibylline prophesies became widely available in England. It is one of these editions that Seager used as she set about to create the gift book she would present to Queen Elizabeth.

That Barbieri's Latin prophesies of the sibyls are the source for Seager's nativity poems is quite clear when one compares the Latin verse with Seager's text. For example, Barbieri's sibyl Persica states:

> Virgine matre satus: pando residebit asello
>
> Iucundus princeps: unus qui ferre salutem
>
> Rite queat lapsis: tamen illis forte diebus
>
> Multi multa ferent immensi fata laboris
>
> Solo sed satis est oracula prodere verbo
>
> Ille dues casta nascetur virgine magnus.[26]

Seager's Persica follows this Latin source closely, rendering it in English verse:

Figure 7-4: Sibyls by Raphael,

Above: sibyls in fresco at Saint Agostino, Rome
Below: *Study for the Phrygian Sibyl,* a drawing 1511-12, British Museum London

A joyfull prince borne of a virgine chast

Sytting upon an Asses colt shall come:

To rayse them up that fall their synnes to cure,

Though peradventure in those dayes shalbe,

Some that shall suffer great affliction,

(Allotted them by dyvers destynies)

Lett it suffize, that one worde maye explane

An Oracle, or prophesye divine:

This mighty god, this King as erst I sayd,

Shalbe brought forth by a most blessed mayd. (f. 7)

Seager had a variety of published texts from which she could have accessed Barbieri's sibylline poems.[*] These were first published in the late fifteenth century and appear in a collection of religious texts in 1510. An even more likely source for Barbieri's poems, because of its wide availability, is one of the numerous editions of Sebastion Castalioni's *Sibyllinorum Oraculorum* initially published in Switzerland in 1544, but subsequently published in various collections and editions.[27] Seager uses only ten of Barbieri's twelve sibyls, leaving out the sibyl Hellespontica, and the sibyl Phrygia. The possible reasons for this will be discussed later.

Seager accessed a sibylline tradition that reached back into classical times. However it is important to note that when she chose to create her book she was choosing an already esoteric and growingly contentious subject matter. Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, had already let off an early volley attacking on veracity of the sibylline oracles in his *A Defensative Against the Poyson of Supposed Prophecies* first printed in in London, 1583.[28] This attack was politically motivated, and part of an exchange that would find the sibyls appropriated and attacked by both Protestants and Catholics, as positions on the pagan prophesies of Christianity, the prophesies of Hermes Trimegistus,

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[*] Seager did not use the French text of the sibylline nativity poems, *Sibllarum Duodicim*, Paris 1586. Her rendering of the Latin, and ordering of the images, phrases and content is significantly different from this French text, which drew only general content from Barbieri's sibylline texts.

Orpheus, and Merlin, shifted during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.* The ambiguous status of the sibylline prophesies led to a diminishing of imagery related to the sibyls in England during the second half of the sixteenth century. With the exception of Seager's book, in the literature of the early modern period the sibyl appears mainly as a shadowy figure, and usually in the singular. Still, in her poems the sibyls speak with a power and mystery that create an unbroken connection to their long hidden or forgotten origins in the medieval, classical and pre-classical past.

That these origins are primarily spatial is obvious by their names. Often descriptions of sibyls contain within them the places of their origin. The writer of an early seventeenth-century English description of the sibyls connects several of the sibyls to places which they were inextricably linked:

> There are according to the historrographe x Sybilles. 1. of Perse and she was called Persica. 2. of Libya and was called Lybia. 3 of Delphos and was called Delphia. 4 was called Cim[mer]na of Italy. 5 … was called Erythrlla borne in Babylon she told the grief going to besiege Troy that shallby detroy it. She was [known by] Homer of many that she was called Eritea for bycause in that Island her prophesies were found. 6. was Sam[ian] borned in the island of Samos she. 7 Cumana called also Almathea. She responded to Tarquines pride … she is called Cumana of Cuma … 8 Helosponsionna she was borne … in Troy, and that was in Solons time. the 9 Prygi[an], and prophesied at Acyrent. 10ᵗʰ Tiburtino

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* Protestant reformers, anxious to promote Elizabeth as divinely appointed to usher in a new age, drew upon the apocalyptic prophesies of the sibyls and other pagan prophesies of Christianity. John Foxe looked to the warnings of the sibyl Erythrea to support his contention that the Elizabethan period was appointed as the time of this new age (*Acts and Monuments*, vol. 4: 115). John Bale concurred with Fox. It is worth noting that his library included a copy of the Sibylline oracles (Bauckman 25-26). Others went further, Peter French and John Clulee contend that many, like John Dee, looked to the ancient pagan prophets in the attempt to bring about "religious reunion through the revival of a mystical religion of the world" which drew upon sibylline and other related prophesies (French 135). Clulee contends that Dee and those associated with him saw "the Corpus hermeticum, the supposedly Pythagorean Carmina aurea, the Orphica, the Oracula chaldaica, and the *Oracula sibylline*" as embodying an ancient theology "of a mosaic or pre-mosaic revelation from God." (128). Given this use of sibylline prophesies to promote anti-Catholic aims, Catholic antagonism towards them was to be expected. However, like Protestants, Catholic scholars did draw upon the sibylline prophesies to promote their own agendas. The *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Cesare Baronius appearing between 1588 and 1607 provided a Counter-Reformation response to the Protestant view of church history that elicited an attack in 1614 on authenticity of the sibylline prophesies by the Protestant writer, Isaac Causabon (Yates, *Bruno* 399).

named Albunea. They all prophecyed of the incarnation of our Lord god Jesus Christ.[29]

This writer clearly used Lactantius's descriptions in compiling his list. Lactantius' text demonstrates even more profoundly the ways in which the sibyls were intimately connected to particular social spaces, not only inhabiting them, but informing these spatialities with their prophesies and interpretations. The sibyls described by Lactantius are entities which inform the landscapes they inhabit:

> the first was from the Persians and of her Nicanor made mention, who wrote the exploits of Alexander of Macedon; the second of Lybia, and of her Euripides makes mention in the prologue of the Lamia … third of Delphi, concerning whom Chrysippus speaks in that book which be composed concerning divination; the fourth a Cimmerian in Italy, whom Nævius mentions in his books of the Punic war, and Piso in his annals; the fifth of Erythræa, whom Apollodorus of Erythræa affirms to have been his own countrywoman, and that she foretold to the Greeks when they were setting out for Ilium, both that Troy was doomed to destruction, and that Homer would write falsehoods; the sixth of Samos, respecting whom Eratosthenes writes that he had found a written notice in the ancient annals of the Samians; the seventh of Cumæ, by name Amalthæa, who is termed by some Herophile, or Demophile, and that she brought nine books to the king Tarquinitis Priscus … the eighth was from the Hellespont, born in the Trojan territory, in the village of Marpessus, about the town of Gergithus; and Heraclides of Pontus writes that she lived in the times of Solon and Cyrus; the ninth of Phrygia, who gave oracles at Ancyra; the tenth of Tibur, by name Albunea, who is worshipped at Tibur as a goddess, near the banks of the Anio, in the depths of which her statue is said to have been found, holding in her hand a book.[30]

These descriptions of the sibyls connect them outwardly to the social space of human interaction, while at the same time evoking a consciousness of a cryptic spatiality,

often metaphorically connected with the female gender. Lefebvre discusses "cryptic" space in relation to absolute space. [*] He defines it as a place of

> symbols and signs … concealed in grottoes or caves, they sometimes caused these places to be cursed, sometimes to become holy, as sanctuaries or temples. The truth of signs and the signs of truth are contained within the same enigmas: the enigma of the Italian and Roman *mundus*—the hole, the bottomless pit. The enigma, too, of the Christian reliquaries—those underground churches or chapels so aptly named 'crypts.' And the enigma, finally of an opaque body—or opaque bodies—whence truth emerges in stunning clarity. [31]

The sibyls exist within these grottoes and caves; famed for enunciating enigmatic and often terrifying prophesies. They inhabit a spatiality of mystery, of subterranean depths which contain both "signs of death and traces of the struggle against death."[32] Through these entities the forces of death are turned against themselves. Bachelard also discusses the quality of this cryptic spatiality inhabited by the sibyls. These places beneath the ground move beyond the forces of death, to a greater connection with nature. Their underground passages and rooms are dynamic, intimating connections with a wider nature; not only spaces of depth, but of ascension. They exist beneath mountain regions, rootlike, the subterranean depths providing a base or a foundation, providing the means through with the mountain can ascend to the great loftiness and sky, thus metaphorically forming a connection between two deified spaces—that of the subterranean spaces of fear and mystery to the glorious heights of revelation.[33] This dynamic informs the spatiality of the sibyls with a potency through what Lefebvre terms the "magic" of spoken words and symbols, "the breath of the Spirit, the bird of prophecy, the act of creation … infused even the realm of death with life."[34]

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[*] Lefebvre discusses the ways in which cryptic space, as a result of the development of abstract space, became "decrypted" or brought to the light of reason, a process he sees as fully in motion by the early modern period (Lefebvre 261). The sibyls, as entities which inhabit an essentially "cryptic" space, would certainly be implicated in this "decrypting." This retreat of the cryptic in the early modern period had implications for the ways in which the authority of the sibyls was beginning to be questioned during the period, but does not undermine the still potent use of this imagery in 1589 when Seager chose them as the subject of her text.

Bernard McGinn identifies, geographically, the connection between the sibyls and this cryptic space, explaining, "we know, for instance, that a cave near Erythræa on the coast of Asia Minor facing Chios was associated with the Sibyl from an early period."[35] Virgil was there before him. In the *Aeneid* it is the Cumæan Sibyl who dwells "in a place apart—a dark/ Enormous cave—the Sibyl feared by men," and leads Aeneas into the underworld through a cavern "wide-mouthed, and huge/ Rough underfoot defended by a dark pool/ And gloomy forest."[36] Justin, the author of the *Cohortatio ad Graecos* in the last half of the third century, records his own journey of discovery, traveling to the cave of the sibyl of Cumae in order to gather her prophesies and information about her from the local populace.[37] Henry Howard, in 1583, wrote that "All the Sybils, dwelt in grottes and secret places under ground" and inferred that their prophesies too, are things dark and inscrutable.[38] Amedeo Maiuri, who rediscovered the cave in the 1930s reputed to be that of the Cumæan Sibyl in Italy (fig. 7-5), describes this space:

> After the first 25 metres, of which all that remains is the entrance and the lower part of the walls, we find ourselves in a vast underground passage lighted down the side by trapezoidal windows almost miraculously intact … cut straight through the tufaceous bank of the mount … It opens at one end into a great rectangular chamber likewise excavated in the tufa bank, with large niches and a vaulted roof … At the end lies the inner room of the oracle, the penetralia, and subterranean habitation (called the thalamus) … of the prophetic Sibyl.[39]
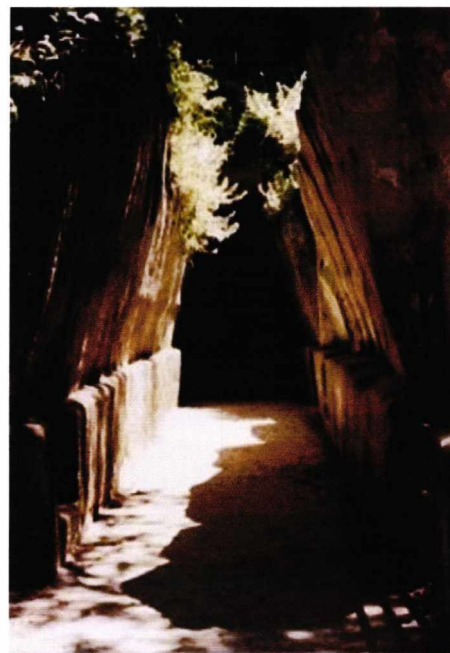
In the *prophetae* plays (plays of the old testament prophets), the sibyls come from their cryptic spaces to chastise humanity. In the Towneley "Play of the Prophets" a sibyl chides:

> Here me wytterly.
> Sibill sage is my name:
> Bot ye me here, ye ar to blame;
> My word is prophecy.
> All men was slayn thrugh Adam syn,
> And put to pyne that never shall blyn
> Thrugh falsnes of the feynd.[40]

Figure 7-5: Cave of the Sibyl, Cumae, Italy

Above: Lake Avernus

Right: Entrance to the sibyl's cave

Left: Passage way to inner chamber.   **Below:** Inner Chamber

Images from: http://wings.buffalo.edu/AandL/Maecenas/italy_except_rome_and_sicily/cumae/thumbnails_contents.html

A description of a performance of a *prophetae* play in Palermo in 1581 describes the entrance of the Persian sibyl: "When Isaiah has finished, the Persian sibyl shall come from her cave, dressed in a golden dress with a white veil."[41] In the *Dies Iræ*, the medieval sequence said at Mass for the dead, the writer laments,

> The day of wrath, that dreadful day,
>
> Shall the whole world in ashes lay,
>
> As David and the Sibyls say.
>
> What horror will invade the mind.[42]

The images of the sibyls look down in somber gaze at those who enter the churches at Ugborough, Heavitree, Bradninch, Ipplepen and the many other parish churches of England and Europe, where these prophetesses of things past and things yet to come welled up in sacred places, threatening death and also paradoxically life.

