

Civic and Symbolic Space in Representation and Ritual in the Renaissance

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*Civic and Symbolic Space in Representation and Ritual
in the Renaissance*

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**A Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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Abstract:

This project examines the conception and imaging of the city in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The thesis aims to chart the ways in which a spatialised reading of the metropolis most fully realised in ceremonial representations of the city informs representational strategies of the time.

Chapter 1 looks at the transformations taking place during this period in the practice of land surveying, exploring the implications of the new techniques of geometrical survey for conceptions of civic space. Examining the parallels between the viewing of the estate and the reformation of the Rogationtide ceremonies of perambulating the bounds, the urban context for spatial description is analysed through a reading of John Stow's *Survey of London*.

In Chapter 2 the resistance of the city to a strictly geometrical conception of space is traced through an analysis of early printed maps of the city and the texts of civic ceremonies. The shared interest of these cultural practices in the representation of civic space is interrogated to reveal an understanding of the city as comprising *both* built environment and social body which informs the deployment of the city as a subject of cartographic representation.

The next chapter analyses the costume book in the context of a Europe-wide project of geographical description. The production of a clothed body capable of articulating spatial and hierarchical difference is examined in relation to the available ceremonial models for the negotiation of these intersecting axes of description and the tensions generated by this representational strategy

The final chapter undertakes a reinvestigation of the Earl of Essex's rebellion, reading a wide range of materials to argue for the centrality of anxieties over the control of the civic sign to the understanding of this event.

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Introduction

I lifted up mine eyes again, and looked, and behold a man with a measuring line in his hand.

Then said I, Whither goest thou ? And he said unto me, To measure Jerusalem, to see what *is* the breadth thereof, and what *is* the length thereof.

(Zechariah 2.1-2)

To take the measure of the city. Such a notion provokes a series of questions. What scale would such a practice deploy ? Based on what units ? And how might one represent the findings ? All the chapters of this thesis touch upon the issues raised by these points of inquiry. From the precise techniques of geometrical measurement whose impact is investigated in chapter 1 to the security measures intersecting with a form of ceremonial geography in chapter 4, efforts to demarcate, to read and to control the space of the city form a starting point for the series of investigations undertaken here. In doing so each section of the thesis marks a stage in the development and extension of the idea of civic space which centres upon notions of resistance, highlighting in each case a productive friction which animates the representational strategies of the materials discussed. Thus in chapter 1 the focus falls upon surveying manuals and the new techniques of mensuration in order to throw into relief the persistence, at both a discursive and a conceptual level, of a communal conception of space. Where the estate and county prove vulnerable in both map and text to a totalising vision that is inherently cartographic in the manner of its ordering of space, the writing of the city is uncovered as the stronghold for a collective reading of space in which the *urban* registers continually in terms of community.

From this focus upon resistance to the invasive force of geometric readings of space in the written description of the city, the emphasis shifts in the second chapter to the visual image. Here the conditions governing the representation of the city in map form are explored through an investigation of the

representational strategies of civic ceremony. The parallel tension which surfaces between the detached viewing of the city and its communally operative performance is used to suggest ways of reading opposing constructions of the civic sign in each practice.

The first two chapters thus deal with direct attempts, in map and in text, to represent the city. These studies provide the terms for the investigation in what follows of materials not immediately recognised for their associations with the space of the city. Hence chapter 3 undertakes a detailed study of the costume book in which the role of the clothed body within a reading practice centred upon the production of embodied difference is interrogated to yield links with the representation of place and position in contemporary ceremonial practice. The model of civic ceremony, in which space of representation and represented space are co-extensive, as in the example of the Venetian republic, is then considered in terms of its broader application within the costume books: to regions, nations and even conceptual territories - such as the Holy Roman Empire - where the same equivalences cannot be drawn. One of the fruits of this work is to reveal the consolidating effect of this model of custom upon strategies for the reading of costume through an examination of techniques for the construction of *habitus* in representative terms. More importantly still, the instances of the failure of the costume image to meet the demands to be geographically and hierarchically representative prove productive in the exposure of the investments being made in the clothed body, from the tensions over the female body as a site of display, to revealing inconsistencies in the attempt to produce a fully clothed empire.

The final chapter deals with another celebrated failure: the rebellion of the Earl of Essex. In this section of the thesis a range of manuscript and printed sources are used to read the significance of the city back into an event from which it had largely been excluded. Here the city re-emerges as the contested site of

attempts to produce, re-produce and counteract the threat of rebellion, in which an evident tension between the management and assertion of community provides telling evidence of the cultural resonance of control of the civic sign.

The original aim of this project was to demonstrate the importance of civic ceremony in the formulation of contemporary conceptions of civic space. The spatially signifying strategies for the performance of the city in this cultural practice remain an enabling tool throughout the thesis, yet, where the initial interest centred upon the construction of a ceremonial representative space, the final result is concerned equally with the uses to which that space is put. Tracing the persistent resonances of spatial performance across lines of jurisdiction that have traditionally separated the forms of material analysed here, a reading practice is suggested which can claim to uncover new ways of understanding the importance of the city in early modern culture.

Chapter 1

The Surveyor Abroad: The City and the Perfect View

The current chapter seeks to examine the early modern responses to developments in the quantification of space and suggest implications for the representation of the city. In doing so the material placed under the spotlight here concerns the role of the estate surveyor in this period and the debate over the rise of the geometrical survey. By exploring the reactions generated by innovations in the measuring and plotting of land an understanding of the investments present in the shifting conceptions of space is brought to light which manifest themselves in differing responses to the perception and representation of the land. Having considered this material in the context of the rural estate and its implications for relations between space and community I will then attempt to uncover the ways in which it impinges upon the cultural inscription of the city and can help to illuminate the particularities of civic space.

Section 1: Desperate Measures

Is not the Field it selfe a goodly Map for the Lord to looke upon, better than a painted paper ? And what is he the better to see it laid out in colours ? He can adde nothing to his land, nor diminish ours: and therefore that labour above all may be saved, in mine opinion.¹

The above complaint against the new-fangled practice of the geometrical survey and its contentious innovation, the estate map, comes from the mouth of a sceptical farmer. It was placed there by one of the most influential figures of English early modern cartography and surveying, John Norden, in a book which was one of a number published during the Elizabethan and Jacobean period that

¹John Norden, *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (London: Hugh Astley 1607), p.15.

sought to popularise and establish this emergent discipline.² In dialogue with a surveyor Norden has his farmer criticise the profession on the grounds that a map would “add nothing” to the land in question, a statement which a book concerned with the improvements arising from surveying was duty-bound to overturn. Yet what is truly striking here is not the mere opposition to the expanding practice of estate mapping but the manner in which that opposition is expressed. The farmer’s rejection of the usefulness of maps is constructed in terms which accept implicitly the equivalence of mapping and viewing in the flesh, an equivalence which is at the heart of the practical supremacy of map use. Rather than contesting the ability of a map adequately to represent the land, the characterisation of the field as merely a very good map demonstrates instead the facility with which the one may substitute for the other - indeed it suggests that the cartographic imagination has already triumphed in the conceptualisation of land, substituting the field as an independent entity for its cartographic sign.

The notion of a cartographic conception of space suggested here is not readily reducible to the actual expansion in usage of the cartographic artefact, the map, in the sixteenth century, linked though the two developments self-evidently are.³ Rather, the phrase intends the organisation of spatial thought produced and re-produced in the map whereby it becomes possible to conceive of and represent space in a manner detached from its lived experience. Commenting on these

² On the life and career of Norden see Frank Kitchen, ‘John Norden (c.1547-1625): Estate Surveyor, Topographer, County Mapmaker and Devotional Writer’ in *Imago Mundi* 49 (1997), pp.43-61.

³ On the rise of map use in sixteenth century England see particularly P.D.A. Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (London: P.R.O. and British Library 1993) and the two important articles by Peter Barber, ‘England I : Pageantry, Defense and Government : Maps at Court to 1550’ and ‘England II : Monarchs, Ministers and Maps, 1550-1625’ in *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps : The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe* ed. David Buisseret (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1992), pp.26-98. On the estate map see the work of P.D.A. Harvey particularly ‘Estate surveyors and the spread of the scale-map in England 1550-80’ in *Landscape History* 15 (1993), pp.37-49 and ‘English Estate Maps: Their Early History and Their Use as Historical Evidence’ in *Rural Images: Estate Maps in the Old and New Worlds* ed. David Buisseret (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1996), pp.27-61.

generative functions of mapping, Svetlana Alpers has rightly observed that “the map allowed one to see something that was otherwise invisible”; following on from this notion, work such as that of Victor Morgan has examined the emergence of a visual image of the nation in this period.⁴ Yet it is equally vital to retain a sense of what maps exclude, of the relations between people, places and powers which a map can work to erase, or which it simply cannot contain: “How many maps... might be needed to deal exhaustively with a given space, to code and decode all its meanings and contents ?” asked the French theorist Henri Lefebvre rhetorically.⁵ Thus Richard Helgerson, placing Saxton’s 1579 *Atlas* side by side with the Ditchley portrait of Elizabeth depicted standing on Saxton’s wall-map, has uncovered a tension at play between these two products of royal patronage that focuses upon investments in the cartographic surface. The one presenting an image of the nation which marginalises the signs of royal authority, the other an image of the monarch that prevents access to the cartographic representation; the map, he concludes, “opened a conceptual gap between the land and its ruler.”⁶

The impact of a cartographic conception of space upon the regulation of the estate participated in a parallel process of effacement to that detected by Helgerson in Saxton’s *Atlas*, but the losers in this case were those at the other end of the social (and cartographic) scale. Thus, when the surveyor of Norden’s

⁴Svetlana Alpers, ‘The Mapping Impulse in Dutch Art’ in *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays* ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1987), pp.51-96, p.67.

Victor Morgan, ‘The Cartographic Image of ‘The Country’ in Early Modern England’ in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series, Vol. 29 (1979), pp.129-154.

⁵ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell 1994), p.85. J.B. Harley, the cartographic historian, produced a series of influential essays drawing attention to the ideological operations of early modern mapping: ‘Silences and Secrecy: the hidden agenda of cartography in early modern Europe’ in *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988), pp. 57-76; ‘Deconstructing the Map’ in *Cartographica* 26:2 (1989), pp.1-20; ‘Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor cartography’ in *English Mapmaking 1550-1650: Historical essays* ed. Sarah Tyacke (London: British Library 1983), pp.22-45.

⁶ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1992), pp.107-147, p.114.

dialogue is faced with the task of recuperating the image of the field-as-map within the project of promoting the benefits of the geometrical survey, it is to the advantages for the figure in the Manor house that he turns:

I know your meaning in misliking plotting of your Land, and yet you utter not what you thinke: for a plot rightly drawne by true information, describeth so the lively image of a Mannor, and every branch and member of the same, as the Lord sitting in his chayre, may see what he hath, where and how it lyeth, and in whose use and occupation every particular is, upon the suddaine view.⁷

In an image which Norden's text shares with a number of surveying manuals, the Lord of the Manor is pictured consulting the estate map in the comfort of his own home.⁸ The farmer's concession of an equivalence between map and estate leads directly to the landlord's contemplation at a distance of the estate in its cartographic form. In this translation from land to image it is the farmer that disappears from the scene; the estate is abstracted from a series of relations between people into a series of relations between lines on a piece of paper. Recent studies have noted the implications of the shift signalled here for the process of land management, Andrew McRae showing how received notions of the necessity of the landlord's presence on the ground are challenged as "the landlord is encouraged to appreciate his land free of restrictive moral sanctions against practices such as sales, rent-raising, and enclosure."⁹

⁷ Norden, *Surveyor's Dialogue*, pp.15-16.

⁸ Other examples of the image occur in the following texts: Edward Worsop, *A Discoverie of Sundrie errors and faults daily committed by Landmeaters* (London: Henrie Middleton for Gregorie Seton 1582), sig.B3v; Cyprian Lucar, *A Treatise Named Lucarsolace* (London: Richard Field for Iohn Harrison 1590), p.53. See also the extensive discussion of land management via the use of the map in Ralph Agas, *A Preparative to Platting of Landes and Tenements for Surveigh* (London: Thomas Scarlet 1596), pp.14-15.

⁹ Andrew McRae, *God Speed the Plough: The representation of agrarian England 1500-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996), p.194. Chapter 6 explores the changing role of the surveyor in this period in terms of the discursive shift which both reflected and played a part in the movement "toward a conception of property consistent with emergent capitalist ideals," p.195.

The destabilising impact of the geometrical survey upon the existing network of social relations within the estate registers in several of the surveying manuals. Norden's surveyor has to respond to the charges brought against his profession that,

oftentimes you are the cause that men lose their land : and sometimes they are abridged of such liberties as they have long used in Mannors; and customes are altered, broken, and sometimes perverted or taken away by your meanes : And above all you looke into the value of mens lands.¹⁰

The need to counter such accusations testifies to the anxieties generated by what the farmer elsewhere calls "your so narrow looking."¹¹ Yet, despite the dialogic form adopted by Norden and other authors of surveying manuals, in which the staging of such debates is a prelude to the exposition of the equanimity of the surveyor towards the interests of both landlord and tenant - epitomised in Norden's text by the conversion of the sceptical farmer into an enthusiastic advocate who remarks upon seeing the approaching landlord "I will solicit him for your employment"¹² - the social impact of a commodified landscape continues to register within the texts. Hence the second edition of the *Surveyor's Dialogue* comes with an additional chapter in which a Purchaser of Land discusses with the protagonist the best uses for his capital, whilst Aaron Rathbone chastises the ignorance of the penny-pinching purchaser who proceeds without recourse to a surveyor "and yet will disburse manie thousands in a purchase, without the certain knowledge of either quantitie [or] qualitie of value thereof."¹³ Another surveying

¹⁰ Norden, *Surveyor's Dialogue*, p.3.

¹¹ Norden, *Surveyor's Dialogue*, p.4.

¹² Norden, *Surveyor's Dialogue*, p.37.

¹³ Aaron Rathbone, *The Surveyor in Foure bookes* (London: W. Stansby for W. Burre 1616), sig.A6v. John Norden, *The Surveiors Dialogue* (London: I Busby 1610). This edition along with the extra chapter also revises the description of the work's usefulness on the title page, adding that it is: "Very profitable for all men to peruse, but especially for all... that shall either have occasion, or be willing to buy or sell Lands." See also the manual produced in the same year by William Folkingham who advertises the usefulness of his text "for Purchasers, Exchangers, or Sellers of Land, and for every other Interessee in the Profits or Practise derived from the

manual constructed in the form of a dialogue, that of Edward Worsop, offers oblique evidence of the surveyor's implication in the alteration of ownership in its presentation of a clothier seeking the surveyor's help for a friend wishing to exchange a portion of his estate for part of that belonging to another friend:

Lands of like value .. should be given for them. They have desired me to find meanes how this exchange may indifferently bee made... If I may have your help, you shal have good cheere, be very welcome to them both, and pleased for your paines.¹⁴

In Worsop's text, the pivotal role of the surveyor in facilitating a land transaction is structured in terms which both ignore the potential disruption to the social organism of the estate and seek to obscure the extent to which this practice is implicated in the burgeoning land market. By offering the example of an *exchange* of land between two friends in which the monetary value of the area involved remains unrealised - just as the professional surveyor's fees are translated into feudal terms as the provision of hospitality - the prospect of the conversion of land into a commodity is displaced into an act of good faith undertaken by two neighbours as part of a socially responsive operation within a stable localised context. As with Norden, Worsop's representation of the surveyor as potentially a benevolent broker of local harmony is figured under the sign of a dialogic conversion - the same character who solicits the practitioner here had earlier forcibly stated his opposition to his profession, remarking that "The worlde was merier, before measurings were used then it hath beene since."¹⁵

Despite the attempt to play down the potentially disruptive influence of quantification, the skills of the surveyor are nevertheless figured as the means of

complete SURVEY", *Feudigraphia. The Synopsis or Epitome of Surveying Methodized* (London: Richard Moore 1610), title page.

¹⁴ Worsop, *A Discoverie*, sig.I4r.

¹⁵ Worsop, *A Discoverie*, sig.I2v.

determining the value which underwrites the process of exchange - as one recent study observes, “geometry helps ready the land for a capitalised marketplace by providing a means of determining precise measures, the ‘general form of value’ necessary to capitalist circulation.”¹⁶ Where Worsop’s surveyor avoids involvement in a cash transaction, he participates all the same in the inscription of exchange value into the landscape through the practice of his profession; he carves out a segment from the estate equivalent in value to the desired plot. This complicity of techniques of mensuration with the process of commodification is a charge which the surveying manuals seek to avert by laying the stress upon the *indifference* of the methods they deploy. Worsop’s two landowning friends appeal to the surveyor as the very model of objective evaluation, epitomising a strategy repeated throughout these texts whereby responsibility for the uses to which such information might be put is displaced from the practitioner himself onto landlord and tenant. Hence Norden’s surveyor takes care to remind both landlord and purchaser of the duties and responsibilities of land management in addition to reassuring the farmer that the honest tenant has nothing to fear from the exactitude of his measurements through which, as another manual puts it, “all concealments and other abuses ...shall not only at all times here after plainly appeare, but also be readyly and truely helped and reformed.”¹⁷

The celebrated indifference of the surveyor in the texts of these manuals is promoted through an increasing emphasis upon the practice of surveying as a fully professionalised discipline underpinned by the application of a geometrical approach to the quantification of land. The focus upon mensuration within surveying was not an entirely new concern - in 1537 Richard Benese had

¹⁶ Crystal Lynn Bartolovich, ‘Boundary Disputes: Surveying, Agrarian Capital and English Renaissance Texts’ (unpublished PhD. thesis, Emory University, 1993), p.18. McRae points to the impact of the surveying manuals in promoting the standardisation of measurement essential to the relative assessment of land value within a broader market. *God Speed the Plough*, pp.184-189.

¹⁷ Agas, *A Preparative*, pp.15-16.

published a work which would run through a number of editions and was devoted to the taking of measurements of plots of land - rather the innovation lay in applying the principle of triangulation which obviated the necessity of measuring out all distances upon the ground and made possible instead the computation of area from a distance.¹⁸ The new claims of the surveying manuals to produce “an exact discoverie” based upon this advance required the differentiation of these specialised and precise techniques from those unrefined approaches whereby abuses appeared.¹⁹ Thus Worsop glossed the title of his text *A Discoverie of sundrie errors and faults daily committed by Landmeaters* with the injunction:

Every one that measureth Land by laying head to head, or can take a plat by some Geometricall instrument, is not to be accounted therefore a sufficient Landmeater, except he can also proove his instruments, and measurings, by true Geometricall Demonstrations.²⁰

Worsop’s attempt to distinguish between proficiency and abuse suggests an anxiety attendant upon the promotion of surveying as a specialised discipline. The exhortation not to be fooled requires a mastery by the reader of the mathematical principles involved and their relation to the practice of surveying which runs contrary to the privileging of the status of the geometrical surveyor. For Aaron Rathbone the examples of such abuse appear to be frequent; he complains of,

the multitude of simple and ignorant persons... who having but once observed a surveyor, by looking over his shoulder... presently apprehend the businesse, provide them of some cast Plaine Table, and within small time after, you shall heare them tell you wonders, and what rare feats they can performe.²¹

¹⁸ Richard Benese, *This boke sheweth the maner of measuryng of all maner of lande, as well of woodlande, as of lande in the felde, and comptynge the true nombre of acres of the same* (London: James Nicolson [1537]). Further editions followed in 1550, 1553, 1565 and 1565. On the changing techniques of land measurement in this period see A.W. Richeson, *English Land Measuring to 1800: Instruments and Practices* (Cambridge (US): Society for the History of Technology 1966).

¹⁹ Norden, *Surveyor's Dialogue*, sig.A6v.

²⁰ Worsop, *A Discoverie*, title page.

²¹ Rathbone, *The Surveyor*, sig.A5v.

The impersonations of the art of surveying which trouble Rathbone here focus upon the fantastical claims of the impostor and are a corollary of the manifestation of technical expertise in the instrumentation invoked by the surveying manuals.²² All these texts indulge in the promotion of one or other of the pieces of apparatus available; Norden advocates plane table and theodolite, Agas privileges the latter as “this Theodolite [which] commandeth every one of her subjects”; Rathbone and Worsop go so far as to provide details of those who can manufacture the chosen item from the surveyor’s armoury - and Rathbone expounds the benefits of seven different devices.²³ Whilst the manuals expend considerable energy in the cultivation of a technical expertise which takes the outward form of precision instrumentation, this externalisation of professional authority makes it available to impostors possessed of no other qualification “then the signe of the instrument, and a grosse, and unlearned order of platting.”²⁴

Viewed collectively, then, the surveying manuals discussed here promote the geometrical survey as a rigorously professional discipline in which the advantages accruing to the landowner revolve around an increasing objectification of the estate as a quantified and evaluated possession. If, as has been argued, “[t]o know one’s own’ becomes the surveyor’s central imperative” during this period, then the process depended upon a redrawing of the figure of the surveyor in the image of an independent specialist deriving his authority from the mastery

²² Bernhard Klein has recently drawn attention to the threatening association of the performance of a geometrical survey “with those elements of a non-scientific world, like magic and theatre, to which surveying... stood in conscious opposition.” Rathbone’s disparagement of these impostors’ claims is clearly intended to divert such connotations onto the abusers of mathematical authority. ‘Shifting Ground: Maps, Texts and the Construction of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland’ (Unpublished PhD thesis University of Frankfurt 1998), p.53.

²³ Agas, *A Preparative*, p.10 (misnumbered p.14); Norden, *Surveyor’s Dialogue*, pp.127-128; Worsop, *A Discoverie*, sig.A8v; Rathbone, *The Surveyor*, pp.123-135. On the manufacture and sale of surveying instruments in this period see G. L’E. Turner, ‘Mathematical Instrument Making in London in the sixteenth century’ in *English Mapmaking 1550-1650* ed. Tyacke, pp.93-106.

²⁴ Worsop, *A Discoverie*, sig.E3v.

of a body of theoretical and technical knowledge.²⁵ Having focused thus far upon the innovations ushered in by the practice of geometrical surveying, I want now to examine the ways in which the concentration of authority in the surveyor as privileged professional functions in terms of the appropriation of a collective authority rooted in local custom, traces of which continue to register in the surveying texts.

Section 2: Perambulation and the Reformation of Manors

Great cheere, and company keeping, hinder much in the time of surveying. A good surveyor will avoide them. Diligent and exact surveying so fully occupieth both the bodie, and minde of the whole man, as he can have small leysure for talke, or recreations.²⁶

When Edward Worsop claims for the surveyor the studious dedication of the skilled practitioner to the task in hand he foregrounds the detachment of this figure from the society which surrounds him, reinforcing the notion of his objectivity in the quantification of land. In doing so, however, he suggests the extent to which the surveyor trespasses on the site of a communal investment in the marking out of territory. To champion the need for the survey to be undertaken as the solitary endeavour of a professional is to anticipate the objection that it is the province of common interest. Worsop's text provides a rare instance of the throwing into relief of an opposition between collective and individual authority which lies at the heart of the competing conceptions of space brought into play by the advent of the geometrical survey.

In order to understand the persistent claims of communal interest upon the various strategies for the cultural inscription of the estate, it is illuminating to

²⁵ McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, pp.171-172.

²⁶ Worsop, *A Discoverie*, sig.I4v.

place those practices in the context of another communal custom which demonstrates a parallel concern with the relation of the social body to the land: the ceremony of Rogationtide.²⁷ This rite, first formalised in England in 747, took place on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday prior to Ascension Day and revolved around a procession for the blessing of the crops.²⁸ In its pre-Reformation incarnation the procession of the community around the parish behind the church banners had expanded to take on the mantle of a “ritual[] of demarcation... defining its identity over against that of neighbouring parishes”, a logic which could lead on occasion to unrest as improvised attempts were made to resolve disputes.²⁹ Such rivalries were no doubt exacerbated by the tendency of the ceremony to provide an occasion for the excesses castigated by Martin Luther in which “the village processions were the first to run mad, where, with beer-swilling and in taverns there is so much ado and the cross and the banners are treated in such a way that it would not be surprising if God let us perish within one year.”³⁰ Under the gaze of the reformers it was not only such seeming irreverence which attracted ire but also the liturgical focus of the procession to a

²⁷ The usefulness of the Rogation rituals as a subject of study in relation to the practice of surveying and map-making was first noted by Maurice Beresford, *History on the Ground: Six Studies in Maps and Landscapes* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton 1984 (1st ed. 1957)), pp.27-31. A recent article drawing upon his work has again touched on the significance of this practice which “reads the land along a social axis,... [it is] measured if not in feet then in footsteps.” Garrett Sullivan, Jr., “‘Arden lay murdered in that plot of ground’: Surveying, Land and *Arden of Faversham*” in *ELH* 61(1994), pp.231-252, p.241.

²⁸ See Ronald Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: a History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1996), pp.277-287 and David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1989), pp.23-24.

²⁹ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1992), p.136; Duffy records that “Processions from neighbouring parishes which happened to converge might come to blows, in part because they believed that the rival procession was driving its demons over the boundary into their parish.” For other examples of pre-Reformation Rogationtide violence between parishes see Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, p.278.

³⁰ Martin Luther, *Von dem Gebeet und Procession yn der Creützwochen: On Prayer and Procession in Rogation Week* (1519) intro & trans. Helga Robinson-Hammerstein (Dublin: Friends of Trinity College Library 1983), p.14. For further examples of responses to the pre-Reformation ritual see W. Carew Hazlitt, *Faiths and Folklore of the British Isles: A Descriptive and Historical Dictionary* (based on *The Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* by John Brand and Sir Henry Ellis) reprint of 1905 edition (New York: Benjamin Blom 1965), pp.521-523.

series of customary sites at which portions of Scripture were read aloud, an event characterised by Tyndale as “the saying of the gospels to the corn in the field... that it should the better grow.”³¹

The hostility of the reforming movement to the benediction of objects, coupled with the carrying of such superstitious props as banners and bells, eventually saw the suppression of the Rogationtide ceremonies in the period 1547-9 as they “withered in the face of official disapproval.”³² Under the Elizabethan settlement, however, which in 1559 mandated that the parishioners “shall not from henceforth in any parish church at any time use any procession about the church or churchyard, or other place”, an important exception was made exclusively for the Rogationtide processions:

But yet for retaining of the perambulation of the circuits of parishes, they shall once in the year at the time accustomed, with the curate and the substantial men of the parish, walk about their parishes as they were accustomed, and at their return to the church make their Common Prayers.³³

The Elizabethan re-invention of the Rogationtide ceremonies sought to stave off objection to its superstitious connotations by placing an increasing emphasis upon the practice of the circulation of the parish boundaries epitomised in Grindal’s injunction to the Archdeacon of Essex “that the ministers make it not a procession but a perambulation.”³⁴ By re-focusing attention in the Rogation

³¹ William Tyndale, *Answer to Sir Thomas More’s Dialogue* (London: Parker Society 1850), pp.61-62, quoted by Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p.279. On the controversy over the efficacy of the Rogation rites see also Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Belief in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth Century England* (London: Penguin 1991), pp.71-75.

³² Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, p.280.

³³ Royal Injunctions of 1559 no.18, printed in *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation* ed. Walter Howard Frere (London: Longmans, Green & Co 1910), 3 vols., III pp.14-15. For a detailed reading of the reformation of the Rogationtide ceremonies in the Elizabethan period which focuses upon the attempts to enforce a modified form of the Royal Injunctions through visitation articles see Edwin Davenport, ‘Elizabethan England’s Other Reformation of Manners’ in *ELH* 63 (1996), pp.255-278.

³⁴ Letter of 1560 quoted in *Visitation Articles* ed. Frere, III p.177n2.

ceremony from effective prayer to the assertion of community the reformed liturgy of the rite reinforced the legitimacy of the collective investment in the maintenance of land rights. Hence the 1563 collection of homilies makes explicit reference to the upholding of such customary definitions of the space of the community in the title of *An exhortation to be spoken to such Parishes, where they use theyr perambulation in Rogation weke, for the over syght of the boundes, and limittes of theyr Townes*.³⁵ Invoking the authority of three key biblical passages that centre upon the boundary marker as the sign of a trans-generational identification with the land, the reformed conception of the Rogation ceremonies actively cultivates a bond between land and community whose annual re-inscription functions as a defence against all abuses.³⁶ Nor is this process of perpetuating a communal definition of the parish boundaries dissociated from the checking of abuses in the context of the estate. The lord invoked in one passage of the Exhortation is thus not a spiritual but a temporal figure:

They do wyckedly, whych do turne up the auncient terries of the fieldes, that olde men before tymes wyth great paines did tread out: whereby the Lordes recordes (whyche be the tenautes evidences) be perverted and translated, sometyme to the disherytyng of the ryght owner, to the oppression of the poore fatherlesse, or the poore wydowe.³⁷

The focus here is upon the estate as a stable social organism in which the communal investigation of boundary markers functions as a verifying of the right placement of boundary markers against the authority of collective memory. Whilst the exhortation imagines a common interest between landlord and tenant, it

³⁵ *The Seconde Tome of homelyes of such as were promysed and Intituled in the former part of homelyes, set out by the auctorities of the Quenes Maiestie: And to be read in every paryshe Churche agreablye* (London: Richard Jugge and Jhon Cawood 1563), p.251r.

³⁶ "Remove not the ancient landmark which thy fathers have set." Proverbs 22:28; "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it." Deuteronomy 19:14 and "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark" Deuteronomy 27:17. Referred to in *Seconde Tome of homelyes*, p.252r.

³⁷ *Seconde Tome of homelyes*, p.252v.

sees the potential for abuse arising in the movement of boundary markers upon the ground, an eventuality which can distort the records of estate. Such records, then, are envisaged as not only directly linked to but indeed determined by customary signs upon the ground whose evidence is privileged above that of the estate documents and regulated only by the vigilance of communal memory. To refer to the perambulation's investigations of boundaries as "Rogation's cartographic function", as one recent commentator does, is thus to miss the point that the conception of space enacted and perpetuated by this collective rite is inherently at odds with the schematic and de-socialised form of the map.³⁸ Rogation offers a persistent articulation of the space of estate and parish as constituted and patrolled by the collective authority of its inhabitants.

Returning to the surveying manuals we can see how Worsop's text in particular places its advocacy of the geometric techniques in terms of an opposition that participates in the reforming zeal which threatened the Rogation processions. Not only does he see the practice of the surveyor as opposed to the riotous manifestations of the social body's interest in the inscription of the land, disassociating himself from the "great cheere and company keeping" of the community. He also understands his own geometrical rigour as part of a struggle against the forces of Papistry:

In the time of Poperie moste singular knowledges were shut up... They made darkness, and ignorance, two of their pillars.... For as in stead of divinitie, they brought in superstition and idolatre: so in stead of the pure Mathematicall knowledges, they used coniurations, sorceries, invocations of spirits, enchauntments, and other unlawfull practises, under the names of Divinatorie and Judicall Astrologie.³⁹

³⁸ Davenport, 'Elizabethan England's Other Reformation of Manners', p.261.

³⁹ Worsop, *A Discoverie*, sig.E3v-E4r.

Worsop locates the promotion of geometrical surveying within an evangelism of the “pure mathematical knowledges” that is definitively opposed to the superstitious practices of the church of Rome. In doing so he simultaneously aligns the collective authority of the community in the knowledge of the land, most vividly expressed in the sole remnant of pre-Reformation processional rites, with the representatives of idolatry, rehearsing the same objections which reformers continued to level at the Rogationtide ceremonies throughout the period.

Few of the surveying manuals contain such an overt suggestion of the conflict of interests between geometrical surveyor and collective notions of the community. The preferred approach is rather to figure themselves as compatible with a continuity of existing conceptions of social relations within the estate, thus obscuring the process of transition in which they were implicated. The principal means by which the surveying manuals sought to mediate the impact of shifting authority in the representation of land was through the presentation of a more venerable notion of the surveyor’s responsibilities and duties and the attempt to identify themselves in terms of that tradition. Whilst Worsop accorded a pre-eminent position to the geometrical techniques, the practice of land measurement was not understood as the sole, or even necessarily the chief, duty of the surveyor in the sixteenth century, and his text was obliged to acknowledge that,

Surveie consisteth upon three principal parts: that is to say the Mathematicall, the Legall and the Judicall... To the Legall part belongeth the knowledge of keeping courts of surveie, of the diversities of tenures, rents, and services, likewise how to make terrors, rentals, particulars, sute roles, customarieroles, & also how to engrosse books... The judicall part consisteth upon the consideration, and knowledge of the fertilitie, vesture, situation for vent, health somenesse, comodiousnesse, discomodiousnes, and such like of every kind of ground, building and encrease, in his owne nature, & kinde.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Worsop, *A Discoverie*, sig.I3v.

Comprised under the latter two headings are a series of duties which point to the origins of the professional surveyor's role in a more immediate engagement with the organisation and management of the estate alluded to in the earliest of all the treatises concerned with surveying, where the author Fitzherbert points out the French origins of the term "surveyour [which]... is as moche to say in Englysshe as an overseer."⁴¹ The evolution of the surveyor from a position equivalent to that of steward of the manor into that of a hired professional involved an increasing legal specialisation which required that he be acquainted not merely with the particular customs of tenancy obtaining in one estate, but with the full range of landholding titles.⁴² The manuals of Fitzherbert and Valentine Leigh, and a considerable part of Norden's text, are thus concerned with detailing the different forms such tenancy agreements could take.

The holding of a court of survey involved the summoning of tenants to produce evidence of the terms under which they held their land from the lord but might also entail the giving of sworn evidence upon certain customary practices within the manor by venerable members of the local community.⁴³ Presided over by the surveyor, the court of survey thus provided a forum for the articulation of communal authority, through document and testimony, within the regulation of estate management. Its conclusions would form part of the book of survey produced to "serve as well to save the inherytaunce of the lordes/ as every fre holder by charter/ cotype holder/ & customary holder/ and to knowe every manes lande as it lyeth to his house one *from* another."⁴⁴ Fitzherbert's comments upon

⁴¹ John Fitzherbert, *The Boke of surveyeng and improvmentes* (London: Richard Dynson 1523), sig.H1r. This notion of the surveyor as *overseer* is paralleled in the *Exhortation's* reference to the collective "over syght of the boundes" in the Rogation perambulation cited above.

⁴² On the early role of the surveyor as steward or foreman of the manor see F.M.L. Thompson, *Chartered Surveyors: the growth of a profession* (London: Routledge 1968.), pp.2-8.

⁴³ For examples see Maurice Beresford, *History on the Ground* (see fn.27 for pub. details), pp.48-52.

⁴⁴ Fitzherbert, *The Boke of surveyeng*, sig.H1r.

the value of a book of survey demonstrate a close association between the social structures of the estate microcosm in the form of reciprocal tenancy customs and the knowledge of the land itself. The form of knowing the land envisaged here is of a different kind from that engendered by the quantifying practice of the geometrical surveyor capable of measuring the area of parcels of the estate without actively pacing out its parameters. When, having detailed the forms of landholding within estates, Fitzherbert comes to describe “[w]hat a surveyour shulde do” he concentrates upon the manner of viewing the land, using the following striking analogy:

[A]s and the cytie of London shulde be surveyed. The surveyour may nat stande at Hygate/ nor at Shotershyll/ nor yet at the Blackheth nor suche other places/ and over loke the cytie on every syde. For and he do/ he shall nat se the goodly stretes/ the fayre buyldinges/ nor ye great substaunce of richesse conteyned in them/ for than he maye be called a disceyver & nat a surveyer. & in lyke wise if a man shall vieu a close or a pasture/ he may nat loke over the hedge & go his way/ but he must outhere ryde or go over/ & se every parcell therof.⁴⁵

Fitzherbert’s text makes use of the example of an imagined civic survey in which the possibility of remaining at a distance is explicitly characterised as not merely erroneous, but a misrepresentation of the object of description. The detachment of the surveyor overlooking the city from afar constitutes a failure to encompass the particular details in which the substance of the city consists. To survey here, as the investigation of close and pasture shows, is rather to cross the border separating the observer from the field of view and to participate in the tracing out of the landscape beneath the feet. I shall return to the implications of this passage for the conception of civic space in Section 3 but I want here to focus attention on the privileging of the surveyor’s active engagement with the land he surveys.

⁴⁵ Fitzherbert, *The Boke of surveyeng*, sig.H1r-v.

Fitzherbert's restating of the obligation to investigate the manor at first hand is inseparable from the investigation of the customary practices which inscribe that land within a system of social relations between lord and tenant, and the two continue to register in the persistent notion of the surveyor's duty to make a perambulation of the estate, or, as Valentine Leigh calls it, to "take a perfect View of Survey of a Mannour."⁴⁶ Leigh, whose manual, like that of Fitzherbert published more than fifty years earlier, contains no details of geometric surveying, preferring instead to refer those desirous of detailed information on the practice of mensuration to the texts of Benese and Leonard Digges, is more thorough when it comes to describing the surveyor's duty "moste diligently and vigilauntly to vewe and survey the Buttes, and Boundes of the whole Mannour, and then the Buttes and Boundes, of every perticuler Tenaunts landes."⁴⁷ In a lengthy section devoted to this practice Leigh recommends that the surveyor "when he goeth about to vewe or survey a Mannour... shoulde have with hym redy provided a Paperbooke, wherein he may roughly and speedily note as he goeth about the vewe thereof, the first draught of his Survey of the same."⁴⁸ Proceeding to the example of a fictional town named Dale, he offers the following model title for inscription at the beginning of the book:

The vewe of the Mannour of Dale, taken the x day of May in the xiiii yere of the raigne of King Henry the eight. By A.B. generall Surveiouer to the right honourable lorde, C.D. Lorde of the same by his Commaundement, and also by the oathes of E.F. & G.H. and many other tenauntes of the same, as hereafter ensueth.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Valentine Leigh, *The Moste Profitable and commendable science, of surveying of Landes, Tenementes, and Hereditamentes* (London: Miles Jennings 1577), sig. I1r.

⁴⁷ Leigh, *The Moste Profitable and commendable science*, sig.I1r; for the referral to Digges and Benese see sig. O1v. The work by Leonard Digges referred to is *A Boke called Tectonicon* first published in 1556 which, whilst it was not a surveying manual, was one of the first texts to advertise the usefulness of Euclidian geometry for the practice of land measurement.

⁴⁸ Leigh, *The Moste Profitable and commendable science*, sig.I1r.

⁴⁹ Leigh, *The Moste Profitable and commendable science*, sig.I1v.

Leigh's text links the drafting of the book of survey directly to a viewing of the manor in which the sworn testimony of the local tenants registers the significance attached to the voices of communal authority and recalls the cultivation of a sense of collective responsibility for the overseeing of boundaries in the reformed Rogation ceremony. The close association between the compilation of the book of survey and the perambulation of the estate on foot in the company of members of the estate community also hints towards the form taken by such documents which "might contain elaborate topographical descriptions, strip by strip, ditch by ditch, almost tree by tree ...recording which fields, where, and known by what names, belonged to [the estate]... they would list all the services, rents and fines owing to the lord, and the seasons or circumstances in which they became due."⁵⁰ Leigh's model, then, envisages a textual format which actively rehearses the tracing out of the space of the estate; a space which continues to be animated by the presence of a network of social relations and punctuated by a body of customary practices.

While the image put forward in *The Moste Profitable and commendable science, of surveying of Landes* is of the estate as an ordered social organism, exemplified in its articulation of a stable social structure extending from monarch to copy-holder, it is constructed in self-consciously retrospective terms. Published in 1577, although the letter to the reader is dated 1561, the sample title looks back even further and is in fact culled from Fitzherbert's manual from the early years of Henry VIII's reign.⁵¹ Leigh's redeployment of the title of "generall Surveieur to the right honourable lorde" suggests the role of a steward in the permanent employ of the landowner, which the occupation of the professional

⁵⁰ Thompson, *Chartered Surveyors*, p.4. See also P.D.A. Harvey and R.A. Skelton, *Local Maps and Plans from Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1986), pp.11-19. On the persistence of these written surveys throughout the period 1550-80 see P.D.A. Harvey, 'Estate surveyors' pp.38-39.

⁵¹ Fitzherbert, *The Boke of surveyeng*, sig.H2v.

surveyor had already encroached upon in the time of Fitzherbert, and whose position was even more precarious by the time of this publication. The repeated editions of both Fitzherbert spanning the middle decades of the sixteenth century, and Leigh, stretching well into its final decade, testify to the persistent availability of this image of the surveyor. Thus Norden's surveying manual, which appeared in 1607, could still conceive of representing the perambulation in the guise of a continuation of traditional practice:⁵²

for a skillful Surveyor carrying his record in his hand, in his perambulation of a Mannor, shal after the first entry be able to guide himselfe, and goe from place to place, from field to field, even by his own evidence, if they be truly made, and the buts and bounds right, especially if the names continue unaltered, and that the Tenants can avow it as he citeth it, and nothing then is to be altered, but the names of owners who change often. And for this businesse, the fittest men to accompany the Surveyor abroad are the most auncient, and longest inhabitants within the Mannor, for the Surveyors instruction, and the yongest, to the end they may also learne to know the like, to give like ayde by their experience to posterities.⁵³

The records in the hand of Norden's surveyor here clearly take the form envisaged by Valentine Leigh; they constitute a written description of the estate sufficient to enable him to retrace the steps of his predecessors in the perambulation of the manor. The surveyor's perambulation is to take place in the company of older tenants whose authority is deferentially constructed as able to instruct the surveyor. At the same time the conservation of such traditions is catered to in the inculcation amongst the youths of the estate of a knowledge of the terrain and thence the kind of sense of identification with the land fostered by the Rogationtide perambulations which these precepts so clearly evoke.⁵⁴ Yet

⁵² Editions of Fitzherbert's manual appeared in 1523, 1526, 1533, 1539, 1543, 1546, 1547, 1550, 1560, 1567; editions of Leigh's in 1577, 1578, 1588, 1592, 1596.

⁵³ Norden, *Surveyor's Dialogue*, p.23.

⁵⁴ The Rogationtide ceremonies are rich in details of local customs for the sometimes literal inscription of an awareness of the boundary markers upon the youth of the community. Hence in Poole, Dorset in the seventeenth century youths were variously dragged into the sea, struck

Norden's image of the professional surveyor proving past records against the evidence of the land, even as it envisages the consultation of the tenants, simultaneously imagines their effacement in the figure of the surveyor "able to guide himself." Despite the location of his surveyor within the context of an ongoing practice of the collective articulation and re-inscription of knowledge of the land, the very forces which militate against the continuance of such customary rites are present in the reference to the "owners who change often." Indeed the Purchaser of Land who appears in the final book of Norden's manual serves to undermine the tenuous connection between the surveyor's viewing of the manor in the company of the community and the preservation of a stable social order when he reminds the surveyor "It may be you have forgotten me, yet I was one of your Iury of Survey there, And I did accompaign you , in your perambulation of the Mannor."⁵⁵ Norden's narrative device here transforms the perambulation from a practice perpetuating the stability of estate management into a trigger for the process of land exchange.

The Surveyor's Dialogue, then, which more than any other of the geometrical surveying texts seeks to mitigate the threat constituted by the new specialisation of the profession by laying the stress upon the conformity of the surveyor's practice with the notion of a stable system of estate management, is nevertheless consistently informed by a movement towards the localisation of authority over the representation of the space of the estate in the figure of the surveyor. This same process is readable in the shifting understanding of the relation of the perambulation to the production of the survey suggested in the

with canes and encouraged in the "slashing [of] their hands and pricking [of] their fingers" to impress upon them the memory of the bounds. Quoted in *Beating the Bounds of Poole Harbour Saturday July 5 1980* (Bridport: CJ Creed 1980), unpaginated. For further examples see Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, pp.283-285 and Beresford, *History on the Ground*, p.30 who also cites the example of a tug-of-war between two teams across the ditch which separated their parishes, "the winners remembered the place of their victory and the losers the place of their drenching."

⁵⁵ Norden, *Surveyor's Dialogue* (1610), p.207.

manual of William Folkingham published only three years later, in which the author gives the following advice:

Nor shall it be impertinent to kalander or Characterize each Modulet of the Ploat with the rough Entrance, thereby to facilize and expedite the ingrossemments incident, in contriving whereof an indigested Chaos of observations, would much intricate you, in regard the order pursued in perambulation, must necessarily be inverted in the Exemplification.⁵⁶

Folkingham's observations chart a modification in the compilation of the survey which signals an alteration in the conception of the space of the manor. Any future surveyor wishing to make use of Folkingham's model to retrace the steps of his predecessor, even should he successfully negotiate the author's opaque style, would find the path to the proceedings of his forerunners blocked by the re-organisation of materials around the production of a map. The subjection of the textual survey to the role of an extensive indexed adjunct to the visual representation of the territory has the effect, explicitly signalled in the text, of effacing all trace of the perambulation. Indeed the opposition between the competing conceptions of space enacted in perambulation and geometric survey is underlined in Folkingham's derisive reference to the textual record of the former in which the description of land, custom and tenancy rights cohere in a spatially located narrative as "an indigested Chaos of observations." By the time Aaron Rathbone produced his manual several years later, direct reference to the perambulation of the manor has silently disappeared from the advice to the surveyor; in its place the author, having directed the method for the summoning of a court of survey, recommends:

now have you convenient time, either to ride or walke abroad, and to take a respective view of the situation and extent of the Mannor; whereby you shall be able to informe your selfe where, how, and in what sort you may with most convenience

⁵⁶ Fokingham, *Feudigraphia*, p.86 (see fn.13 for pub. details).

begin, continue, dispose of and performe your Instrumental mensuration, either by your selfe or servants, whome you imploy therein.⁵⁷

When Rathbone's surveyor takes a view of the manor it is to prepare the ground for the geometrical survey that is to follow. The "instrumental mensuration" has here replaced the collective perambulation as the authoritative means of determining and storing, in the form of a cartographic image, the physical definition of the estate.⁵⁸ Although Rathbone does anticipate the need to call upon the tenants, the shift in authority is evident in his instructions "appointing them by turnes, how, when, and where you are to use their helpe and assistance."⁵⁹ This is far from an appeal to the voice of collective authority but rather marks its subsumption into the growing authority of the professional. His cautionary injunction to the surveyor that "you are to deale with such discretion, as you neither faile of their helpe, when occasion serveth, nor oppresse them with greivance by their over-much attendance", registers the appropriation of that voice arising from a communal investment in the land even as it re-imagines the collective attendance as a burden imposed, a movement which marks their transformation from guardians of the customs of the estate into accessories in the inscription of a new form of knowing the land.⁶⁰

The new surveying manuals which appeared from the last decades of the sixteenth century onwards then, suggest the potential offered by the professional practitioner armed with the instruments of his new-found technical expertise for

⁵⁷ Rathbone, *The Surveyor*, p.207.

⁵⁸ For an example of the direct substitution of cartographic authority for that of the perambulation in a Rogation context consider the case of the town of Lewes in Sussex whose civic officials recorded in the following century that "Accompanied by the Jury we perambulated... and for the prevention of any future Doubts or Difficulties... we engaged Mr William Figg, to make from an actual Survey a Plan of the Borough and its ancient Boundaries." Quoted by Graham Mayhew, *The Ceremony of Beating the Bounds of the Town of Lewes Friday 18th September 1981* (Lewes: n.p. 1981), p.2.

⁵⁹ Rathbone, *The Surveyor*, p.209.

⁶⁰ Rathbone, *The Surveyor*, p.209.

the reconceptualisation of the space of the estate. The transfer of authority from the social body imprinting a customary definition of the estate upon the land itself to a literal re-drawing of those parameters upon individual maps produced for the Lord in his manor house makes available a new mode of relation of owner to the estate presented cartographically cut and dried for his consumption. Whether such images precipitated a desire to realise his assets or simply, as a “seigneurial emblem”, produced a relaxed contemplation of his inheritance objectified as possession, the very detachability of the map from its referent facilitates a shift away from the estate understood as a social organism into that of commodity.⁶¹ Having examined the presentation of this process in the surveying manuals, I want now to turn to the implications of this process for the surveying and description of the city.

Section 3: The City Surveyed

In the preceding sections the focus has been upon the rural estate in exploring the related practices of surveying and the Rogation perambulation, yet both can be shown to have an importance for the conceptualisation of civic space. The existence of the urban performance of Rogationtide rituals has been pointed to by several studies and there is evidence that the perambulation of the parish not only persisted but indeed continued to stand as testimony of customary rights - hence in 1602 the churchwardens of the outlying parish of Stepney were called upon to “defend and answer to the sute commenced by Arnold James against Henry Pickes for the boundes of this parish used in the perambulacon.”⁶² The urban

⁶¹ J.B. Harley, ‘Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography’, p.37.

⁶² Entry of November 13th 1602, *Memorials of Stepney Parish: Vestry Minutes from 1579 to 1662* ed. G.W. Will and W.H. Frere (Guilford: Billing & Sons 1890-91), p.44. Cressy asserts that “Most London parishes conducted a formal perambulation of their crowded streets and alleys.” *Bonfires and Bells*, p.24. See also Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, pp.280-284 and no.22 of

parish continued to police its borders. Indeed the association of the civic community with the ritual is suggested by the author of the *Exhortation* who makes the urban parishioner the object of his address when he suggests that “it is the part of every good townes man, to preserve as much as lyeth in hym, the liberties, fraunchises, boundes, and limittes of his towne and countrey.”⁶³ The injunction to preserve and defend the communal boundaries appears framed here by an appeal to the explicitly *civic* consciousness in a manner which hints at the possible investment in the city as an exemplary model of community.

We find the same exemplary status accorded the space of the city - and here it is the definitive civic site of London itself - in the earliest of all the surveying manuals, that of John Fitzherbert. The author’s reference to London as a subject for survey was noted above yet his concern with the city is not concluded with the passing reference to what a surveyor of the city ought not to content himself with; rather he follows his own advice and proceeds from the overview to detail the method by which such an endeavour should be undertaken:

[I]f he shulde vieu a cytie or a towne/ he must begyn at a certayne place/ as and it were at the drawe bridge of London bridle on the Eest syde/ and there to make his tytelynge where he begineth and to shewe who is lorde of the house next unto the sayde bridle/ and who is tenaunt. And if he be a free holder/ what chefe rent it payeth to the lorde customes or other servyces... and if it be no free holde... and howe many fote in brede and howe many en length. Than to the seconde house on the same Eest syde in lyke maner/ and so to peruse from house to house/ tyll he come to saynt Magnus church.⁶⁴

Fitzherbert’s prescriptions for the practice of a civic survey set out an obsessive demand for detail in which each individual building is recorded and its area and

Bishop Sandys’ 1571 articles of inquiry for London in *Visitation Articles* ed. Frere, III pp.308-309.

⁶³ *Seconde Tome of homelyes*, p.251v.

⁶⁴ Fitzherbert, *The Boke of surveyeng*, sig.H1v-H2r.

manner of occupation noted. As with the estate book of survey, the results are to be recorded in a text structured around a spatial progression in which the point of departure is clearly signalled. Yet, unlike its rural counterpart, the civic survey has no individual commissioning subject in relation to whom the collected information can be directed in parallel to the estate survey's end point of consumption, the Lord of the manor. Fitzherbert's text signals its awareness of this difference in pointing to the need to record for each dwelling "who is lorde of the house... and who is tenaunt", thereby producing a profusion of interested parties for whom the very structuring of the text around a perambulation through varying tenurial jurisdictions would present an obstacle to any easy assessment of a particular landlord's holdings. When the text does betray an organising principle in the structuring of its spatial progress it is not in terms of property ownership at all:

[A]nd so to peruse from house to house... tyll he have perused the hole parissh... And so to go from parysshe to parysshe/ tyll he had viewed the cytie/ and every strete and lane wolde be remembered what length & brede they be of. And also/ every churche and churche yarde & other voyde places/ the whiche wolde aske a great leysar/ but yet it is possyble to be done.⁶⁵

The spatial unit selected by Fitzherbert to regulate his perambulation is that familiar from the Rogation ceremonies and is once again specifically linked to the act of memorialisation; it is through the parish that Fitzherbert foresees the viewing and inscribing of the city taking place. The realisation of such an enterprise is fraught with difficulties. The somewhat ironic comment that the project would "aske a great leysar" nevertheless points to the practical limitations upon undertaking a task in which no surveyor could expect to be professionally employed. Despite its potentiality as an achievable object, to survey the city of London parish by parish is not even suggested as in anyone's interests. With no

⁶⁵ Fitzherbert, *The Boke of surveyeng*, sig.H2r.

Lord to finance the substitution of communal authority in the surveyed bounds of an estate, the dream of a civic survey in this manner can only replicate the series of repeated local investments already undertaken by perambulating parishioners without hope of improvement. For once the words of Norden's farmer ring true here; such a survey can add nothing.

The text which comes closest to meeting the challenge laid down by Fitzherbert is John Stow's *A Survey of London* appearing initially in 1598 and in an expanded form in 1603. This published work does indeed produce a spatially located discovery of the city and in the process re-focuses the colliding conceptions of space uncovered in the realm of the estate survey. Where Fitzherbert's imagined survey lacked a focal point of investment to provide the impetus for production, Stow's text displaces the slippage between multiple tenurial interest and communal identification onto the diverse potentialities of readership in the market for the printed word. In following this movement from commissioned survey to published text Stow's *Survey of London* aligns itself with the model of the county chorography initiated by William Lambard and the more recent publication of volumes on Middlesex and Hertfordshire by John Norden, announcing its sharing in "the same desire to have drawn together such special descriptions of each place, as might... make up an whole body of the English Chorographie."⁶⁶ Yet despite Stow's advertisement of common interest with such works the implications of such a movement were radically different for the process of describing city and county.

The text of William Lambard which announced this project appeared in 1576 when the individual county maps of Christopher Saxton which would be

⁶⁶ John Stow, *A Survey of London* (1603) ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1908) 2 vols, I: Epistle Dedicatory.

published together in atlas form in 1579 had already begun to be issued.⁶⁷ In selecting the county as the pre-eminent unit for national description in text and map, both Saxton and Lambard settle upon a scale of territorial categorisation that engulfs the communities of estate or parish. Lambard's work, despite its title *The Perambulation of Kent*, nevertheless fails to find a narrative structure which can adequately sustain the sense of a spatial progression on the ground. He informs the reader:

I will observe this order. first to begin at Tanet, and to peruse the East and Southe shores, till I come to the limits, between this Shyre & Sussex: then to ascend Northward, and to visite such places, as lye along the bounds of this Diocese, & Rochester, returning by the mouth of Medwey to Tanet againe... and lastly, to describe suche places, as lye in the body and midst of the same.⁶⁸

Lambard's deployment of the itinerary as a descriptive model is here a self-conscious attempt to impose order upon the mass of material collated in the text. The figurative perambulation of the boundaries of the text's spatial jurisdiction may produce a traceable outline but it fails to negotiate in the same linear manner the very *body* of the county, betraying instead the artifice governing the text's construction. Looking back on its composition in the preface to the second edition, Lambard described the topographical dictionary of the realm he had compiled "out of which, I meant in time... to drawe (as from a certeine Store house) fit matter for each particular Shire and Countie", Kent being the first subject.⁶⁹ Just as the estate map could efface the social structures of estate life, so the image of the store-house, particularly one organised alphabetically, is

⁶⁷ On the construction of Saxton's atlas and its influence see Ifor M. Evans and Heather Lawrence, *Christopher Saxton, Elizabethan Map-Maker* (London: Holland Press & Wakefield Historical Publications 1979) and also Sarah Tyacke and John Huddy, *Christopher Saxton and Tudor Map-Making* (London: British Library 1980).

⁶⁸ William Lambard, *A Perambulation of Kent* (London: Ralphe Newberie 1576), p.77. Unless otherwise noted all references are to this edition.

⁶⁹ Lambard, *A Perambulation of Kent* (London: E. Bollifant 1596), Dedicatory Epistle, sig.A2v.

suggestive of a parallel distantiating of Chorography's consumable produce from the communal culture of its place of origin. This is not to say that *The Perambulation* does not affirm the specificity of place - as Helgerson notes, "local particularity, individual autonomy, accustomed privilege, and resistance to royal encroachment" are all well represented here - rather the point is that the re-inscription of such information into the landscape of Kent is informed by a spatial conceptualisation of the county divergent from the work's narrative structure.⁷⁰ Hence, when Lambard records "a commune and received opinion amongst the Countrie people" concerning the method of going from the bank of the Thames into Sussex via four parishes, he adds: "If any man doubt of the trueth, let himselfe make the triall, for I dare not warrant it."⁷¹ Such passages illustrate the gap which separates the text's perambulating conceit - sustained through occasional motional indicators, as when the text "haste[s] us to Canterbury" or enjoins "let us now climbe the Hill toward Sennocke" - from the traces of an actual spatial negotiation the prospect of which causes the author to recoil in horror.⁷²

For Lambard, then, the perambulation is a narrative structure whose realisation on the ground is at best impractical and at worst inconceivable. Unlike the surveying manuals examined in the preceding section, Lambard's text does not compete with the collective perambulation for authority in the tracing of boundaries; rather through a radical shift in scale he expands the scope of the text beyond the compass of communal investment, relocating perambulation at the level of metaphor. It is thus no surprise to find the *Perambulation* infiltrated by acts of cartographic description deeply sympathetic to its desire to provide a spatially representative analogue for the textual construction of Kentish

⁷⁰ Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, p.137.

⁷¹ Lambard, *A Perambulation of Kent*, p.369.

⁷² Lambard, *A Perambulation of Kent*, p.219, p.381.

particularity. Thus the volume is prefaced by a 'Map of the English Heptarchie' wherein the seven ancient kingdoms are named upon a map of mainland Britain excluding the highlands - a map whose sole cartographic detail beyond the coastal outline and course of rivers is the marking of these territorial boundaries.⁷³ More pointed still is his description of the Medway tributaries wherein he remarks "[i]f I faile in this derivation, the fault ...is his that made the Chart of this Shyre, & then the follie is mine that followe him, but the trueth notwithstanding is easily to be found out, by any man that wil make investigation and examine it."⁷⁴ Lambard's admission of potential error is not merely a testament to his indebtedness to cartography but further evidence of how that mode of description stands in place of the actual visiting of the site on the ground - the map goes where the man does not and the text must follow. By the time of the second edition, however, the note of somewhat wary dependence has been cast off and the text instead celebrates its insufficiency, halting in mid-description to remark: "all which I may the better passe over with silence, bicause they may with more pleasure bee seene in the Charde, than read heere."⁷⁵ The text's announcement of a retreat into silence is a telling pointer to the invasive force of the cartographic conceptualisation of space. By deferring to the superior capacity for spatial description of Philip Symonson's newly published map of Kent, Lambard acknowledges the lack of pretension on the part of his own text to fulfil that operation. His praise of this work "whereby not onely the Townes and Hundreds,

⁷³ The map, missing in many copies, is inserted between sigs. qqii and qqiii. Lambard, *A Perambulation of Kent*.

⁷⁴ Lambard, *A Perambulation of Kent*, p.177. Just what map Lambard refers to here is unknown. Saxton's map of the county was surveyed and engraved in 1575 five years after the first known manuscript of the *Perambulation* (1570) in which this reference also occurs. The theories of Henry Hannen and E.G. Box respectively that he consulted an early version of Symonson's map, or the anonymous 'Shyre of Kent' map of c.1575, are comprehensively disproved by Greville M. Livett. Evans & Lawrence, *Christopher Saxton*, pp.11-12; Hannen, *An Account of a Map of Kent dated 1596* (London: Mitchell Hughes & Clarke 1913); Box, *Lambard's "Carde of this Shyre"* (Ashford: Headley Bros. 1928); Livett, *Early Maps of Kent, Sixteenth Century* (Ashford: Headley Bros. 1937), pp.247-277.

⁷⁵ Lambard, *A Perambulation of Kent* (1596), p.220. This edition also includes a map of the county of Kent illustrating the network of beacons inserted between p. 70 and 71.

with the hilles and houses of men of worthe, are more truely seated: but also the Seacoastes, Rivers, Creekes, Waterings, and Rilles, be more exactly shadowed and traced, than heeretofore” demonstrates the comprehensiveness of the map’s appropriation of the spatial representation of the county.⁷⁶ Indeed it suggests that the perambulation of Lambard’s title, far from being the remnant of another mode of knowing the land, is actually the product of a new method of representing it, one in which it is the finger and not the foot which traces the inscription of space.

Lambard’s text was the first of a series of chorographical descriptions to appear in print towards the end of the sixteenth century which signal their indebtedness to the county map. William Harrison’s *Historical Description of the Islande of Britayne*, which appeared prefaced to Holinshed’s chronicles, although structured thematically nevertheless makes use of Saxton’s completed maps. Describing the benefits arising from the available images he bemoaned: “[w]ould to God hys plats were once finished.”⁷⁷ Camden, whose *Britannia* was organised around the description of the county, celebrated on the title page its inclusion of maps modelled on those of Saxton and John Norden from 1607, acknowledging later that “many have found a defect in this worke that Mappes were not adioined, which... are the best directions in Geographicall studies.”⁷⁸ For John Norden, the future promoter of the geometrical survey, the two county chorographies which saw publication in the 1590s intending to kick off a series covering the entire nation were structured around the county maps produced for the purpose.⁷⁹ His

⁷⁶ Lambard, *A Perambulation of Kent* (1596), p.220. On Symonson’s map, issued in 1596, see Livett, *Early Maps of Kent*, pp.272-277.

⁷⁷ Harrison, ‘Historical Description’ in *The First Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande and Irelande of Raphael Holinshed* (London: George Bishop 1577), fol.51r.

⁷⁸ William Camden, *Britain, or A Chorographical description of the most flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Ilands adioyning, out of the depth of Antiquitie: Beautified with Mappes of the severall Shires of England* trans. Philemon Holland (London: George Bishop 1610), letter of the Author to the Reader.

⁷⁹ For the details of this project’s progress see Stan A.E. Mendyk, ‘*Speculum Britanniae*’: *Regional Study, Antiquarianism and Science in Britain to 1700* (Toronto: Toronto University Press 1989), pp.58-68. On the underlying reasons for its failure see Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, pp.125-126 and Klein, *Shifting Ground*, pp.143-147.

volume on Middlesex, which included a map of the county and additional representations of London and Westminster, makes no attempt to pursue the logic of perambulation which would underwrite his presentation of the surveyor. Instead, after a general description at the level of the nation, the text moves on to offer a few framing details about Middlesex prior to the main body of the work which is organised under the rubric of “An Alphabet of the Cities, Townes, Hamlets, Villages and howses of name within Middlesex, contained in the Map of the Shire.”⁸⁰ Clearly a text constructed in such fashion is not readable in any conventional sense, something the work implicitly acknowledges in its inclusion of a prefatory section entitled “Advertiments touching the use of this labour”. Rather it posits a reader-viewer who uses map and text in conjunction to uncover the position of a familiar heading or to provide information on a place name revealed by the examination of the map.⁸¹

In those of Stow’s chorographical contemporaries with whose work he explicitly aligns himself, then, the spatial emphasis is upon the overview. From Lambard to Norden these publications situate themselves in relation to the representational construct of the county, a viewpoint from which they can then zoom in to provide an injection of detail to colour the picture of an already-located place. “Chorographies”, as Richard Helgerson has suggested, “are repositories of proper-names”, but the names of places and people appearing on

⁸⁰ John Norden, *Speculum Britanniae: The first parte. An historicall & chorographicall discription of Middlesex*. (London: n. p. 1593), p.15. The same structure is used in the second published volume, *Speculi Britania Pars: The description of Hartforshire* (London: n.p. 1598) See also William Burton’s *Description of Leicester-Shire* (London: John White 1622) which also adopts an alphabetical format.

⁸¹ Norden, *Speculum: Middlesex*, sig.A4r. The Hertfordshire volume contains a similar section which explicates the reciprocal reading process envisaged in the heading “Things to be considered in the use of this booke and Mappe” *Speculi: Hartfordshire* sig. A4r. John Gregory praising this pinnacle of English chorography some fifty years later gives a lengthy description of the method of reading Norden’s map of the county and the facility of the text accompanying it, above all the “Alphabeticall Descriptions (the most usefull waie that ever was or could be devis’d, especially in small Geographie.” *Gregorii Posthuma: or Certain Learned Tracts* (London: William Du-gard for Laurence Sadler 1649), pp.322-324, p.324.

the maps of Norden and in the text of Lambard exist in an imaginary relation to each other; their proximity is underwritten by a sense not of spatial interaction but of a predetermined distribution that renders the record of their spatial negotiation superfluous.⁸² For Stow, attempting “the discovery of London”, there is no overview in the manner of Lambard’s Kent or Norden’s Middlesex, but rather an engagement with the space of the city.⁸³

From the outset the *Survey* is concerned with determining the constitution of the city. Its opening few pages embark upon a somewhat apologetic rehearsal of the key foundation myths and the coming of the Romans to Britain before getting to the point:

In all which processe there is for this purpose to be noted that *Caesar* nameth the Cittie of Trinobantes... onely this I will note that diverse learned men do not thinke *civitas Trinobantum*, to be well and truly translated [thus]... but it should rather be the state, communalty, or Signiory of the Trinobantes: for that *Caesar* in his Commentraies useth the word *civitas*, onely for a people living under one, and the selfe same Prince and law: but certaine it is that the Citties of the *Brytaines*, were in those days neither artificially builded with houses, nor strongly walled with stone.⁸⁴

At first glance this passage appears a strange statement to make at the beginning of such a text, downplaying the achievements of the earliest inhabitants of the region. Yet Stow’s intervention in an anachronistic image of continuity makes a more important point in focusing attention upon London’s origins as a *community* prior to the stones being put in place thanks to the techniques brought by the Romans. The originary wall-less city described by Stow directs attention towards the active relation of people to place which those chorographies structured around a cartographic conception of space cannot help but represent as given. Hence the

⁸² Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, p. 133.

⁸³ Stow, *Survey*, I Epistle Dedicatory.

⁸⁴ Stow, *Survey*, I p.3.

author's dedication escapes the confusion which had dogged Fitzherbert in envisaging the city survey, addressing itself to "The Lord Mayor of the City of London, to the Comminalty and Citizens of the same", and explains his choice in terms which accentuate the inscription of the community in the civic environment: "since you be a Politique estate of the Citty, as the walles be the materiall partes of the same."⁸⁵

Stow's London is presented as the realisation of the community, as the manifestation of a continuous investment that shapes both narrative and civic form. It is with the uncovering and preserving of this investment that the text is concerned. Thus when describing the construction of the former Ludgate the author reports the re-using of stones taken from the destroyed houses of the Jewish community revealed in a Hebrew inscription.⁸⁶ Treating of the adjacent prison building, he records a plaque fixed to the wall:

[there] I have read in forme following.
*Devout soules that passe this way,
for Stephen Foster late Maior, heartily pray,
And Dame Agnes his spouse, to God consecrate
that of pitie this house made for Londoners in Ludgate...*

This place ...taken downe with the old gate, I caused to be fixed over the entrie of the said Quadrant, but the verses being unhappily turned inward to the wall, procured the like in effect to be graven outward in prose.⁸⁷

Such passages denote Stow's reading of the urban fabric as a product of the sense of community of the citizen. In doing so they reveal the attempt to intervene in the spatial negotiations of the Londoner, restoring to view the traces of a past benefactor's shaping of the city.⁸⁸ The act of re-inscribing the past onto the very

⁸⁵ Stow, *Survey*, I Epistle Dedicatory.

⁸⁶ Stow, *Survey*, I p.38.

⁸⁷ Stow, *Survey*, I p.40

⁸⁸ Stow famously refused to records the monuments of those who had had a hand in destroying others, explaining to the diarist John Manningham "because those men have been the defacers

physical structure of the city is paralleled in his obsessive recording of both church monuments and charitable bequests, a practice characterised by Ian Archer as “the nostalgia of John Stow.”⁸⁹ Archer and others have pointed also to the *Survey*’s recuperation of a host of cultural practices, some decaying or abandoned, from the Midsummer Watch to the Easter Sermons through which “the city became a sacral space, a physical embodiment of ceremonial tradition and community spirit.”⁹⁰ The treatment of these performative enactments of the community extends the conception of a civic space defined by its collective usage, a space produced by the presence rather than the absence of the community.

The fullest realisation of the conception of space in the *Survey*, however, comes not from the details contained in the opening chapters on specific cultural and material aspects of the city, but from the organisation of the central portion of the text around a perambulation of London. This section, which occupies almost two-thirds of the text and has been repeatedly treated in terms of a cartographic conception of the city, is in fact a sustained articulation of the negotiation of civic space emphatically located on the ground.⁹¹ Stow’s division of the city into wards

of the monuments of others, and so worthy to be deprived of that memory whereof they have injuriously robbed others.” Quoted by Kingsford, *Survey*, I introduction p.xxxi.

⁸⁹ Ian Archer, ‘The Nostalgia of John Stow’ in *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London, 1576-1649* ed. David L. Smith, Richard Strier and David Bevington (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995), pp.17-34. Archer challenges Stow’s picture of a declining commitment to charitable support arguing instead for a re-structuring of the framework of donation in the post-reformation period towards a more formalised system of giving. The manifestations of this transition were examined in his recent paper ‘The Arts of Memorialisation in Early Modern London’ at the conference *Imagining the City: Perceptions and Portrayals of London from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720* (IHR, London July 1998). See also Valerie Pearl, ‘Social Policy in Early Modern London’ in *History & Imagination: Essays in Honour of H.R. Trevor-Roper* ed. H. Lloyd Jones, V. Pearl & B. Worden (London: Duckworth 1981), pp.115-131.

⁹⁰ Lawrence Manley, *Literature and culture in early modern London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995), pp.159-160. Michael Berlin, ‘Civic ceremony in early modern London’ in *Urban History Yearbook* (1986), pp.15-27. See also Archer, ‘Nostalgia of John Stow’, pp.21-25.

⁹¹ This approach, deriving from a suggestion first made by Martin Holmes that Stow depended upon the copper-plate map of London (see Chapter 2) for the organisation of his material, has provided the basis for a series of studies which attempt to force the *Survey* into a cartographic straitjacket. Holmes’ suggestion was recently rejected by the leading historian of the copper-plate map Stephen Marks in his paper ‘The copper-plate map’ at the conference *John Stow and*

may at first glance appear a cartographic manoeuvre analogous to that of Saxton's descent from the map of the nation to the level of the county, yet with this important distinction: neither nation nor county can be traced out on foot, as Lambard's approach implicitly concedes. Further, the selection of the ward relates the smaller parcel back to a greater whole in a way which the more internally orientated parish, Fitzherbert's preferred model, whose boundaries were "defined partly by means of exclusion", could not.⁹² Stow, whose text was dedicated to Lord Mayor, "comminality" and citizen, identifies the notion of *civitas* throughout with the corporate social body of which the ward was the immediate local manifestation, and whose membership has recently been assessed as running at 75% of men aged above twenty eight.⁹³ The reciprocity of ward-city relations thus inscribes a spatially located version of constitutional and material unity unavailable to the parish. When John Norden in his volume on

his legacy (Museum of London May 1998). Martin Holmes, 'A Source-book for Stow ?' in *Studies in London History Presented to Philip Edmund Jones* ed. A.E.J. Holleander and W. Kellaway (London: Hodder and Stoughton 1969), pp.275-285; M.J. Power, 'John Stow and his London' in *Journal of Historical Geography* 11:1 (1985), pp.1-20, p.3; Xavier Baron, 'Medieval Traditions in the English Renaissance: John Stow's Portrayal of London in 1603' in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Hafniensis* ed. Rhoda Schnur (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies 1994), pp.133-141, pp.135-136; William Keith Hall, 'A Topography of Time: Historical Narration in John Stow's *Survey of London*' in *Studies in Philology* LXXXVIII: 1 (1991), pp.1-15, pp.4-5. For a recent study which challenges such readings see Cynthia Wall, 'Grammars of Space: The Language of London from Stow's *Survey* to Defoe's *Tour*' in *Philological Quarterly* 76:4 (Fall 1997), pp.387-411.

⁹² Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1991), p.86. Archer is referring here to the administration of poor relief, one of the responsibilities of the parish, and its discriminatory policy towards vagrants.

⁹³ Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within worlds: structures of life in sixteenth century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1989), p.49; the method of deduction is explained on pp.49-53. The wards, as Valerie Pearl has argued, were "the primary units of City government for police, taxation and electoral purposes" in which as many as one third of householders in an inner city area could expect to hold office. She also gives a detailed description of their institutional responsibilities and the role of the annual wardmote. 'Change and Stability in Seventeenth Century London' reprinted from *London Journal* 5 (1979) in *The Tudor and Stuart Town: A Reader in English Urban History* ed. Jonathan Bary (London: Longman 1990), pp.139-165, pp.152-153. Ian Archer, whose work is broadly critical of the conclusions of both these historians on the inclusiveness and stability of the structures of corporate government, and who favours the parish as the pre-eminent rallying point for local identity, nevertheless acknowledges the extent of ward-defined networks of governance and concludes that "these divisions had real meaning to citizens." *Pursuit of Stability*, pp.58-99, p.83. My point, however, is not that Stow's selection of the ward reflects an uncontested vehicle of urban identity but rather that it provides the most immediate spatial and cultural analogue to his articulation of a broader notion of civic community.

Middlesex came to the listing of the wards, it took the form of a catalogue lacking in any spatial coherence, for Stow the unfolding of the internal order of the text is undertaken in a journey across the city:⁹⁴

I will beginne at the East, and so proceede through the high and most principall streete of the citie to the west after this manner. First through Aldgate streete, to the west corner of S.Andrewes church called Undershaft, on the right hand and Lymestreete corner on the left, all which is of Aldgate Ward...⁹⁵

The important point to note here is that this initial perambulation does not rehearse the sequence followed by the text in the treatment of the wards but conducts instead a negotiation of the key axes of civic topography as a prelude to the perambulation of each ward. Rather than acting “as a cartographer might divide a large area into smaller panels to facilitate increased detail”, Stow derives his textual structuration from a tracing of the physical definition of the urban environment which prompts the organisation into wards on either side of the Walbrook.⁹⁶ The *Survey*’s actual perambulation of the individual wards then proceeds in the sequential manner of an itinerary in which the spatial adjacency of each section is violated only towards the end when the text re-traverses several wards in order to cross to the south side of the river.

The *Survey of London*, then, undertakes a re-inscription of the community into the civic context in the form of the tracing out of the social spaces of the city often under threat from privatisation and population increase. Thus the decay in the practice of archery is figured in terms of a spatial tightening that squeezes out communal good, leaving just enough space for narrow self-interest, “for by the meane of closing in the common grounds, our Archers for want of roome to

⁹⁴ Norden, *Speculum Britanniae*, pp.28-32.

⁹⁵ Stow, *Survey*, I p.117.

⁹⁶ Hall, ‘A Topography of Time’, p.4.

shoote abroade, creepe into bowling Allies, and ordinarie dicing houses.”⁹⁷ Stow’s work operates as an attempt to resist this pressure upon the space of the city. Hence when the church of St Augustine Papey was claimed by Bishopsgate ward: “I myselfe shewing a faire ledgier booke ...wherein were set down the iust boundes of Aldgate warde... Sir Thomas Offey gave over his challenge: and so that matter rested in good quiet.” The intervention in person, initially successful, would be overthrown some years later but Stow’s text can still record the evidence that shows how the plot is “unjustly drawne and withholden from the warde.”⁹⁸ In both cases Stow’s energies are devoted to preserving the bounds of community from encroachment in a manner which aligns his survey with the model of the estate surveyor as steward of the land. It is in this context, I suggest, that we should read the author’s introductory comment on the text where he states “What London hath beene of auncient time, men may here see, as what it is now every man doth beholde.”⁹⁹ The wealth of detail through which Stow records the communal inscription of the civic fabric enriches the vision of the city on offer, locating each man’s impression within a collective whole. The London of Stow’s *Survey* is emphatically not the superficial object of a regard, not a one dimensional surface but rather a textured space in which the presence of the community continues to register. As such this text stands in persistent opposition to a cartographic conception of space. From the exploration of the textual space of the city it is now time to look to the visual representation of London and examine what happened when cartography set its sights on the city.

⁹⁷ Stow, *Survey*, I p.104. See Manley, *Literature and Culture*, pp.160-166, and Archer, ‘Nostalgia of John Stow’, passim, for an extensive treatment of the decay in communal customs.

⁹⁸ Stow, *Survey*, I p.162.

⁹⁹ Stow, *Survey*, I Epistle Dedicatory.

Chapter 2

Performing London: The Map and the City in Ceremony

Section 1

“Perspective and prospective vision constitute the twofold projection of an opaque past and an uncertain future onto a surface that can be dealt with. They inaugurate (in the sixteenth century ?) the transformation of the urban *fact* into the *concept* of a city.”¹⁰⁰

When Michel de Certeau ascended the World Trade Center the view from the top provided an insight into the alienation inherent in the activity of mapping and viewing the city. De Certeau suggests that this privileged vantage point on high affords a totalising vision of the city as a text to be read, one analogous to the theoretical visions of the “space planner urbanist, city planner or cartographer.” Both of these viewing practices construct an image of the city which remains oblivious to the activities of those on the ground, indeed is predicated upon a distantiating from the operations of the city’s “practitioners” at street level. The concern of de Certeau is with these spatial practices - the walkers whose movements enact an unauthored, unseen spatial inscription of the city - and the resistance they offer to the mechanisms of what he terms “observational organisation” or the operational concept of a city that derives from the textualising eye, producing disciplinary spaces which correspond to an urbanistic rationale that is now, in this latter part of the twentieth century, falling into decay.

¹⁰⁰ Michel de Certeau, ‘Walking in the City’ in *The Practice of Everyday Life* trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press 1984), pp.91-110, pp.93-94.

This chapter looks in another direction. It seeks to return to the birth of that totalising moment which de Certeau speculatively locates in the sixteenth century, attempting to show how the imaging of the city from above was itself marked by the performance of a city going on down below. For, if it is this moment which sees, in the construction of views of the city, the translation of the experience of the city into its conceptualisation, as de Certeau suggests, then I hope to demonstrate that this process brought with it a belief in the city as an inherently spatially performed entity. The city was enacted before it was visualised, it walked before it was drawn, and the early modern viewer or imager pictured a city in terms of the organised spatial practices which were the first statement of the city as concept.

The focus of this study is thus on the spatial strategies employed in civic ceremony to produce certain conceptions of the city on the ground, and their relationship to the representational strategies demonstrated in the imaging of the city in map and view. In ceremony civic space is made use of in the physical construction of particular, temporary configurations of the city of London. This is a project analogous to the one in which early modern maps were themselves engaged, for in each case civic space is the raw material from which representations of the city are constructed. In looking at the interaction of these spatialising practices, then, it is my intention to show how the textual and performance strategies of civic ceremony provide a model for the representation of civic spaces in the mapping of early modern London.

The second reading, posited by the Tribunes, maintains that civic identity resides in the social body rather than the structures which house it. But these two readings of the city, as *urbs* and *civitas*, are not exclusive; they are interpretative strategies which can and do, at least on other occasions, engage in a dialogue with each other.¹⁰² Hence John Stow's originary identification of the city of London in terms of the *civitas*, gave way to a reading of the civic fabric, the *urbs* proper, as inscribed with the presence of communal endeavour. Neither an uninhabited settlement nor a simple congregation of people can by itself claim the title of city. Rather they make up a dialectical method of reading cities and what we are witnessing here is a breakdown in the dynamic of their interaction.

In *Coriolanus* this division is precipitated by a failure in the performance of civic ceremony.¹⁰³ The ritual of asking for the people's voices would enact the

¹⁰² The central precedent for this distinction between *urbs* and *civitas* is contained in Book 15 of the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville who privileges the latter. An important recent article by Richard L. Kagan has sought to examine this tradition in relation to the representation of cities in early modern Spain, distinguishing between *chorographic* versions of the city producing "a complete and comprehensible visual record of a particular place" and *communicentric* images which "sought to define, via the image of *urbs*, the meaning of *civitas*." Whilst Kagan finds rich material for such a categorisation within the Spanish context, particularly in relation to the association of the cities of Seville, Cuenca and Barcelona with the *civitas dei* in religious iconography as a figure for spiritual community, this study is more concerned with the interaction between such constructions. 'Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain' in *Envisioning the City: Six Studies in Urban Cartography* ed. David Buisseret (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1998), pp.75-108, p.76, p.77.