John Foxe, John Bale and others recognized the power of these figures and used their prophesies to add authority to their own religious interpretations of apocalypse. Yet the sibyls remain enigmatic even in appropriation, one of the essential attributes of the cryptic. The statues of four sibyls in the Louvre stare out in a commanding and disturbing way. Their frighteningly distracted, yet penetrating gaze separates these women from the more mild countenances of female saints. These are women imbued with power from an unseen and mysterious source, not quite contained by the Christian apologists who had long appropriated them.

In early modern England one can see this quality of the sibyls recreated many times. While the venue for these representations had moved out of the churches, the essentially mysterious and powerful qualities of the sibyls continue to be reproduced in the ways in which they were depicted, and the setting in which they were placed, which tended to reinforce the qualities of a cryptic spatiality. In the Yorkshire manor house, Burton Agnes, built in 1601, two imposing sibyls flank the massive alabaster chimney piece with elaborately carved allegorical depictions, while atop the hall screen a series of seven stand gazing out, trance like, holding the objects associated with their prophesies (fig. 7-6). Like the sibyls in the Louvre, their gaze is authoritative and strangely
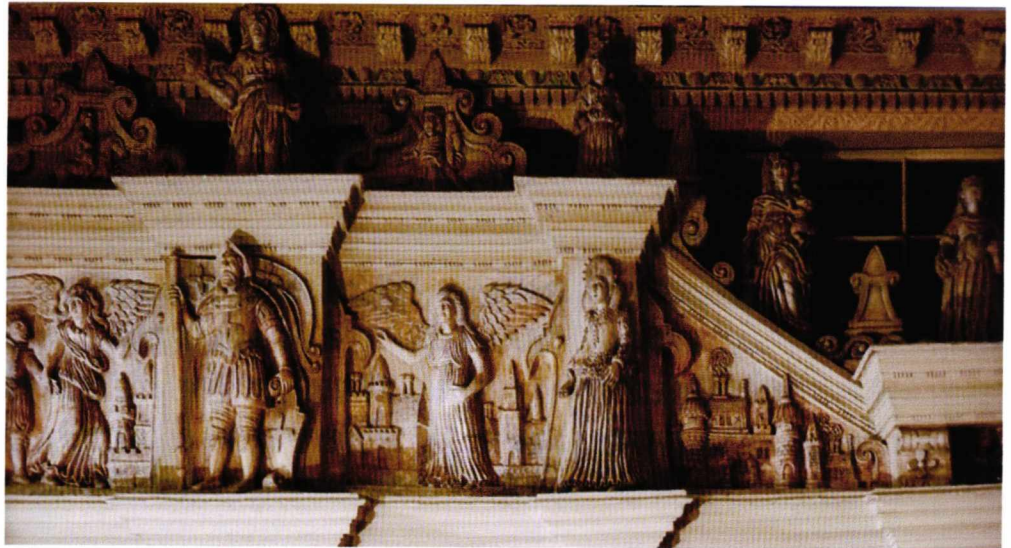
Figure 7-6: Sibyls at Burton Agnes, Yorkshire
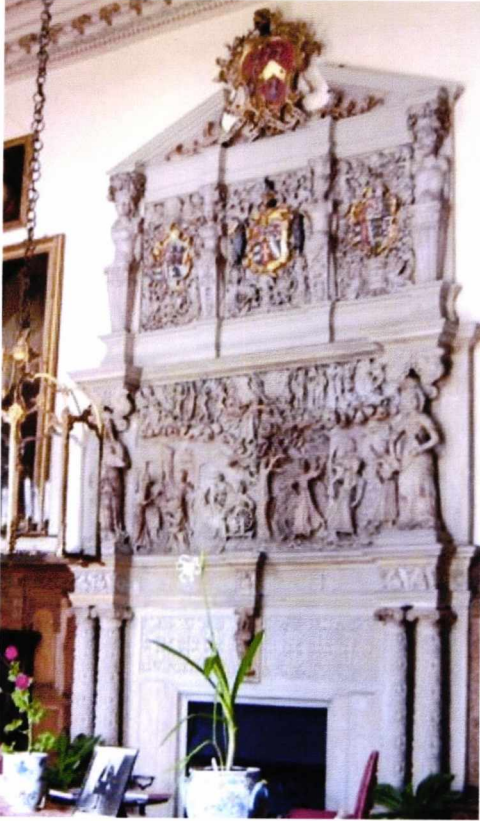
Above left: Fireplace with sibyls. **Above right:** Detail.

Below: Sibyls at the top of the hall screen. **Left:** Detail of sibyl from Hall screen.

disconcerting, unlike the more gentle depictions of women placed between the sibylline sentinels above the chimney piece and carved on the hall screen. These stern women could easily be seen uttering the admonishment of Seager's sibyl Delphica, "I' will not be longe, but seilence must be kept" (f. 9). In a room at Cheyney Court[*] paintings of the twelve sibyls were executed on panels divided by Doric columns at the beginning of the seventeenth century, no later than 1611.[43] Interestingly, a nineteenth-century visitor to the house noted legends underneath the depiction of each sybil, which were loosely translated and truncated versions of Barbieri's text. [44]

Images of the sibyls also appeared from time to time in entertainments and literature of the period, and were often associated with events surrounding a royal presence. During Queen Elizabeth's progress in 1575, an entertainment at Woodstock, the "Hermit's Tale," features two lovers who "came to Sybylla's grott" and received a prophecy of her.[45] On her visit to Kenilworth in the same year, she was greeted by a sibyl "Whear, in the Park, about a flight shot from the Brayz and first gate of the Castl, one of the ten Sibills that (wee reed) wear all *Fatidicae* and *Theobulae*, (az parties and privy too the Gods gracious good willz) … pronounced a proper poezi in English ryme and meter … [a] prophecy certeyn, of mooch and long prosperitee health and felicitee."[46] When Queen Elizabeth visited Oxford in 1593, a verse presented to her compared the city to a "sober Sibbill sage."[47] Philip Sidney, in his *Defense of Poesie,* seeks in his argument to claim for poetry the sacred quality of sibylline oracles:

> Sybilla's prophecies were wholly delivered in verses, for that same exquisite observing of number and measure in words, and that high flying libertie of conceit propper to the Poet, did seeme to have some divine force in it.[48]

Shakespeare also connects the actions of the sibyl with a prophetic magic in the gift of the handkerchief to Desdemona. The darker connotations of sibylline prophesies here form part of the ongoing subtext of destruction in the play, which is certainly consistent

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[*] This house burnt down in 1883.

with the cryptic of absolute space, though in this tragedy little of the redeeming elements of cryptic space, the triumph over death through death, are evident:

> 'Tis true; there's magic in the web of it.
>
> A sibyl, that had numb'red in the world
>
> The sun to course two hundred compasses
>
> In her prophetic fury sewed the work.[49]

Seager's sibylline poems then, must be seen as participating in this discourse of cryptic space which elevated language, and the "word" above the visual, emanating as these prophesies did from hidden places. She taps into those qualities of early modern space where the remnants of absolute space continued to function. That Lefebvre connects this space with the feminine has implications for the understanding of Seager's poems. In her choice of subject matter she elevates cryptic space, identified culturally as female, and through these prophesies of the sibyls participates in the construction of a spatiality, which posits Elizabeth as divine. From this privileged "female space" Seager promotes this elevation of Elizabeth as a rationale and a justification for the production of an Elizabethan conception of social space that supported the sacral/imperialist expansion of their culture into a myriad of places, from the European to the newly discovered continents to the west.

II.

A belief in this sacral/imperialistic destiny of England during the early modern period found voice in a variety of works. The front page of Christopher Saxton's collection of county maps depicts Queen Elizabeth "enthroned in robes of state, crowned and bearing the orb and scepter (fig. 7-7). The figures of Astronomy and Geography flank her and Fortitude and Prudence appear on the plinths of the pillars of the canopy to the throne, while in a medallion over her head Peace and Justice embrace in allusion to Psalm 85: 'Justice and peace have kissed each other.'"[50] Marcus Gheeraerts's Ditchley portrait of Queen Elizabeth shows her standing on Saxton's map of England, a visual echo of Timothy Bright's connection of Elizabeth to England, "where your majestie is the ladie of the soyle."[51] In the Armada portrait Elizabeth's hand rests comfortably on the

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Figure 7-7: Front page, *Saxton's Atlas of England and Wales*, 1579.

globe, representing possession.

John Dee's *General and Rare Memorials* and a the manuscript he wrote to Elizabeth, *Brytanici Imperii Limite,*[52] along with other writings, set out a carefully argued case for Elizabeth's claim to "All those Septentrionall Iles, as BRYTANNICAS, wch a[re] in MARI BRYTANNICO', which came to be called 'OCEANUS BRYTANICUS' and which flows 'about and between ALBION & Irela[nde] & u[p] NORTHERLY to Greenland & so between ATLAN[ntis] and Norway.'"[53] In his *Brytanici Imperii Limite* he concludes his meticulously delineated argument by claiming: "from Florida northerly … the Tytle for all and Supreme governement is due, and appropriate unto your most gratious ma^tie." He reasserts that this claim is *"Jure Gentium, Jure Civilis, and Jure Divino, "*[54] (by right of the laws of nations, civil law, and the law of God.) Roy Strong describes the iconography used in the woodcut of Dee's *General and Rare Memorials*:

> We see Elizabeth riding in the ship of Christendom, attended by nobles, and with Europe (Europa and the Bull) at the side of the vessel. The Queen, who sits at the helm, is being entreated by the kneeling figure of Britannia to seize Occasion, poised on the summit of a rocky promontory, by the forelock. Occasion points to her forelock and proffers the Queen the victor's crown which will be hers if she follows Dee's advice and founds a mighty navy. Through this she will "enjoy, if not all our Ancient and due Appertenances, to this Imperial Brytish Monarchy, Yet at the least, some such Notable Portion therof.[55]

Peter French acknowledges that "Dee's imperial ambitions are staggering … Elizabeth could assume control of church and state with complete equanimity; and in John Dee's eyes, she had a God-ordained duty to expand her empire in the Arthurian tradition.[56] Religious writers like John Bale and John Foxe went further, pressing Elizabeth's claims beyond the secular to the sacred and positioning her as a new Constantine whose reign would usher in a new age of religious enlightenment. Seager's choice of the sibylline nativity poems, dealing as they do with the heralding of a new age, along with Seager's prefatory and salutary address, directly access and promote this growing

sacral/imperialistic consciousness where Seager terms Elizabeth one who "worlds with wounder might define" (f. 12).

Certainly, many scholars have identified the iconographical practice of positing Queen Elizabeth as a virgin deity. Susan Doran notes that Elizabeth was depicted in the frontpieces of many books, including John Case's *Sphaera Civitatis* (1588) as "monarch superior in virtue, who stands outside the political community and rules it as a god."[57] By the 1580s an esoteric iconography of Elizabeth as the virgin goddess, Cynthia or Venus-Virgo, emerged.[58] As John King explains, "Her status as 'Cynthia, Queen of Seas and Lands' further alludes to John Dee's claim for England's status as an imperialistic military and naval power, which was voiced with an increased stridency following the destruction of the Spanish Armada."[59] King discusses George Chapman's metaphorical identification of Elizabeth with the Moon in his *Shadow of Night* (1594), which includes the poems "Hymnus in Noctem" and "Hymnus in Cynthiam" celebrating the "ascendancy of the powerful Elizabethan moon over the European sun through the grand conceit of a solar eclipse:"

> Thus set thy Christall, and Imperiall throne,
> (Girt in thy chast, and never-loosing zone)
> Gainst Europas Sonne directly opposite,
> And give him darknesse, that doth threat thy light.[60]

Frances Yates points out that in the years following the destruction of the Armada, the unmarried status of the Queen was exalted as "symbol of the imperial virgin Astraea" who filled the universe.[61] Perhaps the most extravagant participant in the creation and promotion of this imperialistic iconography was Edmund Spenser. Yates contends that Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, "expresses a 'prophetic moment', after the Armada victory, when the queen appeared almost as the symbol of a new religion, transcending both Catholic and Protestant in some far-reaching revelation, and transmitting a universal Messianic message."[62] Spenser also gives this symbolic positioning of Elizabeth full play in the "April Eclogue," where he writes that she outshines Phoebus:

> But when he sawe how broade her beames did spredde,
> It did him amaze.

He blusht to see another Sunne belowe

Ne, durst againe fyrye face out showe.[63]

In the same Eclogue he creates a divine birth for this fair Eliza:

For shee is *Syrinx* daughter without spotte,

Which *Pan*, the shepheards God of her begot:

So sprong her grace

Of heavenly race,

No mortall blemishe may her blotte.[64]

Through this depiction of divine birth, along with several other sacred images, Spenser's "April Eclogue" recalls Virgil's "Fourth Eclogue," and thus the messianic connections Yates describes, which are also present in the *Faerie Queene*.*

Virgil's "Fourth Eclogue" depicts a prophecy by the sibyl of Cumae, rich with imagery, that later appears many times in the sacral/imperialistic poetry of the Elizabethan period. Seager's choice and treatment of the sibylline nativity prophesies certainly allude to Virgil and the Cumaean sibyl. This eclogue foretells the "return of the Virgin ... Saturn's [the Golden Age] rule returns."[65] Along with this virgin comes a divine being, born into the world, who will:

... free the lands from lasting fear.

He will receive the life divine, and see the gods

Mingling with heroes, and himself be seen of them,

And rule a world made peaceful by his father's virtues.[66]

This child will usher in a golden age where "She-goats unshepherded will bring home udders plumped/With milk and cattle will not fear the lion's might."[67] During this age:

Soft spikes of grain will gradually gild the fields,

And reddening grapes will hang in clusters on wild brier,

And dewy honey sweat from tough Italian oaks.[68]

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* Malcolm Bull in his article, "Spenser, Seneca, and the Sibyl: Book V of *The Faerie Queene*" discusses the connection between Spenser's depictions of the conflict between the stars, and of the Golden Age, in the Proem to Book V of *The Faerie Queene* and the prophetic battle of the stars in the fifth book of the Sibylline Oracles.

Wendell Clausen, while persuasively connecting the poem to contemporary politics in Virgil's time,[69] acknowledges that the "The Christian, or Messianic, interpretation prevailed unchallenged for centuries, supported by, and supporting, Virgil's reputation as a seer, a Christian before Christ."[70] He also points out that the Virgin is clearly "synonymous with the golden race."[71]

Writers promoting Queen Elizabeth as this new "Virgo," ushering in a new age, lavishly appropriated the messianic language of Virgil's Cumæan sibyl, along with other sibylline prophesies. Foxe writes in his *Acts and Monuments*:

> [The] Erythrea Sibylla, in her book of prophecies found in St. George's church in Venice ... hath these words: "After the peaceable bull shall conclude all the climes of the world under tribute, in those days a heavenly lamb shall come. And the days shall come, when the power of the flowing stream shall be magnified in water, and the lion, the monarch, shall be converted to the lamb, which shall shine to all men, and subvert kingdoms." [72]

Seager's sibyl echoes Foxe's quotation in her book:

> Who not withstanding being sent from heaven
>
> Shall come into ye world simple and poore,
>
> And shall rule all things with a quyet raigne. (f. 6)

Foxe also lists many other sibylline prophesies with similar themes. And while these prophesies are ostensibly illustrative of the sibyl's prescience of the coming of Christ, they imply a parallel to the contemporary religious and political climate. John Bale, also familiar with the Sibylline oracles, makes clear at the end of his play, *King Johan,* that he is aligned with the views later expressed by Foxe and Seager:

> Englande hath a quene,   Thankes to the Lorde above,
>
> Whych maye be a lyghte   to other princes all
>
> For the godly wayes   whome she doth dayly move
>
> To hir liege people,   through Gods wurde specyall.
>
> She is that Angell,   as Saynt Johan doth hym call,
>
> That with the Lordes seale   doth marke out hys true servauntes,
>
> Pryntynge in their hartes   hys holy wourdes and covenauntes.[73]

Leslie Fairfield explains that Bale saw Elizabeth as both bearing the "scepter of Constantine over the nation and its Church, England" and also wearing "the prophetic mantle of Elijah … 'to lead the world to its redemption in the final reformation of the Church, and Elizabeth ... to be the ruler and representative of England in that work.'"[74] Bale also saw his time as the golden age of Christian peace and plenty that had been prophesied by the sibyls, which would precede the horrors of that period between the death of the last emperor and the arrival of the new Jerusalem. Fairfield notes that this prophecy was described in a "widely-read compilation of both sibylline and biblical apocalyptic lore (the *Libellus De Ortu Et Tempore Antichristi*)" made by Abbot Adso of Burgundy in the tenth century.[75] Again, in a topical publication of the letters of Marsilio Ficino in 1576, Ficino states, "Indeed, the Sibyl of Cumae herself seems to have described the same times, when the great cycle of ages would be born anew, a virgin would flower and a new scion would be sent down from on high."[76] Foxe, Bale and others used references to the sibyls and their prophesies to position Elizabeth as this messianic figure. Foxe went so far as to include a portrait of Queen Elizabeth in editions of his *Acts and Monuments*, published in 1563, inside the letter C that began the word Christ in the dedication to her.[77]

In her gift book to Queen Elizabeth, Esther Inglis prefaces her work by clearly connecting Elizabeth to this tradition, noting that England "was the first country to which the Savior brought light," and it was the Savior who brought Elizabeth "from dangerous captivity" to the throne in 1558, not only for her own safety but for that of "an infinite number of your best subjects."[78] Helen Hackett discusses how the language of the divine went beyond titles of saints and goddesses, and compared her to Christ himself.[79] In her response to the 1563 parliamentary petition regarding her marriage, Elizabeth speaks of herself in messianic terms:

> I am neither careless nor unmindful of your safety in this case, as I trust you likewise do not forget that by me you were delivered whilst you were hanging on the bough ready to fall into the mud—yea to be drowned in the dung.[80]

That Elizabeth in some ways internalized a conception of herself as participating in a messianic role is also shown in a letter from Thomas Heneage to Christopher Hatton.

Heneage related how the Queen willed him to write to Hatton that "Princes were like Gods" and that Hatton "should remember she was a Shepherd, and then you might think how dear her Sheep was unto her."[81] Much earlier, while imprisoned during Mary's reign, she embroidered in her copy of Saint Paul's Epistles the initials "E.C." twice. In the context of the Latin sentences to which these initials are attached, the first "E.C" stands for *est Christus*, the second, *Elisabetha Captiva*,[82] illustrating in her own mind a connection between herself and Christ.

Spenser, in his "April Eclogue" refashions the "birth" of Queen Elizabeth, giving her a divine parentage, in order that she may better "fit" this messianic role. Instead of the bastard daughter of a questionable marriage, Elizabeth is presented as the product of a mythic conception wherein "No mortall blemishe may her blotte."[83] Indeed, in a manuscript describing Anne Boleyn's coronation progress, there is an appropriation of divine imagery, including sibylline prophecy, of the type that was so often present in Elizabethan symbolic language:

> The manuscript ends with an *"Acclamatio, de Coronatione"* by Leland, summarizing the entire show. Anne, coming of noble family, is the pride of her country: she is most beautiful and most virtuous, so that the crown becomes her splendidly: may she be more fruitful than fertile Niobe, and so bear many a child to perpetuate her husband's race: and may she be happy for as long as one might number the days of the Cumæan Sibyl.[84]

During this same event, Anne is greeted by a pageant of sibyls under whose feet was a "long roll wherein was written this, Regina Anna novum regis de sanguine natum, cum paries populis aurea secula tuis. 'Queen Anne when thou shall bear a new son of the King's blood ; there shall be a golden world unto thy people'" After which the sibyls cast over Anne's head wafers with rose leaves with poems written in gold upon them.[85] Hackett comments on this scene:

> Since Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue* referred not only to the return of the virgin Astraea, but also to the birth of a child-savior, it had been interpreted as a prophesy of the coming of Christ, and Astraea had been interpreted as a type of the Virgin Mary. Astraea/Anne's restoration of the Golden Age is

like the Virgin's reversal of the Fall as Second Eve and mother of Savior.[86]

William Latymer in his *Cronickille of Anne Bulleyne*, depicts Anne as a Christ-like figure describing her participation in the Maundy Thursday ceremony, "Forupon a certayne Mawndie Thursdaye, after she hadd moste humbly (humblye, I said, bicause kneeling on her knees she wasshed and kyssed the fett of symple poore women) embased her selfe to performe the ceremonyes of that daye.[87] A painting of another Maundy Thursday ceremony in the early part of Elizabeth's reign shows her "advancing, wearing a long white apron, to wash the feet of the poor women lined up in front of her." This and other early portraits of the Queen portray her in a messianic role.[88]

Seager clearly accesses this messianic imagery, associated with both Anne Boleyn and Elizabeth. By choosing the nativity prophesies of the sibyls, Seager participates in the whole of sibylline discourse circulating in her culture, which implicitly positions Elizabeth as a divinely appointed Astraea/Virgo, or Virgin heralding a new golden age. That this imagery would have been instantly recognized and approved of by contemporary readers, and especially that contemporary reader for whom the book was designed and given, the Queen herself, is evident. In Seager's preface she explains that her book:

> It conteyneth (Renomed Souereigne) the divine prophesies of the ten Sibills (virgyns) upon the birthe of our Saviour Christ, by a most blessed virgyn; of wch most holy faith, your Ma·^{ty} being cheife Defendress, and a virgyn also, yt is a thinge (as it weare) preordeyned of god, that this Treatis, wyrtten by a Mayden your Subject, should be only devoted unto your most sacred selfe. (f. 1)

Her insistent repetition of "virgin" clearly connects Elizabeth to both the Pagan Virgo/Astraea, and the Virgin Mary. The use of Marian images promoted the conception of Elizabeth's rule as part of a continuum of divine action in the human theatre. Hackett explains, "When overt comparisons between Elizabeth and the Virgin are drawn, they most often take the form of typology; that is, the identification of parallels between the two figures which suggest some kind of mystical pattern and divinely-ordained plan

underlying the course of Christian history."[89] This is the case in a sermon by John King (later Bishop of London) recorded by John Manningham shortly after Elizabeth's death:

> Soe there are two excellent women, one that bare Christ and an other that blessed Christ; to these may we joyne a thrid [sic] that bare him in hir heart as a wombe, shee [Elizabeth] conceived him in fayth, shee brought him forth in aboundaunce of good workes, and nurst him with favors and protection: shee blessed him the middest of a froward and wicked generacion, when the bulls of Bazan roared, and the unholy league, and bound themselves with oathes and cursings against the Lord and his annoynted.[90]

Seager's use of the sibyls promotes this understanding of the conflation of the Virgin Mary with Elizabeth. In addition, Hackett points out that the appropriation of Marian, and of Catholic images and terminology in general had become, by the latter part of the sixteenth century, "secularised, even pagan, and therefore available in much the same way as classical mythography for literary and artistic use."[91]

In the nativity poems, Seager cleverly presents poems which, by prophecying and praising the Virgin Mary, would be read as prophesizing and praising the Queen. Seager joins with other advocates of the Protestant cause to actively promote Elizabeth as the one chosen to prepare the world for the second coming of Christ and thus "mother" to a new Golden Age. Seager's sibyl Delphic proclaims:

> Of a pure Virgine; without helpe of man,
>
> Shall come forthe to the world, and shall exceed
>
> All other workes which ever nature wrought:
>
> But hee that ruleth all thinges under sonne,
>
> Hath by his power ordaynd yt to be done. (f. 9)

While the Tiburtine sibyl declares: "Oh happy mother worthy heauen bright,/That shall gyue sucke to such a Sonne of light." At several points in the poems, this image of suckling or nourishment are repeated, as when the sibyl Cimmeria states, a sacred virgine myld,/ Of beauty rare and perfect excellence/ Shall nourishe with the milke of her chast brest" (f. 5), and when the Samian sibyl affirms, "And how a virgine most inviolate/ Shall beare, and nourish hym wth humane brest" (f. 3). These images of nourishment were

consistent with an iconographical device often found in portraits of Elizabeth, most especially the "Pelican Portrait" by Nicholas Hilliard, with the depiction of the pelican drawing blood from her own breast to feed her young. This image carried a double signification, first as an image of self-sacrifice, and thus associated with Christ, and in the second instance that of divine mother feeding her children with blood dripping from her own breast. [92] Roy Strong finds a reference to this image in Lyly's *Euphues and His England* (1580): "This is that good Pelican that to feede hir people spareth not to rend hir owne personne."[93] David Howarth notes that Elizabeth "arrogated to herself a symbol which under the old religious order had been reserved for God himself."[94]

Seager's poems participate in this imagery, positing Elizabeth as divine mother, and messianic figure. Significantly, it is Europa who speaks of this, as the messiah "shall rule all things with a quyet raigne" bringing peace to the world (f. 6). The sibyl Agrippa's prophecy contends that this "quyet raigne" shall come through the agency of a spotless virgin, an image that Spenser, as previously discussed, also uses in his "April Eclogue." Agrippa proclaims:

> A Virgine trew without all spot, or blame.
>
> The sacred worde shall fill with heavenly grace
>
> By the prescience of the holye spirit.
>
> And notwithstanding that shee shall bring forth
>
> The only surety of our saving health. (f. 2)

The element of suffering before this golden age consistently found in the works of writers of the period, is alluded to by the Persican sibyl, its end brought about through the virgin mother:

> Though peradventure in those dayes shalbe,
>
> Some that shall suffer great affliction,
>
> (Allotted them by dyvers destynies)
>
> Lett it suffize, that one worde maye explane
>
> An Oracle, or prophesye divine:
>
> This mighty god, this King as erst I sayd,
>
> Shalbe brought forth by a most blessed mayd. (f. 7)

The most emphatic reiteration of this return of the Golden Age through the agency of the Virgin, as featured in the writings of Foxe, Bale, Spenser and others, comes from the sibyl Libyea:

> Behold, Behold, the day shall come when as
>
> A Joyfull Prince shyning upon his seed
>
> His Churche with graces shall illuminat:
>
> And cleare' the darcknes wch through synne was bred.
>
> He shall unlock the uncleane lipps of them
>
> That guilty are, and being true and just,
>
> He shall his people love, but for his foes
>
> They shall not come, nor stand before his sight:
>
> He shall indue with blessings from above,
>
> The Queene his Churche, the more for our behove. (f. 4)

That a contemporary audience would easily connect the "uncleane lipps" of the guilty as Catholic heretics, and the "Queen his Churche" as Elizabeth in her role as defender of the faith, is without question. Indeed Seager makes this clear in her preface, calling Elizabeth, "cheife Defendress" of the "holy faith" (f. 1). In 1578 John Aylmer, Bishop of London, wrote to Christopher Hatton: "I trust not of God, but of my Sovereign, which is God's lieutenant, and so another God unto me—of such it is said *"Vos estis dii"* (You shall be gods)."[95]

The position of Elizabeth as "God's lieutenant" was consistent with the use of sibylline imagery throughout the centuries. The prophesies of the sibyls had long been seen as heralds of dynastic change, ushering in a new age. Joseph Mayor explains, "the utterances [of the sibyls] … foretell the distant future; and Plato adds that their effect has been to bring about reform in nations and individuals."[96] Cato's publication of the sibylline oracles was associated with the restoration of King Ptolemy.[97] While Bernard McGinn notes that "from the beginning, the Sibyl's gloomy voice was concerned with the changes of dynasties" as in the case of Alexander the Great, as related in Strabo's *Geography.*[98] Indeed, as McGinn notes, "the medieval Sibyls were never to lose the involvement with the fate of dynasties."[99] Geoffrey of Monmouth employs sibyls in time of dynastic change, as is clear from this passage where Hoel, King of Armorica counsels

King Arthur that he should begin a campaign to extend his rule to Roman territories: "By claiming what is rightfully yours, Rome gives you the right to claim what is rightfully hers: use the right she has granted you. Lo, in you will be fulfilled the prophecy of the Sibyl."[100]

In the early modern period the sibyl continued to be used in this way. A celebration for Henry IV of France, drawn from the description by William Segar, then the Somerset Herald, features a sibyl:

> The personage on the other piller was Sambetha, one of the Sibils, who likewise pointed to the Kings position, and presented to the beholders a table, with this prophesie in Latine, Englished thus,
>
> > Sambetha I of Sibils chiefe in Hebrew by of spring,
> >
> > Glad Oracles bring to the French, and unto thee O King,
> >
> > The earth did never boast herselfe, of any Child so much,
> >
> > As France (O Henry) shall rejoice, that thou their King art such.[101]

The early seventeenth century manuscript collection, Royal ms. 18 C I, f. 12 ends with the list of 10 sibyls given earlier in this chapter, and the prophecy of the sibyl Erithrea begins with histories of the kings and queens of Britain and includes several pages of royal heraldic devices, as well as genealogical trees indicating the descent of the crown. Even in the reign of James I, some writers called upon sibylline imagery to represent dynastic change as can be seen in James Maxwell's address to James I:

> Sibyllie hath Likewise pointed and painted out in certaine verses speaking or rather fore speaking of the future felicities of Europe, where also she promiseth a most godlie prince—who shall be an earnest advance and furthered of this flourishing estate of christianes.[102]

Maxwell's use of sibylline imagery to suggest James I was the "godlie prince" referred to by the sibyls was one that the Elizabethans had exploited thoroughly. Before James I, Elizabethan society believed themselves to be in that time of great dynastic, indeed cosmic change prophesied by the sibyls, as can be seen in their reaction to a variety of celestial events. That they believed the heavens were looking straight at them, and particularly at Elizabeth, comes through in a variety of political and religious texts. In 1572, a new star was discovered in the constellation Cassiopeia. It was widely held

that this celestial wonder was a herald of vast apocalyptic changes. In Seager's sibylline prophesies the role of the star in ushering a new age appears in the sibyl Samia's poem, "The Heavens of this happynes divines;/ And glistring starrs, foreshew it by y^{er} Signes" (f. 3), as well as the words of the Cimmerian sibyl, "A wondrous starr shall from the eastern coste/ Appeare"(f. 5). It is evident that Seager infers that this star is a portent of Elizabeth's grace and power. That Elizabeth would recognize this allusion is certain, considering the interest she showed in the appearance of the Cassiopeian star, summoning John Dee to court to explain its significance, "Her Majestie took pleasure to hear my opinion of the comet appearing A. 1577."[103] Benjamin Woolley believes that Dee interpreted the appearance of the star as a portent of Elizabeth's elevation and great destiny.[104]

Seager's use of the sibylline prophesies would substantiate this view. This new star fulfilled a widely-circulated prophecy that, as Woolley explains, was "attributed to the ancient sibyl Tiburtina, inscribed on a marble slab buried in a Swiss mountain which had been discovered in 1520." This prophecy stated: "A Star shall arise in Europe over the Iberians, towards the great House of the North, whose Beams shall unexpectedly enlighten the whole World."[105] Indeed in Tiburtina's Sibylline Gospel much of the prophecy concerning the ninth and last generation deals with rulers and dynasties where Gog and Magog will be defeated and the Christian empire will be handed over to God the father and Jesus Christ.[106] These celestial portents, when interpreted and celebrated through sibylline prophesies, participated in the propaganda and iconography of the Elizabethan court and promoted its sacral/imperialistic ambitions. Seager's subject matter can be seen as participating in this discourse. Indeed, the very structure of the poems reinforces the prophesies and their connection to Elizabeth's divinity, and thus imperialist destiny.

As stated earlier, Seager chose to use only ten of the twelve nativity prophesies from her source, Barbieri. The subject matter of the two she does not include, the sibyl Hellespontica and the sibyl Phrygia, does not provide any obvious reason for their exclusion. Indeed, they both continue to use imagery that in the other poems connects quite usefully to Elizabethan iconography. Instead, it appears that her purpose is to create a numerical connection to this iconography. Seager uses ten sibyls. Each line of each

poem has ten syllables (iambic pentameter), and is ten lines long (with the exception of the last, by the sibyl Cumana which is only eight). The concluding address is also ten lines, in iambic pentameter. The significance of the number ten would be easily recognized by a contemporary audience, especially that audience of one, the Queen. Allen Michael explains that ten was believed to be a perfect number by the Pythagoreans. Ten was also considered to be associated with the sacred quaternary of 1, 2, 3, and 4, as the sum of these.[107] Five, as the proportional mean of ten, was associated with justice.[108] Each poem, as written in Bright's "characterie," make up five vertical lines on the opposing page. Ficino described ten as a perfect number, and explained the number's connection with the passing of ages and the perfection of the soul in his *Commentum cum Summis Capitulorum.*[109] Ten also, as Deborah Harkness explains, has connections with the Christian Cabala: "Christian cabalist Johann Reuchlin figured the *sefirot* were a ladder to the heavens: '[the *sefirot* are] the ten rungs of the ladder on which we climb to know all truth, be it of the senses, or of knowledge, or of faith.'" Cabalists believed that this path (the ten rungs of the *sefirot*) "could be used to draw divine, celestial powers down into the sublunar world."[110] Indeed, returning to the sibylline prophecy, the sibyl "according to Servius, 'divided the age by metals and also told who ruled over which age, and wished the Sun to be the last, that is the tenth.'"[111] Of course the image of the sun as a metaphor for Elizabeth was commonplace. Seager was certainly making use of the metaphorical significance of numbers in the structure of the sibylline poems, as did other poets of the period, in order to add greater metaphorical strength to her production.