¹⁰³ The reasons for this failure, and their significance for the conception of place and nationhood, are discussed by Francis Barker who describes the process by which Coriolanus comes to embody Rome in his own person and how it is this which proves the root of the conflict for "when the confrontation comes it is not between corporate patrician paternalism and popular (and populist) claims to national identification, but among both of these and Coriolanus' altogether more decisive impersonation of national identity, who takes a very different view of the constitutedness of Rome and the nation" 'Nationalism, nomadism and belonging in Europe: *Coriolanus*' in *Shakespeare and national culture* ed. John J. Joughin (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1997), pp.233-265, p.249. See also G.K. Paster's treatment of this play which "can be read in part as a dialogue of many voices about what the city is or ought to be." "To starve with Feeding"; The City in *Coriolanus*' in *Shakespeare Studies XI* (1978), pp.123-144, p.126.

legitimation of the new social order in the marketplace, but here it goes awry, the protagonist's ingracious and perfunctory execution of the rite resulting in what Richard Wilson has described as "literally a crisis of representation in the marketplace".¹⁰⁴ This key site in the civic topography, which stands "at the intersection of public and private bodies, labour, theatre, language and economics", is temporarily transformed into a space of representation in order for the fiction of plebeian political influence to be performed in a ceremonial election which inscribes the will of the people within the structures of patrician authority.¹⁰⁵

The hopes which the Senators attach to the election of Coriolanus as a consolidation of the new constitutional settlement depend upon an early modern conception of the function of civic ceremony. Its role in this context would have been to bring into correspondence the two readings of the city voiced above: to perform a conception of the city as both social body and representative space. It is precisely this understanding of civic ceremony as engaging in the production of a spatially performed consensual image of the city which the present study is concerned with. Yet, if the notion of performed space is central to the production of images of the city in ceremony, it is equally vital as a key to the reading of the

¹⁰⁴ I use the term ritual to distinguish the event from any actual expression of political will on the part of the plebeian, for as Mark Kishlansky rightly notes "Not only was there every expectation that the candidate nominated by the Senate would become consul, the entire process depended upon this result." *Parliamentary Selection: Social and Political Choice in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1986), p.5. Wilson develops Kishlansky's argument to provide a localised reading which situates Shakespeare within the context of the parliamentary selection of Fulke Greville and the contemporary grain crisis. *Will Power: Essays on Shakespearean Authority* (London: Harvester and Wheatsheaf 1993), pp.82-117, p.107.

¹⁰⁵ Wilson, *Will Power*, p.107.

visual images of the city constructed in maps and views and in their borders. The significance of these consumer artefacts in the context of early modern London lies in the representational strategies which they adopt, strategies which participate in the process of constructing differing versions of civic consensus.

What then is the result when cartography visualises the city ? One way of examining the conditions governing the representation of the city in cartographic form and investigating the links between the city's performance in ceremony and its description in maps and views is suggested by transposing the lines quoted from *Coriolanus* to a discussion of the operation of city mapping. For, however disingenuous such an act might at first appear, it will be seen that each side of the dispute between Senator and Tribune describes an entrenched resistance to the representation of the city in map form. The idea of reducing the city to a two-dimensional ground plan, an abstract network of lines on the page, cannot be reconciled with either half of the dialectic of civic self-imaging which a right performance of civic ceremony sets out to resolve. The words of the First Senator "To unbuild the city, and to lay all flat" present an implicit obstacle to the notion that the city can be translated into a representational code which would, to borrow the phrase of another of the Senators, "bring the roof to the foundation".¹⁰⁶ A flat city, and a city without buildings, are unrecognisable *qua* cities, lacking one of the defining properties of "citiness". Similarly, the tribune's rejoinder posits another area in which mapping can fail to adequately reproduce the nature of civic self-identification, since a strictly geometric conception of

¹⁰⁶ *Coriolanus*, III.i.204.

mapping constructs an unpeopled landscape in which the inhabitants, the social body of the city, play no part.

The irreducibility of the city played out here in the terms of these two positions appears to be borne out by the history of the mapping of London in the early modern period. The first published maps to represent the city in the form of a linear ground plan - without people or buildings added in perspective - did not appear until after the Great Fire in 1666 when Wenceslaus Hollar produced two engraved maps of London. These publications in fact portray in ground plan only that part of the city which was destroyed by fire, the title of one of them underlining the significance of this representational strategy with a title banner which announces the image as: *A Map or Groundplot of the City of London, with the Suburbes thereof so farr as the Lord Mayors Iurisdiction doeth extend, by which is exactly demonstrated the present condition of it, since the last sad accident of fire, the blanke space signifying the burnt part, & where the houses be those places yet standing.*¹⁰⁷ Here the extent to which the geometric delineation of the city in purely diagrammatic form challenged contemporary conceptions of the city is demonstrated by the fact that the area of the city depicted in ground plan is explicitly described as a “blank space” signifying, in place of the physically articulated presence of London, precisely the absence of the city.

¹⁰⁷ BL Maps Crace II.53. This map is no.20 in James Howgego, *Printed Maps of London circa 1553-1850* 2nd ed. (Folkestone: Dawson 1978). Another version of this map engraved by Hollar exists in a unique impression (Howgego no.19, BL Crace II.54), which has few dissimilarities with the one discussed here.

Louis Marin in his treatment of Merian's 1615 map-view of Paris and the Gomboust "scientific" map of Paris which appeared in 1652 has traced the movement from the reproduction of a "topographic image and a geographic orientation" in the former to a situation in the latter where "[t]he representation ceases functioning as the mimesis of a spectacle to be viewed and as the representation of an appearance. It turns into a geometric schema and analogic model whose metric rules of production are precisely put forth."¹⁰⁸ Returning to the Gomboust map in a recently translated article, Marin suggests how this abrupt transformation in conceptual practice is mediated by the appearance of two inserted views:

The map of Paris places before one's eyes by iconic hypotyposis a Paris that no one will ever see, that not even Gomboust saw... Gomboust knew this so well that he placed a painting with the inscription 'Paris seen from Mont-martre' in the upper left-hand corner of his map, and another in the upper right with the inscription 'The Louvre (King's) Palace.'... Through the edging of doubled pictures, the city in the map, the map of the city, city and map in an exact and ideal coextensivity. One image is presented as what is represented, the other as representing, and the one in the other as representation."¹⁰⁹

In several of the London maps engraved after the Fire this mediation of the geometric by the mimetic is developed in the context of the destruction of the city wrought by the blaze. Thus in a 1667 engraving [FIG. 1] we find an inserted image based upon the numerous published views of the city from south of the

¹⁰⁸ Louis Marin, *Utopics: Spatial Play* trans. R.A. Vollrath (New Jersey: Humanities Press 1984), p.209, p.217.

¹⁰⁹ 'The Frame of Representation and Some of its Figures' trans. Wendy Waring in *The Rhetoric of the Frame: Essays on the Boundaries of the Artwork* ed. Paul Duro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996), pp.79-95, pp.84-85.

river given the addition of a rather crude dose of pyrotechnics and bearing the legend 'The Prospect of the City as it appeared from the opposite Southwarke side in the fire time.'¹¹⁰ The resulting vision of the city in the process of being unbuilt, simultaneously performs the destruction of that representational icon from which its mimetic signification is derived; London loses its recognisable shape to become a city without a scape. It is this destruction of the city's iconic representational form, indeed of the very possibility of a mimetic representational space, which paves the way for the production of a geometric space in the depiction of the city. The unbuilding, or rather the de-building, of the city creates a representational vacuum, a "blank space" whose very lack of citiness is the precondition permitting the geometric space of the linear ground plan to enter the heart of the urban terrain.¹¹¹

If the representation of London in the early modern period resisted the application of these strictly geometric cartographic techniques, it did so at a time when, as we have seen in Chapter 1, the self same practices were producing increasingly abstracted and commodified emplotments of land in the arena of nation and estate-mapping. The production of an abstract visual image for

¹¹⁰ *An Exact Surveigh of the Streets Lanes and Churches contained within the Ruines of the City of London.* (Howgego no.21). Other examples include those printed in Amsterdam by Frederick de Wit Marcus Doornick and Jacob Venkel (Howgego nos. 16, 17 and 24). On the development of engraved views of London during this period see Irene Scouloudi, *Panoramic Views of London 1600-1666* (London: Corporation of London 1953), and Ralph Hyde, *Gilded Scenes and Shining Prospects: Panoramic Views of British Towns 1575-1900* (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art 1985).

¹¹¹ Cynthia Wall has traced a parallel process in the textual description of post-Fire London in which confidence in the fixity of the urban environment gives way as "the post-Fire topographies change in formal, grammatical, and conceptual response to the instabilities and spatial disorientation of the rebuilding by inventing a new grammar of space." 'Grammars of Space: The Language of London from Stow's *Survey* to Defoe's *Tour*', *Philological Quarterly* 76:4 (1997), pp.387-411, p.397.

previously unvisualised land rendered estate and nation available to new interpretative strategies, able to efface received constructions of the relationship between king and country on the one hand and manor house and tenant on the other. Why should the form of the city map have remained resistant to this new geometric space ? For, despite the fact that the city maps produced for publication during this period were often the work of map-makers who were themselves practitioners of estate surveys and county maps, the same invasive force failed to dominate the representation of the city.¹¹² The focus of this form of cartographic representation was particularly on the used nature of civic space, a space defined and maintained by the actualising presence of both the social body and the fabric of the city. Encoded within the representational strategies of the city map is the dialectical form of performed space, in which we witness not an abstracting visual figure, but a realised image of citiness projected into the act of representation.

The distinction between the city and other subjects of cartographic representation is already evident in the earliest dated city map to be published in England. The map [FIG. 2] appears in the pages of William Cunningham's *The Cosmographical Glasse* of 1559 in the course of a dialogue between two fictional protagonists over the relative merits of studying Cosmography, Geography and Chorography. In Cunningham's book, which seeks to establish the mathematical authority of Cosmography over its related fellows, Chorography is represented by an elaborate fold-out map depicting "Norwich, as the forme of it

¹¹² Ralph Agas, John Norden and Aaron Rathbone, authors of surveying manuals and practising estate surveyors, were all involved in the production of city maps.

is”, but nevertheless loses out in the quest for the most profitable pursuit to the “manifold use” of Cosmography.¹¹³ Where schematic figures illustrate the disciplines of cosmographic and geographic study, it is the *product* of chorographic activity which supports Cunningham’s re-statement of the Ptolemaic definition of that field as consisting “rather in describyng the qualitie and figure, then the bignes, and quantitie of any thinge”.¹¹⁴ It is not scalar accuracy which is the objective here but a description which offers both a visual image of the city, its “figure”, and at the same time performs a reading of that city which describes its “qualitie[s]”. Cunningham’s use of a city map to illustrate Chorography is significant for the implicit role it accords that activity. For, whereas Chorography’s description of the parts of the earth might be taken to include territories or regions for which an abstracted geometrical image could be formulated - e.g. ‘the county’ which Saxton’s maps would institute as a subject of geometric cartographic representation, - in this context it is the unabstractable city which provides the perfect foil to Cunningham’s championing of Cosmography as a scientific pursuit.¹¹⁵ The activity of Chorography is thus rejected as a purely mathematical practice by foregrounding its treatment of the city as a subject of (mimetic) representation.

¹¹³ The figures for Cosmography and Geography are tiny in comparison, both measure barely 6 x 6 cm, to the city map’s 40 x 29 cm.

¹¹⁴ *The Cosmographically Glasse, containing the pleasant Principles of Cosmographie, Geographie, Hydrographie, or Navigation* (London: Ioan Daii 1559) sig. B4r.

¹¹⁵ Thus the county map is precisely the exemplary form used by John Gregory almost a century later when attempting to assert the mathematical authority of Chorography within the terms of Ptolemy’s distinction. *Gregorii Posthuma: or Certain Learned Tracts* (London: William Dugard for Laurence Sadler 1649), p.322.

In the map-view of Norwich the spectator is situated within the terms of a visually recognisable construction of the city; presented with a realised civic space which offers the possibility of a potential engagement. The foreground features two figures - one with callipers, the other with a pointer - who turn from a divided circle and gesture towards the city before them.¹¹⁶ These two figures occupy a pictorial space continuous with the representation of the city. Their actions demonstrate the inhabitability of the mimetic space of the image by epideictically signalling its veracity - look, there is the mill to the east, they might be saying. Yet, at the same time as their presence performs a potential reality, it also underlines the constructed nature of the space which they inhabit. Their performance of the city's reality is equally a demonstration of its status as a subject within representation; their interaction with that subject foregrounding the act of reading the city's spaces in which they are engaged. As such Cunningham's map of Norwich is suggestive of the possibility of a debate over the aims of representing civic space; the city in representation becomes a site for the production of more than one view of the city.

Section 3

[W]e are informed that amongste forraine nations there are faire, curious, and artificiall descripcons, plotts, and mappes made and sett forth of their principall citties and townes of greatest noat, which beinge exactlie drawne out in mettall and printed of, are dispersed and sent abroad into all partes, to the

¹¹⁶ For an alternative reading of these figures, taking them as images of Cunningham at work, see Lucia Nuti, 'The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language' in *Art Bulletin* LXXVI:1 (March 1994), pp.105-128.

greate honor and renowne of those princes in whose domynions they are.¹¹⁷

With these words James I granted a patent to Aaron Rathbone for the publication of maps of the principal cities of England in 1617. The monarch's concern for the production of city maps, which finds a corollary in the collecting activities of other European heads of state, anticipates that the civic sign will function as an index of the munificence of Jacobean rule and serve to glorify his majesty.¹¹⁸ Yet such readings were not simply automatic responses to the depiction of the city. In order to generate the kind of reading which James envisages with such apparent confidence as the consistent effect of the city map, the production of these artefacts deployed a range of representational strategies. In the maps and views of London during this period the evidence of these operations structuring the representation of civic space testifies to a series of different investments being made in the conception of the city. Hence, in a move of which James would no doubt have approved the period's most widely disseminated image of London, the map view that opens Braun and Hogenberg's monumental collection *Civitates*

¹¹⁷ *Patent of Aron Rathbone and Roger Burges AD 1617 no. 1* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode for the Great Seal Patent Office 1857), p.1. The projected series of maps and descriptions of the cities of England never materialised. Lawrence Worms has recently suggested that this patent may have been a factor contributing to the decline in the production of city maps in Britain during this period. 'The London Map Trade to 1640' forthcoming in *The History of Cartography vol.3: The Renaissance* ed. David Woodward (University of Chicago Press). I am grateful to the author for providing me with a copy of this article.

¹¹⁸ Hence one of the largest contemporary collections of city maps still extant, taking its name from the Swedish statesman Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie to whom it was donated by Queen Christina, appears to have been amassed in Amsterdam around 1623 by Jan Rutgersius on the instructions of Gustav II Adolf. See E.W. Dahlgren, 'Miscellanea' in *Nordish tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 7 (1920), pp. 33-36; I. Collijn, *Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie's samling af äldre stadsvyer o. historicher planscher I Kungl. Biblioteket*. (Stockholm: n.p. 1915). Philip II, who was closely involved in city mapping projects, endeavoured to publish in 1571 a series of views of Spanish cities from the originals commissioned from Antonin Van den Wyngaerde. See Richard L. Kagan, 'Philip II and the art of the Cityscape' in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XVII: 1 (Summer 1986), pp.115-135.

Orbis Terrarum, situated the city as part of an abundant sovereign domain through its celebratory title *London capital of the most fertile kingdom of England*.¹¹⁹

More specific interpretative strategies for the reading of the city might be produced by the relatively simple expedient of altering the text within the cartouches, a transformation which could be effected without the need for the image to be re-engraved or cut.¹²⁰ Thus the woodcut map of London once attributed to Ralph Agas [FIG. 3] appears from internal evidence to have been produced between 1561 and 1570 although the three surviving impressions include an inscription that dates them to 1633.¹²¹ An inserted text dates the founding of London by Brutus to 1130, informing the reader that 2763 years have elapsed since then - this state may well merely update an impression of 1603 that

¹¹⁹ 'Londinum Feracissimi Angliae Regni Metropolis' in Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cologne and Antwerp: apud auctores and Filips Galle 1572), vol.1, fol.1. On the numerous editions and publication history of this work which eventually ran to six volumes with the final instalment appearing in 1617 see the introductory essay by R.A. Skelton in the facsimile edition (New York: World Publishing 1966). A close copy of the image with the same title appeared in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographen:... Beschreibung aller länder* (Basel: Sebastianem Henricpetri 1598), lviii-lix, and subsequent editions. Prior to Braun and Hogenberg's work London had not featured in the principal early collections of city views, e.g. Guillaume Gueroult, *Epitome De la Corographie d'Europe illustré des pourtraitz des Villes plus renommées d'icelle* (Lyon: Balthazar Arnoullet 1553); Antoine du Pinet, *Plantz, Pourtraitz et Descriptions de Plusieurs Villes et Fortresses, Tant de l'Europe, Asie, & Afrique, que les Indes, & terres neuves* (Lyon: Ian D'Ogerolles 1564); Giulio Ballino, *De' disegni delle piu illustri citta' et fortezze del mondo* (Venice: Bolognini Zaltieri 1569).

¹²⁰ This is particularly the case with woodcut maps where cartouches were generally carved with a hole for the insertion of blocks of text. See David Woodward, 'The Manuscript, Engraved, and Typographic Traditions of Map Lettering' in *Art and Cartography* ed. Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1987), pp.174-212.

¹²¹ Howgego no.8. The dating of the original woodcut can be determined from its depiction of the spire of St Paul's which burnt down in 1561, and from the evidence of alteration to show Gresham's Royal Exchange which was erected in 1566-70. This map has been suggested as "The Carde of London" entered by Giles Godet in the Stationers' Register in 1562-3, see Stephen Powys Marks, *The Map of Mid Sixteenth Century London* (London: London Topographical Society pub. no.100 1964), p.14.

gave the latter figure as 2733.¹²² The mathematical puzzle accentuates the date notable in each case for the expectation that a monarch of the House of Stuart, who celebrated descent from the Trojan Brutus, would make a royal entry into the city of London.¹²³ We shall return in due course to the entry of James, postponed by plague and bad weather until 1604. For his successor Charles I the royal entry was a ritual which the king had not yet performed in the city of London, having cancelled the preparations in 1626 which had seen five triumphal arches erected. In 1633, however, his coronation in Edinburgh, solemnised with a state entry into the Scottish capital, gave rise to public expectations recorded by the Venetian ambassador that “as the crowned king of Scotland he will have to make a public state entry here also.”¹²⁴

The second cartouche text of the woodcut map restates the Trojan theme and further situates the city of London within a specifically monarchic framework:

¹²² Thomas Dodd in *The Connoisseur's Repertory* (London: Hurst Chane & Co. 1825) (unpaginated) describes the map in a section on the work of Agas to whom the map was then attributed. He includes a full transcription of both cartouche texts which differ from the 1633 version only in giving the earlier dating, concluding that the map was produced to coincide with James' accession.

¹²³ The descent from Brutus, who according to legend had ruled over an undivided *Britannia*, is a feature of the Londinium arch in the 1604 entry pageant and dominates Anthony Munday's *The Triumphs of Re-United Britannia* of the following year. See Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court 1603-42* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1981), pp.1-21.

¹²⁴ Quoted in David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642* (London: Edward Arnold 1971), p.117. The ambassador notes that arrangements are actually underway but, as in 1626, the event did not take place. Charles did eventually make a formal entry into London under somewhat different circumstances in 1641, the event, for which no pageant devices or arches were constructed, being marked by a heavy military presence to prevent disturbances. The tension registers even through the rhetoric of the celebratory publications which record the placement of armed men “ready upon all occasions, to appease any Disorders.” *Ovatio Carolina: The Triumph of King Charles* (London: A.N. 1641), p.6; Lawrence Price, *Great Britaines Time of Triumph* (London: R. Barton 1641); *King Charles His entertainment and London's Loyaltie* (London: John Greensmith 1641). See also R. Malcolm Smuts, ‘Public ceremony and royal charisma: The English royal entry in London, 1485-1642’ in *The First Modern Society: Essays in Honour of Lawrence Stone* ed. A.L. Beier, David Cannadine and James M. Rosenheim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1989), pp.65-93, esp. pp.91-92.

Sith Lud my Lord, my King and Lover dear,
Encreast my bounds: and London (far that rings
Through Regions large) he called then my name
How famous since (I stately seat of Kings)
Have flourish'd aye: let others that proclaim.
And let me joy thus happy still to see
This vertuous Peer my Sovereign King to be.

The London produced by this operation is a locus of majesty, the “seat of Kings” that derives both its title and its spatial determination from the action of monarchs, in its final lines proceeding to acclaim its allegiance to the sovereign. The woodcut map furnished with an appropriate text and re-issued in the context of anticipation of a state entry would thus represent a reframing of the city for the monarch to coincide with the expected refashioning of its civic spaces to greet his arrival; the coat of arms inaugurated by the Stuart monarchs as kings of England and Scotland, which is certainly another later insertion, may also have been introduced into the composition at this point. Together these framing aspects of the map-view provide elements in a reading of the city which link the monarchic and the ceremonial city. It is not the text alone, however, which produces this reading of the city in relation to the monarch as, in the words of the other cartouche inscription, “head and chief Chamber of the whole Realm”. The textual positioning of the image serves rather to reinforce and build upon the significance of features within the map itself which figure the city in these terms.

As has been noted above, the woodcut map of London is likely to have been published first between 1561 and 1570, with the Braun & Hogenberg map following it into production in 1572, and it can be shown that both these maps

derive separately from an earlier copper-plate original of which only fragments are extant.¹²⁵ In both the later maps a barge is visible on the river a little to the west of London Bridge and, whilst the image is somewhat indistinct in the latter owing to the scale, on the woodcut map it clearly bears the Tudor coat of arms which mark it out as a depiction of the royal barge. The recent chance discovery of an additional plate belonging to the copper-plate map upon which both the former images are modelled has shown that this detail also derives from thence.¹²⁶ In the newly discovered fragment the barge is depicted without a coat of arms but with the caption "*Cymbula Regia*" (The Royal Standard) that draws attention to this inscription of monarchic presence onto the surface of the map. The narrowest dating of the copper-plate map, to 1557-9, would make possible a reading of the presence of the royal barge in reference to the coronation of Elizabeth.¹²⁷ Yet the significance of this detail is not to locate the map as a direct record of the coronation of Elizabeth but to establish the reference within the map to the city as a space for the performance of ceremonial authority. This aspect of monarchic ceremony is clearly spelt out in the published account of Elizabeth's entry into the capital which famously records that,

if a man shoulde say well, he could not better tearme the citie
of London that time, than a stage wherein was shewed the
wonderfull spectacle, of a noble hearted princesse toward her

¹²⁵ The evidence for the derivation of the two later maps from the copper-plate engraving is given in full in Marks, *The Map of Mid Sixteenth Century London*, pp.11-18

¹²⁶ The newly discovered section was displayed along with the two other extant plates in the exhibition 'London's Lost Map' at the Museum of London, March-May 1998.

¹²⁷ For the dating of the map after 1557 see *The A to Z of Elizabethan London* (L.T.S. pub. no.122, 1979), p.xi n.4. The latest date of 1559 is deduced from the depiction of the cross at St Botolph, Bishopsgate which, according to the diary of Henry Machyn, was destroyed in August of that year. Its presence in the Braun and Hogenberg map but not the earlier woodcut map precludes the possibility of sequential derivation, demonstrating that they were independently based upon the copper-plate original.

most loving people, & the peoples exceding comfort in beholding so worthy a soveraigne.¹²⁸

The city is explicitly understood here as a space for the performance of a spectacle of authority, the ceremonial city existing in relation to the monarchic actor. Despite the fact that it receives no mention in the literary account of the devices of the entry, the monarch's journey up river to the Tower before the royal entry was an important part of the ceremonial activities attending the coronation and delineating this ceremonial city - both Holinshed and Stow record this spectacle of floating royalty.¹²⁹ In these "triumphal shows", as Edmund Howes termed them, the appearance of the monarch on the Thames afforded a glimpse of royalty to considerably more people than would have been possible in the narrow and crowded streets of the city.¹³⁰ It is this visually accessible form of ceremonial performance which the presence of the royal barge on the map of London makes reference to, as an indication of the mode of reading the city appropriate to this image rather than as a record of a particular event. The royal barge posits within

¹²⁸ *The Passage of our most drad Soveraigne Lady Quene Elyzabeth through the citie of London to Westminster the daye before her coronacion. Anno 1558.* (London: R. Tothill 1558), sig. A2v.

¹²⁹ See John Stow, *The Annales of England* (London: Ralfe Newberry 1600), p.1075 and Holinshed, *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles* (London: John Harrison, George Bishop, Rafe Newberie, Henrie Denham, Thomas Woodcocke 1587) vol 3, p.1172.

¹³⁰ This is as true of the map as of the ceremony itself. The visibility of the royal water ceremonies is stressed in a description of the investiture of Prince Henry in which "the Thames began soone to flote with Botes and Barges, hasting from all parts to meete him, and the shores on eyther side, where conveniency of place would give way to their desires, swarmed with multitudes of people, which stood wayting with greedy eyes to beholde his triumphant passage." *The Order and Solemnitie of the Creation of the High and mightie Prince Henrie...* (London: John Budge 1610) sig. A3v-A4r. At the coronation of James I in 1603 the water passage to Westminster was the sole opportunity for the people of London to catch a glimpse of their monarch-to-be. See the description in Gilbert Dugdale, *The Time Triumphant; Declaring in briefe, the arival of our Soveraigne leidge Lord, King James into England, His coronation at Westminster: Together with his late royal progresse, from the Towre of London through the Cittie, to his Highnes mannor of WhiteHall.* (London: R.B. 1604), sig.B1r. Edmund Howes' comment comes from his summary of Stow's description in *The Annales, or Generall Chronicle of England* (London: Thomas Adams 1614), p.635.

the space of the map the terms of its own reading of the city in relation to the monarch: it describes “not... what the spectator *should* see, but *how* to see.”¹³¹

With the woodcut map, then, the ceremonial model provides the representational structure which underwrites the re-presentation of the city of London in the context of the anticipated entry of Charles I. In addition to the textual framing and the presence of the royal barge, the drawing of the boundaries of the representational field also supports a reading of the city under the sign of a ceremonial monarchic authority through the very determination of what constitutes the city. The woodcut map depicts an expanse from Westminster through to just east of the Tower; in so doing the space of the map frames the area of civic autonomy within the twin poles of monarchic authority - the royal palace of Whitehall and the Tower of London, symbol of royal authority within the city. These are precisely the terms of reference for the ceremonial monarchic city constructed by the royal entry in what may be called the spatial narrative of the sovereign’s procession. The two focal points of royal power enclosing the *passage* of the monarch (as all the accounts of the entry describe it) become the reference points for a signification of monarchic authority in which the appropriated places signify as royal spaces.¹³² This circumscription of civic authority within the monarchic was itself enacted in the procession through the Lord Mayor’s exchange of his sword of office before the Tower for the royal sceptre which he carried as far as the boundary of civic jurisdiction at Temple Bar

¹³¹ Marin commenting on the framing function of certain figures in the work of Le Brun and Poussin, ‘The Frame of Representation’, p.84.

¹³² Lawrence Manley gives a detailed reading of the ceremonial routes of both Lord Mayor’s Pageant and Royal Entry in terms of pre-, post-, and liminal phases in *Literature and culture in early modern London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995), pp.221-258.

where the return of these signs of office took place.¹³³ By producing a London which accords with the spatial delineation of the capital in the entry ceremony, the woodcut map sustains the reading of London in terms of a ceremonial monarchic city suggested by the details of text and barge. This ceremonial city, the temporary product of the techniques of royal entry ritual, is thus preserved inscribed within the woodcut map's image of London irrespective of the event's failure to materialise.

Thus far the ceremonial reading of the city has been suggested as an animating presence in the earliest attempts to produce for consumption a visual image of London. Yet, even at the moment when this approach towards the construction of the civic sign as a subject of cartographic representation is being adopted, a contrary process is observable in ceremonial practice. Hence, when James I, the monarch whose faith in the city map as faithful servant of regal glory was noted above, made his royal entry into London, a form of cartographic discourse infiltrates the accounts of the ceremonial city. Thomas Dekker's report on the passage of the king describes the preparations for the ceremony in the following terms:

The Streets are surveyed ; heigthes, breadths, and distances taken, as it were to make *Fortifications*, for the *Solemnities*.
Seaven pieces of ground, (like so many fieldes for a battaile)

¹³³ The symbolism of this exchange is precisely figured in the description of the Queen's visit to Saint Paul's for a thanksgiving service following the Armada victory, although on this occasion the procession was heading west to east: "at Temple barre, this Mayor and the rest of the Aldermen received her maiesty, delivering up al authority to her who gave it, & she delivered backe to this Mayor hir royall scepter, who bare the same before her." William Jaggard, *A View of all the Right Honourable the Lord Mayors of this Honourable City of London* (London: for William Jaggard and Thomas Pavyer 1601), unpaginated, from the description of the mayoralty of Sir Martin Calthorpe in 1588.

are plotted fourth, upon which these Arches of Tryumph must shew themselves in their glorie:¹³⁴

The survey undertaken here is performed prior to the transformation of the city in ceremony; it lays the groundwork for the production of a Borgesian map of the ceremonial city, a representational surface overlaying the city itself.¹³⁵ The displacement of the city beneath the monarchic map is figured in the military vocabulary of fortification and battle which emphasise the occupation of civic space by this monarchic construction. Yet the erection of the triumphal arches, the new monuments of this temporary metropolis, constitutes only one aspect of the monarchic city's reconstruction of the urban fabric. An account of the passage of James I and Christian IV of Denmark into London in 1606 demonstrates the full extent of the transformation which the city undergoes. Barriers are set up on both sides of the streets through which the procession passes:

Within... double Rayles thus hung, sate the Maisters, Wardens,
and whole Liverneys of everie severall Companie through the

¹³⁴ Thomas Dekker, *The Magnificent Entertainment: Given to King James, Queene Anne his wife, and Henry Frederick the Prince, upon the day of his Maiesties Tryumphant passage (from the Tower) through his Honourable Citie (and Chamber) of London, being the 15. of March 1603* (London: T. C. for Tho. Man the Younger 1604), sig.B3r.; reprinted in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1953-61) vol 2 pp.251-303. The same passage appears in the work authored by the architect and joiner responsible for the construction of the arches, Stephen Harrison, in which the engraved illustrations of the arches appear with a ground plan and scale beneath them, reinforcing the notion that the ceremonial city persists as a mapped entity which even outdoes the performance since "the hand of Arte gives them here a second more perfect beeing, advanceth them higher than they were before... so long as the Citie shall beare a name". *The Arches of Triumph, Erected in Honor of the High and mighty prince James the first... at his Magesties Entrance and passage through his Honorable City & Chamber of London upon the 15th day of March 1603* (London: John Windet 1604), sig. B1r.

¹³⁵ Jorge Luis Borges, 'Of Exactitude in Science' in *A Universal History of Infamy*, (London: Penguin 1972), p.131. This tale of an Empire which produced a map of exactly the scale of the Empire itself has been the subject of two significant essays Jean Baudrillard, 'Simulacra and Simulations' in *Selected Writings* ed. Mark Poster (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1988), pp. 166-184, and Marin, 'Utopia of The Map' in *Utopics*, pp.233-237.

Cittie of London which companyes extended their length from Tower-streete to Temple Barre, being somewhat more then a Mile, [with the Bachelors of each company standing before them]...alongest thes Rayles cleane through out, were fastened Banners, Cornets, Flagges, Bandrels, Ensignes, and Pendants, belonging to everie severall Companie, contayning within them all the Armes, Devises, and Honors any way belonging to anie of the same severall Companies: all the houses in everie streete, through which the two Maiesties did passe, had their Penthouses and Walles covered, some with Arrasse, some with other Ornaments...¹³⁶

The ceremonial city is constructed as a surface, a monarchic map produced by a two-fold lining of the city. First the arras and hangings efface the local activity of civic life, with shops and houses covered up, in some cases shopfronts taken down, creating what Elie Konigson has called “un parcours idéalisé” for the monarch to move along.¹³⁷ In addition the members of the city companies who line the route of the monarch’s passage from the Tower to the edge of the city’s jurisdiction form part of the displayed surface directed towards the presence of the monarch. Rather than participating in the procession these figures remain static as they are inscribed within a monarchic view of the city which receives the tribute of civic authority.

The monarchic map of the city is thus characterised by its production of a ceremonial city in relation to the presence of the monarch and in Thomas Dekker’s textual record of the 1604 entry of James I this is developed in a central narrative theme. London is figured in the text as *Camera Regia*, the King’s Chamber, and each of the seven triumphal arches on the processional route is

¹³⁶ *The King of Denmarkes welcome: Containing his arrivall, abode, and entertainment, both in the Citie and other places* (London: Edward Allde 1606), pp.19-20.

¹³⁷ Elie Konigson, *L’Espace Théâtral Médiéval* (Paris: C.N.R.S. 1975), p.197.

identified as a room within this Court Royal. From the “with-drawing chamber” of the Tower the King proceeds to the first arch which forms the entrance; the second and third arches are collectively the Great Hall, the fourth the Presence chamber, the fifth the privy chamber, with the final two arches at Fleet street conduit and Temple Bar comprising the King’s “beauteous gallery” from which he emerges outside the city limits.

Dekker’s text reads the city’s temporary ceremonial topography in precise terms, transposing a network of spatial relations that describe degrees of proximity to the monarch onto the urban spaces of London. Just as the map inscribes the spatial narrative of the ceremony in the framing of civic authority within the monarchic, producing a ceremonial city which derives its signification from the sovereign, so the printed account goes on to locate the city as a closed, internal space. In doing so text, map and performance combine in occluding both commercial and communal conceptions of the city; the social body becomes a static surface reflecting royal authority, whilst all traces of mercantile activity are swept beneath the red carpet and ornamental arras which convert places of exchange into spaces within the court. The ultimate statement of this transformation comes in the verses recited by the children of St Paul’s at the pageant station on Soper Lane:

Troynovant is now no more a Citie:
O great pittie ! is’t not pittie ?
And yet her Towers on tiptoe stand,
Like Pageants built on Fairie land,
And her Marble armes,
Like to Magicke charmes,
binde thousands fast unto her,

That for her wealth & beauty daily wooe her,
yet for all this, is't not pittie ?
Troynovant is now no more a Cittie.¹³⁸

In these lines the ceremonial city literally dis-places its more mundane counterpart, not only are its spaces and its representative authority appropriated to a celebration of monarchic authority, it also loses here the very right to be called a city. Dekker's explanation of this device offers the following telling insight into the monarchic conception of the city:

London (to doo honour to this day, wherein springs up all her happines) beeing ravished with unutterable ioyes, makes no account (for the present) of her ancient title, to be called a Citie, (because during these tryumphes, shee puts off her formall habite of Trade and Commerce.¹³⁹

The terms employed to describe the transformation of the city in the entry ceremony reveal a central opposition between the monarchic city and the conception of the city outlined in the ceremonies of the civic authorities, for the "formall habite of Trade and Commerce" so notably absent here is precisely what characterises readings of civic space in the annual pageants which celebrated the inauguration of a new Lord Mayor. In these events the focus was upon the civic constitution and the celebration of the trade of whichever Livery Company the Lord Mayor of that year was affiliated to. Thus when Anthony Munday was designing the pageant in honour of the draper Sir Thomas Hayes in 1614, that

¹³⁸ Dekker, *Magnificent Entertainment*, sig. F2r.

¹³⁹ Dekker, *Magnificent Entertainment*, sig. F2v. The explanation is necessitated by the objections of those "to whose settled iudgement and authoritie the censure of these Devises was referred, [and who] brought... the life of those lines into question", sig.F3r. Manley discusses this passage in terms of the rival discursive claims on the segment of the processional route shared by royal entry and Lord Mayor's pageant *Literature and culture*, pp.255-256.

meant representing the city through applying the trade of clothing to the interpretation of civic space.

The walles of any Citty, were termed by the *Grecians*, according as we title our instant discourse, *Himatia Poleos*, The Cloathing or garments of the Cittie. Intimating thereby, that as garments and cloathing doe ingirt the body, defending it continually from the extremities of colde and heat: so walles, being the best garments of any Citie, do preserve it from all dangerous annoyances. Here on we lay the foundation of our devise, in the honour of *Draperie* the rich Clothing of *England*,¹⁴⁰

Munday, himself a member of the Drapers Company, restores to the reading of civic space the trade context which was the founding organisational principle of the structures of civic authority. Yet this habit of trade and commerce adopted by the city to perform its own version of London was also a formal one and as well as imaging the city in terms of a particular Livery Company, the pageant sought to solemnize the operation of the civic constitution which accorded the Mayor his office. The ever available Thomas Dekker in the dedication of his 1612 pageant addresses the newly sworn-in Mayor thus:

Honor (this day) takes you by the Hand, and gives you welcomes into your New-Office of Pretorship. A Dignity worthie the Cities bestowing, and most worthy your Receiving. You have it with the Harts of many people, Voices and Held-up hands: they know it is a Roabe fit for you, and therefore have clothed you in it. May the Last-day of your wearing the same, yeeld to your Selfe as much Ioy, as to Others does this First-day of your putting it on.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Anthony Munday, *Himatia-Poleos. The Triumphs of Olde Draperie, or the rich Cloathing of England*. (London: Edward Allde 1614), pp.5-6.

¹⁴¹ Thomas Dekker, *Troia-Nove Triumphans. London Triumphant* (London: Nicholas Okes for John Wright 1612) reprinted in Dekker, *Dramatic Works*, vol.III, pp.225-249, p.229.

The Lord Mayor's office is here identified with the robe of office first worn in the ceremony of inauguration; the costume itself is a signifier of the performed civic constitution, the people bestowing the robe with their voices of assent. Where the monarchic city had been variously figured as the seat of kings and the Camera Regia, the London of the mayoral pageant is a place of political representation in which the social body is structured according to the fiction of elective autonomy displayed in the formal habits of the representatives of civic authority; a fiction dependent upon repeated performance.¹⁴² As such the passage is reminiscent of the doomed trip to the forum of Coriolanus, dressed in the robe of humility that ought to signal the subjection of the martial patrician to the values of the commune as he goes in search of the voices of the people.

We have seen how a monarchic conception of the city in relation to the sovereign is inscribed in the woodcut map of London. I want now to chart the ways in which another map-view of London translates the mayoral performance of a ritual representation of the city into the form of a visual artefact. The work in question was produced in 1600 by the familiar figure of John Norden and bears the title banner of *Civitas Londini* [FIG. 4].¹⁴³ Three years earlier Norden had

¹⁴² It is important to stress the distinction between the annual re-affirmation of the order of civic government in the Lord Mayor's procession and the far rarer incidence of a monarchic entry - even so celebrated an exponent of pageantry as Elizabeth made only two state visits to the city in the course of her reign. On the processional order of the Lord Mayor's pageant see James Knowles' discussion of the modulations in the ceremonial order during the course of the event in 'The Spectacle of the Realm: civic consciousness, rhetoric and ritual in early modern London' in *Theatre and Government under the early Stuarts* ed. Mulrayne and Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993), pp.157-189, esp. pp.164-166.

¹⁴³ This work exists in one complete impression in the De la Gardie collection of the Royal Library, Stockholm, no.89 in Collijn, *De la Gardie's samling*; a facsimile was produced by the London Topographical Society pub. no 94 (1961). A second incomplete print survives in a

issued a View of London Bridge dedicated to the Lord Mayor in which the circulation of the image of this urban wonder was imagined as promoting the glories of civic rather than national rule: “that it [the world] may know, that if one part of this Citie be famous, how much more the whole: Which for State and Christian Government, may well challenge place before any Citie in Christendom.”¹⁴⁴ The emphasis upon the structures of civic government evident here is sustained in the central inscription of the larger composition which records the names of both the incumbent Sheriffs of the city as well as the Lord Mayor, Sir Nicholas Moseley, whose arms surmount the cartouche. More striking still, however, is the addition beneath the main view, of a series of images depicting the procession of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.¹⁴⁵ Here the members of the city companies who had provided a static reflection of royal authority in the monarchic ceremony find expression for their voices and their autonomy in the

heavily re-engraved state which suggests the pulling of a large number of impressions, British Museum Dept. Prints & Drawings Crace I.12.

¹⁴⁴ *The View of London Bridge from East to West* (1624) BL Maps 3540 (15). The first impression of 1597 (facsimile London Topographical Society pub. no.45, 1919) is without the supplementary text at the foot of the image.

¹⁴⁵ The idea that these figures represent a Mayoral procession has been rejected by Edward Lynam ‘English Maps and Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century’ in *The Mapmaker’s Art: Essays on the History of Maps* (London: Batchworth Press 1953), pp.73-74; A.M. Hind, on the authority of Raymond Smith, then Librarian of the Guildhall, *Engraving In England in the sixteenth & seventeenth centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1952), I pp.201-202; R.A. Skelton and J. Hurstfield, ‘John Norden’s View of London, 1600’ in *London Topographical Record XXII* (1965), pp.5-25, p.25. Despite this I believe the prints to be a representation of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen derived from an image with the caption “Le Mayeur de Londres ainsy qu’il marche a son entree” by Lucas de Heere (**FIG. 5**) in a manuscript costume book entitled *Theatre de tous les peuples et nations de la terre avec leur habits et ornemens divers*. This reading would concur with the seventeenth-century antiquarian John Bagford’s identification of the figures as depicting “the Cavalcade of the Lord Mayor’s Show”, quoted by Ralph Hyde, *Gilded Scenes*, pp.42-43. On De Heere’s links with the map-makers and engravers in the Low Countries where Norden’s view is likely to have been produced see Frances Yates, *The Valois Tapestries* (London: Warburg 1959), pp.22-27.

procession of the city's governing representatives appended to a circulating image of the city.¹⁴⁶

The depiction of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen along with musicians, whifflers and the Sword Bearer with the symbol of civic authority together performing the representation of London provides an evident context for the reading of the map in terms of the mayoral conception of the city. The ceremonial model introduced into the framework of the image determines the definitively autonomous reading promoted by the map-view. Indeed another detail seems to invite a reading of this image as a deliberate assertion of a mayoral authority in opposition to the monarchic for, in just the position on the river where in both the Braun & Hogenberg and woodcut maps a royal barge had posited the terms of reference for a reading of the ceremonial city in relation to the monarch, the Norden map includes a boat clearly labelled with the caption "gally fuste". [FIG.7] This distinctive triple masted vessel denotes the ceremonial craft, or galley foist, used to carry the Lord Mayor on the Thames on such occasions as the journey to Westminster for the oath of office, and its appearance here suggests a deliberate displacement of the monarchic presence in favour of a reference to the mayoral representation of an autonomous mercantile civic space.

The *Civitas Londini* proves equally provocative in its treatment of the area represented which again stresses the civic at the expense of the monarchic by

¹⁴⁶ Norden's view circulated as far afield as Japan where an East India Company factor records the receipt in 1616 of a quantity of maps including 7 copies of "London with Aldermen" BL MS Cotton Vespasianus FXVII, fol.83.

focusing on the city itself in a manner unlike the maps dealt with thus far. Westminster proper is almost a casualty of the curious wide angle of description in which the curvature of the earth is wildly exaggerated, heightening the centrality of the city of London at the expense of its courtly neighbour whose position is in every sense marginalised. Previous map-views of London, as we have seen, depicted the city and its Liberties as well as the city of Westminster and Palace of Whitehall, but here the seat of royal government is pushed from the surface of the view, denied representation in a move which suggests the independence of the city from its associate. In doing so Norden's map accords with the spatial narrative of the Lord Mayor's procession which, despite the fact that the object of the procession was the taking of the oath of office in Westminster, did not pass through the city walls. Instead the procession began and ended in the heart of the city making the journey up river in the galley foist and thus obviating the necessity for the signalling of a progressive diminution of authority in the passage beyond the walls, through the liberties and into Westminster. Thus, as with the textual account of Munday which read the walls as the clothing of the city, and the procession itself which did not cross them, the limits upon the space of the map preserve the integrity of the city as an independent entity and make possible the tracing of a mayoral performance of the city.

This separation of London from Westminster in the long view is repeated in the insertion of two map-views which interrupt the surface of the main image

but present their subjects in markedly different fashion.¹⁴⁷ The inserted map of London is framed by an ornamental cartouche featuring a title legend and, beneath the image, an index of churches, markets, city gates and streets. The independent titled city reproduced here enables the viewer to identify, and locate via the key, certain places within the bounds of the city, from key sites in the commercial and ceremonial topography of the commune to the principal and defining thoroughfares of the city wards. Yet this apparent submission of the city to the imposition of a totalising spatial order is mediated by its placement within the context of the larger view of London, superimposed upon the mimetic representation. The emphasis upon the city's constitution as enacted and its spaces as inhabited proclaims its continued performability.

By contrast the view of Westminster is introduced in an altogether different fashion. First, and most noticeably, the map itself is not separated from the view by the kind of ornamental strapwork which foregrounds the display strategy of the map of London. Although the name Westminster inhabits a small ornamental cartouche, the map itself is set out via a strange device in which the surface of the view is peeled back to reveal the map beneath. In terms of the pictorial surface, where the map of London was superimposed over the view of the city, its ornamental border enabling it to stand out from the picture surface, Westminster is secreted beneath the mimetic representation and the map-view .

¹⁴⁷ The maps are copied from the first published maps to represent London and Westminster independently in Norden's own *Speculum Britanniae: The first parte. An historical & chorographical discription of Middlesex*. (London: n.p. 1593).

How are we to read this striking representation of the royal seat ? Should its presence beneath the surface of the view be taken as a statement of the inherent priority of the royal presence over the artificial construction of the city - an image of the underlying and absolute nature of monarchic authority ? In the light of the conception of the city as a product of performance revealed in the representational strategy of this image, an alternative suggests itself. The Westminster map has no index of key sites, and the few places captioned, with the exception of the landing stages, some of which had public rights of public access, and the monument at Charing Cross, describe closed spaces such as the houses of the nobility and the walled "Saint James parke." The effect of this is to situate Westminster, in contrast to the city of London, as a place of exclusive, internal spaces; yet, whereas a monarchic reading of civic space as an interior was produced in the text of the entry ceremony of James I in relation to the presence of the monarch, here there is no such royal presence to authorise a like reading - even the Palace of Whitehall gets no mention. Instead of a monarchic framing of the image of Westminster, the seat of royalty is defined, in opposition to the independent, self-articulating capital, as a non-city, unable to perform its own image.

Section 4

The Norden view, then, intervenes in a struggle to appropriate the civic sign, displacing the monarchic ceremonial city from the reading of the map, and relegating royal authority to an isolated compound from which all indication of the sovereign presence is nevertheless absent. In its place it provides an alternative ceremonial model for the reading of the city, one which does not offer a series of static devices to the view of the monarch but is rather governed by the principle of circulation. The Lord Mayor's pageants perform their version of London within the space of the city itself by carrying the pageant floats with the procession through the city streets; the members of the Livery Companies and the civic officials circulate within the city of which they are themselves the representatives, performing the constitution of which they are a part.

The mayoral conception of the city preserves most strongly in its images of London the conjunction of representative spaces and the social body which together constitute the notion of a city performed in ceremony. This is in marked contrast to the transformation in the monarchic city. From the sovereign as actor engaging with the people in Elizabeth's entry, the entry of James I progresses to a reading of the city in which a monarchic map is constructed for the privileged view of the sovereign.¹⁴⁸ The records of the last of the Tudor entries are rich in

¹⁴⁸ The change in attitude towards public ceremonial on the part of the early Stuart kings amounting to a virtual "withdrawal from the public" is the focus of Smuts 'Public ceremony and royal charisma'. Smuts sees the gradual diminution in public performances as the product not only of James's aversion to crowds and fears over the popularity of some of his policies but as part of a general movement on the part of European courts away from such spectacles, informed additionally by the shift in attitudes of the aristocracy towards traditional modes of conspicuous consumption.

references to the monarch's ability to perform her part in the ceremony, the pains taken to hear the pageant speeches and understand the devices, as well as the celebrated 'improvised' responses of the monarch which were repeated at the end of the text in a special section entitled "Certain notes of the quenes maiesties great mercie, clemencie, and wisdom, used in this passage."¹⁴⁹ Contrast this with the first of the Stuart entries where Dekker's text is forced in the end to acknowledge that "[a] great part of those [speeches] which are in this Booke set downe, were left unspoken", the reason being in order "that his Majestie should not be wearied with teadious speeches."¹⁵⁰ Lack of an Elizabethan attention to the detail of the pageant is coupled with a Jacobean distaste for the prospect of the crowd, leading one chronicler to comment wryly that "He endured this days brunt with patience, being assured he should never have such another."¹⁵¹ In the entry of James I the monarchic map moves away from the spatially performed conception of the city towards a spatially ordered viewing of one. Indeed one published eye-witness account records how the monarch sought to gain a sneak preview of the proceedings:

our heroicke King, hearing of the preparation to be great, aswell to note the other thinges as that [he] was desirous privately at his owne pleasure to visit them... he came to the Exchange, there to see for their recreation... thinkeing to passe unknowne¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ *The Passage of our most drad Sovereigne*, sig. E3r.

¹⁵⁰ Dekker, *Magnificent Entertainment*, sig. I4r.

¹⁵¹ Arthur Wilson, *The History of Great Britain being the Life and Reign of King James the First* (London: Richard Lownds 1653), p.13. Wilson neatly epitomises the distinction between the bravery of James' public and private performances in his comment that "While he remained in the Tower, he took pleasure in baiting Lions, but when he came abroad, he was so troubled with swarms, that he feared to be baited by the people.", p.12.

¹⁵² Dugdale, *The Time Triumphant*, sig. B1v.

In the event the desire for a private viewing of the foundations of the monarchic city was thwarted by the “wylie multitude” who caught wind of the surreptitious presence of their sovereign. The excitement of these subjects was expressed in such fashion that the heroic figure was forced to take refuge within the Exchange whose gates were shut fast behind him. It was here, in this enclosed space shut off from the still operative city, that the monarch encountered a vision more to his taste:

When his Highness had beheld the Marchantes from a Windowe all below in the walkes not thinking of his comming, whose presence else would have binne more, they like so many pictures civilly seeming all bare, stood silent, modestie commanding them so to doe, which sight so delighted the King, that he greatly commended them.¹⁵³

The contrast could not be greater between the press of enthusiastic subjects and the reverent, silenced (and no doubt awkwardly surprised) merchants within the precinct of the Exchange. That the monarch retiring behind closed doors should take pleasure in the sight of these frozen subjects arranged beneath him “like so many pictures” is symptomatic both of his inclination towards spatial ordering and away from spatial performance and, at the same time, of the difficulties of imposing such controlled readings upon the space of the city. For James I concern with the appearance of the city, and the determination to claim authority over it, translate into an urge to intervene in the regulation of the urban fabric which registers in repeated proclamations on the subject of its size and construction:

¹⁵³ Dugdale, *The Time Triumphant*, sig. B1v-B2r.

how much it would grace and beautifie the said Cities...for the resort and intertainment of forreine Princes, ...if an Uniformitie were kept in the sayd Buildings, and the foreparts or forefronts of the houses, standing and looking towards the Streets, were all builded with Bricke and Stone.¹⁵⁴

The preoccupation with producing an ordered surface here is directly linked to the construction of a monarchic view of the city for other privileged viewers. As such it clearly recalls the spectator raised to the top of the World Trade Center by de Certeau whose disengagement from the spatial practices of the urban morass is the precondition for the ordering of the spaces revealed according to a detached, ideal conception of the city. However, as I have sought to argue in this chapter, in the early modern city there was no vantage point sufficiently privileged that it could avoid altogether the intrusion of the city down below and there can be no clearer example of this than the occasion on which James's royal guest Christian IV scaled the heights of London's highest point.

this Royall King ...came to St. Paule's Church where he walked and viewed the same, and from thence to the top of the steeple, where he tooke much delight to behold the beautiful scituation of Loondon, the pleasant gardens and fields adjoining, the richnes of the Thames, so furnished with ships of great countenance and worth as he graciously applauded the excellency thereof. But amongst all the other things he admired most, when the Noblemen accompanyng him did report the being of a horse upon that place, comming up such a way of great danger and so hie, that he tooke very good notice thereof, and wonderfully did admire the same."¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ 'A Proclamation for restraint of Building, in and about London' 10th September 1611, no.121 in *Stuart Royal Proclamations: I* ed. Larkin and Hughes (Oxford: Clarendon 1973), p.270. For other examples see nos. 51, 78, 120, 152, 175, 186, 204 and 255 in the same volume.

¹⁵⁵ Henry Roberts, *England's Farewell to Christian the Fourth, Famous King of Denmarke* (London: W. Welby 1606), p.77.

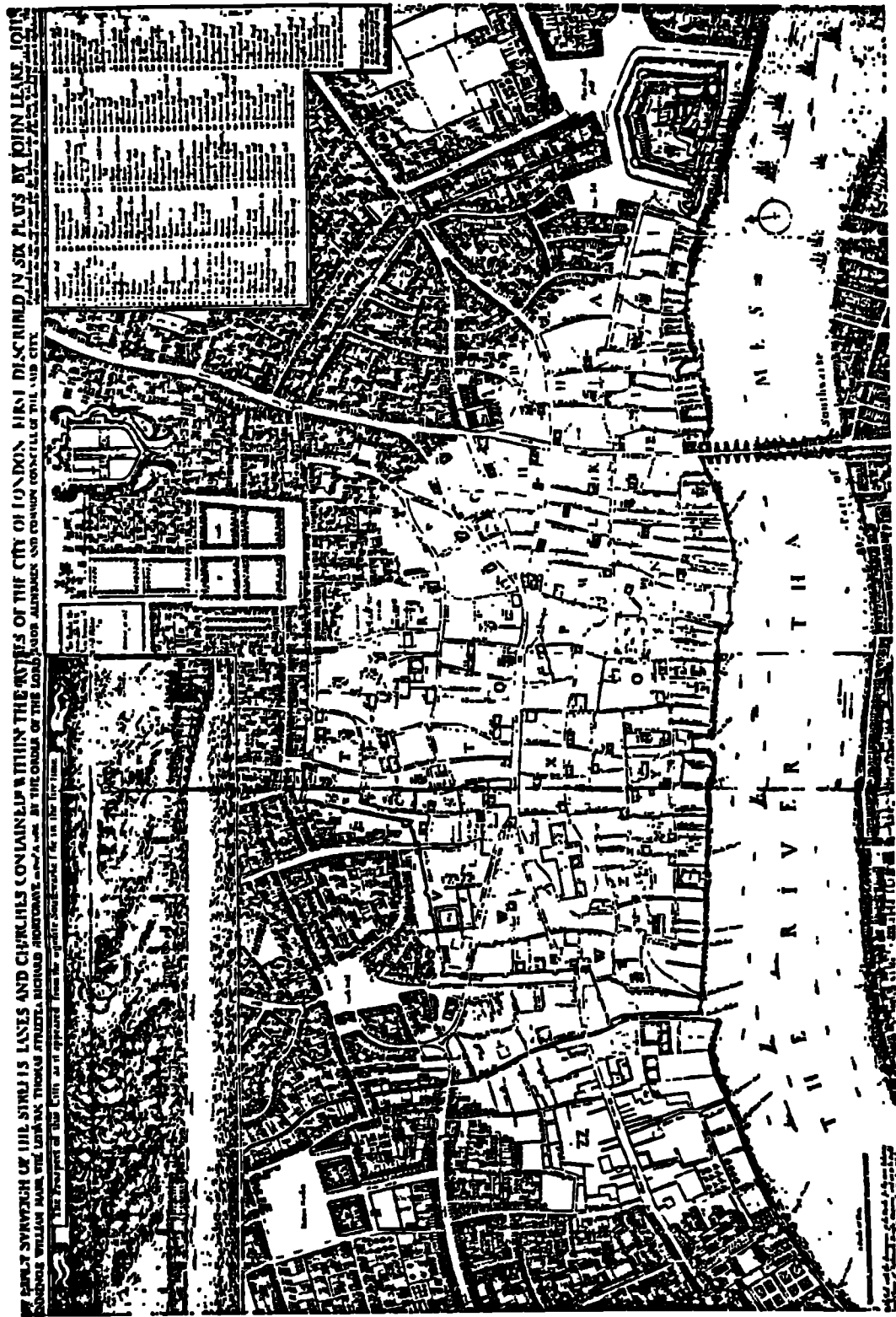


Fig.1 Wenceslaus Hollar, *An Exact Survey of the Streets Lanes and Churches contained within the Ruines of the City of London (1667)*.



Fig. 2. Map of Norwich from William Cuningham's *The Cosmographical Glass* (1559).

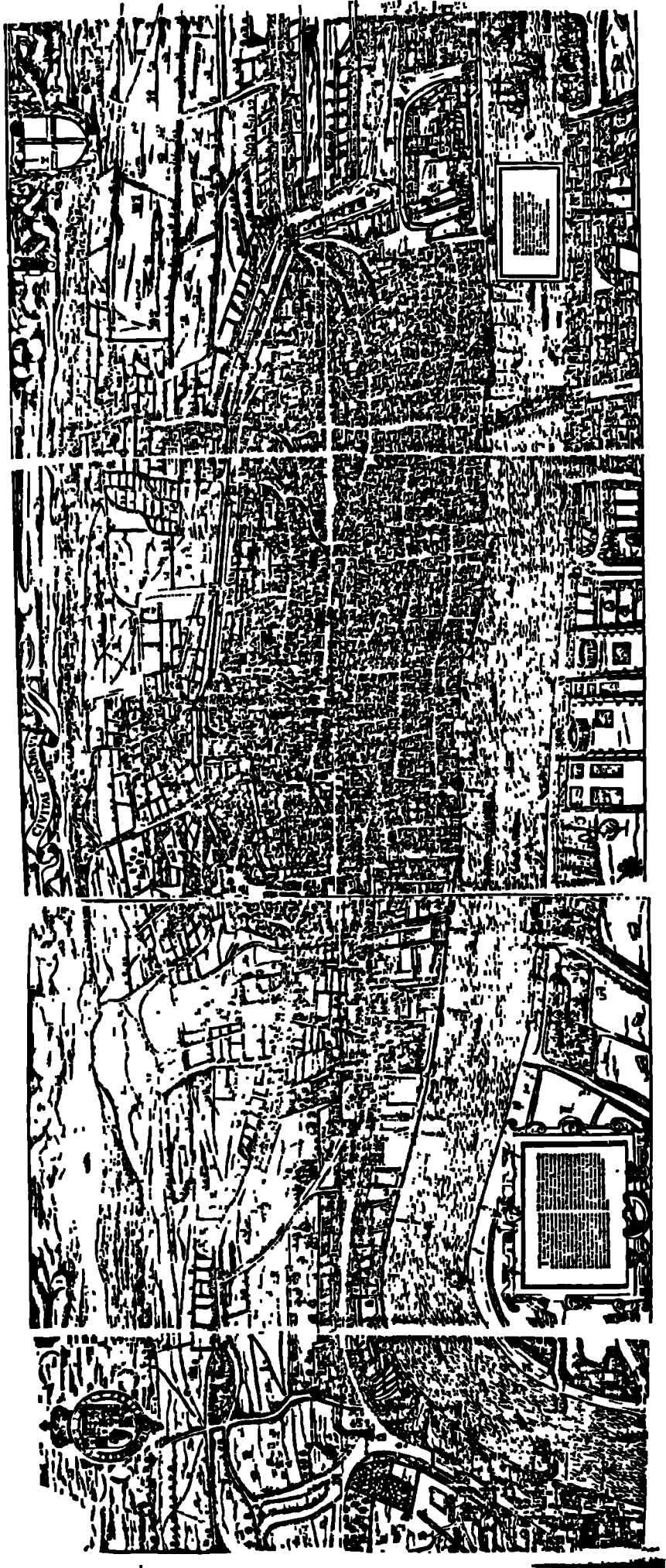


Fig. 3. *Civitas Londinum*, the woodcut map of London (1633).



Fig. 5. "Le Mayeur de Londres ainsy qu'il marche a son entree" from Lucas de Heere, *Theatre de tous les peuples et nations de la terre avec leur habits et ornemens divers*, MS in University Library Ghent.



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| 1. Mayor | 2. Aldermen | 3. Sheriffs | 4. Knights | 5. Knights | 6. Knights | 7. Knights | 8. Knights | 9. Knights | 10. Knights | 11. Knights | 12. Knights | 13. Knights | 14. Knights | 15. Knights | 16. Knights | 17. Knights | 18. Knights | 19. Knights | 20. Knights | 21. Knights | 22. Knights | 23. Knights | 24. Knights | 25. Knights | 26. Knights | 27. Knights | 28. Knights | 29. Knights | 30. Knights | 31. Knights | 32. Knights | 33. Knights | 34. Knights | 35. Knights | 36. Knights | 37. Knights | 38. Knights | 39. Knights | 40. Knights | 41. Knights | 42. Knights | 43. Knights | 44. Knights | 45. Knights | 46. Knights | 47. Knights | 48. Knights | 49. Knights | 50. Knights | 51. Knights | 52. Knights | 53. Knights | 54. Knights | 55. Knights | 56. Knights | 57. Knights | 58. Knights | 59. Knights | 60. Knights | 61. Knights | 62. Knights | 63. Knights | 64. Knights | 65. Knights | 66. Knights | 67. Knights | 68. Knights | 69. Knights | 70. Knights | 71. Knights | 72. Knights | 73. Knights | 74. Knights | 75. Knights | 76. Knights | 77. Knights | 78. Knights | 79. Knights | 80. Knights | 81. Knights | 82. Knights | 83. Knights | 84. Knights | 85. Knights | 86. Knights | 87. Knights | 88. Knights | 89. Knights | 90. Knights | 91. Knights | 92. Knights | 93. Knights | 94. Knights | 95. Knights | 96. Knights | 97. Knights | 98. Knights | 99. Knights | 100. Knights |
|----------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|



Fig. 6. Detail of Lord Mayor's Procession from *Civitas Londini*.

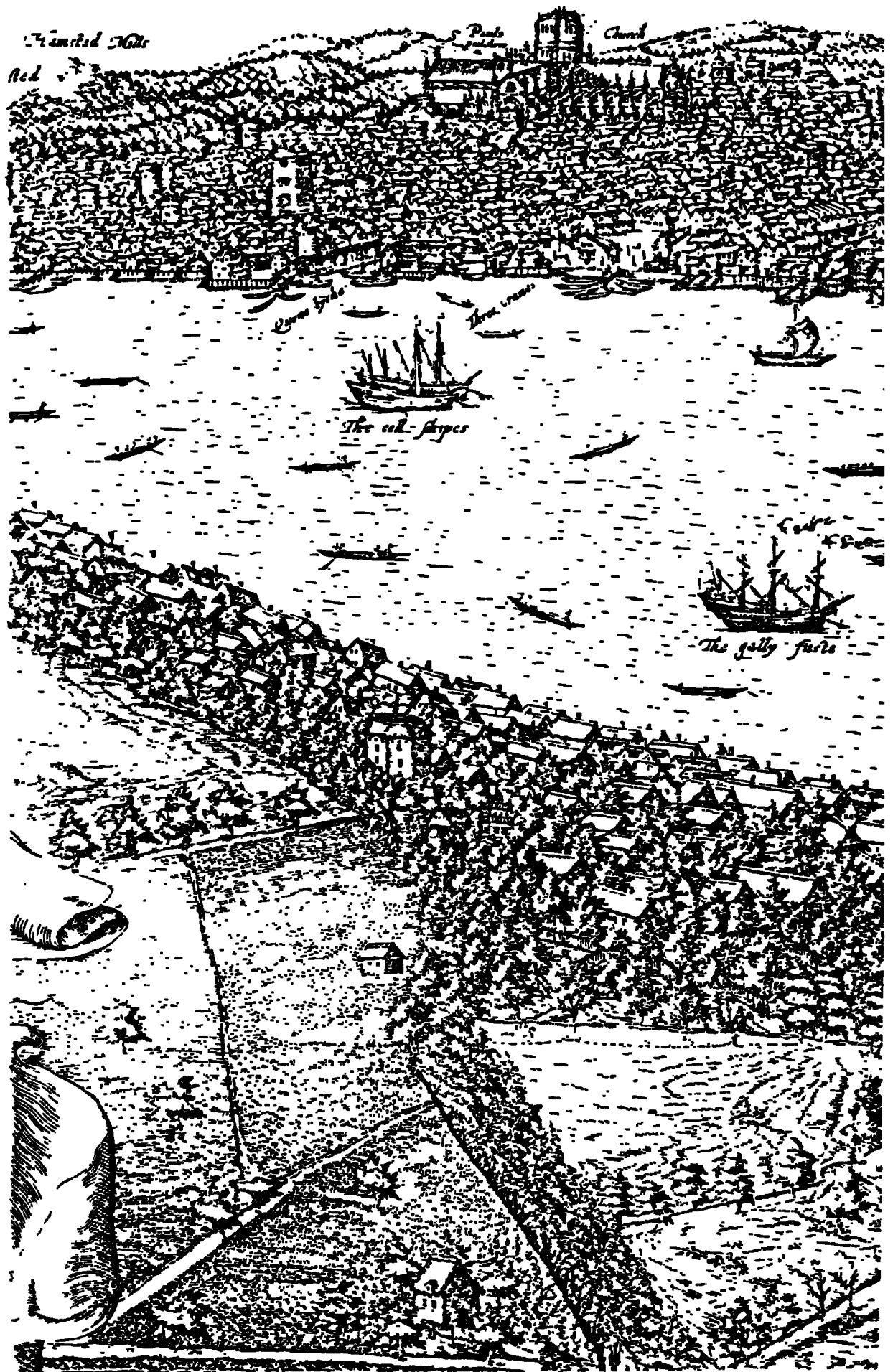


Fig. 7. Detail of "gally fuste" from *Civitas Londini*.

Chapter 3

Inhabited Spaces: The costume book and the custom of representation

Introduction

The focus of this section is upon clothing. Or rather upon the clothed body. The aim is to show that the representation of clothing can be seen as closely related to the mapping operation examined in chapters 1 and 2. Looking at the late sixteenth-century publishing innovation known as the costume book, I want to suggest that the most rewarding approach to the understanding of these works comes when attention is turned from the tracing of fabrics and their uses to the reading of clothing cartographically. My intention, then, is to place the costume book in the context of the burgeoning production of geographical works during this period and examine the representational strategies through which the clothed body is constructed as a vehicle of signification in cartographic terms. An exploration of the conceptual models upon which such a project relied, and in particular of recourse to a ceremonial form of representation of place and degree, will be used to shed further light on the spatialising strategies of early modern geography as well as the resistance which they encountered.

Section 1: Definitions

When John Florio was revising and developing his Italian-English dictionary, transforming it in the process from *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598) into *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (1611), the emphasis was on expansion.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ *A Worlde of Wordes* (London: Arnold Hatfield for Edw. Blount 1598). *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (London: Melch. Bradwood for Edw. Blount and William Barret 1611). Both editions have been re-printed in facsimile *A Worlde of Wordes* (Hildesheim: Olms Verlag 1972); *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (Menston: Scolar Press 1968).

Where the first edition gave up 462 pages to its word list and referred to some 73 authors and books “read of purpose, for the accomplishing of this *Dictionarie*”, the revised and re-aligned world of the second edition boasted fully 627 pages and cited 252 authors and books consulted in a bid to underwrite its linguistic fullness.¹⁵⁷ According to the Epistle Dedicatory of the earlier volume, Mistress Muse had supplied the title: “So cald she him, A worlde of wordes: since as the Univers contains all things, digested in best equipaged order, embellished with innumerable ornaments by the universall creator... so thought she, she did see as great capacitie, and as meete method in this, [as other works which “tooke their names of the universall worlde”] ... and (as much as there might be in Italian and English) a modell of the former.”¹⁵⁸ For Florio’s project, attempting an exhaustive charting of a linguistic world, the model of an ordered universe encompassing infinite detail and decoration offered a useful means of representing the scope and particularity of his endeavour - celebrating the breadth of its vision and advertising the riches contained within.

The conceptual model from which Florio’s titling trope draws its currency is the Cosmographic notion of the known world framed as the *oikumene*, or *orbis terrae*, which persisted in informing the geographical imagination of the Renaissance.¹⁵⁹ At first sight it would seem that such a metaphor could offer no

¹⁵⁷ On the compilation and use of sources in the two editions see Desmond O’Connor, *A History of Italian and English Bilingual Dictionaries* (Florence: L.S. Olschki Editore 1990), pp.19-44; O’Connor cites an increase in entries from 44,000 to 70,000, p.37. J.L. Rosier gives alternative figures of 46,000 rising to 74,000 in the 1611 edition, ‘Lexical Strata in Florio’s *New World of Words*’ in *English Studies* 44 (1963), pp.415-425.

¹⁵⁸ Florio, *Worlde of Wordes*, sig.A3r.

¹⁵⁹ John Gillies gives a rich account of classical constructions of the known world, noting the energies devoted to maintaining their coherence in the face of conflicting geographical information (such as the Roman suppression of knowledge of China in order to maintain the

possibility for augmentation; the invocation of the *oikumene* indexed and inventoried appears to saturate all potential conceptual space. Coming to update his prototype and re-invigorate his claims to comprehensiveness, Florio found his titling strategy submitting to an overhaul precisely paralleled by that undergone in the discursive re-invention of Cosmography in the late sixteenth century. As Frank Lestringant has argued, it was this period which saw the rehabilitation of Cosmography in the face of discoveries which ought to have rendered it obsolete. The explosion of the frame of the known world in fact made possible a re-drawing of the boundaries of description that produced a new, and three quarters empty, canvas: “the ideal construction in which to house, with their approximate and disparate localizations, the ‘bits’ of space that navigators brought back from their distant voyages.”¹⁶⁰ The expansive reconfiguration of Cosmography provided an accommodating framework for the reception of reports, accounts and claims of territory beyond the known world and, in extending the play of his title into the dedication, it is this resonance which Florio explores:

This braine-babe... brought with it into the world, now thirteen yeeres since, a world of words: Since, following the fathers steps in all observant service of your most sacred Maiestie, yet with a travellers minde, as erst Colombus at command of glorious Isabella, it hath (at home) discovered neere half a new world: and therefore as of old some called Scotia of Scota, and others lately Virginia, of Queenes your Maiesties predecessors: so pardon again (ô most Gracious and Glorious) if it dare be entitled Queen Anna’s New world of words, as under your protection and patronage sent forth.¹⁶¹

useful equivalence of world and Empire). He points also to the persistence of this notion of a ‘poetic geography’ in the ground-breaking work of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century geographers. See *Shakespeare and the geography of difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994), esp. pp.1-39.

¹⁶⁰ Frank Lestringant, *Mapping the Renaissance World : The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery* trans. D. Fausett. (Cambridge: Polity Press 1994), p.7.

¹⁶¹ Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words*, Dedicatory address to Queen Anne.

The fearless lexicographer here lines up alongside more celebrated adventurers engaging in a parallel practice of discovery in which the emphasis, perhaps unsurprisingly for such a context, is upon the act of naming. The precedent of territories christened in the service of regal patrons prefigures the text's own claims for authority, service and expansion beyond known limits. Yet the image of writing on the empty surface of the map the name of the conquering power also reminds the reader that investment in the new world is undertaken as part of an intervention in the old. The staking out of the fresh domain in tribute to the sponsors of this exploratory venture simultaneously involves its authors in a re-imagining of the old world from the space of the new. The gesture of expansion, it suggests, is marked by a counter current of looking back.

If Florio's lexicographic project presents itself as analogous to Cosmographic expansion, I want to suggest that one example of the process of revision situated at the local scale of individual entries is more directly implicated in the extension of a vocabulary of cartographic signification. Despite the accommodating framework of the Cosmographic conceit not every word survived to stake a claim to linguistic currency in the new century and one casualty of the dictionary's globalising expansion was the old world term *costuma*. It is this omission I wish to turn to now in order to posit an etymological reading which enhances understanding of the process by which costume, to use a comparatively modern English word, signifies in the early modern period.¹⁶² The aim of this

¹⁶² According to the OED *costume* first appears in English in the early eighteenth century with meanings appertaining to clothing only emerging a century later.

manoeuvre is to foreground the way in which the clothed body comes to be constructed in terms which make it available for appropriation by cartography in the representation of place.

In 1598 in Florio's first version of the dictionary the term *costuma* had appeared after *costume* on the same line as its near twin, sharing the following definition: "custome, fashion, use, guise, wont, habit, ure." By 1611, however, *costume* held the line alone with a re-ordered and expanded definition; "custome, use, ure, wont, fashion, guise, habit, manner. Used also for civility or mannerly education."¹⁶³ Modern etymological dictionaries, where they list the words separately, foreground the difficulty of distinguishing between the two terms both of which appeared at some point in the fourteenth century - *costuma*'s "consuetudine, usanza, condotta morale" barely contrasts with *costume*'s "consuetudine, abito morale".¹⁶⁴ In fact *costuma*, as the most exhaustive dictionary of the Italian language points out, is not merely a near neighbour but actually a parallel form of *costume* that preserves the feminine gender of the Latin root.¹⁶⁵ Florio's placement of the two terms together might then appear linguistically justified but it does not explain the disappearance of the feminine

¹⁶³ William Thomas, Florio's only precursor in the production of an Italian - English dictionary, included in his brief vocabulary comprising just 8,000 words the term *costume* but not *costuma*. Thomas, *Principal Rules of the Italian Grammer, with a Dictionarie for the better understanding of Boccace, Petrarca, and Dante* (London: T. Berthelet 1550); facsimile edition ed. R.C. Alston (Menston: Scolar Press 1968).

¹⁶⁴ Etymological dictionaries consulted: Battisti & Alessio, *Dizionario Etimologico Italiano* (Florence: Barbera Editore 1951); Olivieri, *Dizionario Etimologico Italiano* (Milan: Casa Editrice Ceschina 1961); Prati, *Vocabolario Etimologico Italiano* (Turin: Garzanti 1951); Cortelazzo & Zolli, *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana* (Bologna: Zanichelli 1979). The quoted definitions are from Battisti & Alessio.

¹⁶⁵ Salvatore Battaglia, *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana* (Turin: U. T. E. T. 1961) The *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Florence: Tipografia Galileiana de M. Cellini E C. 1863) 4th imp, 11 vols., gives no separate entry for *costuma*.

doublet. To account for this act of de-selection it is necessary to examine the construction of another lexicographic work.

In the year following Florio's revised version the renowned Florentine scholastic society, the Accademia della Crusca, published in Venice the first of their Italian vocabularies. Here each of the two terms in question was accorded a separate entry although the priority of *costuma* seems to be signalled by its citation as the first sense attributed to *costume* - a linguistic relationship which was not recorded reciprocally. That the leading literary and linguistic scholarly community of the period should give such space to a term absent from the *New World* ought perhaps to prejudice the reading of events in favour of an oversight on the part of Florio, which one finds rectified by the authority of the Academicians. Yet, quite apart from the negative premise of an argument which asks that both Florio and the modern reader should overlook a word already noted, it would also fail to take into account the difference in both aims and methods existing between the two projects.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ In the dictionary compiled by Giovanni Torriano and published in 1659, the compiler claims to have put together the volume from a fair manuscript of the intended third edition of Florio's dictionary, which he boasts of having augmented with words from the della Crusca *Vocabolario*. The inclusion in that volume of the following entry "Costúma. costumánza, consuetúdiene, costumatióne, as Costúme" can thus not be taken as evidence of the correction by Florio of an omission, although it does provide useful evidence of the acknowledged priority of the latter term. Giov. Torriano *Vocabolario Italiano & Inglese, A dictionary Italian and English. Formerly compiled by John Florio, and since his last edition, Anno 1611, augmented by himselfe in His life time. with many thousand Words, and Thuscan Phrases Now most diligently Revised, Corrected, and Compared, with La Crusca, and other approved Dictionaries extant since his Death; and enriched with very considerable Additions.* (London: R. Holt & W. Horton for R. Chiswell, T. Sawbridge, G. Wells & R. Bentley 1688 (1st ed. 1659)). On Torriano's work and its relation to Florio's projected 3rd edition, see D.J. O'Connor 'John Florio's Contribution to Italian-English Lexicography' in *Italica* 49:1 (Spring, 1972), pp.49-67, esp. pp.58-61.

The *Vocabolario* of the Accademici della Crusca takes the form of a compilation of exemplary uses drawn from the oeuvre of certain writers whose work is thereby privileged in the struggle for standardisation in which the Accademia is explicitly engaged. In the letter to readers the compilation of the dictionary is explained in terms of a recourse “to the authority of those writers who lived when this idiom mainly flourished which was from the times of Dante, or slightly earlier, up to some years after the death of Boccaccio.”¹⁶⁷ The linguistic project of the Accademia operates on the principle of pedigree and precedent; it looks backwards to a certain period (the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries) and a place (Florence and more broadly Tuscany), staking claims for authority on a model of, or rather for, the Italian language recovered from thence. Contrast this with Florio’s justification of his first labours rendered up to three patrons already proficient in the language:

How shall we understande so manie and so strange
bookes, of
so severall, and so fantasticall subiects as be written in
the Italian toong ? How shall we, naie how may we
ayme at the Venetian, at the Romane, at the Lombard,
at the Neapolitane, at so manie, and so much differing
Dialects, and Idiomes, as be used and spoken in Italie,
besides the Florentine ?¹⁶⁸

Where the della Crusca volume locates its linguistic model on its historical home territory, Florio, whilst acknowledging the enormity of the task, seeks to

¹⁶⁷ “alla autorità di quegli scrittori, che vissero, quando questo idioma principalmente fiorì, che fù da’ tempi di Dante, o ver poco prima, sino ad alcuni anni, dopo la morte del Boccaccio”, *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Venice: Giovanni Alberti 1612), sig A3v, (facsimile edition Florence: Casa Editrice de Lettere 1987). For a more detailed account of the ethos behind the Accademia see J.R. Woodhouse, ‘Borghini and the Foundation of the Accademia della Crusca’ in *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Warburg Institute 1995) ed. D.S. Chambers and F. Quiviger, pp.165-173.

¹⁶⁸ Florio, *World of Wordes*, Epistle Dedicatory, sig. A4r.

accommodate a larger linguistic landscape of text, speech, and idiom ranging throughout the speech communities of Italy. The difference in focus of the two projects is underlined by the fact that only four of the texts in the booklist prefacing Florio's first edition are pre-1500 works - when the team of the Accademici were putting together their own list of books used in the compilation of the 1612 dictionary, the 230 volumes included only 20 which had appeared in the larger list prefacing the *New World* of the previous year.¹⁶⁹ This divergence in the use of source material is clearly indicative of Florio's concern to produce a word list which incorporated contemporary usages from across Italy and was not solely concerned with literary sources.¹⁷⁰ Indeed it has recently been argued that the list of texts prefacing the dictionary constitutes a pattern of pragmatic humanist learning that reflects the concerns of a diplomatic career in which the Lombardo-Venetian connection held more significance than the Tuscan.¹⁷¹ Given this context for the different projects, it is perhaps less surprising that the *Vocabolario* - engaged in an explicitly prescriptive exercise in linguistic propagation - should be obliged to include a word for which one of the model deployments is drawn from Dante while John Florio, for whom neither the *Commedia* nor any other of its author's works features in the list of titles prefixing the 1598 edition, should feel able to dispense with the term.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ See O'Connor, 'Florio's Contribution', p.50, p.54.

¹⁷⁰ See David O'Frantz, 'Florio's use of contemporary Italian literature in *A Worlde of Wordes*' in *Dictionaries 1* (1979), pp.47-56. O'Frantz stresses as one of Florio's principal achievements his recording of contemporary usages, including colloquial forms, culled principally from recent works.

¹⁷¹ Warren V Boutcher, 'Florio's Montaigne: Pragmatic Humanism in the Sixteenth Century' (unpublished DPhil thesis, Cambridge 1991); see esp. Chap 4, pp.98-133. On the statistical evidence for Venetian influence see O'Connor 'John Florio's Contribution', p.57.

¹⁷² It should be noted, however, that this omission is generously compensated for in the 1611 edition which features Dante and several commentaries on his works in the list of books collated for the *New World*.