These metaphorical significations of the number ten and five are consistent with the way this collection of poems participates in the sacral/imperialistic conception of Elizabeth. As divinely appointed, Elizabeth was to reign over a significant portion of the Earth. This was an imperialistic imperative, which fueled British territorial expansion. These works posited this expansion as the divine mission and destiny of Elizabeth by constructing a representational space through which a social space began to emerge supporting the primacy of a Protestant imperialism. In this social space a unity was created wherein a single conception of spatiality based on the theological and intellectual ideology of the English could encompass a world. Elizabeth's politicians, courtiers, scholars, mariners, the creators of her maps, her nascent geographers and chorographers,

indeed her populace began to view, and indeed experience as their manifest destiny, this spatiality. Seager's sibyls participate in this spatial conception, speaking, as it were, from the various geographical sites for which they were associated, from Europe to the Near East. In this way they create a chorus of voices repeating from global points—carrying across the vast distances of the known world a language and a justification for the sacral/imperialistic goals continually expressed in the arenas of thought and action of Elizabethan society.

Seager, in choosing the sibylline nativity prophesies as well as in her use of language, imagery and structure, was clearly accessing and participating in the sacral/imperialist Elizabethan project, and was obviously promoting this project, along with many writers and courtiers of the Dudley/Sidney faction. This faction, by 1589, was under the patronage of Mary Sidney, Duchess of Pembroke, after the death of Philip Sidney and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.[*] Seager's identity is obscure, but it is likely she had some family connection to William Segar, Garter King at Arms, and Francis Segar, who served the Landgrave of Hesse for many years.[†] Her gift book of sibylline prophesies to Queen Elizabeth was consistent with the political position of these men, who were aligned with those in court favoring aggressive action in the promotion of the Protestant cause. Her connection with Timothy Bright, through her use of his system of shorthand, or "characterie," is another link to this faction. Bright's patrons included Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Walter Mildmay. In addition, Bright, along with Sir Philip Sidney, experienced the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre and sought refuge in the

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[*] For a detailed discussion of the politics of the Sidney circle see Mary Lamb's book, *Gender and Authorship in the Sidney Circle*, 1-71.

[†] While there is no definitive proof that Jane Seager is connected to William and Francis Segar, it is extremely likely that there was a connection. The calligraphy and layout of her gift book is consistent with a diptych presented to James I by William Segar, Royal ms. 12 G IX, British Lib., London. The design of the front and back cover of Segar's book shows a facility with miniature ornamentation of the period. The Segar workshop produced miniatures and full sized portraits. William Segar, in his association with the College of Arms, finally as Garter King at Arms, did much calligraphy and heraldic illustration as part of this position. Segar's knowledge of Latin, her access to the sibylline texts, as well as Timothy Bright's shorthand treatise within months of its publication, in addition to the political positioning of Seagar's book, and the very fact she at least was making a bid to place this work in Elizabeth's hands as a New Year's gift, point to the social strata that William and Francis Segar circulated in at a time when both men were at the beginning of their careers. The participation, through gift exchange, of female members of families, in the promotion of the ambition of male members is much documented. Was Jane Seagar's book part of a strategy in the promotion of the Segar brothers? At present there is no direct evidence to support this position, however much evidence suggests this is an attractive possibility.

English embassy during the carnage, where Walsingham was, as Bright terms it, "the very hande of God to preserve my life."[112]

III.

Yet, if Seager's poems participate outwardly in the Elizabethan sacral/imperialistic consciousness, the material production and use of the book itself signifies the intimate spaces of Elizabethan power. Here again the force of Bachelard's comment, derived from Porphyrus, "A threshold is a sacred thing." can be felt.[113] Through Seager's gift of the book she was making a bid to cross over a material, as well as political, threshold into the intimate yet powerful sacral/political space of Elizabeth's inner chamber; indeed into the super-intimate space between the hands of the sovereign and into Elizabeth's consciousness. A traveler, Paul Hentzner, noted in his journal of 1598 a visit to the Queen's palace at Whitehall, where he viewed the Royal Library. On this visit he noted, "All these books are bound in velvet of different colours, though chiefly in red."[114] Among these velvet bound-books was one, stating "To the most High, Puissant, and redoubted Prince, Henry VIII. of the Name, King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith: Elizabeth, his most humble Daughter, Health and Obedience."[115] Whether Seager's volume of poems (fig. 7-8), in beautiful calligraphy, bound also in red velvet with gold embroidery, found a place amongst these books in the vicinity of the production of another maid and supplicant, the once Princess Elizabeth, is unknown (fig.7-9). However, it is likely that the choice of this design was an attempt to penetrate and inhabit this intimate space that also held the handiwork the Queen created when she was a maid, as Seager asserts constantly asserts in her book that she herself is .

Seager's very supplication at the end of her text reveals an intense yearning that this should be so, that she should become part of the intimate spaces of the queenly presence. She wills herself to be not just a writer of words, but the words themselves:

> Would God I weare a Sibell to divine
>
> In worthy vearse your lasting happynes:
>
> Then only I should be Characteres
>
> Of that, which worlds with wounder might defyne. (f. 12)

Figure 7.8: Cover of Jane Seager's *The Divine Prophesies Of The Ten Sibills.*
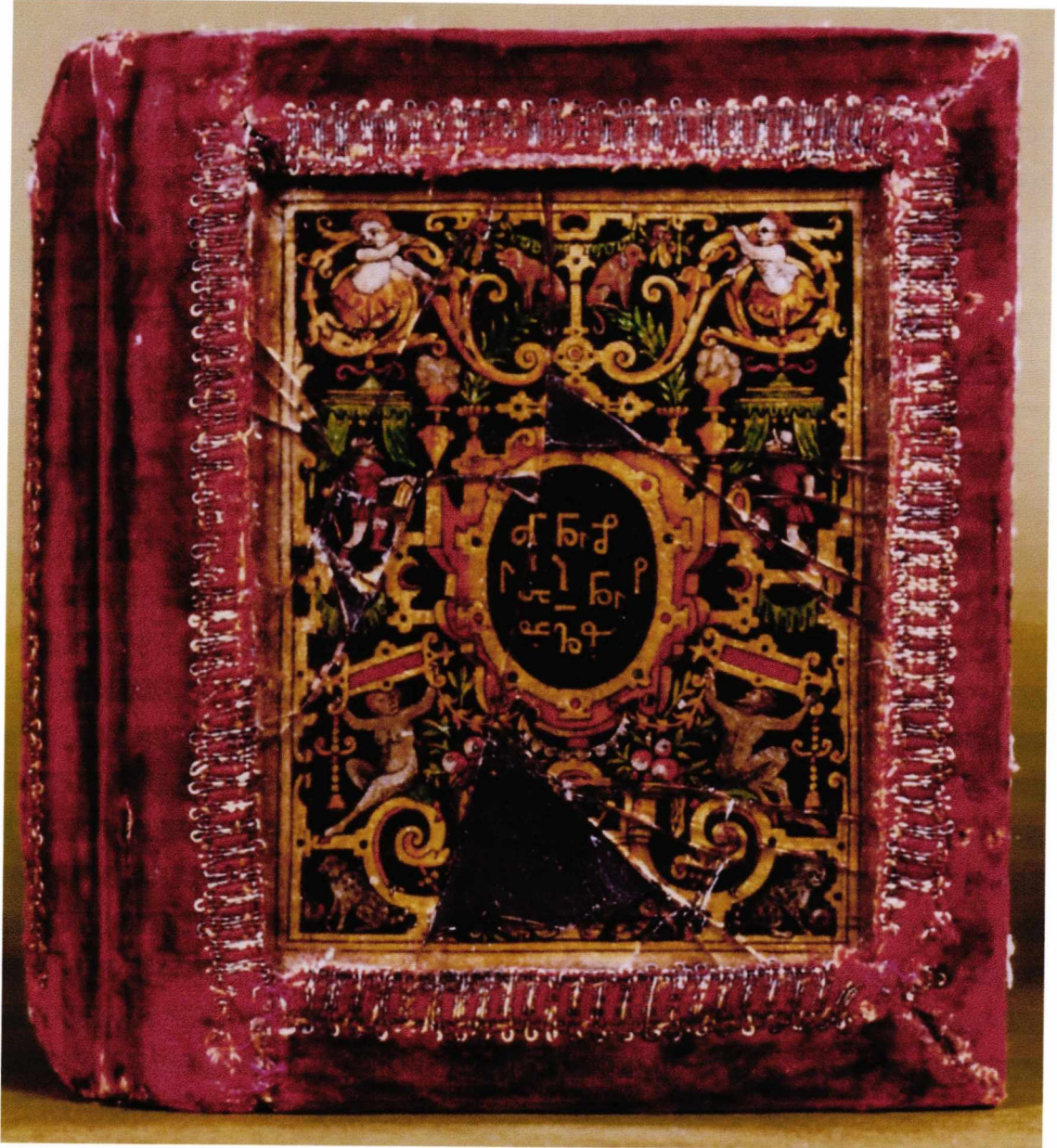
Figure 7.9: Covers of Elizabeth Tudor's gift books to Katherine Parr

Left is the book cover for Elizabeth's translation of the French poem, Mirror of the Sinful Soul. This was a gift book for Elizabeth's step-mother, Katherine Parr in 1544, when Elizabeth was eleven. [116]

Right is the book cover for Elizabeth's translation, in Italian, Latin and French of Katherine Parr's *Prayers and Meditations, 1545.* [117]

Here Seager sites the "loci of relationships" which Gillian Rose discusses, in the interstice between word and the reader. Her strategy for entering the intimate spaces was one Elizabeth would recognize. Elizabeth used a similar strategy herself when in an unstable and subservient relationship to her stepmother Katherine Parr, and to a much greater extent with her father. Elizabeth gave Parr a translation of Marguerite de Navarre's *The Mirror, or Glass, of the Sinful Soul* as a New Year's gift in 1544. In her dedication she appeals to Parr, "I hope that after to have been in your grace's hands, there shall be nothing in it worth of reprehension."[118] In December of 1545 she presented her father with a trilingual translation of Parr's *Prayers or Meditations*. Here she connects her work, which moved from her hands in Hatfield Palace to her father's presence in a distant royal palace, with her soul, or being: "For nothing ought to be more acceptable to a king, whom philosophers regard as a god on earth, than this labour of the soul."[119] In this Elizabeth referred to the medieval conceit that the gift of learning emanated from the divine, and this had important implications for how one might employ this gift.[120]

In 1599 another female supplicant, Esther Inglis, presented the Queen with a book of Psalms in her exquisite calligraphy. Like Seager's and Elizabeth's books, it was bound in crimson velvet, upon which Inglis embroidered a Tudor rose and crown.[121] She makes clear in her dedication that she is seeking, through this material object, an intimacy with the Queen. Through the placement of the book in Elizabeth's cabinet, Inglis desires her "*petit present, escrit de ma main, au pais estranger, pourra obtenir place en quelque coing retire de vostre cabinet*"(little present, written by my hand in a foreign land, will hopefully find a place in some hidden corner of your cabinet).[122] According to Patricia Fumerton treasured objects of great personal value were kept in cabinets found in closets—rooms at the end of a succession of thresholds open only to those select few granted access by the owner .[123] Sasha Roberts also stresses the private and intimate nature of these spaces.[124] In a dedicatory letter to Lucy, Countess of Bedford, Aemilia Lanyer reveals the contemporary functioning of the closet and cabinet—using it to create an analogy representing intimate knowledge:

> Me thinkes I see faire Virtue readie stand,
>
> T'unlocke the closet of your lovely breast,

Holding the key of Knowledge in her hand,

Key of that Cabbine where your selfe doth rest.[125]

In her dedicatory letter to Anne Clifford she encourages Clifford to lodge Christ in "the closet of your heart."[126]

Inglis, by specifically referring to the placement of her book in Elizabeth's "*cabinet*" invokes this social space which served as a metaphor for one's heart, one's inner being. She gives voice to the strategies she, the princess Elizabeth, Jane Seager, and other women used to enter into a relationship with the recipient of the gift books through its penetration into this spatiality of intimacy. Inglis's dedication draws attention to the role writing, and the work of the hands, plays in this strategy.