I would like to suggest, however, that there is another factor at work in the jettisoning of *costuma*, one which would not show up in a backward glance to the authors of the *quattrocento*. For in fact, where the two forms had up to then remained parallel, the sixteenth century saw a new development in the use of *costume* which was not shared by its sister form whose signification would not progress from that of its fourteenth-century usage.¹⁷³ The new application of the term at this time is cited in a more inclusive later edition of the *Vocabolario* in an example from the *Galateo* of Giovanni della Casa;

E non solamente vogliono i vestimenti essere di fini panni, ma si dee l'uomo sforzare di ritrarse più che può al costume degli altri cittadini.
(And a mans apparell, would not be made of fine cloathe alone: but he must frame it, all that he may, to the fashions that other men weare...)¹⁷⁴

Here *costume* is explicitly used to refer to the manner of clothing, opening a breach between itself and *costuma*. The linguistic divergence of the two terms, however, registers in Florio's dictionary not through dissociation, but rather in the form of subsumption. In 1598 they had appeared side by side on the same line, as though interchangeable, with a definition citing a number of key words covering

¹⁷³ The only addition to the significations accorded *costuma* by the Accademia della Crusca comes when in the fourth edition (1729) the terms "Consuetudine, Usanza, Rito" are joined by "Costume". This modification reverses the primacy accorded *costuma* in the first edition and signals a re-evaluation of the status of the term which by the edition of 1863 would be listed under the principal heading of *costume*. *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Florence: Domenice Maria Manni 1729) and (1863).

¹⁷⁴ *Vocabolario degli Accademici Della Crusca* (1863). The 'new' usage is supported by four examples, two drawn from della Casa, and two more from Vincenzo Borghini, one of the scholars most influential on the Accademia della Crusca (see Woodhouse, 'Borghini and the Foundation of the Della Crusca'), which further illustrates the specificity of their model usage. The English translation is cited from Robert Peterson's translation, *Galateo of Maister Iohn Della Casa* (London: Raufe Newberry 1576), p.18

the same semantic range as the expanded sense of *costume*. *Habit, fashion, guise*; all three of these terms could refer alike to custom, to comportment and to clothing. The denotational flexibility of the feminine form, however, did not match up to that of the other parties involved in the play of meaning between these terms. I would like to suggest that it was this inability to support the larger equivalencies being drawn between *costume* and its ascribed definitions which provoked its exclusion. In 1611, with its specific significations already accommodated within those of *costume*, it fell victim to the expansive gesture of Florio's re-vision of the old world, a topographic wrinkle smoothed from the global surface.

If *costuma* could not keep up with fashion as worn in the linguistic world, this can be related, strange as this might seem, to a counter-movement in dress. The significance of the etymological exposition outlined here lies in the re-asserting of a conceptual link between costume and custom, pointing to a relationship masked in both English and French by the use of separate terms. As the example from della Casa demonstrates the "fashions" to which the term is applied do not correspond to individual clothing decisions, the exercise of choice, but rather to specific local clothing customs. As such they put forward a conception of clothing practice as stable and fixed. Yet della Casa's usage of the term comes in the context of advice on how to dress which implicitly acknowledges that clothing *may* be merely "fine cloathe"; the rejection of custom in costume is here at the very least conceivable. Indeed one might go further and suggest that it is the very possibility of clothing *not* having a fixed customary form

that makes possible the link-up of the two notions in the term *costume*. It will be recalled that, at the same time as *costuma* disappears from the frame, the new sense pertaining to “civility or mannerly education” makes its appearance in the definition. This sense is closely bound up with the impact of such works as those of della Casa and others which will be dealt with in more detail in section 3 where manners are presented as both able to be fashioned and fashionable. It is in this emerging linguistic context of fashion as the possibility of changing modes of dress and of custom as a site for the inscription of social meanings that the association of clothing with custom takes shape.

Recent work by Peter Stallybrass and Anne Rosalind Jones upon both our own, and early modern notions of fashion and fashioning has argued for a conflict between an older understanding of “deep fashions” in which clothing acted as an enduring cultural pattern, and a later sense describing changing styles of dress, coming into use in the sixteenth century. This older notion might be most closely identified with the term *habit* - incidentally also the sole, still current English word to have maintained the sense of a link between clothing, demeanour and repeated usage, and one which Stallybrass and Jones point out is directly opposed to the emergent notion of fashion as change.¹⁷⁵ In English, French and Italian there is a continuity, albeit one accorded a differing priority by lexicographers of the different tongues, whereby the Italian *habito* is defined as “an habite, a fashion, a forme, a custome, a qualitie, a disposition of mind or bodie. Also an attire or sute

¹⁷⁵ Peter Stallybrass and Anne Rosalind Jones MS, I am grateful to the authors for their generosity in making a draft of this work available to me. See also Stallybrass, ‘Worn worlds: clothes and identity on the Renaissance stage’ in *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture* ed. Margareta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan and Peter Stallybrass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996), pp.289-320.

of apparell.”; whilst the French *habit* denotes “A garment, raiment, vestiment, or vesture; apparell, or a sute of apparell; also, an habit; a fashion settled, a use or custome gotten.”¹⁷⁶ In the latter the dissociation of habit from the emergent meaning of fashion is implicitly suggested in the necessity for qualification: “a fashion *settled*”.

Where Stallybrass and Jones have drawn attention to anxiety over the destabilising impact of a modern sense of shifting fashion upon an earlier notion of clothing as inscribed with cultural memory, I seek to draw attention to an etymological shift which reveals a conceptual rapprochement taking place between these notions of custom and costume which the new sense of fashion would seem to push apart. Before leaving the precincts of Florio’s Cosmographic project with its ready absorption of local custom, I want to suggest that it is the terms of this rapprochement which provide the occasion for a re-affirmation of the viability of costume signification. In the sections that follow I will seek to demonstrate that attempts to represent clothing make use of this consolidating reading of the operation of clothing signification by providing a local context for the conjunction of custom and costume. It is this stabilised notion of custom to which the cartographic reading of the clothed body appeals in the desire to treat costume as spatially representative. Returning briefly to the dictionaries, we can make use of the discarded *costuma* to provide an indication of the latent localising effect of custom upon costume, for among the edificatory examples offered by the

¹⁷⁶ Florio, *Queen Anna’s New World of Words*; Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London: Adam Islip 1611), facsimile with introduction by W.S. Woods (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press 1950).

Accademici della Crusca we find the following; “Dove fu a costuma di Papa pomposamente ricevuto” (the quoted line continues “con processione”).¹⁷⁷ Here the customary context which the cartographic conception of costume was to appropriate to itself is firmly located as the ceremonial space of representation. It is to this customising strategy in costume representation that attention will be drawn in what follows.

Section 2: A Material World

The costume book denotes a corpus of some flexibility. From the more than 200 works accorded the title of “recueil de costume” by Jacqueline Tuffal to the 12 costume books cited by Jo Anne Olian, the boundaries of this genre seem strangely open to interpretation.¹⁷⁸ The present chapter focuses upon the costume book in the form of the series of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century publications which purported to illustrate the attire and habits of different regions

¹⁷⁷ “Where one was solemnly received according to the custom of Popes, with a procession.” *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (1863).

¹⁷⁸ The works counted by Jacqueline Tuffal appear to include all materials *relating* to dress, and also cover a broader period (1520-1610) than the current study ‘Les Recueils de costumes gravés au XVIIe siècle’ in *Actes du 1er Congrès international d’histoire du costume* (Venice: Centro Internazionale delle Arte e del Costume 1952), pp.262-269. Jo Anne Olian’s useful survey contains a bibliography that includes, somewhat strangely, Nicholas de Nicolay’s *Les Quatre Livres des navigations et pérégrinations orientales* (Lyon: Guillaume Roville 1568). Although an important source for the costumes of Turkey included in most of the collections the work is a travel narrative demonstrating a different ordering structure from that of the costume book, ‘Sixteenth-Century Costume Books’ in *Dress. The Journal of the Costume Society of America* 3 (1977), pp.20-48. The earliest attempt to survey the genre is the article by Heinrich Doege, ‘Die Trachtenbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts.’ in *Beiträge zur Bücherkunde und Philologie August Wilmans ...gewidmet* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz 1903), pp.429-444 which also lights upon 12 examples, tracing the borrowings and influences at work between them. A separate bibliography of the costume books consulted for the purposes of this study is included as Appendix I.

of Europe, and further afield, by providing full-length, full-page prints of costumed figures with captions. The format of these works ranges from octavo volumes with crude woodcut or engraved illustrations culled from a variety of sources, collections such as those put out by Pietro Bertelli and Alessandro Fabri, to the larger folio volumes with engravings of an extremely high standard such as the lavish collections of Jean Jacques Boissard and Abraham de Bruyn. A number of the works incorporate accompanying texts - notably those of Cesare Vecellio, Jean de Glen, Richard Button and some of Abraham de Bruyn's volumes - whilst for others the captioned image is all that is on offer, nevertheless the number of editions which both expensive and cheaper productions attained indicates the popularity as well as the breadth of dissemination of these cultural artefacts.¹⁷⁹

Up until now this material has principally been the province of historians of dress seeking to establish details of clothing use in the early modern period, frequently

¹⁷⁹ Jean de Glen includes a lengthy commentary on each of the woodcuts along with regional and national descriptions *Des Habits, Moeurs, Ceremonies, Facons de Faire Anciennes & modernes du Monde, traité non moins utile, que delectable plein de bonnes & saintes instructions* (Liège: Jean de Glen 1601). The first edition of Vecellio features an introductory *discorso* on the origin, development and variety of ancient and contemporary costume as well as an accompanying commentary to each illustration - this was reduced in the second edition to a single side of Latin and Italian text for each of the expanded number of woodcuts, Cesare Vecellio, *De Gli Habiti Antichi, et Moderni di Diverse Parti del Mondo* (Venice: Damian Zenato 1590); *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il Mondo* (Venice: I Sessa 1598). Of the several collections and multiple editions put out by Abraham de Bruyn two contain short general commentaries from the pen of H. Damman, *Omnium Poene Gentium Imagines, Ubi oris totiusq' corporis & vestium habitus, in ordinus cuiuscunq, ac loci hominibus diligentissime expromuntur*. (Cologne: Caspar Rutz and Abraham de Bruyn 1577), *Imperii ac Sacerdotii Ornatus. Diversarum Item Ge[n]tium Peculiaris Vestitus*. ([Antwerp]: Caspar Rutz [1578]). The costume book published by Richard Button included short verses in French with the woodcuts of Desprez, an edition featuring Latin epigrams following some years later, *Recueil de la diversité des habits qui sont de present en usage tant es pays d'Europe, Asie, Affrique et Illes Sauvages* (Paris: Richard Button 1562); *Omnium Fere Gentium nostraeq', aetatis Nationum, Habitus & Effigies* (Antwerp: Ioannem Bellerum 1572). Only in the case of Jean de Glen did a single edition of a costume book prove to be an author's sole contribution to the genre. Even there a second part was announced on the title page, and as Jean de Glen explains in the preface to a later work the text for the sequel was to have been provided by his brother Jean Baptiste de Glen, the probable author of the text of the surviving edition. The precise reasons for its failure to materialise are unclear. See the entry in *Bibliotheca Belgica* (Brussels: Culture et Civilisation 1964) ed. F. van der Haeghen, re-ed. M. Lenger, III pp.226-228.

employing the genre to provide an image of the way people looked then.¹⁸⁰ To make use of the costume books in this way runs the risk of accepting at face value their claims to veracity in a manner akin to treating a contemporary city map as concerned solely with orientation. By contrast the approach adopted here is concerned less with clothing practice than with the role of clothing in the field of representation, for it is one of the contentions of this chapter that, although dress is the language of the costume books, it is not strictly speaking their subject. In examining the costume book clothing emerges instead as reading material made use of in the structuring, revealing and producing of difference.

In order to analyse the way in which the costume books make use of the clothed figure it is necessary to explore the claims made by the works themselves for a particular kind of reading practice. The wealth of prefatory material contained in the costume books can help in the recovery of a production context that suggests the manner in which clothing is deployed as a tool in the construction of models of difference. From the outset attention to the materiality of clothing in these works is framed within the terms of a project whose focus is explicitly geographical. Hence Abraham de Bruyn informs the reader:

Several learned people have employed themselves in diligently seeking out and describing the situation of the four principal parts of the world, with the origin, manners & conditions of the

¹⁸⁰ For examples of historians of dress employing images from costume manuals in this manner see, for example, Rudolf Broby-Johansen, *Body and Clothes: An Illustrated History of Costume* (London: Faber & Faber 1968), pp.133-146, James Laver, *A Concise History of Costume* (London: Thames and Hudson 1977), pp.74-102; Ruth Matilda Anderson, *Hispanic Costume 1480-1530* (New York: Hispanic Society of America 1979). For an alternative approach, where the culture of costume prints is interrogated and looked at as itself part of the growth of a fashion consciousness in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Daniel Roche, *La Culture des Apparences: Une histoire du vêtement (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Fayard 1989).

people which are there; in such manner that they have given singular contentment to good minds and lovers of science in this work. It remained to give the true representation of the form and diverse fashions of their garments; which I have tried to do as faithfully as I was able.¹⁸¹

The costume book here takes its place within a field already defined by the works of Cosmographic description that have staked out the division of the world and those which have investigated the territories within these compartments. Following on from the discussion of these works, clothing is specifically that which remains to be brought into focus. The space that costume description occupies within this project can thus be seen as an extension of the geographic impulse, a further refinement of the cartographic grid. This can be seen in another of de Bruyn's volumes which includes a letter that translates the interrelated production context into a shared site of consumption, envisaging the reader as using the work in conjunction with Ortelius's "Geographical Tables" and Hogenberg's "Topography of Cities".¹⁸² The reference to these large folio volumes locates the buyer of de Bruyn's works, which were amongst the most handsome products of the costume book vogue, within a particular and highly privileged reading setting. Yet even lower down the production scale

¹⁸¹ "Plusieurs savants personnages se sont employez à curieusement rechercher & descrire la situation des quatre principales parties du monde, avec l'origine, moeurs & conditions des peuples qui y sont: de sorte qu'ils ont donné contentement singulier aux bons esprits & amateurs de science en ceste part. Restoit de représenter au vray la forme & façons diverses de leurs vestemens: ce que j'ai tasché de faire le plus fidelement qu'il m'a esté possible..." de Bruyn, *Omnium Pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae Atque Americae Gentium Habitus* (Antwerp: n.p. 1581), Address to the reader.

¹⁸² "Praeterea monuit nos, istum laborem minùs necessarium esse, quòd ABRAHAMUS ORTELIUS & FRANCISCUS HOGENBERGIUS... in Tabulis suis Geographicis, urbiumq', Topographia, id cumulatissime praestitissent. Tum eos libros in manibus quoque esse ijs, qui nostrum sibi codicem hunc comparerent." (Moreover he has pointed out to us that that labour was less necessary since A.O. & F.H... had set that forth most plentifully in their Geographical Tables and Topography of Cities. [He pointed out] Moreover those books were also in the hands of those who could then compare this book of ours with them for themselves.) Abraham de Bruyn, *Omnium Poene Gentium Imagines*, letter to the reader.

chorographic and geographic publications dovetailed with those of the costume book - pocket editions of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of Ortelius, or Mercator's later *Atlas*, alongside such crude derivations from the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* as Valegio's *Raccolta di le più illustri et famose città di tutto il mondo* suggest the availability of an equivalent framing context for even the least lavish of the costume books.¹⁸³

The image in de Bruyn's letter to the reader, however, does more than simply advertise itself in relation to other prestigious publications as one more consumer desirable. By specifically locating the use of the costume book not merely in the context but in actual conjunction with these other volumes de Bruyn's work is positioned within their project of geographical description. For the reader able to construct the correct bibliographical frame the national and regional spaces delineated by Ortelius will sit next to the civic spaces laid out by Braun and Hogenberg all of which are illuminated by the inhabited spaces of de Bruyn. The reading context would here seem to imply a three stage expansion of scale - from nation to city to human body - which posits the description of costume as the final layer of detail envisioned within the cartographic grid.¹⁸⁴ A

¹⁸³ Valegio, *Raccolta* ([Venice]: [Valegio] [1595]) the lack of publishing details make the number of editions difficult to fathom although a variant title of the same work did appear *Teatro delle piu illustre et famose Citta del Mondo* (Venice: Donate Rasicoti [1600]). Ortelius, *Epitome Theatri Orteliani* (Antwerp: Filips Galle 1577), numerous editions of this work were published with two separate English editions appearing in 1603, three years prior to an English language edition of the folio volume. Mercator, *Atlas Minor* (Amsterdam: Jodocus Hondius 1607) also received several impressions. For details on these minor atlases see the introductions by R.A. Skelton to the following facsimile editions *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570) (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum 1964), p.ix; *The Theatre of the Whole World* (1606) (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum 1968), p.vi-vii; *Atlas, or a Geographicke Description of the World* (1636) (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum 1968), p.x.

¹⁸⁴ Daniel Defert has written of the costume books use of "une grille universelle de lecture *des peuples*" (my italics) in an essay focusing on the influence of these works upon ethnographic observation. My approach sees the grid as concerned more with the reading of place than

passage from the costume book of Jean-Jacques Boissard offers a further refinement of this model in another prefatory letter

there are many books today both written and engraved, which place various regions and the cities of various regions before the eyes of those who are compelled to learn of painted worlds from pictures, [the author then asks how this can be successfully achieved]... By this means surely: if when those tables show the ocean and seas with foreign fish and ships and mountains and woods adorned with varied emblems of both two footed and four footed animals, they bring forward onto the stage Man for whose sake alone all things were created and made with that habit of body (*corporis habitu*) which is peculiar to individual nations. For thereby what difference there is not only between province and province, but between man and man ... will rush to the eyes. Which indeed is the true fruit of travel. ¹⁸⁵

The passage deploys the common-place trope of armchair travel to construct a reading situation in which the viewer, in a somewhat equivocal phrase borrowed for neither the first nor the last time from the Latin poet Propertius, must learn of painted worlds from pictures (“ex tabulis pictos addiscere mundos”).¹⁸⁶ Within this studious setting Boissard’s volume once more aligns the

people. Defert, ‘Un genre ethnographique profane au XVIIe: les livres d’habits (essai d’ethno-
iconographie)’ in *Histoires de l’Anthropologie (XVIe-XIXe siècles)* ed Britta Rupp-Eisenreich
(Paris: Klincksieck 1984), pp.25-39, p.27.

¹⁸⁵ “Cum multi hodie tum scripti tum scalpti libri sint, qui regiones varias, variarumq’ regionum
urbes ijs qui ex tabulis pictos addiscere mundos coguntur ob oculos ponant, operae precium eos
facere arbitror, qui ne huiusmodi peregrinatio nimis solitaria videatur aut difficilis efficiunt.
Sed qua id ratione efficiunt: Hac nimirum: si cum eae tabulae Oceanú ac maria peregrinis cum
piscibus tum navibus, montes ac silvas vario tum bipedum tum quadrupedum animalíu
emblemate ornata exhibeant [sic.], hominem cuius unius causa creata sunt & fiunt omnia eo
corporis habitu in scenam producant, qui singulis gentibus peculiaris est. Etenim sic non tantú
provincia provinciae, sed homo etiam homini quid intersit ex vario cultus genere, qui ingenium
plerumque ac mores prodit, in oculos incurret. Qui sane’verus peregrinationis fructus est.”
Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Habitus variarum Orbis gentium* ([Antwerp]: Caspar Rutz 1581).

¹⁸⁶ The reference is to the line “cogor et e tabula pictos ediscere mundos” IV.3.37 of the *Elegies*,
Propertius with an English translation by H.E. Butler (London: Macmillan 1912). The effect of
this quotation in which “pictos” relates not to the picture or table but to the world itself is to
suggest that the world through and of which one learns is emphatically a representation. Jean
de Glen makes use of it in his costume book precisely to celebrate the benefits of travel between

costume book with books of maps which are explicitly those of nations/regions and those of cities. As with de Bruyn's volume the costume book emerges into a defined representational context through which the clothed body is situated as a geographical location in itself, the ultimate site of the progressive movement inwards from nation and city. Yet, if the individual clothed body is intended to function in this manner, a certain difficulty emerges when one takes the preface at its word and attempts to read the difference between these figures in geographical terms. Having just zoomed in on the body one must then immediately move outwards beyond these contours and ascribe representative status to the body figured in the costume plate. Yet how is one to reconcile the contradictory impulses of a geographical project moving ever inward to the ultimate location of the human body, and a representational strategy which moves outwards to assert the particularity of place? This difficulty crystallises in the pressing need on the part of the costume book to be able to read in the representative body the boundaries of the geographical area to which it relates. It is precisely this problem which Cesare Vecellio, compiler of the most famous of all the costume books, sets out to resolve in his opening *Discorso*. In an attempt to clarify the

the covers, glossing the quotation as "that which you can easily do in this book" ("Ce que pourrés commodement faire en ce livre"), *Des Habits*, preface (unpaginated). William Cunningham also uses this quotation, maintaining the sense of a forced substitution of the real for the represented in his translation of the lines; "In Tables set out, Countries to decerne/Constrained am I, and eke for to learne", *The Cosmographical Glasse*, sig.A6r. Montaigne in the celebrated *De L'Institution des Enfans* (I.26) quotes the succeeding lines from this stanza of Propertius appearing to acknowledge the ambivalence of the image. The quotation appears in the context of a discussion of the need to be acquainted with the customs and ways of men and states "En cette pratique des hommes, j'entends y comprendre, et principalement, ceux qui ne vivent qu'en la memoire des livres." ("In this acquaintance of men, my meaning is, that hee chiefly comprehend them, that live but by the memorie of books", Florio's translation) Montaigne *Essays* ed. A. Micha (Paris: Flammarion 1969), I: p.204; *The Essayes of Michael, Lord of Montaigne* trans Florio (London: Dent 1928), I: p.163. The Latin *tabula* could refer to a range of images and was often used of maps themselves (see the quotation from de Bruyn describing the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of Ortelius in fn. 182).

principles upon which his method is based Vecellio executes a grand ordering gesture that is to determine the signification of clothing:

Wanting myself to speak of the diversity of Habits, which are worn by diverse Nations of peoples, which concerns the countries where they live as much as the people who wear them; Yet it does not seem to me outside the proposition, that I make a general division of all the earth, and the Provinces to be found in it, in order to be able to discourse of the Habits, that in this, or in that part are usually worn, with the best order possible.¹⁸⁷

Vecellio betrays no confidence that the clothing difference to appear before the eye will itself register in terms of a specific geographical area - indeed the occasional practice in the second edition of using the same woodcut to figure different costume categories would seem to undermine any possibility of this.¹⁸⁸ Instead for Vecellio the structuring of description is produced by the cartographic operation of dividing up the earth, explicitly paralleling this structural manoeuvre with the work of the ancient cosmographers, and producing thereby territories which may be identified with particular depictions of clothing.¹⁸⁹ He uses the

¹⁸⁷ “Volendo io parlar della diversità de gli Habiti, liquali sono portati da diverse Nationi di genti, lequali si riseriscono al li paesi, che loro habitano, si come quelli alle persone, che gli portano; Però non mi pare fuor di proposito, che io faccia una division generale di tutta la Terra, & delle Provincie, che in essa si trovano, per poter poi ragionar de gli Habiti, che in questa, ò in quella parte si usano di portare, con quel miglior ordine, che sarà possibile.” Vecellio, *De Gli Habiti*, sig.A2r.

¹⁸⁸ Thus the figure of the Roman Nobleman is reincarnated as Milanese, Florentine, and Neapolitan, whilst the Roman Merchant returns as a modern Italian, Florentine and Neapolitan merchant. See the Publisher’s Note to *Vecellio’s Renaissance Costume Book* (New York: Dover 1977), which ‘corrects’ this slippage in the original. Heinrich Doege also points out examples of the indiscriminate adaptation of costume plates to different categories ‘Die Trachtenbücher des 16. Jahrhundertts.’, pp.439-440.

¹⁸⁹ “La Terra dunque è state divisa in Tre parti principali da gli antichi Cosmografi” (The Earth... divided in three principal parts by the ancient cosmographers). The structure of the opening discourses follows an inward movement concordant with an increase in scale from this point, moving on from the ancient division of the earth into three continents, to Europe, to Italy and finally to the city of Rome. Vecellio, *De Gli Habiti*, sig.A2r-v.

framework of geography to produce a truly elastic representative body which is called upon to flesh out captions ranging in scope from the ‘African of mediocre condition’ to the ‘Venetian Gentlewoman going to San Pietro di Castello at Lent’, all in the one volume.¹⁹⁰ The flexibility of this approach lies in its constructing difference in terms of a system of geographical distribution, that is, as situated along a horizontal axis of description in which geographical units are accommodated side by side in a mutually exclusive partitioning of the earth’s surface. A striking example of the attempt to realise this structure in visual terms is provided by an engraved print signed by Ambrogio Brambilla dating from before 1585 and thus several years prior to Vecellio’s first edition.¹⁹¹ [FIG. 8] What Brambilla’s image places before the eye is in effect a clothing map in which the female body becomes the site of cartographic display.¹⁹² By putting forward the clothed body as a unit of cartographic scale the disjunction in size of the relative areas of the places represented is elided; the Bolognese woman occupies the same size compartment within the grid as her neighbour the French woman or the Turk beneath her feet. Yet the geographical exclusivity of these cartographic spaces is not absolute, another axis of description registers in the three clothed

¹⁹⁰ eg Vecellio, *De Gli Habiti*, p.492r, p.133r.

¹⁹¹ The engraving features the mark of Claudio Duchet (d.1585) as well as that of the inheritor of some of his stock, Enrico van Schoel, whose inscription is dated 1602. The engraving must surely also be that listed in the stock of the Vaccari brothers at Rome in 1614 described as “Il foglio delli habiti delle Donne del Mondo, intagliato da Ambrosio Brambilla”, giving it a print life of at least 30 years. The stock list is reprinted in Francesco Ehrle, *Roma Prima de Sisto V: La Pianta de Roma de Pérac-Lafréry del 1577* (Rome: Danesi 1908), pp.59-66, p.62. The introduction gives details of the stock transfer from Lafréry to Duchet down to the Vaccari brothers, pp.18-22. For Brambilla (fl.1579-1599) see the entries in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana 1966), vol. XIII, and Thieme and Becker, *Allgemeine-KünstlerLexikon* (Munich and Leipzig: K. G. Saur 1996).

¹⁹² It is impossible to know whether this single image had a male counterpart or not. No such work is listed in the Vaccari catalogue. I have located only one copy of this print contained in a volume of mounted costume images from various sources, amongst them de Bruyn, Vecellio, Boissard, Pieter Coecke [BL 146.i.10].

bodies in the top left-hand corner of the print figuring the maiden, married woman and widow all described as “Romana” (of Rome). A fault is exposed here in the construction of a purely geographically representative inhabited body by the triple representation accorded the eternal city. The obligation to address this difficulty in the use of costume in representative terms is felt throughout the costume books and comes to the fore in an anecdote recounted by Jean de Glen when in the process of condemning the dress of the German Gentleman he records that,

Socrates ...seeing the pride and splendour of his pupil Alcibiades founded on his great means, & nobility, took him to one side, & showed him the map of the world. “Now then”, said Socrates, “show me where Greece is, & next where Attica is.” Alcibiades having done this, Socrates added, “And now where are your possessions ? Mark them and show them to me.” Alcibiades replied that they were not painted on this map, “Ah”, said Socrates, “how can you swell with pride of your possessions and riches and yet they have no place in the distribution of the earth ?” In this manner can one reprimand the insolence of several newly risen Gentlemen puffed up with pride for the splendour of their house and fortunes, Since clothing varies a great deal, and since there are (are there not !) a thousand nations held in greater esteem for their dress than Germany, then how much this present portrait fails to live up to that modesty of the ancient Germans.... or to Christian honesty.¹⁹³

¹⁹³ “Socrates en Laertius livre 3, entendant la superbete & faste de son escollier Alcibiades fonde sur ses grands moyens, & noblesse, le tira a part, & luy monstra la carte du monde, & lors monstre moy (dit Socrates, ou est la Grece, & puis ou est l’Attique. Ce qu’ayant fait Alcibiades, or, ou sont, adiousta lors Socrates, maintenant tes possessions, marque & monstre les moy. Alcibiades respondit quelles n’estoient pas peint en ceste carte là, Hé (dit Socrates) comment te peuvent (mon enfant) enfler d’orgueil tes possessions, & richesses, lesquelles ne tiennent aucun lieu en la distribution de la terre ? de ceste façon pourroit on reprimer l’insolence de plusieurs Gentillastres bouffis d’orgueil pour la splendeur de leur maison & fortunes. Or encor que les habitz se varient souvent, si n’y a il mille nation qui soit es vestementz de plus grande tenue que l’Allemande, combien que ce present pourtraict n’arrive a la modestie des anciens Germains descrite par Tacitus au chapitae 3. ne de tout a la honnesteté Chrestienne.”, *Des Habits*, p.86v. Although de Glen cites Diogenes as his source for this anecdote it is not to be found there.

De Glen's deployment of the Socratic lesson comes in the context of a reprimand of those German upstarts who would seek status through their clothing. Yet the irony of Alcibiades' complaint against the map of the world - that it does not record the status of the nobleman - is clear in the context of the costume book. For in spite of de Glen's apparent distaste in this passage it is precisely this blindspot in the cartographic viewpoint, this invisibility of status when structured in purely geographic terms, which the costume book seeks to correct in its ordering of costume imagery. The very importance of a hierarchical axis of description to the costume books is revealed by this image of the cartographic grid as a levelling, homogenising presence, incapable of reproducing social order.

A re-examination of the classificatory procedure of Boissard's preface reveals the presence of another representational strategy according with this overlap in the distributive function. For where the text began by positing the habit of body as particular to individual nations, it went on to suggest that difference will appear not only between provinces but finally between "man and man". Understood in terms of an axis of geographical distribution, this would appear to challenge the very notion that the inhabited body is capable of functioning in representative terms, for the signified constituency of difference seems here to be reduced to the boundaries of each individual body. But it only seems so. One way, I would suggest, in which we *can* account for this is to think of the difference "between man and man" not in geographical but in hierarchical terms. By introducing into the equation a vertical axis relating to variation in social

placement we can reconfigure the notion of difference at play between man and man as one which is co-existent but not co-terminous with geographical variation. Thus Vecellio stresses that the African woman is of “mediocre condition” and the Venetian a “gentlewoman”, whilst the Bambrilla print can accommodate three figures representative of the same region by distinguishing between their relative placement within the familial order.

In the costume books, then, the prefatory material configures the operation of clothing difference as functioning along two intersecting axes. This system invests costume with the capacity to both denote a specific geographical area, and at the same time to register distinctions within a hierarchical scale of degree. It is this two-fold system of differentiation which quite literally underwrites the deployment of the clothed body in the illustrations. Before turning to the images themselves and the models that existed within the field of representation for reading the clothed body in this manner, however, we must examine the wider context of the *corporis habitus*, these revealing habits of the body.

Section 3: Fashionable conduct

Habitus

In the last section it was suggested that the clothed body in the costume book is discursively situated by the prefaces as a vehicle for the signification of geographical and hierarchical difference. The object of this re-situating of the costume books was to focus attention upon the appropriation of the *corporis habitus* as part of a representational strategy and to move away from the anachronistic attempt to read their use of clothing in terms of a modern notion of fashion. Yet, despite the distance separating clothing usage from the clothed body in costume representation, the latter is not to be understood as a wholly arbitrary signifier of difference. The use of the body as a signifying vehicle draws rather upon contemporary awareness of the inhabited body as a site for the reading of socialised investments. The focus in this section thus falls upon the en/inhabited nature of the clothed body as that which makes possible the deployment of clothing within representation in terms of embodiment, as opposed to the mere cataloguing of clothes hung on blank models. The French ethnographer Daniel Defert has pointed out the indissociability of clothing and conduct at this time in the following way:

to confuse the notion of *habit* in the sixteenth century with that of fashion is a retrospective illusion. Habit has the original connotation of *habitus*, which implies work upon the body...

the *habit-habitus* describes the mode of being of established groups and not the free choice of individuals.¹⁹⁴

Uncovering the presence of *habitus* within *habit* draws attention to the inscription of cultural conduct on the body.¹⁹⁵ The work of Marcel Mauss has helped reveal the “social nature of the *habitus*”; the extent to which such bodily techniques as swimming, digging and marching represent actual *incorporations* of social values.¹⁹⁶ The methods by which the *habitus* is instilled in the subject have been analysed by Pierre Bourdieu who points out that,

Between apprenticeship through simple familiarisation, in which the apprentice insensibly and unconsciously acquires the principles of the “art” and the art of living - including those which are not known to the producer of the practices or works imitated, and, at the other extreme, explicit and express transmission by precept and prescription, every society provides for *structural exercises* tending to transmit this or that form of practical mastery.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ “Or, je pense que confondre la notion d’habit au XVIe avec celle de mode est une illusion rétrospective. L’habit a la connotation originelle d’*habitus*, laquelle suppose un travail sur le corps:... l’*habit-habitus*... nomme le mode d’être de groupes statutaires et non le libre choix d’individus.” Defert, ‘Un Genre Ethnographique’, p.27. The translation is by Stallybrass and Jones.

¹⁹⁵ All the costume books with Latin titles use the term *habitus* rather than *vestitus* which more strictly describes clothing, the remaining few with French and Italian titles use, respectively, *habit* and *habito* - for contemporary definitions of these latter see Section 1.

¹⁹⁶ Marcel Mauss, ‘Techniques of the Body’ in *Economy and Society* 2 (1973), pp.70-88; p.73. See also Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1989) where the author examines the transmission and incorporation of what he terms “social memory” focusing upon the impact of commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices which he divides up into techniques, properties and ceremonies of the body.

¹⁹⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1977), p.88. See also his discussion of the term in the article ‘The Genesis of the concepts of *Habitus* and of *Field*’ in *Sociocriticism* 2 (Dec. 1975), pp.11-24, and *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* trans. Richard Nice (London: Routledge 1984), esp. Part II, pp.97-256. Here Bourdieu develops a much broader notion of *habitus* within a treatment of post-war lifestyles, defining it as constituting “the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste)”, p.170.

Bourdieu looks to a range of activities and practices through which these techniques of living are both inscribed within the body and encoded with social significance. In each case the goal of mastery is the point of objectification when both physical operation and its social meaning are absorbed into a conception of naturalness - to do otherwise than thus is to be awkward or unnatural. Norbert Elias in the first part of his influential work *The Civilizing Process* took as an object of study one such tool in the transmission of the art of living, the conduct book, analysing its precepts as an index to the advancement of “a threshold of embarrassment and shame, [understood] as ‘refinement’ or as ‘civilization’”.¹⁹⁸ For Elias the sixteenth century marked a period of transition in the internalisation of social precepts, a raising of the threshold of shame in which techniques of social control began to give way to those of self-constraint in the struggle for self-mastery.¹⁹⁹ In what follows the conduct book comes under scrutiny less in terms of the direct tracing of a refinement in manners outlined by Elias than as a key to the understanding of the *habit-habitus* relation.

¹⁹⁸ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: I: The History of Manners, II: State Formation and Civilization* trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell 1978, 1982; single vol. ed. 1994), p.83. For a historicised assessment of Elias’ model of *habitus* see Roger Chartier, ‘Social Figuration and Habitus: Reading Elias’ in *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations* trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity 1988), pp.71-94. A major new study of the conduct book, whilst openly indebted to Elias work, nevertheless provides a critique of his notion of the civilizing process as progressive despite the *longue durée* approach adopted. The author attempts to rectify Elias’ “skat[ing] over of such problems as why books on manners were written at all, why they were written in particular forms, and how they relate to other kinds of cultural production.” The result is the most extensive treatment of the literature of manners in early modern England to date, and yet, as the author admits, her findings are not inconsistent with the uncovering of a civilizing process, indeed her analysis of the refinement in textual models whilst it takes issue with attempts to pursue an etymological distinction, nevertheless reproduces in refined form the break between *courtesy* and *civility* texts which marks Elias’ work. Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1998), esp. pp.10-12, pp.96-98, pp.194-197, pp.277-283. For Elias’ distinction between *courtoisie* and *civility* texts see *Civilizing Process*, pp.42-56.

¹⁹⁹ Elias, *Civilizing Process*, pp.56-67, pp.138-178, pp.475-499.

Courtesy

Of the conduct books interrogated by Elias a central place is accorded to the *De civilitate morum puerilium* (1530) of Erasmus, in which he detects amongst its other innovations the “lack of a specific social orientation in the precepts, their presentation as general human rules.”²⁰⁰ This universalising quality, a contributory factor to the success of the work, at the same time made it available to a range of applications through which the generally non-prescriptive model was transformed into a more didactic format addressing specific audiences. By this method the general standard of bodily behaviour put forward by Erasmus found itself appropriated as the preserve or sign of a particular elite.²⁰¹ In this most influential of texts clothing is accorded an entire section to itself, beginning with the following announcement to the reader:

In summa dictum est de corpore, nunc de cultu paucis, eò quad vestis quodàmodo corporis corpus est, & ex hac quoq; liceat habitum animi conijcere.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ Elias, *Civilizing Process*, p.61. See also Jacques Revel, ‘The Uses of Civility’ in *A History of Private Life III: Passions of the Renaissance* ed. Roger Chartier trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London: Harvard University Press 1989), pp.167-207, particularly the section ‘Erasmus: A Social Transparency’ pp.168-173. Bryson describes the work as “both school rule-book and training for the world”, *From Courtesy to Civility*, p.30.

²⁰¹ On the dissemination and transformation of Erasmus’ text into a pedagogic instrument see Revel, ‘Uses of Civility’, pp.173-190; and Anna Bryson, ‘The Rhetoric of Status: Gesture, Demeanour and the Image of the Gentleman in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England’ in *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c.1540-1660* ed. Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn (London: Reaktion 1990), pp.137-153 and *From Courtesy to Civility*, pp.29-31.

²⁰² Erasmus, *De Civilitate morum puerilium: A lytell booke of good maners for chyldren nowe lately compyled and put forth by Erasmus Roterodam in latyne tonge with interpretation of the same in to the vulgare englysshe tonge by Robert Whytyngton* (London: Wynkyn de Worde 1532), sig. B2v.

A late sixteenth-century adaptation of Erasmus' text translates the passage thus:

We have spoken of the bodie alreadie, and the ordring of it: now we will speake a few words of apparell: for apparell may be called the body of the body: & by it and wearing thereof, may partly bee coniectured, and iudged what is the nature and quallitie of the minde.²⁰³

From this brief opening passage a series of expectations emerges. The Erasmian text lines up clothing alongside the other subjects treated in the book - posture, table manners, the features of the face, etc.- as a form of reading matter from which may be ascertained the presence or absence of inward virtue. The expectation here is that the treatment of clothing will follow the pattern established with these other examples in not merely monitoring the negative limits, the boundaries, of civilized behaviour but also providing a series of exemplary readings of appropriate comportment. Such readings establish techniques for the production of virtue which imitations and adaptations of the text were keen to accentuate and expand upon. In the memorable description of dress as "the body of the body" (*vestis... corporis corpus est*), clothing appears about to be inducted into the developing gestural and behavioural economy of the body which Elias' work sets out to chart. Sixteenth-century readers seem here poised to receive a series of precepts, measures to govern the clothing of the body in a virtuous

²⁰³ W[illiam] F[iston], *Schoole of good Manners or, a new Schoole of Vertue*. (London: I. Danter for William Ihones 1595), sig.C3r. The first English translation, by Robert Whytyngton, gives the passage as "It is fully or sufficiently sayd of the body/nowe of apparayle somewhat/ because apparayle is the forme and fashion of the body: And of this apparayle we maye coniecture the habyte and apparayle of the inward mynde." *lytell booke of good maners*, sig. B2v. Whytyngton's translation avoids the explicit parallel in Erasmus' text of "*corporis corpus est*". The most recent scholarly translation agrees in maintaining this doubling in its rendering of the phrase as "clothing is in a way the body's body". Erasmus, 'On Good Manners for Boys' trans. Brian McGregor in *Collected Works of Erasmus Vol.25: Literary and Educational Writings 3* ed. J.K. Sowards (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1985), pp.270-289, p.278.

manner. And yet no such detailed prescriptive advice follows. The anticipation that the text is about to articulate a series of rules explicitly detailing correct dress is immediately countered by the continuation of this passage:

Yet thereof can be no certaine fashion prescribed, in as much as diversities of Countries, honors, dignities, and riches, make some kind of apparrell well or ill beseeming one Country or calling, and some other like to another. Againe times change the fashions in many Countries: whereto somewhat must be yeilded, but I would not have thee follow every fond and strange devise.²⁰⁴

The text rejects the possibility of defining appropriate dress on the grounds of diversity. For the conduct book, variation is difficult to accommodate since it defies the attempt to standardise good manners - variations in the material form of clothing cannot be brought into conformity. Yet the problem here of the body of the body, or rather of a bewildering plurality of bodies of bodies, is of key significance when considered in relation to the costume book. In publications which sought to represent the world through inhabited figures it is precisely the regulated principle of variation which provides the impetus for description. The *De Civilitate* picks out three forms of variation which render the elaboration of costume precepts unfeasible. Of these the first two - difference in terms of country and in terms of calling - can be clearly identified with the geographical and hierarchical axes governing the structuration of costume description set out in Section 2. In these two respects, then, costume book and conduct book can be read as providing contrasting methods of dealing with the relation between

²⁰⁴ F[iston], *Schoole of good Manners*, sig.C3v.

costume and custom. In respect of the final form of variation, however, the temporal dimension, both formats come together in attempting to counter the implications for their respective projects of a change in fashion over time.

The lack of attention to specific forms of clothing uncovered in Erasmus is not unusual in the earliest English conduct books where concern with clothing is usually limited. Thus Hugh Rhodes in the sole reference to dress contained within his *Book of Nurture* (1550) enjoins the reader to,

Put on thy clothing for thy degree, honestly do it make²⁰⁵

whilst Seager in *The Schoole of Vertue* (1557) adds to the injunction to “se torne be noe seame” the recommendation:

Comely thy rayment
loke on thy body syt.²⁰⁶

In both of these examples the notion of correct dress goes unexamined. For Rhodes the correlation between dress and social rank is presented as automatic; the reader who is aware of his degree will be aware of the necessary clothing to be worn. Similarly for Seager the adjectival ‘comely’ reveals the presence of the *habitus* within the habit in figuring the garment’s appropriateness to the wearer’s

²⁰⁵ Hugh Rhodes, *The Book of Nurture* (London: Abraham Veale [1550]), sig.A4r, line 41. Reprinted from H. Jackson’s 1577 edition which substitutes “cleanly” for “honestly” in *Early English Meals and Manners* [also issued as *The Babees Book...*] ed. Frederick J. Furnivall (London: EETS 1868), pp.61-114, p.73.

²⁰⁶ F. S[eager], *The Schoole of Vertue, and booke of good Nourture for chyldren, and youth to learne theyr dutie by* (London: Wyllyam Seares 1557),sig. A3v, line 77; sig.A4r, line 88; reprinted in *Early English Meals and Manners* ed. Furnivall, pp.333-355, p.338.

station as much as the quality of its fit; indeed the two are rendered indissociable. In terms of advice, however, neither offers many clues as to the manner of dress to be adopted; the institution of clothing precepts is rather transferred to the self-identification of the addressee presented as capable of recognising the correct clothing inscribed with his particular social rank. These works thus describe the social meaning of correct clothing whilst neglecting to illuminate the practice itself - there is little here for the historian of dress. What they emphatically do not do is challenge the efficacy of a clothing practice in asserting a particular social meaning. These texts, heavily indebted to an older tradition of courtesy writings preoccupied with position within the household, take no account of either potential geographical difference or temporal change, and treat of the hierarchical signification of clothing only in so far as they assert its necessary presence in clothing but transfer responsibility over to the addressee.²⁰⁷ Their confident assumption of a stable, clearly defined order of social placement is neatly epitomised in Rhodes' line "To sit in the place apointed thee, that is curtesy."²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ Bryson has recently argued for "the general consonance of the form and content of late medieval books of courtesy with the conceptual and organisational patterns of lordship" demonstrating "the proximity of the rules of courtesy presented in these books to household regulations." She points to the position of Rhodes's text, which drew heavily upon the earlier *Boke of Nurture* by John Russell, within that tradition and sees Seager's work also as "partially within the tradition of courtesy writing established in the fifteenth century." *From Courtesy to Civility*, p.117, pp.28-31, pp.64-66. On the medieval tradition of courtesy books see also Jonathan Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy: Medieval Courtesy-Books and the Gawain-Poet* (Woodbridge: Brewer 1985), pp.7-74 and John E. Mason, *Gentlefolk in the Making: Studies in the History of English Courtesy Literature and Related Topics from 1531 to 1774* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1935), pp.4-22. A wide selection of English books and poems on courtesy, including examples of the *stans puer ad mensam* and *urbanitas* traditions are reprinted in *Early English Meals and Manners* ed. Furnivall. Examples from early Italian and German courtesy books are included in part II of *Queene Elizabethes Achademy* ed. F.J. Furnivall (London: E.E.T.S. 1869).

²⁰⁸ Rhodes, *Book of Nurture*, sig.A4v, line 68; in *Early English Meals and Manners* ed. Furnivall, p.75.

For the Erasmian civility text to fail to give details of clothing, then, is not an isolated move nor is the general advice it does offer - in the way of counselling modesty in expenditure, in covering the body, and in cleanliness of clothing - a radical departure from the older tradition.²⁰⁹ Rather, the significance of the *De Civilitate* to a discussion of dress lies in its early admission of the difficulty of harmonising variation and prescription within a coherent framework. One of the first original English works to pick up on this dilemma was the anonymous *Institution of a Gentleman* which contained a section entitled “What sort of apparel is mete for gentelmen, and what ordre oughte to be observed therein.”²¹⁰ The author lists three familiar points to be observed - cleanliness, comeliness and lack of costliness - before going on to bemoan expenditure and inconstancy in current English dress habits, remarking,

in tymes paste a Chamblet gowne was a garmente whiche dwelte with an Esquire of Ingland twentye yeres together. Then florished the laudable simplicite of Inglande... [but now] The Inglysh man chaungeth daily the facion of hys garmentes...²¹¹

Here we find an emphasis upon changing fashions in clothing which goes beyond that attributed by Erasmus to the mere progress of time. The nostalgic hyperbole which contrasts the stability of costume use in former times to the hyper-accelerated turnover of contemporary trends underlines the threat posed by

²⁰⁹ Mason reports that the treatment of dress in one of the strongest medieval courtesy traditions, the *facetus* works originally composed in Latin, “is chiefly confined to the recommendation of cleanliness and neatness, though vanities in dress are sometimes attacked”, *Gentlefolk in the Making*, p.20.

²¹⁰ *The Institution of a Gentleman* (London: T. Marshe 1555), facsimile edition (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum 1974), sig. I5r.

²¹¹ *Institution of a Gentleman*, sig. I7r.

such variation to the operation of costume signification. In doing so the text employs an image recalling Andrew Borde's celebrated emblem of the naked Englishman who explains his own inconstancy "now I wyll were thys and nor I will were that/ Now I wyl were I cannot tel what".²¹² The Englishman of the *Institucion* is contrasted with assessments of the French, Spanish and Dutch manners in dress, thereby reducing somewhat the sense of arbitrariness in the link between clothing and consumer introduced by the treatment of fashion. Nevertheless this passage provides further undermining evidence of relativism through the very notion of dress habits as specific to particular geographical areas. This does not prevent a return to the universalising argument in summarising:

al these may truelye saye againe that dayly new facioning & changing of apparell betokeneth inconstancy, & wavering of minde, which thing is a great blemish to the honor of a gentleman. Therefore if I were worthy to prescribe an order in wearing of garmentes, he which leaveth costly aray, & useth comblie apparell, well facioned, following the right ordre that a gentleman ought for to dooe, such one should in that poynte be most commended.²¹³

²¹² Andrew Borde, *The fyrst booke of the Introduction of knowledge* (London: William Copland [1555 ? -the Dedicatory letter is dated 1542]), sig.A3v. Carel van Mander records Lord Clinton's commissioning the artist Lucas de Heere to decorate a gallery with costumed figures representing the different nations "Il les peignit tous à l'exception de l'Anglais qu'il représenta tout nu plaçant près de lui toutes sortes d'étoffes de laine et de soie, des ciseaux de tailleur et un mor[c] jeu de craie" (He painted them all with the exception of the Englishman whom he represented naked, placing next to him all sorts of materials of wool and silk, tailors' scissors and a bit of chalk) On being shown the naked Englishman Elizabeth is reported to have responded "N'a t'on pas raison de faire voir la versatilité de notre nation qui lui vaut les raileries des étrangers ?", (Isn't it right to show the versatility/changeability of our nation which earns the scorn of foreigners ?), Carel van Mander, *Le Livre des Peintres de Carel van Mander: Vie des Peintres flamands, hollandais et allemands (1604)* Trad. & comm. Henri Hymans (Paris: Jules Rouam 1885) 2 vols, II, p.3-4. See also Karen Newman's accumulation of contemporary examples ridiculing the inconstant English approach to fashion including the influence of Borde's image in *Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1991), pp.111-127.

²¹³ *Institucion of a Gentleman*, sig. I8r-v.

The difficulty for the author is to reconcile this changeability of which he has made so much with the need for advice. Where Erasmus had thrown up his hands and turned his attention to modesty, eschewing the temptation to indulge in instruction, the *Institucion*'s adoption of a more directly pedagogic stance is undermined by the very diversity which makes it necessary, and which is foreseen in the chapter's title. Thus, having described the variety of clothing in use, his deployment of "combyle" is uncertain in its intent whilst what a gentleman "ought for to dooe" is confounded in its attempt to produce self-evident clothing identification by the lack of the confident context which underwrote Rhodes' "clothing for thy degree". The *Institucion*, then, reveals itself as a text confused by its own attempt to confront change through an insistence on permanence and continuity. The attempted compromise exposes the weakness within a didactic position that attempts to both patrol the boundaries of virtuous - and hence gentlemanly - behaviour and prescribe techniques for producing this effect. More specifically, its troubled recognition of a context of changing clothing practices anticipates the movement in the treatment of dress away from an ideal of standardisation and towards a limited acceptance of variation. This process is most clearly seen in the new wave of Italian texts dealing with civility and manners which appeared in English over the next few decades, and it is to these works that attention turns now in the search for new readings of costume signification.

Civility - framing the self

[T]his abuse is so in use at this day in Italy, that as well in men as in women, a man can discern no difference in estates. And you shal see the Clownes will be as brave as the

Artificers, the Artificers as the Merchantes, and the
Merchantes as the Gentlemen.²¹⁴

In Stefano Guazzo's *Civile Conversation*, rendered into English by George Pettie, the spectre of clothing confusion haunts the discourse of one of the protagonists.²¹⁵ Just as England carried the can in *The Institution of a Gentleman* whilst other nations were applauded for their constancy so Italian excess is here provided with a contrast for "you shall not see this disorder and confusion in Fraunce."²¹⁶ There were those who would dispute Guazzo's stance on this point, however, amongst them the Frenchman Pierre de la Primaudaye in *The French Academie* who laments the clothing habits of his countrymen: "how ought we to blush for our riot and excesse in apparell, which we maintaine with such glorie."²¹⁷ Anxiety over differentiation is here not the prerogative of one country alone but freely available to the nationally defined consciences of Europe. For each of these works customs in clothing are deducible elsewhere but it is at *home*, in the immediate context of the culture from which the text emerges, that the threatening arbitrariness appears.

²¹⁴ Stefano Guazzo, *The Civile Conversation of M. Steven Guazzo* trans. George Pettie (Books I - III, 1581) and Bartholomew Young (Book IV, 1586) (first complete edition London: Thomas East 1586), all page references are to the 2 vol. edition reprinted in the series *The Tudor Translations* nos. VII and VIII (London: Constable 1925), I: p.196. Castiglione also records the charge that "Italy hath not, as it was wonte to have, a facion of attier knowen to bee the Italian facion", Baldessare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* trans. Sir Thomas Hoby (London: Wyllyam Seres 1561), all page references are to the new reprint ed. Virginia Cox (London: Everyman 1994), p.130.

²¹⁵ The translation appeared two years before Philip Stubbes oft-quoted outburst "now there is such a confuse mingle-mangle of apparell in Ailgna, and such preposterous excesse thereof, as every one is permitted to flaunt it out, in what apparell he lust himselfe, or can get by anie kind of meanes. So that it is verye hard to knowe, who is noble, who is worshipfull, who is a gentleman, who is not." Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (London: J.R. Jones 1583), facsimile edition (London: Johnson Reprint Co. 1972), sig.C2v.

²¹⁶ Guazzo, *Civile Conversation*, p.197.

²¹⁷ Pierre de la Primaudaye, *The French Academie* trans T.B. (London: Edmund Bollisant for G. Bishop and Ralph Newbery 1586), p.219.

Where the framing of local excess with the fixity of other nations' habits appears to be a textual practice manifesting itself across national dress boundaries, a change in response to this phenomenon is detectable in the *Civile Conversation*. Whilst in Guazzo's dialogue the respondent repeats the common call for reform in urging Princes to take action against abuses, yet his advice to the gentleman takes another course. Anticipating the failure of measures to regulate clothing practice, he recommends:

those who are gentlemen indeede, ought not to be mooved with the matter, but rather to laugh at it. For the Asse which put on the Lyons skin (thinking that thereby his maister woulde more respect him) was knowne for an Asse, and used like an Asse.²¹⁸

This text repositions the gentleman as he who is sufficiently confident in his status not to feel threatened by the appropriation by other social groups of clothing once thought particular to the nobility. The true gentleman does not rely upon clothing to express his rank, despite opposition to such usurpation; rather, his status manifests itself in the exercise of judgement which prefigures the exercise of authority. Social distinction is maintained in this model through a redefinition of status from position within the household to its articulation in terms of discernment amongst a knowing audience. A public arena is thus presupposed which can either legitimate or reject the claim to status that actions must demonstrate - Guazzo's second book is glossed as "meete for all persons, which

²¹⁸ Guazzo, *Civile Conversation*, p.197.

shal come in any companie, out of their owne houses.”²¹⁹ In one English text clearly under the influence of the Italian model, the *Cyvile and uncyvile life* of 1579, a debate takes place which is implicitly over whether the country life or that of the court and city has the right to claim to be the site of the arena determining status:

Vincent: Neyther are they so ignorant, or uncivil, but if they hap to meet any such well apparrelled person, in his worshipfull garmentes, or with a fayre cheyne about his necke, the countrey lowtes (as you terme them) can so much good manner, as to put off their hats, and if the Gentleman be brave in deede, they will also doo him other reverence.

Vallentine: Not so, but I thinke verely they will often do reverence to the Gentlemans cheyne, or his brave coate, which curtesie men of iudgement do not regard, for they would be honoured for them selves and their vertue, and though no man doth commit Idolitry to their cheynes, or garmentes, they force litle.²²⁰

The advocate of civil life mocks the countrymen who would honour a man because of the marks of status worn upon the body. In so doing he explicitly rejects the use of costume as the signifier of social status and characterises such a notion as superstitious. Vallentine’s disparagement of this practice is framed within a denial that the audience of countrymen qualify as sufficient readers capable of judging the worth of the man. The redefinition of status undertaken here

²¹⁹ Guazzo, *Civile Conversation*, p.109. See the discussion of the public arena and discrimination as a performative action in Frank Whigham *Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory* (Berkeley: University of Chicago Press 1984), pp.35-46. Bryson points to this explanation of the uses of the second book (although mis-transcribing it), *From Courtesy to Civility*, p.139.

²²⁰ *Cyvile and uncyvile life* (London: Richard Jones 1579), sig.G4r-v. A second edition appeared as *The English Courtier, and the Cuntrey Gentleman* (London: 1586) and is reprinted in *Inedited Tracts: Illustrating the Manners, Opinions, and Occupations of Englishmen during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* ed. W.C. Hazlitt (London: Roxburghe Club 1868), pp.1-93.

transforms the gentleman into a “man of iudgement” distinguished by this quality from those of lesser standing but makes him nevertheless dependent upon the judgements of others - of those he asserts and accepts as his peers - to confirm the presence of that virtue which is the new distinguishing mark of his status. As Bryson comments “[i]t is ‘assembly’ of gentlemen on the basis of shared and exclusive culture demanding a shared and exclusive world which is the keynote of the ‘courtier’s’ approach.”²²¹

Despite its dialogue form *Cyvile and uncyyvyle life* leans heavily towards the pre-eminence of courtly refinement. As such it differs markedly from one of the texts to which it is clearly indebted and to which it refers the reader on several occasions, Castiglione’s *The Boke of the Courtier*.²²² This text, which constitutes one of the most widely read and disseminated of works relating to civility, adopts a genuinely polyvocal approach to the subject of the correct manner of dress for the perfect courtier.²²³ The *Courtier*’s enlargement of competing notions of the place of clothing is in keeping with its dramatisation of a setting that is precisely the form of public arena in which exercise of the judgement of status is envisaged.²²⁴ When Syr Friderick, as Hoby has him, takes up the challenge of

²²¹ *From Courtesy to Civility*, p.115.

²²² Vallentine somewhat disingenuously comments at one point “For to take upon mee to frame a Courtier, were presumption, I leave that to the Earle Baldazar, whose Booke translated by Sir Thomas Hobby, I think you have, or ought to have reade.” *Cyvile and uncivile life*, sig.K2v, the work is referred to again at sig.L3v-L4r., *Inedited Tracts*, p.68, p.77.

²²³ On the dissemination of Castiglione in the sixteenth century see Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione’s Cortegiano* (Cambridge: Polity Press 1995), pp.39-116.

²²⁴ Syr Friderick appeals to this activity of judgement, common to all the participants, as a recognisably standard practice in asking “dyd not you geve your iudgemente upon that freinde of oures we communed of this morning paste, to bee a foolishe and light person as soone as you sawe he wried his head and bowed his bodye [?]”, *Book of the Courtier*, p.133.

clothing the courtier in response to the specific demand “in this varietie...[to] choose out the best”, he adds to the familiar counsel against excess a more precise description of appropriate clothing than is to be found in any of the civility or conduct texts.²²⁵ Thus he prescribes black or other dark colours for ordinary apparel, “sightly and merrye colours” upon armour and “pompous and riche” garments for pleasure.²²⁶ This assertion of a form of correct clothing practice, irrespective of the narrowness of the social band it is proposed for, is nevertheless founded upon a universalising conception of the significance of clothing that recalls Erasmus in its assertion that “outwarde matters manye times are a token of the inwarde.”²²⁷

Yet Syr Friderick’s precepts are not allowed to stand unchallenged. When justifying his proposals of clothing that all would recognise as appropriate for a courtier, he attempts to support the notion of virtue’s readability in clothing by providing an example of the reverse process:

whiche of us is there, that seeing a gentleman go with a garment upon his backe quartered with sundry colours, or with so many points tyed together... will not count him a very disard or a commune jestar?²²⁸

The attempt to find consensus is, however, immediately cut down by Bembo’s observation that “in Lumbardy... they go all so”.²²⁹ Thus Friderick’s argument that clothing styles selected from the practice of other nations (the black

²²⁵ Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, p.130.

²²⁶ Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, p.131.

²²⁷ Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, p.131.

²²⁸ Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, pp.131-132

²²⁹ Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, p.132.

or dark attire recommended is explicitly “that [which] the Spanyshe nation much observeth”) can constitute models of universally recognisable virtue is undermined by the very range of geographical variants from which the models are selected.²³⁰ Clothing signification, removed from the stable interior of the household into the arena of peer judgement, finds this new site of costume reading breaking into further variegated scenes for clothing reception and display. Friderick’s response to this challenge is an alteration of his position towards what would come to be seen as the very cornerstone of the art of courtiership:

he ought to determine with himselfe what he will appeere to be, and in such sort as he desireth to be esteemed so to appaile himselfe, and make his garmentes helpe him to be counted such a one, even of them that heare hym not speake, nor see him doe anye maner thyng.²³¹

In this model then the perfect courtier is re-imagined as a cultural consumer electing to adopt an example from a range of clothing options appropriate to particular ends. This is just the kind of mastery aimed at in Puttenham’s famous attack upon the Courtier as a dissembler in which he complains “may it not seeme inough for a Courtier to know how to weare a fether, and set his cappe a slaunt, his chaine *en echarpe*, a straight buskin *al inglesse*, a loose *alo Turquesque*, the cape *alla Spaniola*, the breech *a la Françoise*, and by twentie maner of new fashioned garments to disguise his body, and his face with as many countenances, whereof it seemes there be many that make a very arte.”²³²

²³⁰ Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, p.131.

²³¹ Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, p.132.

²³² George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London: Richard Field 1589), p.250. Reprinted ed G.D. Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1970), p.299.

Implicit in both Puttenham and Castiglione is the notion that an appropriate form of clothing is waiting in the wardrobe for selection. The courtier here resembles the naked man of the woodcut seeking to make a local investment in order to realise specific cultural capital. The risks of such a strategy are suggested by the comment of Count Pallavicin who trots out the familiar commonplace “the habit maketh not the Monke” as an indication that the legibility of costume cannot survive wholesale appropriation of this kind; that indeed the process depends upon faith in the stability of the relation between signifier and signified. Syr Friderick’s response is to offer a re-affirmation of the relation of *habit* to *habitus* in which it is the latter which has undergone change:

But I saie that the garment is withall no small argument of the fansie of him that weareth it, although otherwhile it appeere not true. And not this alone, but all the behaviours, gestures and manners, besides wordes and deedes, are a judgement of the inclination of him in whom they are seene.²³³

In the context of *The Book of the Courtier* - a work which, as Hoby glosses, has as its principal concern “the facioning of a Courtyer” - *habitus* is a locally cultivatable phenomenon.²³⁴ Since the physical, behavioural and decorational aspects of self-presentation have all undergone a transformation into arts to be applied in particular ways in particular contexts, clothing’s seamless merging with these forms is more readily achieved than under the universalising drive towards standardisation of the earlier civility texts. By re-inscribing clothing within this conception of *la cortegiania* the objections of the critic Pallavicin are

²³³ Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, p.133.

²³⁴ Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, p.38

converted into attacks upon the very programme of constructing a perfect courtier and diverted from the course of dissociating *habit* from *habitus*.²³⁵ The actions of the perfect Courtier, then, his ability to manipulate social situations to a desired end, depend upon a mastery of the vocabulary of social interaction, and a key element in this process is sensitivity to and awareness of the vocabulary of costume signification. Hoby provides a schematic résumé of the methods to be followed in his addition of a list of precepts extracted from the work inserted at the end under the heading *A Breef Rehersall of the Chiefe Conditions and Qualities in a Courtier*. On costume the advice to be followed is:

To make his garments after the facion of the most, and those to be black, or of some darkish and sad coulour, not garish.²³⁶

This reduction of the textual argument into the form of a single injunction conflates the notion of the selection from amongst a variety of options with that of the particular form of dress specified in the text for the courtier's ordinary apparell. In the process the textual courtier is transformed into a model for the aspirant reader. Rather than the principle of learning to read and adapt to clothing practice in particular arenas it is the court of the perfect courtier that becomes the home of "the most" whose fashion must be followed by the reader desirous of being accepted into these circles. The didactic application of the Courtier in Hoby's translation finds an accomplice in *The Galateo* of Giovanni della Casa,

²³⁵ The role of Pallavicin in expressing opposition to the calculated cultivation of appearance is clear in his objection to Syr Friderick's advocacy of *sprezzatura* in the context of professing no expertise in matters wherein the Courtier has some skill "I thinke not this an arte but a verie deceite, and I beleave it is not meete for him that will bee an honest man to deceive at anye time."; or in his unanswered demand "teach us how we maie descerne thinges good in dede, from such as appeare good." Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, p.148, p.127.

²³⁶ Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, p.368.

another of the texts to have been widely disseminated and codified.²³⁷ This work, whose notion of *habitus* is more directly prescriptive and treats of a broader range of physical techniques than is to be found in either Castiglione or Guazzo, also reveals a less restricted conception of the site of costume signification than its Italian associates. Della Casa relates how,

the Citizens of *Padua*, were woont to take it done of spighte unto them, when any Gentleman of Venice walked up & downe their citie in his coate, as though he thought him selfe in the countrey.²³⁸

The consequences of a failure to read and respond to clothing conventions are demonstrated in a public arena specifically defined as the streets of the city. The textual and civic site which witnesses the encounter between citizen and gentleman is also precisely the example which would furnish the dictionary definition of *costume* in Section 1:

And a mans apparell, woulde not be made of fine cloathe alone: but he must frame it, all that he may, to the fashions that other men weare, and suffer him selfe to bee lead by *common use*.²³⁹

²³⁷ The several editions of Peterson's translation were followed by the publication of a much abbreviated text, tabulated under specific headings for easy reference and including relatively extensive treatment of costume and appearance. *The Rich Cabinet... Whereunto is annexed the Epitome of good manners, extracted from Mr John de la Casa* (London: IB for Roger Iackson 1616), sig.Z1v, sig.A2r-v.

²³⁸ *Galateo of Maister Iohn Della Casa...done into English by Robert Peterson* (London: Raufe Newbery 1576), p.18. Peterson's translation of the Italian "contado" as "the countrey" is only one of a range of potential meanings for the term which could also denote a specific area or territory under the jurisdiction of a city. Florio's denotation suggests the priority of this reading in his definition "A County, an Earledome, a shire, a precinct. Also the Countrey." It is this jurisdictional sense which I believe della Casa is making use of, Paduan sensitivity being aroused by the implicit statement of authority in the Venetian's costume. See *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (1863), definition I; Giovanni della Casa, *Galateo* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi 1975), p.14.; *Queen Anna's New World of Words*.

²³⁹ Della Casa, *Galateo*, p.18.

The *Galateo* thus relocates the practice of costume's signification to a common public space in which the customs of clothing are both asserted and invoked. For the citizens of Padua this space is understood as one of reading as much as of performing; it achieves a representational significance in which the presence of a foreign representative body, conducting himself within the *habit-habitus* of another state, presents a veiled threat to the autonomy of civic identity. It is to avert this threat that della Casa applies a new context to Castiglione's recommendation that "a man should frame himselfe to the custome of the moste".²⁴⁰ From this notion of the framing of the self the potential emerges for a discursive interplay between conduct book and costume book, for, where the conduct book imagines a self ready to adapt to local custom - a situation in which "Every man may applie those fashions, that be in common use, ye moste to his owne advantage that he can" - it is the costume book that reaffirms and supplies evidence for the particular customs of local usage.²⁴¹ If the conduct book provides the possibility of access to a *habitus* which enacts distinction and cultivation, the costume book offers a counterpoise to the potential imbalance of aspiration by acting as guarantor of the stability of the system to which one seeks entry. Fashion is here not a threat from without challenging a fixed polity of clothing signification; rather, fashion as variability exists at the centre of these texts in the person of the courtier, the gentleman, or the fashionable self, while the world about him is charged to remain stationary. So for della Casa all cultural spaces are envisaged as potentially inhabitable:

²⁴⁰ Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, p.130.

²⁴¹ Della Casa, *Galateo*, p.109.

As in divers places be divers measures, and yet bying and selling every where used: So in sundry landes be sundrie customes, and yet every where a man may behave him, and apparell him selfe, soberly and comely.²⁴²

Two familiar, yet curious images from the costume books seem to suggest this reaching out to the fixity of costume underwritten by custom. The first occurs in the frontispiece to Bartolomeo Grassi's 1585 costume book, [FIG. 9] where two figures adorn the architectural ornament of the title cartouche. These images, of a naked man and woman each with cloth and shears in hand, at first sight appear a somewhat incongruous host and hostess for a book purporting to show the true portraits of the clothing of all parts of the world. Yet even this striking disjunction pales beside that adorning the title page to the *Habitus Praecipuorum Populorum* of Hans Weigel and Jost Amman. Beneath depictions of Adam and Eve covering their nakedness with fig leaves and an image of their subsequent expulsion from Eden at the foot of the page an ornamental cartouche offers captioned personifications of the four continents.[FIG. 10] The armed figures of Asia, America and Africa stand in line in costumes which gesture towards the representation of forms of dress from those continents. The latter two regard with a mixture of curiosity and bewilderment the approaching figure of Aeuropa, a naked man carrying shears with a large roll of fabric masking the more sensitive aspect of his evident nakedness from view. What, then, are these familiar figures of fun, satirical images of a culture shorn of custom and costume, doing in this context ? Perhaps, I suggest, we can detect something in these naked figures other than a wry comment on the prevalence of change in fashion, a move which

²⁴² Della Casa, *Galateo*, p.110.

would serve to undermine the structure and claims to validity of the collections they preface. Is it inconceivable that what one glimpses here is the nakedness of another who comes in search of the *corporis habitus* ; the reader; naked, *civile* and sometime servant of fashion ?

Section 4: The space of representation

In the preceding sections I have argued that the costume book makes a series of demands upon the *corporis habitus* in attempting to provide the basis of a structural model for the representation of clothing. In figuring the world through the inhabited body the images are required to function as both geographically representative, denoting a particular area, and hierarchically located, reflecting position within the social order. In addition to fulfilling these criteria the representational strategy of the costume book needs a stable basis upon which to reaffirm the operation of costume signification, securing it against the infectious idea of changeable fashions. This pernicious notion presented a challenge to the claims of the costume book to be able adequately to represent place and calling, and in fact threatens to undermine the capacity of costume to be construed as representative at all. To these elements of a structural diagnosis can be added the contextualising detail of the conduct books in which dress is never presented as merely external and therefore detached from corporeal and behavioural techniques of self-mastery and self-presentation. Clothing in the conduct books emerges instead as a prime site for the reading of social difference,

whether presented as self-evidently determined by particular social positions, an automatic process of self recognition, or as a vehicle for the production of precise status statements in specific contexts. In this section the visual and conceptual currency of a particular representational model will be examined in relation to the demands made upon the *corporis habitus* in the costume book in order to examine the ways in which it addresses the needs of costume signification.

When della Casa's Paduan citizens responded with displeasure to the actions of the Venetian gentleman it was not excess in the manner of his clothing which caused outrage but that the form of sartorial display undertaken by the visitor constituted a particular kind of trespass on the city streets. The bold manner of the Venetian's public performance is understood as an assertion of dominance, as though he thought himself in Venetian territory and not in another city, jealous of its autonomy.²⁴³ That the stranger's actions should be understood in this way indicates the tendency to conceptualise the streets of the city in terms of a space of representation. The Paduan citizens read the clothing of the visitor as part of a vocabulary of signification engaged in the production of images of the city on its streets: as a clothing statement projecting claims of lordship. The depiction of a community well-versed in the subtleties of costume performance and interpretation, capable of reading *habitus* as socially representative, extends

²⁴³ See fn. 238 for the reading of "countray" in terms of jurisdiction. Padua was indeed part of the Venetian territory during this period, having been recovered from the League of Cambrai in 1509. Yet Padua maintained strong claims to an autonomous identity via the intellectual and cultural life surrounding its ancient university, and in the language of civic imagery, thanks to the foundation myth of Trojan origins derived from the Aeneid (I.242-249) as well as the Venetian foundation myth in which Paduans were responsible for the city's beginnings - needless to say, this aspect of the myth was usually edited out of Venetian accounts. See Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1981), pp.66-67, pp.70-71.

beyond the boundaries of the court as the place of costume display which, as we have seen, dominated such texts as *Cyville and uncivile life* and the *Courtier*. The *Galateo*, one of the few conduct works to explore a specifically civic environment, pits citizen against gentleman within the terms of a reading practice finely attuned to the politics of civic representation.²⁴⁴ As such both the site and the sensitivities alluded to here evoke the representational language of civic ceremony in which such statements as that attributed to the Venetian were indeed articulated and where costume provided a key vocabulary of signification.

Robert Darnton, in analysing a manuscript description of Montpellier from 1768, has revealed how the bourgeois author organised his textual portrait on the model of an urban procession, enumerating the ranks of the city's social order, their placement and costume, to the extent that Darnton was able to produce a detailed reconstruction of what a *procession générale* would have both looked like and comprised.²⁴⁵ Darnton's reading points to the persistence into the late eighteenth century of civic ceremony as a tool in the conceptual organisation of images of the city - even in spite of considerable changes in the constitution of the social body which proved difficult to accommodate within the received model.²⁴⁶ In the early modern period, however, as many studies have shown, ceremonial processions were still very much an active part of the cultural life of towns and cities across Europe, their validity as conceptual tools underwritten by

²⁴⁴ On the urban context of della Casa's *Galateo* see Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, p.113, p.128.

²⁴⁵ Robert Darnton 'A Bourgeois puts his world in order: the city as a text' in *The Great Cat Massacre And Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (London: Penguin 1984), pp.105-140.

²⁴⁶ Darnton examines the effect upon the structuring of the narrative of these changes revealed in the modulation midway through the text from "a parade of *dignités*...[to] a three-tiered structure of 'estates.'", *The Great Cat Massacre*, pp.121-128.

the frequency of their enactment.²⁴⁷ In what follows I want to suggest that we can find in the costume books the construction of a representational space derived from the model of civic ceremony.

In fathoming the link between the representation of costume and civic ceremony one location stands out above all others as occupying a seemingly paradigmatic place in the costume books: Venice. The association of this city with processional culture was such that, as one commentator has noted, “all over Europe during the Renaissance the very name of Venice could conjure up images of extravagant display.”²⁴⁸ The concern of Venetian civic ceremony with the articulation of a ceremonial understanding of both social order and the civic constitution is evident in events such as the Feasts of Saint Mark and Saint Nicholas, the procession on Palm Sunday and the celebrated ceremonies of the Doge’s Coronation and Marriage to the Sea - events in which this “republic of processions”, to use Muir’s phrase, performed over the public spaces of the city the ceremonial fiction of a representative government.²⁴⁹ Given such a reputation,

²⁴⁷ There is a vast body of material dealing with the processional culture of early modern Europe. For indications of the breadth and vitality of this form see *Les fêtes de la Renaissance* ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris: C.N.R.S. 1956-1975), 3 vols.; “*All the world’s a stage*”: *Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque* ed. Barbara Wisch and Susan Scott Munshower (Pennsylvania: Department of Art History Pennsylvania State University 1990); Edward Muir, *Ritual in early modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997).

²⁴⁸ Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (see fn.243 for pub. details), p.60.

²⁴⁹ Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, p.185 On the use and meaning of ritual in Renaissance Venice see also Asa Boholm, *The Doge of Venice: The Symbolism of State Power in the Renaissance* (Gothenburg: IASSA 1990). On the use made of Venice’s geographical position - its situation within the lagoon etc. - in these ceremonies see Patricia Fortini Brown, ‘Measured Friendship, Calculated Pomp: The Ceremonial Welcomes of the Venetian Republic’ in “*All the world’s a stage*” ed. Wisch and Munshower, pp.136-186; and more generally Edward Muir and Ronald Wiessman ‘Social and symbolic places in Renaissance Venice and Florence’ in *The Power of Place: bringing together geographical and sociological imaginations* ed. John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan (London: Unwin and Hyman 1989), pp.81-103.

the Paduan suspicion that the *habitus* of their Venetian visitor marked a deliberate gesture of political symbolism seems more readily understandable.

In the costume books of the sixteenth century the association of Venice with civic ceremony informs the treatment of the clothing of the city. Not only do examples of Venetian costume appear in every one of the costume books, in addition only two lack depictions of the Doge, the ceremonial head of the republic.²⁵⁰ In the first edition of the Venetian Vecellio's costume book 91 of the 407 woodcuts deal with Venice, almost half the number given over to costumes of Italy. Three images dispersed through Vecellio's volume are of particular interest for their inclusion in his volume, however, for, unique of all the geographical areas covered in the book, they depict the place itself. [FIG. 11] The significance of these views of the Piazza San Marco in the context of a book dealing with the clothing customs of different regions lies in the manner in which they invite the viewer to read both the clothing and the culture of Venice, for in each image one glimpses the city in ceremony. Thus in the first of the perspectives part of the *Bucintoro* or Ducal barge can be discerned along with a second ceremonial craft representing the floating performance platform called the "teatro del mondo".²⁵¹ In the second we witness a procession in which the Doge is clearly visible beneath

²⁵⁰ The exceptions are the first two costume books to be printed Ferdinando Bertelli's *Omnium Fere' Gentium Nostrae Aetatis Habitus* (Venice: Bertelli 1563) facsimile edition (Zwickau: F. Ullman 1913) and that published by Richard Button. The latter nevertheless includes a single woodcut of a Venetian nobleman in which the caption makes explicit reference to a public culture of processional display "Soyez certains que les Veneciens,/(Qui sont Seigneurs, nobles & anciens,)/Alors qu'ilz vont au Palays, sont vestus/Comme voyez, & sont pleins de vertus." (Be assured that the Venetians/ who are noble and ancient lords/ as they go to the Palace, are dressed/ as you see, and are full of virtue.), *Recueil de la diversité des habits* (see fn.179 for pub. details), plate 4.

²⁵¹ For details on the *teatro del mondo* and the use of the *Bucintoro* see Patricia Fortini Brown, 'Measured Friendship, Calculated Pomp', *passim*. On the restrictions in use of the *Bucintoro* see Boholm, *The Doge of Venice*, pp.221-222.

the Ducal *ombrella* along with other of the *trionfi*, whilst in the final image another cortege is depicted, this time accompanying the deceased Doge mounted on a funeral bier.²⁵² The three images then establish a clear link between the visual representation of the city and its representation in ceremony - they represent the city in the act of representing itself. In doing so they reiterate a reading context for the images of Venice and of Venetian costume akin to that noted in Chapter 2 in relation to the mapping of London.

A number of the costume books underline this mode of viewing by including images focusing on Venetian processions with captions denoting the different groups of participants and the ducal *trionfi*, indeed in 1609-10 Giacomo Franco published an entire volume devoted to *Habiti d'Huomeni et Donne Venetiane Con la Processione della Ser.ma Signoria et Altri Particolari cioe Trionfi Feste et Ceremonie Publiche Della Nobilissima Città di Venetia*, in which a number of engravings depicting costumes of Venice distinguished by rank and social status were accompanied by a series of representations of ceremonial.²⁵³

[FIG. 12] The engraving of the Doge in this volume shows him seated before a window through which the waterside entrance to the Piazza San Marco is visible.[FIG 13] In this plate the role of the Doge in the representation of the city is underlined by the image to which the seated figure gestures in the top corner of

²⁵² On the twelve *trionfi* and the funerals of Doges see Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, pp.103-119, pp.263-267, and Boholm, *The Doge of Venice*, pp.15-24, pp.69-115.

²⁵³ The costume books featuring a version of this image are Alessandro Fabri, *Divers. Nationum Habitus* (Padua: n.p. [1593]); Petri Bertelli, *Diversarum Nationum Habitus Centum et quattor iconibus in are incisus diligenter expressi item Ordines Duo Processionum unus Summi Pontificis Alter Sereniss. Principis Venetiarum* (Padua: A Alcia & P. Bertellium 1592-6) (the British Library copy of the latter lacks the plate depicting the procession of the Doge); Bartolomeo Grassi, *Dei Veri Ritratti degl'Habiti di tutte le Parti del Mondo. Intaglianti in Rame* (Rome: n.p. 1585). The image in FIG. 12 is taken from Giacomo Franco, *Habiti d'Huomeni et Donne Venetiane* (Venice: Giacomo Franco [1609-1610]).

the print. It depicts the city's key ceremonial site viewed from an angle familiar from numerous other woodcuts and engravings (such as the first of Vecellio's perspectives in **FIG. 11**) and adds a caption proclaiming it the Piazza San Marco thereby drawing further attention to its status as a visual representation of the city. Indeed, were it not for the suggestion of a window-sill, we might be tempted to take this image for a wall-hanging delineating the geographical constituency of the inhabited body.²⁵⁴ In the inscription at the foot of the print we read:

In this costume is the Serene Doge of Venice seen at the principal ceremonies and festivities, in which habit excepting the corno which is his own proper ornament, is the rest all regal.²⁵⁵

The caption here makes explicit the link between the costume and the act of representing the city in ceremony. This image does not reflect, and is not intended to, the everyday clothing habits of the office holder, but rather it reproduces the act of representing the Venetian republic performed in civic ceremony. The costume is invoked in its capacity to denote the wearer as a representative of the city and at the same time as part of a ceremonial hierarchy. The woodcut of the Doge in the costume book of Vecellio offers further details,

This is the costume in which the present Doges as those of the past, use to go out in public, accompanied by the grand committee of the Senate, the Cavallieri, and their own ministers.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ On maps and views of Venice see Juergen Schulz, 'Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views and Moralized Geography Before the Year 1500' in *Art Bulletin* 10 (1978), pp.425-474.

²⁵⁵ Franco, *Habiti d' Huomeni et Donne Venetiane*, plate 4.