Indeed, the gift giving of these women was an important strategy in the creation of relationships. Lisa Klein explains, "gift-exchange forms social, even spiritual bonds between people who thereby establish community, assert hierarchy, and incur mutual obligations."[127] She draws this conclusion from the work of anthropologists and theorists of gift exchange. As Bourdieu suggests, the giving of the gift implies "the possibility of a continuation, a reply, a riposte, a return gift."[128] This gift then works to reproduce established relations.[129] Maurice Godelier makes clear that the circulation of gifts "is each time the will of individuals and groups to establish between themselves personal bonds of solidarity and/or dependence."[130] Ralph Waldo Emerson agrees, writing, "the gift, to be true, must be the flowing of the giver unto me, correspondent to my flowing unto him."[131]

Marcel Mauss points out this "flow" is the spirit or the soul—the identity of the individuals involved in the gift exchange. He notes that the material object exchanged mediates this flow: "In the present received and exchanged, is the fact that the thing received is not inactive. Even when it has been abandoned by the giver, it still possesses something of him."[132] The material object becomes a symbolic link between the gift and giver, which creates a bond between giver and recipient.[133] Gondelier explains, gifts are the objects through which the giver "gains a concrete social existence." As such, they serve as the symbolic vessel that "makes the system visible, 'communicates' it."[134]

Klein contends that a personal gift of embroidery or hand-crafted book had particular resonances for "fostering the mutual obligation that was the aim of the gift exchange. A hand-wrought gift has a particular intimacy, authority, and efficacy" not found in other gift choices of the period.[135] This is because, if one considers the concept of the gift as the material object standing in, or symbolizing one's soul or identity, the intimacy of the needle or pen works to create a closer affinity to the symbolic functioning of the object. Elizabeth herself explains, in the preface to yet another of her writings given to Parr,

> And yet, especially among the aforesaid arts and sciences, the invention of letters seems to me the most clever, excellent, and ingenious. For through their ordering not only can the aforesaid bodily features be declared, but also (which is more) the image of the mind, wiles, and understanding, together with the speech and intention of the man, can be perfectly known—indeed, traced and portrayed so close to artless and natural that it actually seems that his words that were spoken and pronounced long ago still have the vigor they had before.[136]

The word is the material object signifying the mind, or being of the writer. Also writing in the period, John Johnston explains, "All things here are divine: and we wonder at all things. Thus mind and hand, material and arts, contend at the same time."[137] Johnston's observations have an important resonance when considering the work of the handcrafted book and its relationship to the artist. For a gift of textile arts, through their physical intimacy with the artist, have as Klein suggests, "authority, and efficacy." When this "hand-wrought gift" is handwriting enclosed in a work of textile art, this effect of intimacy is greatly magnified. Another contemporary, the Scottish poet, Andrew Melville, makes clear, "Your hand alone can depict your mind, and your mind alone can depict your hand."[138] In the case of Esther Inglis, Ziegler explains that her gift book was an "extension in the field of manuscripts of the traditional feminine handicraft of needlework" where Inglis "literally exchanges the needle for the pen."[139]

For Seager, needlework, painted design, beautiful italic hand along with the addition of the unusual characters of Bright's shorthand, work together to create a unique material object, a rich symbolic matrix representing Seager's identity, or to use the early

modern conceit, "soul." It is this "soul" she gives to Elizabeth. In this exchange she hopes to foster an intimacy, which is materially realized in the social space where the book is given, received, used and kept. These books, as Jason Scott-Warren reminds us, are "the physical embodiments of writing, and the means by which those embodiments are circulated, offer a vital context for interpretation. Thanks to them, we can no longer think of a medium as passive."[140] Indeed, as Jane Donawerth suggests, "many women gained authority to write by envisioning their poems as part of the Tudor-Stuart gift-exchange system, which helped to weave the social fabric of court, community and extended family."[141] These "communities" were formed in those "loci of spaces" Rose discusses, the social spaces of the relational.[142]

Through the material object of the handcrafted book, Seager indicates this relational space, while at the same time positing larger spaces. Martin Elsky discusses how "the written word of the manuscript was closely associated with the flow of actual speech."[143] Elsky in discussing the work of an early modern English orthographer, Thomas Smith, notes that Smith saw language as primarily vocalized sounds, "Smith used a spatial metaphor that was to reappear frequently in many orthographic treatises: letters are the pictures of spoken expression (*pictura vocum*)." As such, Elsky comments, "It is as if the transliteration of sound into its echo in writing inevitably transfers language to the new dimension of spatiality."[144] Handwriting contains within it significations of the oral performance of the text and thus the social spaces of this performance.

Seager exploits this connection to oral and aural experience of the text through her parallel use of Bright's shorthand characters, repeating the verse prophesies, which are placed on the verso page. Bright makes this connection clear in the preface of his book on his newly invented shorthand: "The uses are divers: short, that a swift hande may therewith write orations or publicke actions of speach, uttered as becommeth the gravitie of such actions, verbatim."[145] Evidence that Bright's shorthand was actually used to record oral speech appears soon after the publication of his book in 1588, as shown by this entry in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English printed Bookes* (1595): "Steph. *Egerton* his lecture, (taken by Characterie) on Gen. 12. vers 17.18.19. 20. Printed for John Daldren. 1589. in 8 [volumes]"[146] The practice was common enough for the

author of the preface to these volumes to suggest the use of "characterie" to those who "have willing harts, and ready hands, and convenient places to write at Sermons, that they should use it for their own private helpe and edification."[147] William Carlton points out that in Elizabethan society shorthand was of considerable importance and considers the possibility that Bright's invention may have been used to take down the dialogue during performances of William Shakespeare's plays, and used to create the quarto editions which appeared after the publication of *Characterie,* though others see this as unlikely.[148] Shortly after the appearance of Bright's shorthand system, oral productions were being transcribed, creating a strong connection between the "characterie" on the page, and social spaces where the oral productions this "characterie" transcribed were performed. These spaces included churches, play-houses, and even parliament where shorthand was used to take down political speech.

Jane Seager's small book, crimson-clad and written in fine clear italic script, represents a multitude of spaces both through the text and the material production of the book. Her choice of the sibylline nativity prophesies accesses the cryptic and the heterotopic elements of Lefebvre's absolute space, a space of power gendered female. She uses the symbolic imagery of this space to participate in the contemporary poetics of the sacral/imperialist destiny of Britain. Through the material object she accesses the intimate social space of the relational. Her sibyls are elements of a representational space that encompasses all spaces, and yet paradoxically are closely identified with the confined and intimate spaces of the sibyls' provincial grottos and caves. The handcrafted materiality of the gift book creates an unstable signification of both the intimacy of orality and of the larger spaces of speech. It implies those places of privacy, the withdrawing chambers and closets of the early modern homes of the elite. At the same time it indicates, through the shorthand parallel, the performance of a more wide-reaching form of speech—the sermon, political speech, the speech of the play-house and great hall entertainment. This in turn takes us back to the space of the sibyls, significations of a representational space which was based in a particular geographic locale but whose voices emanated throughout the world, and through time. For as Julia Kristeva suggests: "the image of the Sibyl is that of the infinitization of discourse … Belonging to this and not the other world, the Sibyl speaks all languages, possesses the future, reunites

improbable elements both in and through the word."[149] Or as Jane Seager writes in her neat and controlled italic script, "I have sett downe whence all theis Sibells weare:/ What they foretold, or saw, wee see, and heare"(f. 12). These sibyls' voices emanated from the cryptic depths of absolute space, into the spaces of the early modern world. By accessing these spaces Seager was able to find her own voice, and participate in the religious and political discourses of the day in the hope that, through Elizabeth's divine state, the words of one young woman should wield at least a little power. In her closing lines Jane Seager begs, "Would God I weare a Sibell" (f. 12), and through her book, placed in the hands of a Queen, becomes one.

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[6] Lactantius, vol. 1:16.

[7] Marsh 406.

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[10] Lactantius, vol. 1: 17.

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[129] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Cambridge: Polity, 1990) 112.

[130] Maurice Godelier, *The Enigma of the Gift.* (Cambridge: Polity, 1999) 102.

[131] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Gifts," *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Essays: Second Series*, eds. Joseph Slater, Alfred R. Ferguson, and Jean Ferguson Carr, vol. 3 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard UP, 1983) 95.

[132] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, tran. W.D. Halls (London: Routledge, 1990) 11-12.

[133] Lisa M. Klein 474.

[134] Gondelier 104.

[135] Lisa M. Klein 471.

[136] Elizabeth Tudor 11-12.

[137] John Johnston qtd. in Ziegler 35; Latin original: Royal ms.17.D.XVI, British Lib., London. f .7

[138] Andrew Melville qtd. in Ziegler 34; Latin original: Royal ms.17.D.XVI, British Lib., London. f. 7

[139] Ziegler 28.

[140] Jason Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford, Oxford UP, 2001) 3-4.

[141] Jane Donawerth, "Women's Poetry and the Tudor-Stuart System of Gift Exchange," *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture In Tudor and Stuart Britain*, eds. Mary E. Burke, Jane Donaworth, Linda L. Dove, and Karen Nelson (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse UP, 2000) 3.

[142] Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1993) 112.

[143] Martin Elsky, *Authorizing Words* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell UP, 1989) 116.

[144] Elsky 117.

[145] Bright A3r

[146] Carlton 99.

[147] Carlton 102.

[148] Carlton 106.

[149] Julia Kristeva, "From Symbol to Sign," *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. Toril Moi (London: Blackwell, 1986) 68.

Conclusion

Human beings exist within a constructed spatiality. The relationship of the individual to social space has been described as: a web, a moving cluster of intersecting points, the interplay between body and environment, a complex external-internal dialectic, and at times a labyrinth. Mary Wroth could have been speaking of the relationship of her contemporaries to social space when she writes: "In this strange labyrinth how shall I turn?/ Ways are on all sides, while the way I miss."[1] The texts discussed in this book can all be seen as trying to answer Wroth's question. How should or could, the early modern subject position him/herself in the labyrinth of early modern social space? This space was in constant motion because of dramatic changes brought about by political and religious upheaval, increasingly complex conceptions of space and global exploration—as well as the very real influence of past spatialities. Lanyer, Whitney, Russell, Seager, Hoby and others, when considering social space, could well and truly ask, "In this strange labyrinth, how shall I turn?"

In many ways, their texts function as a response to this question. They engage with the social space of the period and appropriate concepts and discourses through which they negotiate the terms of their existence within this contemporary spatiality. Through this creative engagement, this act of will, they participate in the strategies bell hooks claims are utilized by those denied full agency in a culture. They "invent spaces of radical openness … conceptualize alternatives, often improvised."[2] These spaces are termed representational spaces by Lefebvre—those spaces which embody "complex symbolisms … linked to the clandestine side of social life,"[3] or heterotopias as Foucault terms them. Edward Soja notes how representational spaces, those spaces "combining the real and the imagined, things and thought on equal terms" provide the "terrain for the generation of 'counter-spaces,' spaces of resistance to the dominant order arising precisely from their subordinate, peripheral or marginalized positioning."[4] These representational spaces remained accessible to women in a culture where more privileged ways of conceptualizing space were increasingly restricted to those with access to university educations, the means to purchase specialized equipment and books, and a

place in which to freely explore and access these conceptualized spaces. Not coincidentally, women increasingly found themselves socially, and indeed legally unable to access a wide variety of social spaces in the culture. This access varied dramatically between individuals and classes but was always dependent upon circumstances imposed upon them from outside, their own agency counting for little.