²⁵⁶ "Et questo è l' Habito che usano i Dogi presenti, & usarono i passati nell'uscir in publico, accompagnati da gran comitina di Senatori, di Cavallieri, & de' proprij ministri loro." Vecellio, *De Gli Habiti*, p.79r.

The text stresses the carefully restricted symbolic role of the costume as well as the continuity of its usage. By indexing this scene of costume signification the costume books affirm a stable order underwriting the use of clothing as a signifier of difference; the custom of costume is located in these repeated ritual occasions in which the social meanings of clothing are continually re-inscribed. It is civic ceremony which authorises the use of these robes, and their use was firmly restricted to such public occasions.²⁵⁷ Both Vecellio and de Glen give details in their texts of the ceremony of the Doge's coronation in addition to describing the ceremonial costume; the former features the following detail pertaining to the ducal *cornio*:

in the middle of this conspicuous ceremony, a crown of great value is placed on the head, the which is kept continually hidden away in a room at the treasury. And this crown, in the opinion of those people of good judgement, is reckoned at the value of 150,000 ducats, & is worn in procession on the solemn day of Corpus Christi, & is carried by the new Prince up to the day of his coronation.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ The means by which the Doge could make use of his ceremonial authority were strictly controlled, as Muir points out, "By the sixteenth century virtually every word, gesture and act that the Doge made in public was subject to legal and ceremonial regulation. He was not able to buy expensive jewels for festive decorations; he could not own property outside Venetian territory... was prohibited from displaying the ducal insignia outside of the Ducal Palace; he could not permit anyone to address him as "My" or "Our Lord", decorate his apartment as he pleased, receive private persons in official dress, send official letters or open those that arrived, have private audiences with ambassadors, use his influence on behalf of his family, or even have close ties with the guilds", *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, p.256-7.

²⁵⁸ "Nella quale piena d'assaissime cerimonie, si mette loro in testa un corno di grandissima valita, il quale si tien quasi di continuo riposto nella stanza, dove si serba il thesoro. Et questo corno ben considerato dalle persone pratiche, è stimato di valuta di cento cinquanta mila ducati, & si porta in processione il giorno solennissimo del Corpo di Christo, & è portato dal nuovo Principe fino al giorno della sua coronatione." Vecellio, *De Gli Habiti*, p.79r.

Thus the Ducal crown, the most widely recognised of the twelve ducal *trionfi*, was stored away in the state treasury and removed only for occasions of state ceremony, its constitutional significance for the demonstration of the civic constitution carefully safeguarded. Commentators upon the Venetian state noted the extent to which the ceremonial significance accorded to the Doge was in direct contrast to the actual power wielded by the holder of the office at this time. Contarini discusses the diminution of Ducal power leading up to the sixteenth century which meant that “This Duke of ours hath not any certaine office allotted him, yet nevertheless ther is not in the whole commonwealth any thing done, but he must be made acquainted therewith, and have knowledge of the same...”²⁵⁹. He then goes on to make the following observation:

But now least every one should refuse this dignitie; requiring so great paines & continuall sollicitude of mind, unlesse there should thereunto be adioyned some sweetnes or reward: this limitation of authoritie is on the other side recompensed with an exterior princely honor, dignitie, & royall appearing shew: for the ornamentes of his bodie are kingly, using alwaies purple garments or cloth of gold.²⁶⁰

Here the relative lack of authority of the Doge in comparison with his forerunners is made up for by the lavishness of his princely demeanour, or what one might term the Ducal *habitus*, limited to the occasions of civic ceremony. This disparity between representational activity and actual authority is explicitly spatialised in the comment of one Venetian contemporary who remarked of the

²⁵⁹ Contarini, *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice* trans Lewes Lewkenor (London: Iohn Windet for Edmund Mattes 1599), pp.40-41.

²⁶⁰ Contarini, *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice*, pp.42-43.

Doge that “He has the bearing of a prince, but in the Senate he is a senator, and in the market-place a citizen.”²⁶¹. In this description of the Doge the reading of the ceremonial *habitus* which appropriates the whole city in representation is contrasted with specific non-performative readings figured not in terms of *habitus* but in terms of jurisdiction and authority. The limitations upon the Doge’s ceremonial authority are here determined by the projection of conceptual spaces onto sites of the city. Hence the ceremonial authority of the Doge’s “bearing of a prince” does not translate into administrative authority in the governmental space of the Senate, nor into capital in the commercial space of the market. The reading of the Doge in these terms displaces ceremonial signification by constructing conceptual spaces which deny entrance to the princely *habitus*; yet in the activity of civic ceremony a representational conception of space is imposed upon the city as a whole in which a constitutional fiction is fully enacted. Elsewhere in Contarini we find the following description of the Doge:

The exterior shew of the prince in the Cittie of Venice delivereth to the eyes of the beholders the person of a king, and the very resemblance of a monarchie.²⁶²

The emphasis in this passage is upon the performance of a fictional authority for the eyes of spectators; the city of Venice becomes the setting for the construction of ceremonial significance celebrating the appearance of constitutional power. The ceremonial representation of the city is not the prerogative of the Doge alone, however. Vecellio, in his descriptions of the

²⁶¹ Quoted in Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, pp.251-252.

²⁶² Contarini, *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice*, p.37.

costumes of other dignitaries and office holders, is careful to maintain the link with the occasions of civic performance, even to the extent of highlighting the rarity of its use. Thus when commenting on one costume print he remarks that “it is worn ... by the Musicians of the Prince, but only when accompanying the Prince on the days of solemn occasions”, whilst of the Scudiere del Principe he points out that their ceremonial attendance upon the Doge on various state occasions constitutes virtually their sole duty and hence the sole authorised opportunity for the wearing of their costume.²⁶³ In the works of both Vecellio and Jean de Glen the orders of the Doge’s Procession as depicted in the earlier print are reflected in the sequential ordering of images, a process which registers, although with a slightly lesser degree of specialisation, in north European costume books.

In these examples then the costume image reveals clothing at work in the process of defining difference between members of the social order. By appealing to this precedent clothing is situated as the sign of those differences. In addition, it locates the costumes within a ceremonial context in which the city is represented to itself. As such it manages to invoke a ceremonial space in which the space of representation is not limited to that occupied by an individual body in the Piazza San Marco but projected as the space of the ceremonial city itself. For

²⁶³ On the musicians: “l’usano... i Sonatori del Principe, ma solo quando accompagnano il Principe ne’ giorni solenni”; Scudiere del Principe: “L’obligo de’ quali è di ritrovarsi ogni mattina in Palazzo, & accompagnare il Principe in Collegio, & in ogni altro luogo, dove egli sia per andare, essendo essi salariati dalla Republica à questo effetto. Ma fuor di quest’obligo di servitù, n’hanno poi un’altro à vicenda, toccando ogni mese à due una settimana intera di star fermi in Palazzo alla guardia della Camera.” (The duties of whom are to gather every morning at the Palace & accompany the Prince to the chamber, & to every other place to which he may have to go, being salaried by the Republic to this effect. But outside this obligation of service, they have only one other to render, each month they are called to the Palace two at a time to guard the Chamber for a whole week.) Vecellio, *De Gli Habiti*, p.113v, p.114v.

the costume book the example of the treatment of Venice provides a model for costume representation which encompasses both an axis of geographical distribution and one of hierarchical degree in citing the ceremonial context as that which underwrites the practice of costume signification. In thus deriving a representational model from a practice in which the connection between clothing and the social order is uncontested it also secures the conceptual order of the costume book against the challenge of fashion. The notion of a ceremonial space of representation suggested by the treatment of Venice in the costume books is one which we can find adapted and expanded to serve other interests in the depiction of the inhabited bodies of other costume categories. It is to some of these permutations of the *corporis habitus* that attention now turns.

Section 5: Loose threads

If the treatment of Venice in the costume books offers a model for how ceremonial representation could underwrite the ordering and determining of costume distinctions not every costume categorisation deployed this model, and not all that do apply it achieve such an effective articulation of place and degree as the Venetian hierarchy. Yet the incidence of partial or complete failures does not automatically invalidate this approach to the analysis of costume representation. Rather than searching for a perfect fit between ceremonial representational space and the ability of costume to signify spatially, hierarchically and effectively, those examples which reveal the difficulties of such a manoeuvre can be just as suggestive for an understanding of the cultural work being undertaken. As a

result the next two sections will focus on categories which test both the elasticity of the inhabited body and the ideological tensions complicit in its construction. In both cases it will be argued that the inconsistencies and indeed the breakdown in costume reading practice can enlighten both the operation of the costume books and the spatialising strategies of early modern culture as a whole.

The present section will be concerned with gender as a structuring categorisation available to the costume books and in particular with the female inhabited body and the attempts to license its deployment in the representation of costume. By far the majority of the female figures in the costume books appear defined by their actual or potential linkage to men in the form of marriage as either wife, widow or maiden - even in the one costume book devoted solely to female clothing less than a quarter are described in terms which do not determine their sexual or marital status and this is only partially explicable in terms of the linguistic bias which informs such a practice.²⁶⁴ Specific associations are made in the costume books between the costumes of women and the representation of men hence the work of Jean de Glen offers for one costume the revealing caption of “The Dress of Siennese Ladies whose husbands hold public office”. Just as the caption inclines towards description of the social activity of the man, so the majority of the commentary text is given over to the lady’s partner:

²⁶⁴ Jost Amman, *Gynaeceum sive Theatrum Mulierum* (Frankfurt: Sigismund Feyerabendt 1586) with epigrams by Francis Modius, facsimile edition ed. Alfred Aspland (London: Trübner for the Holbien Society 1872). The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* ed. P.G.W. Glare (Oxford: Clarendon 1982), gives usages for the two forms “femina” and especially “mulier” (the only apparently non-specific terms used for women) which denote the sexual and marital status of the person described.

As to virtue is due honour and reverence... so those who are of rank, and have duties of public administration, merit double honour, that is, for the virtues with which they must be decked and adorned, and for the rank which they hold in the town, or in the republic. For which reason it is proper that they carry some mark, as a sign, placing in view their credit, dignity and authority: and in order to oblige also the subjects to render due reverence to them. Their wives also, who are consorts and participants in all the goods, honours and qualities of their husbands have this prerogative of wearing clothing, or some notable mark, to the same end and intention.²⁶⁵

In a discussion of the need for appropriate symbols of authority and rank to be accorded the holder of public office the costume of the woman is presented as quite literally a vehicle for the signification of male authority. As such the *habitus* of the woman is inscribed with the dignity of public office and social rank which it is the duty of the woman to display in the city or, as in the case of Vecellio's Venetian ambassadors, further afield, in the arena of inter-state rivalries.²⁶⁶ In this way the system of costume signification encountered in section 4 is transferred onto the female inhabited body accorded the status of representational significance. Yet although the woman or, rather, these particular female bodies are charged with the burden of denoting the dignity and gravity of the husband, the *habitus* demanded of the female body is subject to a reading practice determined by a different system of values from that of the male body. For the female *corporis habitus* has an additional duty to sustain another form of

²⁶⁵ "Or, comme à la vertu est due une honneur & reverence... à tant ceux qui sont en dignité, & ont administration publique, meritent double honneur, à sçavoir, pour les vertus dont ils doivent estre bien parés & aornés, & pour le rang qu'ils tiennent en la ville, ou en la republ. Pour laquelle cause il est decent qu'ils portent quelque marque, comme signal, mettant en vue leur credit, dignité & auctorité: & pour obliger aussi les subiets à leur rendre la deue reverence. Leurs femmes aussi qui sont consortes & participantes de tous les biens, honneurs, & qualités ...de leurs maris elles ont ceste prerogative de porter des vestemens, ou quelque marque notable à la mesme fin & intention." de Glen, *Des Habits*, pp.62v-63r.

²⁶⁶ Vecellio gives a description "Delle Gentildonne ne' Reggiti, & governi," which shows the ambassadorial role of the wives of Venetian governors of foreign regions, *De Gli Habiti*, p.135r.

virtue - as the image of the Bourgeois Parisian wife in the earliest of all the costume books claims, “No more beautiful and courteous woman is to be seen, showing her chasteness in her clothing.”²⁶⁷ The appropriation of the female body as a signifying vehicle for male status is a process fraught with potential anxieties for the early modern male, anxieties which the costume books by turn both assuage and arouse. For, if the clothing of the wife of an office holder served as a signifier of his social standing, it left the status of the husband in the hands of the woman and raised the possibility that status (and even clothing) might be removed.²⁶⁸ Yet the literal divestment of the marks of status imposed upon the female body was not the foremost concern revealed by the costume books - although, as will be seen, it is one they took delight in playing upon. A prior tension over investment in female *habitus* arises from the very process of making the female body available to the male gaze, an operation which opens the threatening possibility of female agency, since, in the words of Stephen Gosson, “they which shew themselves openly, desire to be seene.”²⁶⁹ The costume books’ relationship towards such conflicting impulses concerning the female body oscillates between the attempt to produce licensed representational spaces and the acknowledgement and even invitation towards more suggestive reading practices.

²⁶⁷ “Femme on ne voit plus belle, & plus courtoise/Se monstrant chaste avec son vestement”, *Recueil de la diversité des habits*, plate 8.

²⁶⁸ Peter Stallybrass has explored the tensions surrounding this male investment through a reading of Othello that sees the handkerchief given to Desdemona by Othello as an index of the insecurities over the incorporation of female honour into that of the male at the time of marriage since “The handkerchief, like her honour, is both hers and his. But if the handkerchief is detachable, is not her honour, and therefore his, also detachable?”, ‘Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed’ in *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual difference in Early Modern Europe* ed. Margaret Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan and Nancy Vickers (Chicago: University Press 1986), pp.123-142, p.138.

²⁶⁹ Stephen Gosson, *The Schoole of Abuse* (London: Thomas Woodcocke 1579), sig.F2r.

The key strategy through which the costume books cater to male anxieties over the display of the female body is by framing the depiction of the *corporis habitus* within the terms of a legitimating activity. Throughout the costume books, but particularly in those of Vecellio, de Glen, de Bruyn and Petri Bertelli, the captions added to costume images record a location or situation for the display of female clothing. Hence, when recording the clothing of women of status, many of these costume books offer the reader an interpretative aid in the form of the detail of whether the woman is inside or out of the house; this is then qualified in the text with a description of the purpose of leaving the house. De Glen, in a panegyric to the young ladies of Tuscany, gives over considerable space to a graphic description of what pitfalls await the young lady who does not follow their example:

The house must be to the young woman as the cloister and cell are to the monk, because in truth the house is the guardian of honour and modesty... seeing that the girl roaming and worrying the streets will give herself easily into the nets of lascivious young minions and subtle debauchers of girls, and particularly a maiden, who for her age is weak, without experience when she finds herself far from her mother, or her nurse, and at the mercy of an infamous Thraso, and corrupter of chastity. It is true that girls are curious to see and to be seen... so are the girls of Tuscany worthy of great honour and praise, since they never go out of the house but at Lent and at Easter, to go to confession and to make communion, or to go to the Stations and Public Indulgences.²⁷⁰

²⁷⁰ “La maison doit estre à une ieune fille & honeste vierge ce qu’est aux Religieux le Cloistre, & sa cellule: car de vray la maison est la gardienne de l’honneur & pudicité attendu que la fille rodant & tracassent par les rues se va donner aisement dans les filets des ieunes mignons lascifs & subtils desbaucheurs de filles, & signamment une pucelle, qui pour son aage est debile, sans experience quand elle se trouve loin de sa mere, ou de sa nourrice, & à la merci d’un infame Thrason, & corrupteur de chasteté. Il est vray que les filles sont curieuses de veoir & d’estre veues ... A tant sont dignes de grand’ honneur & louanges les filles en Toscane, puis qu’elles ne sortent iamais de la maison, qu’en Quaresme, & à Pasques, pour se confesser & communier, ou pour aller aux Stations & Indulgences publiques.” de Glen, *Des Habits*, p.59v. Thraso is a character in the Terentian comedy *The Eunuch*.

The possibility of a woman wandering in the city down unprescribed routes to a place of license far removed from the protective interiors of the home and the stewardship of nurse and mother is a deeply troubling one. In a gesture which recalls the kind of spatial practice whose trajectories de Certeau understood as opposing the mechanisms of observational organisation, the author's spatial ordering of the city is threatened by the spectre of a free circulation of female agents. The ostensible danger of coming across unscrupulous young men whom the young woman would be powerless to resist gives way to the far more disturbing prospect of a young woman desiring to see and to be seen. Something of this tension between agency and powerlessness is, I think, suggested in an image from Abraham de Bruyn picturing a woman transgressively described as "extra muros prodeambulans" (going for a walk beyond the walls) whose wicker basket is grasped by the well dressed Brabant merchant. [FIG. 14] Contrast this with her neighbour to the left whose modesty is indisputable in its defence against the eyes of strangers when she ventures out on a journey fully authorised in the caption.²⁷¹ Despite the licensed closure which has the young ladies of Tuscany safely contained within prescribed parameters, venturing forth only at appointed times on unimpeachably virtuous missions, the resonant image of the wandering woman desiring to see and to be seen cannot altogether be forgotten in the context of a book which sets out to place before the eyes the costumes of men and women. Just as the description of those who remain at home contains but cannot conceal the possibilities of the female body as a wandering, errant vehicle of

²⁷¹ "Mulier Antwerpiana ad macellum abiens aut alio' intra urbem obambulans." (A woman of Antwerp walking to the market or otherwise walking to another place within the city.)

costume signification, so, when authorising the activity of female display for the category of unmarried women of Venice, Vecellio constructs a representative space whose license is a carefully crafted compromise:

If ever the Venetian women make a great effort to appear beautiful and to show themselves richly attired, it's when they get married at the time of the Ascension, during the 15 days for which the fair lasts, which brings into the city a great number of people from diverse nations. Thus they go and dream up and seek out the greatest pomp & vanity that they can, desiring to be seen not only by the people of their own city, but by so many other foreigners, who are there, and of each sex who come to see such a market of pomp not only from neighbouring lands, but from still further afield.²⁷²

Vecellio's young women who seek out extravagance and lavish dress are permitted to pursue their wish to the full, but only for the fifteen days of the *Senza*, and only when their sexual potential is about to be invested and restrained within marriage.²⁷³ The time of their greatest visual availability is thus counterbalanced by proximity to the moment of the prime act of disavowal of sexual autonomy. Nevertheless this scene of display is characterised by its adjacency to a space of acquisition and availability, the *pomposo mercato*, and the resemblances between the two prove disturbing. In this representational space of display that is also a place of exchange the ornately dressed woman advertises her

²⁷² "Se in tempo veruno le spose di Venetia fanno sforzo di parer belle, & comparir ornate riccamente: lo fanno più che mai quelle, alle quali accade l'essere Spose nel tempo dell'Ascensione, in quei quindici giorni, che dura la Fiera, & è nella Città grandissimo concorso di diverse nationi. Onde vanno imaginando & ritrovando le maggiori pompe, & vanità, che possono, dovendo esser vedute non solamente dalle persone della propria Città, ma da tanti forestieri anchora, che d'ogni età, & d'ogni sesso vanno à vedere quel pomposo mercato, non solo da'paesi vicini, ma da' lontani anchora." Vecellio, *De Gli Habiti*, p.128v.

²⁷³ This is precisely the scene offered by the first of the costume books for the costume display of the French bride "L'epousee est coiffée, aussi vestue./Comme voyez, quant elle prent mary./A demonstrer sa beauté s'evetue./En ce iour là, n'ayant le cœur marry." (The betrothed is coiffed and dressed as you see when she takes a husband, she does her utmost to show off her beauty on this day, not having a married heart.) *Recueil de la diversité des habits*, plate 14.

desirability as possession adjacent to the spectacle of the market advertising its own finery for sale. For de Glen in his description of noble Venetian women the potential for a confusing overlap between these forms of display - one in which the threat to the female is equally a risk for the male - is explicitly stated in terms of a possible transaction; "it is a very dangerous thing for the woman and for men to put forth as though for sale a beauty invested with all its attractions."²⁷⁴

The threatening availability of a reading of female costume display in which sexuality and the potential of a physical transaction are the real referents come together in what Jean Howard, in her reading of the anti-theatricalists, has characterised as a fear of women becoming "the object of promiscuous gazing".²⁷⁵ The costume books, with their moralising texts and captions which locate the female object within spaces of licensed display both cater to this anxiety and play upon the objectifying desire which produces it. It is precisely the mercantile space of display which the representation of female costume deploys in placing before the eyes of an anonymous public the images of women engaged in sanctioned excess. The female bodies of these costume categories are commodified and made available to the book's purchasers who witness the act of self-display in the privacy of their own homes. Indeed the act of purchasing the book admits the reader/viewer to places from which the citizen would be excluded - not only the private spaces of women pictured "per casa" but to yet more intimate spaces

²⁷⁴ "Mais c'est chose fort dangereuse & pour la femme & pour les hommes de mettre comme en vente une beauté parée de ses attraictz ." de Glen, *Des Habits*, p.31v.

²⁷⁵ Howard goes on to argue that this attitude masked a deeper fear of the theatre offering a site for female spectatorship, for women "to look - and in a larger sense to judge what they saw and to exercise autonomy - in ways that problematized women's status as objects within patriarchy." Jean E. Howard, *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge 1994), pp.73-92, p.77, p.79.

which the reader is invited to uncover. Hence the costume book of Pietro Bertelli includes a number of images in which the lifting of cut-outs affixed to the engraving grants access to a privileged space such as the litter of the 'Nobilis Neapolitana', or, in a more directly eroticised intrusion, to the undergarments of a Venetian courtesan.²⁷⁶ [FIG. 15a) & b) and FIG. 16]. Yet, while individual images offer furtive possibilities of access, the making available of such privileged spaces co-exists with a commitment to maintaining the exclusivity of some forms of costume display. Hence Vecellio offers the following historical example of female performance:

When the noble women are invited to banquets or spectacles, such as at the entrance of some great personage, as often happens in Venice; it is conceded to them, that without any respect to the laws, or prejudice of them, they may attire and ornament themselves as they please, conscious that outside of like occasions, their clothing is limited by the Magistracy of Pomp. And when Henri III... having been made King, passed through Venice, he was received (amongst other superb and marvellous spectacles) with a great display reduced into the Great Council Chamber, of 200 Noblewomen from the most beautiful and worthy of the City.²⁷⁷

This presentation of the city's most beautiful and worthy women to the visiting monarch takes place behind closed doors and in the place of political representation rather than the open spaces of the city - even so it is carefully

²⁷⁶ Other examples include the Turkish bride with a lift-up canopy and the Venetian novices on board a gondola with a lift-up awning, Bertelli, *Diversarum Nationum Habitus*.

²⁷⁷ "Gentildonne a Feste Publiche: Quando le donne nobili sono invitate à conviti ò spettacoli, dove intervenga qualche gran personaggio, come bene spesso accade in Venetia; si concede loro, che senza rispetto alcuno delle leggi, ò pregiudicio loro, possano addobbarsi, & ornarsi, come più loro piace; conciosia che fuor di simili occasioni, il vestir loro sia limitato da' Signori dell pompe. Et percìò quando Arrigo III... dove egli era Rè, passò per Venetia, fu trattenuto (oltre à gli altri superbi, & maravigliosi spettacoli) con un grandissimo apparato ridotto nella Sala del gran Consiglio, di dugento Gentildonne delle più belle e principali della Città.", Vecellio, *De Gli Habiti*, p.131v.

framed with reference to the sumptuary legislation governing clothing for other occasions.²⁷⁸ The display of so many of the leading ladies of the republic forms part of the representation of the city itself before a powerful figure. It is a mark of the preciousness of this symbolic commodity, the sum of Venetian beauty, that it is not to be entrusted to the eyes of all and sundry whose gaze might read an inappropriate availability into their ornamentation; lesser and more public eyes might see this spectacle as performed for their own benefit. In the context of the costume manual, however, the reader is permitted to gain access to this closed signifying space through a mercantile transaction, the suggestion of which it is entirely the purpose of this act of closure to prevent.

The difficulty of maintaining a distinction between the display of noble or honest women and the connotation of sexual availability comes to the fore in the representation of prostitution which is a feature running throughout the range of costume books. The necessity here is to secure a display context which distinguishes the female body as the carriage and container of male honour from that female body which is conspicuously other: the prostitute or courtesan so often located by the text with the threateningly unqualified caption “in luogho publico” (in a public place).²⁷⁹ Significantly in the representation of a republic so

²⁷⁸ On sumptuary legislation in Venice and Italy see particularly Mary Margaret Newett, ‘The Sumptuary Laws of Venice in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries’ in *Historical Essays* ed. T.F. Tout and J. Tait (Manchester: n.p. 1907), pp.245-278; Diane Owen Hughes, ‘Sumptuary Law and Social Relations in Renaissance Italy’ in *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West* ed. John Bossy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983), pp.69-100; for a more broad-ranging account see Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: a History of Sumptuary Law* (London: Macmillan 1996)

²⁷⁹ In examining the association of prostitution and extravagant dress Diane Owen Hughes has pointed to attempts on the part of Italian civic authorities to manipulate these significations as a corrective to the sartorial excess amongst ‘respectable’ women noting that “some cities assigned their prostitutes tinkling jewels and finery in the expressed hope that the association would discourage other women from adopting them.” ‘Distinguishing signs: ear-rings, Jews and

renowned for its self-display the Venetian courtesan is described in virtually all the costume books, even those emanating from Northern Europe, suggesting a correspondence between the display of symbolic capital and commodified eroticism. In the figure of the courtesan or the common prostitute the relationship between display and availability which the textual commentaries attempt to exclude when describing the ornate dress of noble women or the wives of office holders is made explicit. Despite the ostensible need to keep them apart the instability of the separation between the two forms of display registers in the descriptions of courtesans and prostitutes. Thus in Vecellio we find,

those women of ill repute, who want to acquire a good reputation by simulating honesty, make use of the widow's clothing, and even that of married women & that especially which has some trace of matrimony. Most of them used to dress as young girls, a practice not altogether extinct, but done now with more modesty... And those unfortunates... keep, as he is called, a leman [un bertone], who provides them with the name of marriage, assuring their use of pomp, and this pretext permits them to wear all that is commonly forbidden them by law. They wear slippers after the Roman fashion inside, & these are the most well regarded Courtesans. But those who, outside and in public places, practise this infamous profession wear jackets of silk with gold cord.²⁸⁰

Franciscan rhetoric in the Italian renaissance city' in *Past and Present* 112 (1986), pp.3-59, p.25.

²⁸⁰ "quelle meretrici, che vogliono acquistar credito col mezo della finta honestà, si servono dell'Habito vedovile, & di quello anchora delle maritate: & quelle specialmente, che hanno qualche colore di matrimonio. Già solevano la maggior parte d'esse andar in Habito di donzelle; usanza non anchora dismessa affatto, benche usata con modestia maggiore....Et perciò l'infelici... si tengono (come suol dirsi) un bertone, che servendo loro al nome di marito, l'assicuri dell'uso delle pompe, & sotto questo pretesto sia loro permesso il poter usare tutto quello, che dalle leggi è comunemente vietato... Portano scarpe alla Romana dentro alle pianelle; & queste sono le Cortigiane di più riguardo. Ma quelle, che alla scoperta, & ne' luoghi pubblici essercitano questa infame professione, portano giubboni di seta con cordelle d'oro." Vecellio, *De Gli Habiti*, p. 138r. Florio gives *bertone* as "a married mans, or wedded womans secret lover, leman, or adulterer." *Queen Anna's New World of Words*.

Here the readability of costume as a signifier not just of social rank but of social activity is undermined through the infiltration of this system by the prostitute who might appear in the clothing of any number of social roles; a widow, a married woman, a newlywed, even a young girl. Such mutability recalls the self-framing of the courtesan's etymological relative the courtier. Like him the flexible repertoire of prostitution maintains the outward fiction of respectability of costume signification - certain courtesans may even be described as well regarded - whilst tending towards the destruction of the reassuring fixity of costume signification. Where the courtier stood outside the wardrobe, however, the courtesan and prostitute are located within it and the borrowing from the vocabulary of respectable costume signification is only prevented from having a radical destabilising impact upon the operation of costume reading by the suggestion of an extension of the hierarchical ordering principle to this uncharted territory. Within the social order signified through costume a counter order appears in which there are revealed degrees of distinction between prostitutes from the most to the least respectable; between the courtesan who conducts her business indoors and borrows a costume from the vestimentary vocabulary of legitimate society, and the common prostitute who openly conducts her business in public places and must make known her availability.²⁸¹ It is this lowliest of figures in the hierarchy of female inhabited bodies that presents the most direct

²⁸¹ Guido Ruggiero has claimed that "By the late fifteenth century we can identify as many as five or six levels of prostitution in the major cities, for just as the urban society of the Renaissance was an extremely hierarchical one, so too was prostitution. At the humblest and least organized level fell the numerous women who drifted in and out of the trade as necessity or chance moved them. They operated from the streets, or more informally from taverns and inns, and drew their trade usually from the lower social levels.", 'Marriage, love, sex and Renaissance morality' in *Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, texts, images* ed. James Grantham Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993), pp.10-30, p.21.

challenge to the secure investment of male honour in the figures at the upper end of the scale and reveals the complicity of the male viewer in the potential subversion of the reading practice through which they attain distinction. In Vecellio's woodcut of a Venetian prostitute out of doors the lifting of the veil reveals the face and the glaring eye of the courtesan addressing that of the viewer. [FIG. 17] This female figure unlocated by the accompanying text is ascribed no destination to legitimise her being abroad but rather represents the prostitute in a public place with no other ascribable motive than the promotion of trade. Her very presence in the costume book suggests the lack of firm distinction between women as display objects for male status, women as property, and the possibility that this commodification will result in an actual transaction.

The tension between the licensed display of the enhabited female body, and the licentious display which threatens to reduce the practice of clothing into the simple prelude to a naked transaction is dramatised in two remarkable examples from the work of Abraham de Bruyn whose costumed figures share the pictorial space with significantly juxtaposed neighbours. In one illustration from de Bruyn's 1581 costume book [FIG. 18] a courtesan is depicted in the centre of a row of female figures representing noble and bourgeois wives, widows and young ladies. In this scene all eyes are fixed upon their neighbour, the courtesan, who lifts a long veil from her head and presents herself to the view of the spectator. In doing so the figure represents a challenge to the representational space constructed by the noble display of the other women; a position which is dramatised by the evident attitude of disdain readable in the faces of the Venetian

spouse and merchant's wife to the left of the courtesan. A yet more striking example is provided in another plate from de Bruyn depicting the Dogaress of Venice along with a noble woman and a Venetian maiden.[FIG. 19] In this example three female figures appear before the viewer representing a social and familial hierarchy: the unmarried Venetian girl, modestly preserving the honour of her family behind a veil; the Noble Venetian mother upholding the honour and estate of both husband and family; and the Dogaress, captioned predictably enough as the wife of the Doge of Venice, in the ceremonial robes which represent the dignity of family and the state itself.²⁸² Behind the Dogaress, indeed, it appears, almost treading on the hem of her garment, appears the captioned figure of a prostitute. This juxtaposition I suggest plays deliberately upon the tension surrounding the need to maintain a distance between these rival forms of display. The downward glance cast by the prostitute at the costume of her social superior introduces the possibility of a reading which converts the symbolic capital of costume display into a more material venture, confronting the practice of costume signification with its commodified alter ego.

In the costume books of the sixteenth century, then, the female enhabited body emerges as a contested vehicle for the signification of male investment. To the extent that the socially elevated female body is absorbed into the process of

²⁸² On the Dogaress of Venice see the excellent new article by Bronwen Wilson which examines different visual representations of the coronation of Dogaress Grimani (including those appearing in the borders of maps of Venice) suggesting how these prints "attempt to 'silence' women's bodies through the maskings of dress, but it is the presence of the courtesan, the presence of the pictorial tradition of the female nude, and the presence of actual women on the streets of Venice that generate instabilities.", "'il bel sesso, e l'austero Senato': The Coronation of Dogaressa Morosina Morosini Grimani" in *Renaissance Quarterly* LII:1 (Spring 1999), pp.73-139, p.107.

denoting male honour, it can be said that it participates in the mode of ceremonial representation deriving from the public performance of civic and spatial statements. Yet the process of objectification upon which such a strategy depends finds the success of its operation undermined by the impact of another form of male desire to appropriate the female body: the anxious and eager desire to read visual availability as analogous to sexual availability thereby complicating the reading of the act of display. The conflict over reading practices is symptomatic of anxiety over the maintaining of a stable separation between ornamental objectification and material commodification through which the jewels of the Dogress find themselves in confusing proximity to the silk and gold thread of the street prostitute. Such ructions beneath the surface of the costume image might be seen in terms of a conflict between ceremonial and mercantile constructions of space and its representatives, a conflict in which the material sign of the book participates and implicates the viewer.

Section 6: The empire's new clothes: embodiment and artifice

In the preceding section attention was drawn to the way in which competing investments in the inhabited body were revealed by the intersection of gender categorisation with the strictures of a ceremonial model for spatial and hierarchical representation. The process of complicating and challenging the initial model for the construction of a ceremonial space of representation will be continued in the present section through an exploration of the limits of

embodiment in the reading of the *corporis habitus* . In Section 4 the construction of a model of representational space was put forward in relation to a civic republican context in which the space of performance corresponded neatly to the space denoted in the act of representation. Such a tight geographical fit between representation and referent was not the only form in which civic ceremony was constituted during the early modern period, however. Numerous other examples confirm that the civic environment could entertain the representational space of a state or nation. Thus for example in France the *Joyeuse Entrée* of the monarch into Paris appropriated the city as a synecdoche for the kingdom, whilst we have seen in Chapter 2 how royal entries into London sought to make claims for a monarchic city signifying in relation to a sovereign domain.²⁸³ On these occasions the representational space exceeds the space of performance and accords the ceremonial bodies a representational significance far beyond the boundaries of the city itself - a practice epitomised in Dekker's description of such events "When the heape of our *Souveraignes Kingdomes* are drawn in *Little*: and to be seen within the Walles of this *City*."²⁸⁴ In what follows the focus is on an example from the costume books which stretches the boundaries of this representational strategy still further, indeed to the point at which the relationship between body and place becomes confused and that between representational space and ceremonial practice illusory. The subject chosen to exemplify these inconsistencies in the

²⁸³ For Paris see Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony* (Geneva: Librairie Droz 1986), pp.21-50, pp.99-124. For more general treatments of the relation between monarch and city in ceremony in this period see Jean Jacquot, 'Le Prince et La Ville' in *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance III* ed. Jacquot (Paris: C.N.R.S 1975), pp.7-59; Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, pp.239-246.

²⁸⁴ Dekker, *Troia-Nova Triumphans. London Triumphant* (London: Nicholas Okes for John Wright 1612) reprinted in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1953-61) vol.III, p.225-249, p.231.

make up of the representative body - the *corporis habitus* as embodiment of categories of geographical and hierarchical difference - is the treatment of the Holy Roman Empire in the costume books.

As with the costume of the Doge of Venice, images of the Holy Roman Emperor and Electors Ecclesiastical and Secular achieve an almost ubiquitous presence in the costume book with only two collections failing to depict them.²⁸⁵ Similarly in those works containing commentaries the images are framed in a manner which parallels the emphasis on civic ceremony that dominated the treatment of Venice. Thus Vecellio gives a long description of the election process amongst the three Ecclesiastical and four Secular Electors and its history before going on to describe the Imperial robes, with a reading of the symbolism of the attributes of the Imperial crown, the sceptre and orb.²⁸⁶ Abraham de Bruyn, as well as including these images in other of his costume books, also produced an entire volume devoted to costumes of the Empire and the religious orders which included a brief account of the lives of the Emperors. Both of these volumes also contain detailed descriptions of the Imperial coronation performed by the Pope as does the staunchly catholic de Glen.²⁸⁷ De Glen's report is followed by a description of the Imperial constitution in terms of a resemblance to the ordering of his royal household attributed to Aristotle's advice to Alexander. Three levels

²⁸⁵ The exceptions are the *Recueil de la diversité des habits* and Ferdinando Bertelli's costume book.

²⁸⁶ Vecellio, *De Gli Habiti*, pp.293r-294v. The reading of the attributes notes that the sceptre signifies authority and justice whilst the orb denotes the world, its cross demonstrating that the Emperor is a Christian ruler.

²⁸⁷ Abraham de Bruyn, *Imperii ac Sacerdotii Ornatus. Diversarum Item Ge[n]tium Peculiaris Vestitus*. ([Antwerp]: Caspar Rutz [1578]). The section 'Ratio Caesaris inaugurandi' appears as a commentary to the first plate of the volume which depicts the Emperor in full regalia and the King of the Romans, p.17v-18v.

are distinguished here between those in first place who “have the ear of the Prince and the key to the chamber”, those who cater to the needs of the royal body, and finally the guardians of the royal person.

[T]he Electors hardly stray from [the order] of the Philosopher: for the Archbishop of Mainz is the Chancellor of the Empire in Germany, that of Cologne for Italy, that of Trier for France, the Marquis of Brandenburg is the Great Chamberlain, the Count Palatine the Master of the Hall [the Steward or Sewer], the Duke of Saxony the Swordbearer, the King of Bohemia the Cupbearer.²⁸⁸

The offices of household management denoted by the formal titles of the electors facilitate a reading of the Imperial constitution simultaneously in terms of a unified spatial location and an efficient domestic unit. This reading derives its potency from the symbolism of intimacy to the body of the Emperor in which the key to the chamber is also the key to the exercise of influence. Work on the courts of Europe has examined the operation of such a system in which, as David Starkey has written of the officers of Henry VIII’s Privy Chamber, “through their bodily contact with the king [they]... became in themselves the direct symbols or representations of the charismatic aspects of royalty [whilst]... their intimate attendance on Henry served as a symbol of the high place that they held in his confidence.”²⁸⁹ For the German context of the Holy Roman Empire, however,

²⁸⁸ “les Electeurs ne s’esloignent guere de celle du Philosophe: car l’Archevesque de Mayence est Chancelier de l’Empire par la Germanie, celui de Coloigne par l’Italie, celui de Treves par la France, le marquis de Brandebourg est le grand Chambelan, le Conte Palatin Maistre de la Salle, le Duc de Saxe Escuyer, le Roy de Boheme Copier.” de Glen, *Des Habits*, p.78v.

²⁸⁹ David Starkey, ‘Representation Through Intimacy: A study in the symbolism of monarchy and court office in early-modern England’ in *Symbols and Sentiments: Cross-cultural Studies in Symbolism* ed. Ioan Lewis (London: Academic Press 1977), pp.187-224, p.211. Norbert Elias has given a detailed reading of the spatial proxemics of authority at the Court of Louis XIV in which influence and elevation were jointly encoded by progression through a scale of access chambers and by degrees of intimacy in relation to the presence of the royal body. *The Court*

such a reading is deeply misleading. Although there were officers of the Imperial household who maintained an active role both in counselling the Emperor and in catering to the needs of the court and its focal figure these were not the electors figured in the costume book's descriptions.²⁹⁰ Thus, where Starkey has found representational significance attached to the duties of the members of the Privy Chamber in caring for the body of the monarch, in de Glen we find an intimacy read back into the ceremonial titles of the electors which privileges the body of the Emperor and reconstructs their representational significance in terms of proximity to it. When de Glen goes on to record the ceremonial order of the Imperial majesty he maintains this emphasis in describing the order in terms of an exact spatial proxemics.

When the Emperor marches in procession, or is seated in his Imperial throne, in front of him is the Archbishop of Trier, to the right that of Mainz, to the left that of Cologne. After whom the King of Bohemia holds to the right, the Marquis of Brandenburg to the left.²⁹¹

Society trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell 1983), esp. pp.78-94. For other courts in Europe at this period see *Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c.1450-1650*. ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (Oxford: University Press 1991), and *Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty 1400-1800* ed. A.G. Dickens (London: Thames and Hudson 1977); for more detailed studies of the English context see, *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* ed. David Starkey (London: Longman 1987).

²⁹⁰ The Imperial household in the seventeenth century was overseen by a High Steward, Marshal, Chamberlain and Master of the Horse. Volker Press has noted that "The royal household was apparently strictly distinct from the bureaucratic offices; its heads, however, generally belonged to the privy council. The vicinity of the occupants of court functions to the ruler was more important for their influence than the occasional presence of the ruler at the council's meetings." 'The Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government' in *The Journal of Modern History* 58 supplement (Dec 1986), pp.23-45, p.31. See also R.W. Evans, 'The Austrian Habsburgs: The dynasty as a political institution' in *The Courts of Europe*, pp.120-145, esp. pp.122-123.