Practically speaking we see this in the letters of Joan Thynne and Elizabeth Willoughby, and the diary of Anne Clifford, where these women are "disposed of in space" according to the desires of their husbands. Elizabeth Shrewsbury's compulsive building projects could be read as a personal quest to find a place for herself in consequence, at least in part, of her acrimonious separation from her husband. Others, like Isabella Whitney lacked the financial resources to secure a place in a locale of their choosing, though Whitney's writing project was certainly an attempt to secure the funds to do so. Aemilia Lanyer's biography could be read as a labyrinthine tale, where she could easily be heard asking, "Ways are on all sides, while the way I miss." Throughout her life she managed to secure only temporary accommodation for herself, her children and grandchildren. Unlike Whitney and Lanyer, Elizabeth Russell's place among the social and power elite of her culture should have secured her greater agency, yet as an aged woman she found herself in the privileged male space of the court arguing for her rights to Donnington Castle. She was dispossessed of it, and forced to "move on." Of Jane Seager's biography nothing is known, but the yearning in her subject matter, and the intensity of her final lines betrays a desire for an existence of greater scope than the one assigned to a virgin maid. Of all the women and texts discussed in this work, Margaret Hoby would appear to possess the greatest ability to dispose of herself in space. In many ways her diary can be read as a celebration of this hard won right. And yet, as discussed in Chapter 5, her autonomy in her locale was constantly threatened both from without, and from within. Her decades long determination to keep ownership of her properties in her own hands is a testimony not to her success at determining her own spatial placement, but the way in which this placement, while appearing secure, was constantly under threat.

Social spaces, as Lefevbre explains, are "shot through with both prohibitions and their counterparts, prescriptions ... [yet] space is not only the space of 'no', it is also ... the space of 'yes'"[5]. These early modern women found, through their texts, a way to

circumvent their lack of agency in the perceived and conceived spatiality of their culture. They participated in this "yes," through the creation of representational spaces. Indeed Lefebvre notes that representational spaces serve the needs of "women, servants, slaves, [and] children" providing each with unique access to social space. (244). This ability to access and create representational spaces allows disempowered members of a society to challenge the dominant system's "imperious" representations of space, its deployment of signs. Lefebvre proposes the creation of these representational spaces allow challenges to the increasingly restrictive conceptions of abstract space rapidly developing in early modern culture.[6] He also recognizes that representational spaces created by women were not necessarily denied in the culture, but were often "thrust down in the 'abyss' of the earth, as the place where seeds are sown and the dead are laid."[7] Yet, many female authored texts derive power from these cryptic spaces, remnants of absolute space—a space of mystery and power quickly disappearing under the weight of those elements of Lefebvrian abstract space. Cultural myths, symbols, ceremony and a spatiality informed by the senses were being superceded, though not entirely erased from the culture through a variety of developments including: the growing domination of fixed point perspective, advances in geometry, analytical mapping projects, and the data derived from instruments that contained and defined the world through empirical concepts.

Through the representational spaces women writers created, as well as those already in existence from which they drew, they undertook an exploration of their society that often went beyond the spatial, but was constantly informed by it. In this way they inserted alternatives to the increasingly dominating forms of spatial conceptualization. Lanyer, in her *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*, including "The Description of Cook-ham," examines social relations between men and women and between classes. She examines the implications of religious practice and dogma on these relations. She draws upon a spatial discourse, that of the country house, promoting many of the values inherent in the discourse while at the same time using it to fashion an alternative to those values. Through her poetry collection she searches for a place, albeit imaginatively, to exist as an active agent, rather than a passive recipient.

This desire for agency also drives the construction of Whitney's representational space, London. Throughout this verse collection Whitney's oft repeated complaint is the

inability to dispose of herself in her social space. Illness, unemployment and poverty mitigate against agency throughout the verse collection until the final poem, "To London." Through this poem she inscribes her will by the creation of a representational space, contained within the construct of a last will and testament. Through her discourse she controls spatial recognition and movement. She names, or allows into being, the elements of social space she chooses. She positions herself in the poem as a figure of authority, after all it is her "wyll" that determines what places in the city swell into existence through her imaginative treatment. Yet she also undermines this authority through her pathos, noting that she hesitates to dispose of Ludgate prison as she fears she will need to escape into this miserable haven. Indeed she wraps herself in her winding sheet, abdicating the discourse of power she has appropriated while paradoxically maintaining her ability to dispose of herself in space.

Hoby's diary also positions herself as an authority figure, even while using a discourse of submission. The diary reveals, as it progresses, a relationship to the her locale that is fundamental to her conception of self. Through it she weaves a representational space in which she places herself centrally as the lady of the manor. She does this not through the elaborate creation of a narrative of self, but rather through the lack of narrative. Her spare prose serves to signify those moments of greatest importance to her subjective understanding of her existence. These moments are overwhelmingly depictions of Hoby's bodily movements within her habitus. Together these entries position Hoby as the authority in the Hackness locale. The picture which emerges from the text, a depiction Hoby is fully complicit in given the private nature of the work, is one of her personal agency. While her text may appear, on the surface, to be simply an emotionless account of the daily life of a Yorkshire gentlewoman, it creates in repetition and choice of subject, a representational space where Hoby continually performs an agency and authority that she could not with certainty find within the perceived spaces of her world.

Russell's texts also record the execution of a spatial act in order to assert spatial agency. Her textual strategy is a complex one. She inscribes these texts within the sacred spaces of her culture, in the chapels of All Saints, Bisham and Westminster Abbey. The texts enact a symbolic action within the perceived spaces of the culture—

that of the reintegration of the dead into the social network through the memorializing process. Russell's texts give voice to her subjective anxieties, and the spatial implications of these. She loses her husband while in Paris and is forced to traverse space in an epic journey, pregnant and with three children in tow. The death of her second husband creates financial difficulties that threaten the future of her Russell daughters. Russell had already learned that in her culture a spatial act could alleviate anxieties. The Queen's praise of her actions after the death of her first husband, which Russell inscribed on his monument, resulted in her appointment as guardian to her children. In this way she secured the manor of Bisham as her residence during their minority. After the death of her second husband, John Russell, she erected a monument and inscribed texts upon it that positioned her as a faithful and distraught wife, in keeping with the cultural expectations of the period. This act certainly contributed to her position of favor with the queen, resulting in the keepership of Donnington castle—which she immediately, if unsuccessfully, sought to turn into a more permanent residence. Even her angry disapproval of her daughter's proposed sale of Russell House belies an anxiety connected to her placement in space which was finally enacted through the creation of a final representational space, her tomb in Bisham. Here she is able to choose and secure a permanent habitation that represents, albeit posthumously, a life of agency that was in reality often denied her. Russell's elegies—when taken together with the monuments she commissioned, their placement and their significations of connections within the social spaces of her culture—create an elaborate representational space where Russell controls and publishes her identity for the consumption of her society.

Jane Seager similarly constructs an identity of self, this time through an affinity with the representational spaces of the mythic sibyls. Cryptic by nature, they are by definition connected both to particular places, and at the same time, because of their divinity, to all space and time. Seager attempts to enter symbolically into a similar representational space through participation in the elaborate cultural practice of gift exchange. The gift, as metonymically connected with the giver, transverses space, collapsing it by creating connections impossible in the perceived space of the culture. Through her gift book Seager becomes a sibyl, prophecying the success of the Elizabeth sacral/imperialist project. At the same time she enters symbolically the intimate places of

the Queen. In this way Seager is able to place herself symbolically in multiple spatialities by accessing and creating potent representational spaces.

The imaginative appropriation and creation of representational spaces within the culture was not a strategy primarily restricted to women. Many of the pageant entertainments performed for the Queen make symbolic use of space, while in the literature, art and architecture of the period these spaces abound. However given the many social restrictions that limited female movement in perceived space and access to conceptualizations of space, representational spaces were an accessible and powerful means through which women could participate in the spatial dialogue.

Social space, as many have explained, is produced through the dynamics of spatial interaction that include spatiality as perceived, experienced, conceptualized and imagined. Doreen Massey notes that spatial production is active and generative, it modifies and transforms the individual.[8] "The spatial organization of society, in other words, is integral to the production of the social, and not merely its result."[9] The women discussed in this book fully participated in this production. Their works formed a part of the spatial dialogue of their culture. They offered alternatives to the emerging representations of space, which empowered authoritarian structures, by conceptualizing a spatiality made of relationships. The representational spaces they create propose a spatiality where a mutuality of interests and concerns exist. In Lanyer and Hoby's work the Lady walks with her maids and other servants, sharing "goode talke" and mutual aid in seeking spiritual rewards. Whitney, rather than despising the less wholesome and healthy members of the cityscape, speaks fondly and offers imaginary palliatives for "what ails them." Russell inscribes her narrative in the sacred spaces of her culture, while Seager joins her voice with those of the mythic sibyls in order to enter into a relationship with the Queen.

Bachelard, in a rhetorical plea asks, "May all matter achieve conquest of its space, its power of expansion over and beyond the means of which a geometrician would like to define it."[10] Lefebvre calls for "the collective (generic) work of the species," to produce a transformed spatiality that would open life "to myriad possibilities" brought about organically through the senses,[11] through the lived spaces of the representational. What these modern theorists propose is a social space where the relational is valorized

over the authoritarian. It is just such a spatiality the early modern women discussed here entered into imaginatively. Lefebvre sees this collective and generative work of the senses as a way to move beyond abstract space: that spatiality informed by material production and the property principal, which denies individuals agency. In sonnet 14, Mary Wroth repeats the question, "In this strange Labyrinth how shall I turne?"[12] The texts explored in this work do not give any one definitive answer to this question. What each text does is contribute an imaginative space to the "collective and generative work of the species," which does not necessarily destroy the labyrinth, but strives to allow each the means to enter, explore and leave it at will; the freedom to traverse the many ways yet never lose one's way.

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[1] Mary Wroth, Sonnet 1, "Pamphilia to Amphlanthus," *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth*, ed. Josephine Roberts (Baton Rouge: Lousiana State UP, 1983) 77.

[2] bell hooks, *Yearning: Race Gender and Cultural Politics* (London: Turnaround, 1991) 148-149.

[3] Henri Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991) 33.

[4] Edward Soja, *Thirdspace* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996) 68.

[5] Lefebvre *Production* 201.

[6] Lefebvre *Production* 50.

[7] Lefebvre *Production* 245.

[8] Doreen Massey, "Power-Geomotry and a Progressive Sense of Place," *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change,* eds. Jon Bird, et. al. (London: Routledge, 1993) 67.

[9] Doreen Massey, *Space Place and Gender* (Cambridge UK: Polity, 1994) 4.

[10] Lefebvre, *Production* 202-203.

[11] Lefebvre, *Production* 422-423.

[12] Mary Wroth, Sonnet 14, "Pamphilia to Amphlanthus," *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth*, ed. Josephine Roberts (Baton Rouge: Lousiana State UP, 1983) 90.

Appendix I

The Monument Poems of Elizabeth Russell.

The translations of the Latin and Greek of all poems below are from Louise Schleiner's book, *Tudor & Stuart Women Writers* (47-50, 205-210), except where noted. English texts are from the tombs themselves, with reference to Ashmole's *The Antiquities of Berkshire*, (vol. 3: 464-471) in cases where the text from All Saints Bisham is no longer easily readable. The English texts in Westminster Abbey continue to be quite legible. Refer to Ashmole, and Schleiner for the original Greek and Latin on the tombs in All Saints, See Schleiner or William Camden's *Regis Reginæ, Nobiles* (np, three pages prior to sig. G) for the Latin and Greek inscriptions on John Russell's monument.

Poems from the monuments in the Hoby chapel at All Saints Bisham,:

[On the panels forming a frieze around the top of the tomb of Philip and Thomas Hoby, written by Elizabeth Russell:]

[In English]
Sir Philip Hobye married Dame Elizabeth, Daughter to Sir Walter Stone, Knight; and after worthy Service done to his Prince and Country, died without Issue the 31 of May, 1558. being of the Age of 53 Yeares at his House in London, and from thence was conveyed hither.

Sir Thomas Hobye married with Dame Elizabeth, Daughter to Sir Anthony Cooke, Knt. by whome he had Issue foure Children, Edward, Elizabeth, Anne, and Thomas, Posthumus, and being Embassador for Queen Elizabeth in France, died at Paris the 13th of July, 1566. of the Age of 36, leaving his Wife great with Childe in a strange Country, who brought him honourably home, and built this Chapell, and Layed him and his Brother in one Tomb together.
Vivit post funera Virtus

[This poem is inscribed on the front of the tomb chest of Philip and Thomas Hoby:]

As you can be sad witness, you for me.
While you serve your country, public affairs in hand,
      You have died, a sad corpse in an unknown land.
And the piteous children burn with feverish flames.
      What shall I do, ay me, immersed in such misfortune!
I wander about a hapless wife, a hapless mother,
      I weep for you, my own body, husband seized from me.
Plundered as here I've been, I leave these funereal lands,
      I take my husband's corpse and children's feeble limbs.
And so with filling womb I return by land and sea
      To our homeland, lost in sorrow, loving death.
Husband dear to me, most excellent THOMAS,
      In whom was right and noble all that was:
ELIZABETH, a wife most pleasing once to you,
      Declaims these words replete with pious tears.
I could not keep off death, but this body of death
      So well as I can, I'll always hold in honor.
O Lord, grant me a husband much like THOMAS
      Or let my fates return me to my THOMAS.

No little glory have you and your family, PHILIP,
      Whose virtue was especially known abroad.
Whom the land of ITALY and GERMANY both knew,
      Who for your homeland did important service,
You, brother to my THOMAS, most worthy brother,
      Between whom there was one mind, one understanding.
It was you, you wanted your brother THOMAS to marry me,
      Through your judgment I have been to you a sister.
Thus to you I owe my husband, thus I owe each child,
      You had given me all of these in tribute.
The thanks that I can speak you brush off as empty breath
      And now that ill luck has happened, complaint comes late.
The kingdom of heaven has received you both, happy of soul,
      And now the same burial will receive your bodies.
Both sister and wife, I have planned one tomb for you
      In common-and for me, when my fates strike.
I have done what was allowed, I wish more were allowed me,
      But still in holy rites I pray that it be blessed.
And husband, now goodbye, always my greatest care;
      And you, PHILIP, for me a second care, goodbye.
I shall not be with you until my fates call,
      Then I'll join your ashes with my own.
Thus, O better thus the tomb will hold us joined
      Than my sad house will hold me now alone.

[On a gravestone for her daughters Anne and Elizabeth Russell. Ashmole places it at the front of the tomb of Phillip and Thomas Hoby, it is now in front of Russell's tomb.]

[In Latin]
1570
An Epicedion by Elizabeth Hoby, mother, on the death of her two daughters ELIZABETH and ANNE

ELIZABETH lies here (oh my visceral pangs), by fate
      You lie here, delicate maiden, scarcely grown.
Dear to me you lived once, a daughter of your mother,
      Now live dear to God, a daughter of your father.
Your death was cruel, a crueler one
      Because your younger sister ANNE died with you.
ANNE, glory of your father and mother, after your sister's fate,
      After your mother's tears, golden maiden, here you lie.
There was one mother, one father, one death for two,
      And here a single stone conceals two bodies.
Together in one tomb, thus I your mother wanted you,
      Whom I, with joy and crying, carried in one womb

These two noble sisters,
the best of hope, having died
in the same year, 1570,
and the same month, February,
in the space of a few days,
have fallen asleep in the Lord.

[Greek and Latin verses on Elizabeth Russell's monument:]

[In Greek]
Do not adorn [this] with tears, do not perform violence there
with weeping. I go like spring, through the stars to God. [translated in
Ashmole 471]

[In Latin]
Let no one honor me with tears, nor should a funeral be held with
mourning-why? I go through the stars to God.

Poems from the Monument of John Russell in the Chapel of St. Edmunds, Westminster Abbey.

[in Greek]
On the death of her most beloved and most illustrious husband Lord
Russell, the epitaph written by Elizabeth Russell.

[in Latin]
My wounded mind is torn by death's pitiless feeding
When the figure of your death, now solemnized, approaches.
Indeed so lately heir of an earl, like a flower always,
In falling you leave both me and mine wretched.
Truly elegance, looks, language, and just character
Perish, then teachings too; but nurturing faith grows green.

[In Latin]
Verses of the devastated mother on her surviving daughters.

[in Greek]
Now dust has covered the sweet delight of my soul
And house, and shining longing of this fatherland.
Alas for the shorn ones, the widow and maidens his daughters,
For he in dying took from them life's delight.
Through his piety, the blessed man partakes of joy,
Calling the dwellers in heaven his spirit-kindred.

[In Latin]
Weep now, daughters, now chant out a mourning poem,
      Alas he has died, the only glory of our home.
Bitter death has ravished that flower in bright nobility,
      Distinguished in letters as in piety, your father.
Heirs of an earl, grow up indeed—from such springing
      Start you have thrived—but grow mainly in goodness.

[In Latin]
O comfort of a grandfather, a father's happiest desire,
      The very marrow of me, sad fate has taken you:
O that I, the mother, lay dead, the light denied me,
      And he had first fulfilled my final rites!
I week but in vain, for divine will itself has decreed that
      Alone, bereft of earthly things, I seek the spheres above.
REST ON HIGH

[in English]
Right noble twice by virtue and by birth,
Of heaven lov'd, and honour'd on the earth;
His Countries hope, his kindreds chiefe delight,
My husband deare more than this worlds light
Death hath me reft: but I from death will take
His memory to whom this tombe I make.
John was his name, (ah, was) wretch must I say
Lord Russell once, now my tear thirsty clay.

Appendix II

The Divine Prophesies of the Ten Sibills

by Jane Seager

(Additional ms. 10037. British Lib., London)

[*Preface*]
To the Queenes most Excellent Ma·^{ty}

Sacred Ma·^{ty} Maye yt please those most gracious eÿen
(acquaynted with all perfections, and above others
most Excellent) to vouchsafe to make worthy of their
princely view, the handy-worke of a   Mayden your
Ma·^{ties} most faithfull Subject. It conteyneth (Renomed
Sovereigne) the divine prophesies of the ten Sibills
(virgyns) upon the birthe of our Saviour Christ,
by a most blessed virgyn; of wch most holy faith, your
Ma·^{ty} being cheife Defendress, and a virgyn also, yt is
a thinge (as it weare) preordeyned of god, that this
Treatis, wyrtten by a Mayden your Subject, should be
only devoted unto your most sacred selfe. The which
albeit I have graced both wth my pen and pencell, and
late practize in that rare Arte of Charactery, invented by
D · Bright, yet accompting yt to lack all grace withoute
your Ma·^{ties} most gracious acceptance, I humbly presente' the
same, wth harty prayers for your Ma·^{ty}

<div align="right">Jane Seager</div>

[*Dr. Bright's shorthand is on the right hand side neatly centered. This is true for all
pages. See fig. 7-1*]

<div align="center">·1·</div>

<div align="center">Agrippa</div>

The highest birth shallbe under the fleshe
A Virgine trew without all spot, or blame.
The sacred worde shall fill with heauenly grace
By the prescience of the holye spirit.
And notwithstanding that shee shall bring forth
The only surety of our saving health,
Who on his back shall carry all our synnes;
Yet shall he be despiced of the world,
Whose constant honor, love and glorye sure,
Shall from all ages to all age indure.

<div align="center">An° Mundj. ·2720·</div>

·2·
Samia

Behold the cheerfull daye shall shortly come,
Which shall remove the worldes obscurity:
Unfoulding all the Prophets prophecies
And knotty volumes of the Jewish race:
So as the people maye declare in verse
How this great King shall touched be of men:
And how a virgine most inviolate
Shall beare, and nourish hym wth humane brest.
The Heavens of this happynes divines;
And glistring starrs, foreshew it by y^er Signes

        An° Mundj. ·2720·

·3·
Libyea.

Behold, Behold, the day shall come when as
A Joyfull Prince shyning upon his seed
His Churche with graces shall illuminat:
And cleare' the darcknes wch through synne was bred.
He shall unlock the uncleane lipps of them
That guilty are, and being true and just,
He shall his people love, but for his foes
They shall not come, nor stand before his sight:
He shall indue with blessings from above,
The Queene his Churche, the more for our behove

        An° Mundj. ·2720·

·4·
Cimmeria

In tender yeares a sacred virgine myld,
Of beauty rare and perfect excellence:
Shall nourishe with the milke of her chast brest,
The Lord of hosts, and everlasting King
By whom all thinges in Heauen and in Earth
Shall hartely rejoyce, and clap their hands.
A wondrous starr shall from the eastern coste
Appeare, and lead the wisemen to the child;
And bringing guyfts, when hym they shall behold,
They shall present mirhe, frankensence, and gold.

        An° Mundj. ·3380·

·5·

Europæa.

Th' eternall word shall come from heaven above,
And shall inspire the body of a mayd,
Conceaving by the eare a blessed babe;
Whose fame shall pass both through ye lowest vales,
And fly above the hiest mountayne topps.
Who not withstanding being sent from heaven
Shall come into ye world simple and poore,
And shall rule all things with a quyet raigne.
Thus I confess and doe belieave indeed
He shalbe both divine, and humayne seed.

An° Mundj. ·2720·

·6·

Persica

A joyfull prince borne of a virgine chast
Sytting upon an Asses colt shall come:
To rayse them up that fall their synnes to cure,
Though peradventure in those dayes shalbe,
Some that shall suffer great affliction,
(Allotted them by dyvers destynies)
Lett it suffize, that one worde maye explane
An Oracle, or prophesye divine:
This mighty god, this King as erst I sayd,
Shalbe brought forth by a most blessed mayd.

An° Mundj. ·2720·

·7·

Erythræa.

See the Sonne of God which shall discend
From Heauen aboue, when to the latter tymes
Hee shall bring forth most ioyfull happy dayes:
Whom a faire Virgine of the Hebrew race
Shall bring into the world for our avayle:
Who from his tender yeares shall suffer much
Upon the Earth; yet shall hee surely be,
A Prophett great by his most holy word
Being I saye borne of a virgine blest
And being just in his most prudent brest.

An° Mundj. ·3380·

·8·
Delphica

I' will not be longe, but seilence must be kept,
And whosoeuer will laye up this thinge,
Within his myndfull hart, he soone shall feele,
Th'exceeding Joye of that great saviour:
Who being then conceaved in the wombe
Of a pure virgine; without helpe of man,
Shall come forthe to the world, and shall exceed
All other workes which ever nature wrought:
But hee that ruleth all thinges under sonne,
Hath by his power ordaynd yt to be done.

Anº Mundj. ·2720·

·9·
Tyburtina.

The most true god hath gyven mee the power
That I am able to declare in verse,
How that a mayden shall conceave a child
Within the borders of poore Nazareth.
That god (I saye) which Bethlem countrey shall
Behold, and see, in habytt of our flesh:
Whose mother by an Angell shall receave
Grace' from above, as blest of women all
Oh happy mother worthy heaven bright,
That shall gyve sucke to such a Sonne of light.

Anº Mundj. ·3890·

·10·
Cumana

Nowe my last wordes abyde both true, and Just:
Because they are the' oracles of hym,
Who lyke a king into the world shall come,
At whose approche all men shall rest content.
And being cloathed comely with our flesh,
Hee shalbe humble in all kynde of things:
His mother hee shall chooze of blessed race,
Excelling all in beautye, and in grace'.

Anº Mundj. ·3900·

[Concluding Address to the Queen]
Lo thus in briefe (most sacred Majestye)
I have sett downe whence all theis Sibells weare:
What they foretold, or saw, wee see, and heare,
And profett reape by all their prophesy.
Would God I weare a Sibell to divine
In worthy vearse your lasting happynes:
Then only I should be Characteres
Of that, which worlds with wounder might defyne
But what need I to wish, when you are such,
Of whose perfections none can write too much.

An° Domini ·1589

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