²⁹¹ "Quand l'Empereur marche en procession, ou est assis en son siege Imperial, devant luy est l'Archevesque de Treves, au costé dextre celuy de Mayance, au senestre celuy du Coloigne. Apres lesquels le Roy de Boheme tient la dextre, le marquis de Brandebourg la senestre." de Glen, *Des Habits*, p.79r.

De Glen's precise detailing of the processional order of the Emperor and Electors produces the kind of representational space found in the descriptions of Venetian ceremony in which the visual image is contextualised through the localisation of the scene of representation. This strategy is paralleled in two of the costume books which include a series of images that sustain a more detailed reading of the representational space of the Empire than that provided by the use of a single image of Secular Elector, Ecclesiastical Elector and Emperor. [FIG. 20 & 21] At the head of 12 double page engravings covering the orders of the Holy Roman Empire Petri Bertelli's costume book has two plates depicting the Emperor with the three Ecclesiastical Electors followed by the four Secular Electors.²⁹² These images depict the office holders with their ceremonial titles in caption and the ceremonial attributes which denote the orders in addition to coats of arms placed at their feet. Although the placement of the figures does not accord with the proxemic staging of de Glen's description, the images invite the same reading practice; both textual and visual description invoke a representational space founded upon a notion of ceremonial performance.

In the case of Venice, as we have seen, the representational model could draw upon a rich culture of civic ceremony to consolidate the association between clothing and the representation of social and geographical place; for the Holy Roman Empire, however, the cultural practice underwriting the deployment of this model had no such secure referent. All but the two earliest costume books, which do not feature costume images of the Empire, were issued during the reign

²⁹²An almost identical series of plates appears in the work of Alessandro Fabri, *Divers. Nationum Habitus*.

of the Emperor Rudolph II (1576-1612) yet there are evident contradictions between the events of Rudolph's rule and the ceremonial order displayed in the costume images. Firstly, and perhaps most significantly in terms of the ceremonial reading applied to the images of the Emperor, Rudolph, although crowned King of the Romans (the heir to the Imperial Throne), never underwent a full Imperial coronation at the hands of the Pope as described in both de Glen and Vecellio. Indeed Charles V was the last Emperor to have been honoured in this way when Clement VII conducted his coronation at Bologna in 1530 in the aftermath of the sack of Rome.²⁹³ If the costume descriptions do not record a specific Imperial ceremonial event, nor do they in fact describe a potential one, for, of the eight offices featured in the costume images, two, those of Emperor and King of Bohemia, were held by Rudolph himself and the performance of either de Glen's spatial patterning or Bertelli's ceremonial household was thus impossible in practice.

The model for the images appearing in the costume books of Bertelli and Fabri is a two sheet engraving by Antoine Wierix which appeared in the second edition of the *Speculum Orbis Terrarum* of Gerard de Jode issued by his son Cornelius in 1593 and later reprinted in the 1612 edition of Ortelius' *Theatrum*

²⁹³ On the coronation of Charles V at Bologna see André Chastel, *Le sac du Rome Du Premier Maniérisme à la Contre-Réforme* (Paris: Gallimard 1984), pp.248-256; Manuel Fernández Álvarez, *Charles V: Elected Emperor and hereditary ruler* (London: Thames and Hudson 1975), pp.86-88. Rudolph was crowned amidst much ceremony as King of Hungary and then as King of Bohemia in September 1575 a month prior to his election as Emperor at Regensburg. An engraving by Martino Rota of Rudolph in coronation robes was issued at this time commemorating him as son of the Emperor and King of the Romans, Bohemia and Hungary. A revised version of this engraving would circulate for a further twenty years following his accession in 1576. See Lars Olof Larsson, 'Portraits of the Emperor Rudolph II' in *Rudolph II and Prague: The Imperial Court and Residential City as the Cultural and spiritual Heart of Central Europe* ed. E. Fucikova et al. (Prague and London: Thames and Hudson 1997), pp.122-129, p.124.

Orbis Terrarum.²⁹⁴ [FIG. 22] Both the print itself and its textual accompaniment in the two atlases are clear in affirming this series of figures to represent the orders of the Empire as instituted by Otto III (983-1002) and in acknowledging that many changes had been introduced since then. This historical distance is indicated only briefly (and inaccurately) in the close copies of Bertelli and Fabri.²⁹⁵ In addition the constitutional order represented in the engravings is not an accurate record of the operation of authority in the domains of the Emperor, where administration was loosely distributed in a shifting balance of power between the Imperial Court at which the Emperor resided, and the influence of both the Imperial Diet and Imperial Chamber Court as well as a series of regional princely courts. Indeed it has been stated that “the Holy Roman Empire was not a state ruled from a single centre... but a political commonwealth of an older kind, only loosely bound together and with a multitude of autonomous or semi-autonomous rulers.”²⁹⁶ Little of this sense of the imprecise operation of power

²⁹⁴ These plates were signed by Gerard de Jode and are extant at the Platin-Moreus Museum, Antwerp. The continuity of the architectural framework strongly suggests that they were originally issued as an independent wall-hanging, as were other plates from the *Speculum*. See the introduction by R.A. Skelton to the facsimile edition of *Speculum Orbis Terrarum* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum 1965); F. van Otroy, *L'oeuvre cartographique de Gérard et de Corneill de Jode* (Ghent: A. Van der Haeghen for University of Ghent 1914), pp.105-106; C. Koeman, *Atlantes Neerlandi: Bibliography of terrestrial, maritime and celestial atlases published in the Netherlands up to 1880* Vol. II (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum 1969), p.205. The second edition was entitled *Speculum Orbis Terrae* (Antwerp: Cornelis de Jode 1593). The engraving is no.1983 in Marie Manquoy-Hendrickx, *Les Estampes des Wierix Conservées au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier: Catalogue Raisoné* (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale 1982), III:1, p.398 and no.1830 in Louis Alvin, *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre des trois frères Jean, Jérôme & Antoine Wierix* (Bruxelles: T. J. I. Arnold 1866).

²⁹⁵ Beneath the main title on the frontispiece both Fabri and Petri Bertelli mention the inclusion of “Ordo Romani Imperii ab Othone II [sic.] institutus.” The reference to the Emperor Otto, however, is not included in the series of images within the volume, as it is in the Wierix engraving.

²⁹⁶ Ronald G. Asch, ‘Court and Household from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries’ in *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c.1450-1650*. ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (Oxford: University Press 1991), pp.1-38, p.29. On the shifting jurisdiction and legal positions of the various courts and councils which mediated the exercise of authority within the Empire see also Press, ‘The Habsburg Court as

infiltrates the images in the costume book which serve rather to consolidate the conception of Imperial authority by evoking the model of a ceremonial event which never took place. By their deployment of these images the costume books manage also to gloss over the religious divisions within the Empire which rendered problematic for a large section of the population, and for several of the Electors, the symbolism of a Holy Roman Emperor anointed by the Pope - only an oblique reference in de Glen's work hints at these divisions.²⁹⁷ This is despite the fact that Rudolph faced opposition from the 1590s from Protestant coalitions within the Imperial domain including his own brother Matthias, Archduke of Austria, who would wrest control of Austria, Moravia and Hungary from him at the time of the Protestant League, itself headed by one of the Electors Secular, the Count Palatine of the Rhine.²⁹⁸

Center of Imperial Government'; Henry Schwarz, *The Imperial Privy Council in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge (US): Harvard University Press 1943), pp.15-46; Evans, 'The Austrian Habsburgs'; and Hans Gross, 'The Holy Roman Empire in Modern Times : Constitutional Reality and Legal Theory' in *The Old Reich: Essays on German Political Institutions 1495-1806* (Brussels: Librairie Encyclopédique 1974), pp.1-29. For a detailed case-study of the interaction of regional and Imperial authority in one region see G. Benecke, *Society and Politics in Germany 1500-1750* (London: Routledge 1974), esp. pp.245-370. On the broader difficulties in the sixteenth century of the negotiation between the power structures of the Holy Roman Empire and the Habsburg lands see also M.J. Rodríguez-Salgado, *The Changing Face of Empire: Charles V, Philip II and Habsburg Authority, 1551-1559* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988) and John M. Headley, *The emperor and his chancellor: A study of the imperial chancellery under Gattinara* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983), pp.59-85.

²⁹⁷ "ce sont les trois Electeurs Ecclesiastiques qui maintiennent en Allemagne la foy Catholique par leur grand puissance, noblesse, richesses & auctorité. Mais ie leur voudrois bien mettre devant les yeux ce que dit Plutarque, que comme la chaussure Patritienne ne guarit pas les gouttes des pieds, ne l'anneau pretieux le pannaris, ne le diademe la douleur de teste: ainsi les grans biens, puissance, noblesse, & dignité ne servent de rien à une ame vicieuse; ils ne peuvent delivrer l'ame de fascherie." (It is the 3 Ecclesiastical Electors who maintain the Catholic faith in Germany by their great power, nobility, riches and authority. But I would like well to place before their eyes the words of Plutarch, that as the Patrician shoe doesn't heal the Gout, nor the precious ring the cramp, nor the diadem the sorrows of the head; so the great goods, power, nobility and dignity cannot help a vicious soul; they cannot deliver the soul from foolishness.), de Glen, *Des Habits*, p.79r.

²⁹⁸ See R.J.W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon 1979), pp.3-40 and 'The Austrian Habsburgs', pp.35-39.

Yet the significance of the ceremonial model in permitting the production of a coherent reading of the structures of the Empire did not stop at the statement of an efficiently graduated description of hierarchical relations, it also made possible a resolution of difficulties in the representation of the geographical constitution of Imperial authority. For one of the features of the shifting balance of power in the domain of the Emperor was the tension between Imperial authority within the *Reich*, and the hereditary lands of the Habsburg dynasty.²⁹⁹ It was as a result of the delicacy of this situation, James Vann has argued, that the Habsburgs made no attempt at the systematic geographical definition of the Empire; rather, “the few general maps produced in the sixteenth century with the Habsburgs’ imprimatur focused... upon Germany as an imperial concept.”³⁰⁰ This process is exemplified by a map of *Germania* issued by Peter van der Keere in 1610 in which the lack of boundaries marked out upon the cartographic surface suggests the sensitivity of determining power bases in geographical terms.³⁰¹ [FIG. 23 & 24] This lack of precision in the construction of the cartographic image is compensated for by a decorative border which reproduces the constitutional order of Emperor and Electors found in the costume books with a series of portrait roundels of the various incumbents including the doubling of Rudolph II in a pair of differing images which caption him as both “Rom.

²⁹⁹ See Volker Press, ‘The Imperial Court of the Habsburgs from Maximilian I to Ferdinand III, 1493-1657’ in *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility*, pp.289-312, and Peter Moraw, ‘The Court of the German Kings and of the Emperor at the end of the Middle Ages 1440-1519’ in the same volume, pp.103-137.

³⁰⁰ James Vann, ‘Mapping under the Austrian Habsburgs’ in *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps : The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe* ed. David Buisseret (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1992), pp.153-167, p.155. Even in the depiction of their dynastic hereditary territories the Habsburgs demonstrated their sensitivity, as Vann notes, “Maps of the family lands remained local studies, free from any suggestion of an alternative empire to that of the Reich.”

³⁰¹ For other examples see Lothar Zögner, *Imago Germaniae: Das Deutschlandbilder der Kartenmacher in fünf Jahrhunderten* (Weißhorn: Anton H. Konrad 1996).

Imperator” and “Hungariae et Bohemiae Rex. Archidux Austriae”. In both the van der Keere map and the illustrations in the costume book, then, the ceremonial order offers a way of producing representational coherence without the need to negotiate the delicate issue of jurisdictional claim and counter claim. Such a strategy is directly dependent upon a particular deployment of the *corporis habitus* .

In Section 4 attention was drawn to the method by which the depiction of clothed bodies ascribed particular offices or ranks was used to figure social differentiation within the Venetian republic as the result of a conceptual vocabulary of ceremonial culture. In this model the axis of hierarchical description might be invoked for any given geographical area and a series of differentiated degrees read off the vertical scale. In the depiction of costumes from the Holy Roman Empire, however, a different model is followed in which both geographical and hierarchical difference alter simultaneously within a single representational model that can be best defined in terms of embodiment. It has been noted that in de Glen’s description the ceremonial titles of the Electors were read in terms of actual attendance upon the body of the Emperor, a strategy which registers in the images in Bertelli’s costume book through the depiction of their ceremonial attributes. This privileging of the Imperial *corporis habitus* posits the Emperor as a representational embodiment of the Empire itself, a simultaneous principle of rule and of domain. The sovereignty of the Emperor denotes both the structure and the extent of Imperial authority, a conjunction of the hierarchical and geographical axes in which the Emperor is both the highest and broadest, the

head of an order of power and the signifier of the geographical domain within which his majesty is figured as all-encompassing. The figure of the Emperor acts as the defining locus of hierarchical and geographical signification in the series of costume figures of the Empire, each of which are constructed as falling within the dual terms of Imperial authority. Beyond the eight figures discussed thus far the images in Bertelli's costume book go on to extend this representational strategy down the twin axes. Thus there follows the depiction of four Duchies, four Margraves and so on. [FIG. 25] The effectiveness of these images depends ultimately upon the principle of embodiment discussed in relation to the figure of the Emperor in which a correlation is made between an area of land and an individual. In this system the figure represented with a coat of arms beneath the geographical caption "Bavariae" and under the collective heading "Quatuor Duces Imperii" is read in feudal dynastic terms as the holder of a title and the representative of an area; the Duke is the embodiment of the Duchy. Yet this equation between the inhabited body and the inhabited space was itself under pressure. Hence the contemporary complaint of James Cleland against the excessive expenditure of young noblemen reveals an anxiety which focuses on precisely this relationship.

They have put their lands, which contained a great circuit, up into a little trunck, and hold it a point of policie to weare their lands upon their backes, that they maie see that noe wast be done by their Tennants. But alasse when they would spred abroad their gaie cloathes againe into a longe feild [sic.], or a pleasant parke, they are so shorte that they cannot reach one ridge length, & so are dubd *sir Iohn Had-land*, knights of *Pennillesse bench*.³⁰²

³⁰² James Cleland, *Hero-Pandemia: The Institution of a Young Noble Man* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes 1607), p.215.

The satirising of reckless expenditure upon clothing consuming the patrimony of the gentleman depends for its effect upon the overturning of an implied model of the relation between the *corporis habitus* and the nobleman's land, one in which the land is not expended but embodied in the figure of the gentleman correctly attired. The passage gives a literalised account of a reading strategy under strain through over-expenditure in which the lands accompanying the nobleman's title ought to be translatable into status and re-convertible, in conceptual terms, into the land itself. If Cleland's anxiety over the impact of increased clothing consumption upon the maintenance of a conceptual link between land and estate reveals the reading of embodiment stretched to breaking point, a further example of the exhaustion of the inhabited body's capacity to signify both hierarchical and geographical difference can be found in the final images from Bertelli's orders of the Empire. In these figures, denoting respectively four "Liberi Imperii", "Metropoles Imperii", "Villae Imperii" and "Rustici Imperii", the notion of a ceremonial order uniting the twin axes of description proves unequal to the task of figuring these different constructions of Imperial rule.[FIGS. 26, 27, 28 & 29] For, although the same representational strategy is deployed, depicting an inhabited body with coat of arms and geographical caption, these orders denote jurisdictional permutations of authority within the Empire; they are towns and areas enjoying privileges of autonomy rather than offices invested in the person of a title holder.³⁰³ As such they prove

³⁰³ In the absence of any detailed study of the Imperial cities in general during this period valuable information on the development of their constitutional and governmental position can be obtained from the range of studies on the impact of the Reformation, see particularly Bernd Moeller, *Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays* trans H. Erik and M. Edwards (Philadelphia: Fortress Press 1972), pp.41-115, esp. pp.41-54; Hans Baron, 'Religion and

resistant to the figure of embodiment which demands an equation of place and degree. They can neither employ the Venetian model of hierarchical variance within a stable geographical paradigm - since the Imperial ceremonial order deploys the axes of geographical description in terms of particularisation within an embodied territory - nor yet can they invoke the feudal-dynastic realisation of both axes in a titled figure.

The resulting confusion registers in the annotations of one contemporary reader who carefully rendered into English the captions of Bertelli's book. For where Duke, Count and Marquis had been dutifully noted beneath their respective depictions, the final four images give notice of a reading of the *corporis habitus* in terms which might be described as over-embodiment. Thus the four "Liberi Imperii" are re-inscribed as "Fower Free Men" and the "Metropoles" become four "Metropolitans". To do so is to cut the inhabited body free from its habitat, to make it too much the body and insufficiently representative, mere examples but deprived of exemplary status. The unsatisfactory nature of the attempt to read the costume figures in this way is suggested by the fact that the last two examples go un-inscribed. For what characterises the inhabited body of costume representation is precisely the attempt to inhabit a space of representation rather than to be merely inhabited by a clothing practice.

Politics in German Imperial Cities during the Reformation' in *English Historical Review* 52 (1937), pp.405-427, pp.614-633 John Basil, 'The Reformation City' in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 54 (1971), pp.103-148 and Hans-Christoph Rublack, 'Political and Social Norms in Urban Communities in the Holy Roman Empire' in *Religion, Politics and Social Protest: three studies on early modern Germany* ed. Kaspar von Greyerz (London: George Allen & Unwin 1984), pp.25-60.

The case of the Empire's clothes then reveals the application of a ceremonial order to a categorisation of costume signification without a secure underlying ceremonial practice. In doing so it offers an indication of one of the ways in which a representational space is made available to the reading of the costume book images. By highlighting the distance between the ceremonial order invoked in the costume books and its potential for realisation in practice during Rudolph's reign, the flexibility of the *corporis habitus* is brought to light and the urge to read a representational space into these images uncovered. Yet the strains within that reading practice provoked by the extension of a ceremonial space beyond the boundaries of representation also suggest the difficulty of maintaining a fully operative representative body within a landscape in which that space was always liable to collapse inwards and reveal a naked individual body uncovering the customs of costume representation.

The tensions uncovered here in relation to the costume books are symptomatic of the demands being made upon the clothed body in the effort to produce a stable representational order for the description of the Empire. As such they can help to shed light on some of the representational strategies adopted as part of Habsburg policy in the sixteenth century. The difficulties of maintaining a semblance of control over a vast territory in which "[t]he person of the monarch was the sole unifying factor" centred upon the need to be able to produce and reproduce the presence of imperial authority.³⁰⁴ The celebrated Triumphal Arch of

³⁰⁴ M.J. Rodríguez-Salgado, *The Changing Face of Empire*, p.20. Rodríguez-Salgado's study gives a detailed picture of the means by which the Emperor attempted to maintain "the fiction of his constant presence" through the appointment of deputies governing in his name, and the management of their constant demands for the consolidating impact of his attendance in person.

Maximilian I printed from 174 separate woodcut blocks at the end of the Emperor's reign and never intended for actual construction testifies to an early awareness of the advantages of print, in the context of the Empire, as a medium for the projection of ceremonial authority in the place of performances whose realisation on the ground was unlikely in the extreme. Thus Larry Silver has argued that for Maximilian, who like Rudolph was never crowned in Rome at the hands of the Pope, the triumphal "paper pageants" were designed to provide a symbolic presence of the Emperor in an Italy where Charles VIII and Louis XII had voiced their claims to imperial office through a series of more substantial civic triumphs.³⁰⁵ More interesting still is the project for a Triumphal Procession intended to accompany the distribution of the printed arch for which a detailed descriptive programme was drawn up in 1512 [FIGS. 30, 31, 32, 33].³⁰⁶ This ambitious undertaking sought to represent the fullness of Imperial claims to cultural, military and dynastic authority, depicting, along with named attendants of the court from officers of the hunt to musicians and members of the household, Roman style triumphal cars presenting martial successes and a lengthy procession of Imperial forebears. Yet comparison of the 137 woodcuts which finally limped into production in 1526 with the 1512 programme reveals a number of suggestive lacunae. Not only do some of the unsustained military achievements fail to find a place but the depiction of the Roman coronation also lacks representation as does

³⁰⁵ Larry Silver, 'Paper Pageants: The Triumphs of Emperor Maximilian I' in *"All the world's a stage"* ed. Wisch and Munshower, pp. 292-331. See also the notes to the earlier facsimile edition, *Triumph of the Emperor Maximilian I* ed. Alfred Aspland (London: Holbein Society 1875); David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470-1550* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1994), pp.207-211.

³⁰⁶ A translation of the descriptive programme which announces itself as "dictated by the Emperor Maximilian... to me, Marx Treitszsaurwein, his Imperial Majesty's secretary." is included in *The Triumph of Maximilian I: 137 Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and Others* trans. & intro. Stanley Appelbaum (New York: Dover 1964).

an intended image in which “the German kingdom shall be borne on horseback; the Emperor shall sit like a Roman king.”³⁰⁷ In addition the series of illustrations that ought to have formed the climax of the procession are not included. The Imperial sword and banner along with the Princes, - including electors of the Empire - Counts, Barons and Knights are missing as is the Triumphal Car bearing the Emperor in full regalia. Although a related set of images depicting the Triumphal Chariot of Maximilian surrounded by allegorical figures of the virtues was published in 1522, it does not conform to the programme of the procession nor was it intended to form part of the circulated set.³⁰⁸ Why then should the image of the Emperor surrounded by the central figures of the ceremonial order of the Empire be lacking from this series ? One way of approaching this question, I would suggest, is by taking into account the treatment of the description of the Holy Roman Empire in the costume books. The failure to successfully negotiate the depiction of the particular office holders of the empire in the Triumphal Procession can be read as part of the same process of overdetermination which led the costume books to reproduce a stable but radically de-historicising image of the orders of Imperial rule. Costume book and procession thus present two forms of response to a shared difficulty. Given the reciprocity of these responses it is perhaps unsurprising to find once more, at the head of the Triumphal Procession,

³⁰⁷ *Triumph of Maximilian I*, p.11. Maximilian was scheduled to appear at several points in the procession. In the published version he is presented only in the chariot depicting his union with his first wife, Mary of Burgundy, and in various tableaux atop the chariots representing military victories.

³⁰⁸ Silver, ‘Paper Pageants’, p.297. This eight sheet woodcut of the Triumphal Chariot of the Emperor Maximilian by Dürer was published separately in many ways it substituted for the failure of the earlier project to materialise.

the figure of a naked man, the “herald (announcer of the triumph)” [FIG. 34] whose immodest state embodies the difficulties of clothing the empire.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁹ *Triumph of Maximilian I*, p.1.

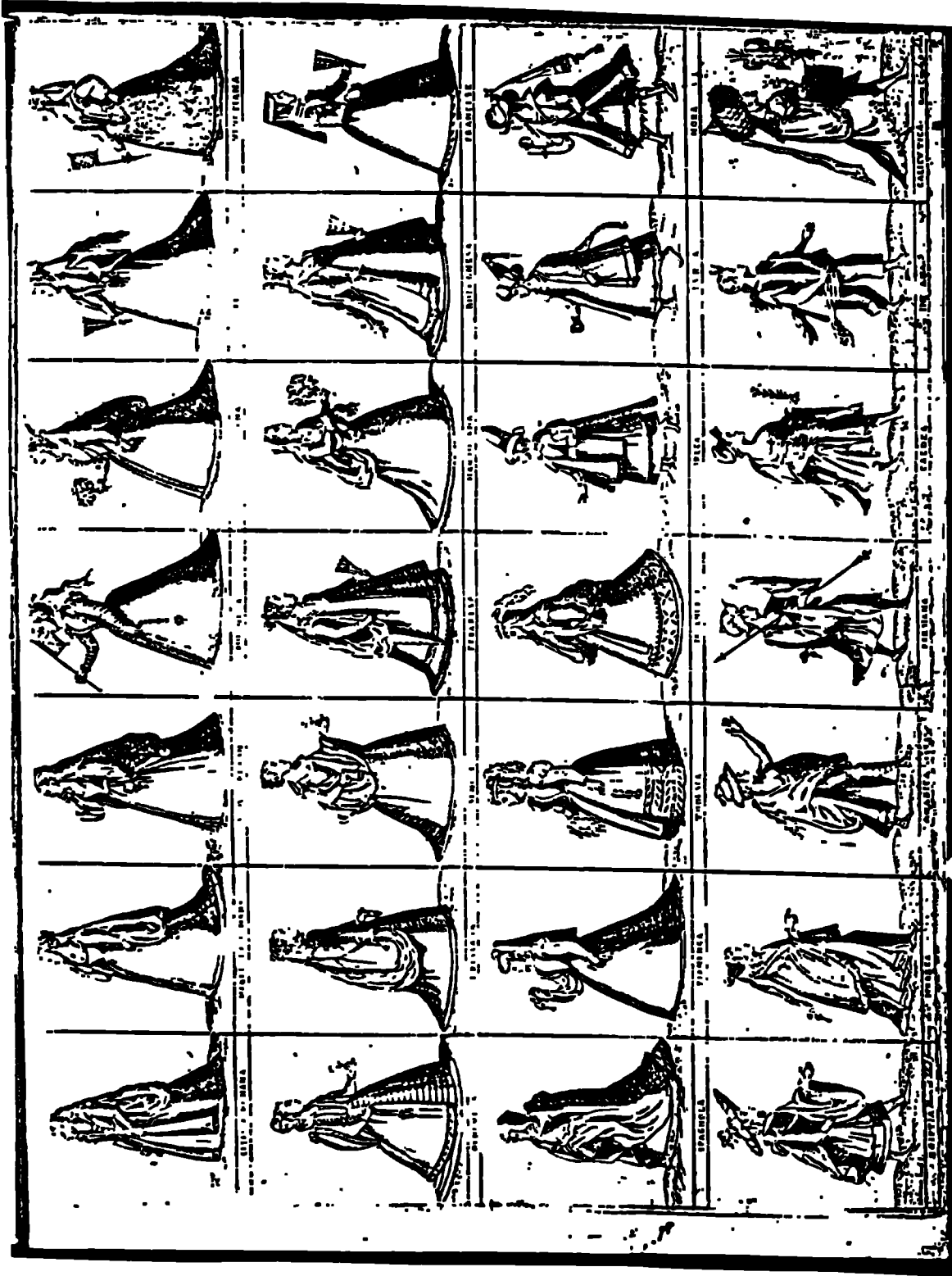


Fig. 8. Ambrogio Brambilla, *Habiti delle Donne del Mondo* (1602), first impression pre-1585.

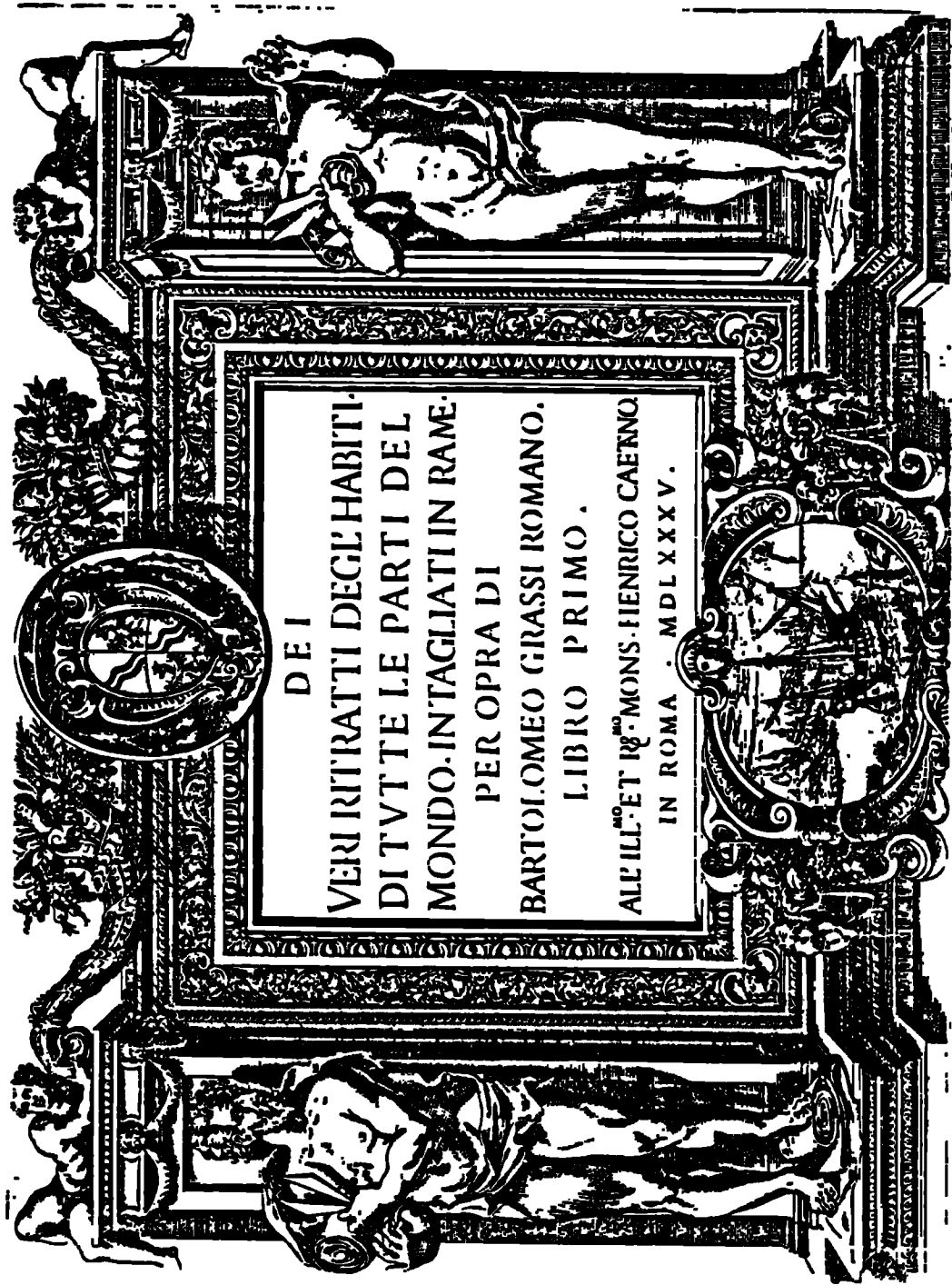


Fig. 9. Title-page of Bartolomeo Grassi, *Dei Veri Ritratti degl'Habiti di tutte le parti del mondo* (1585).

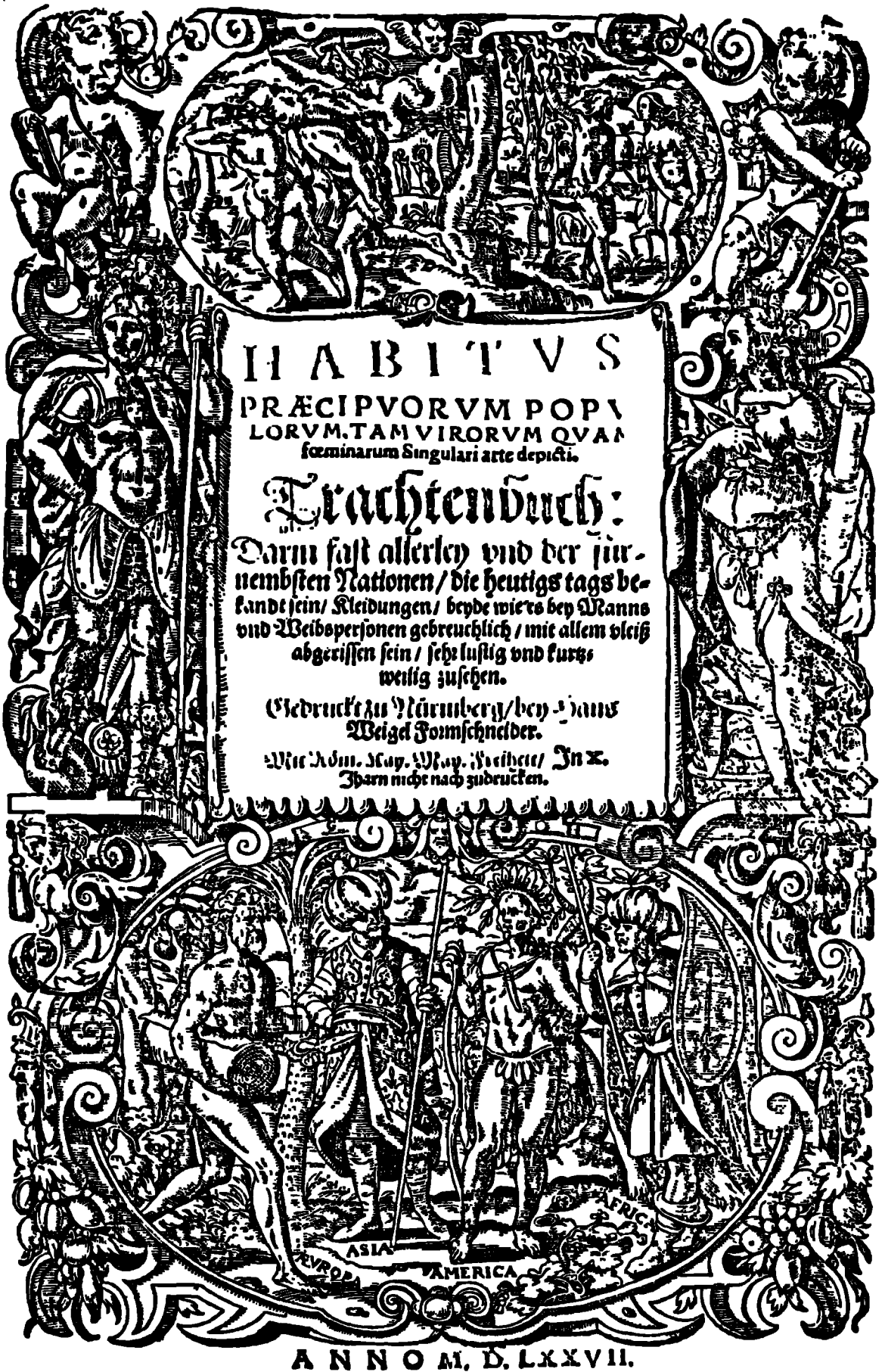


Fig. 10. Title page to Hans Weigel and Jost Amman, *Habitus Praecipuorum Populorum* (1577).

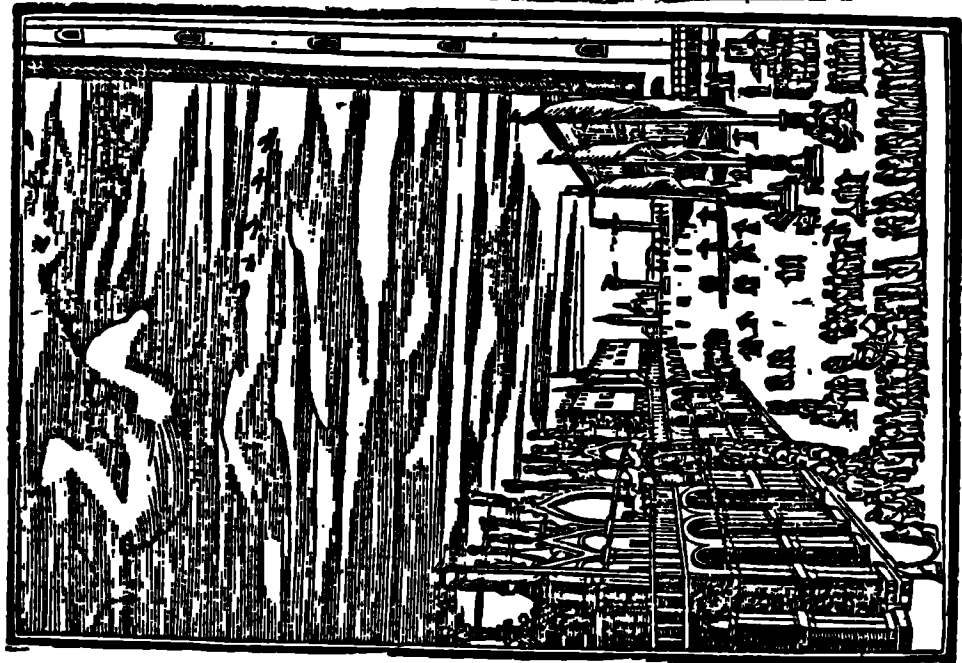
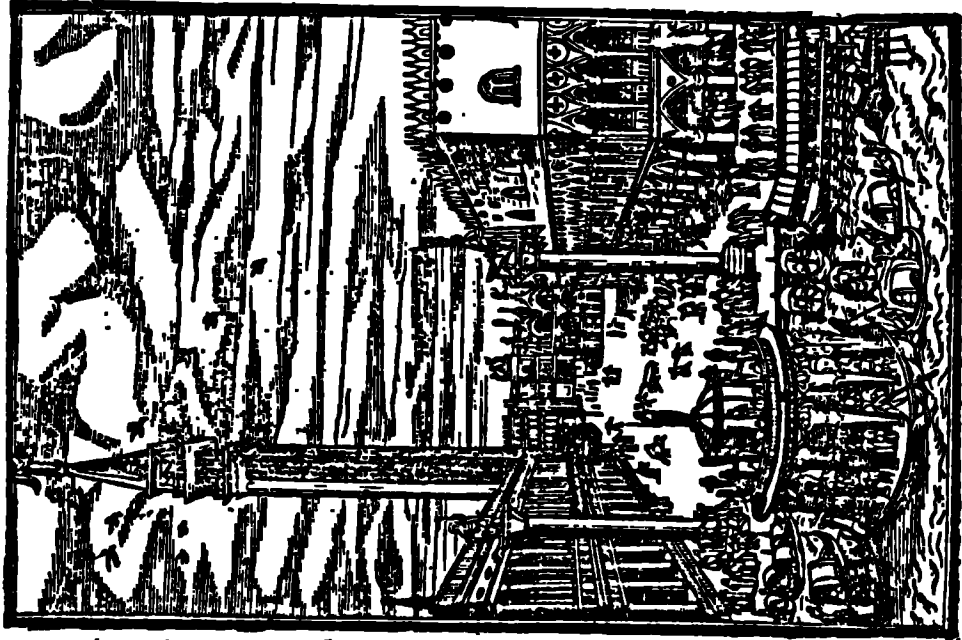
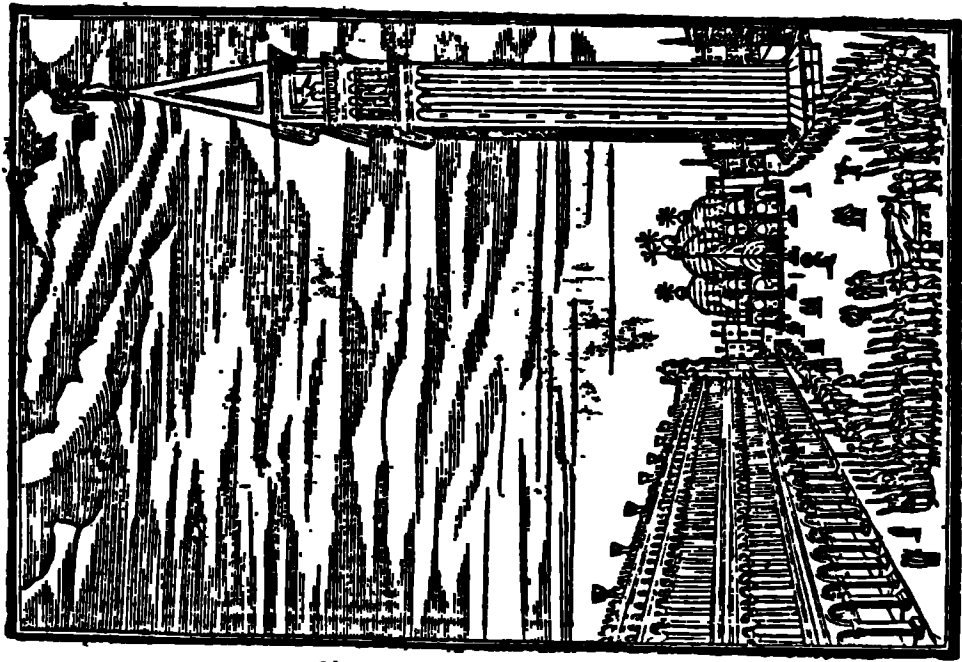
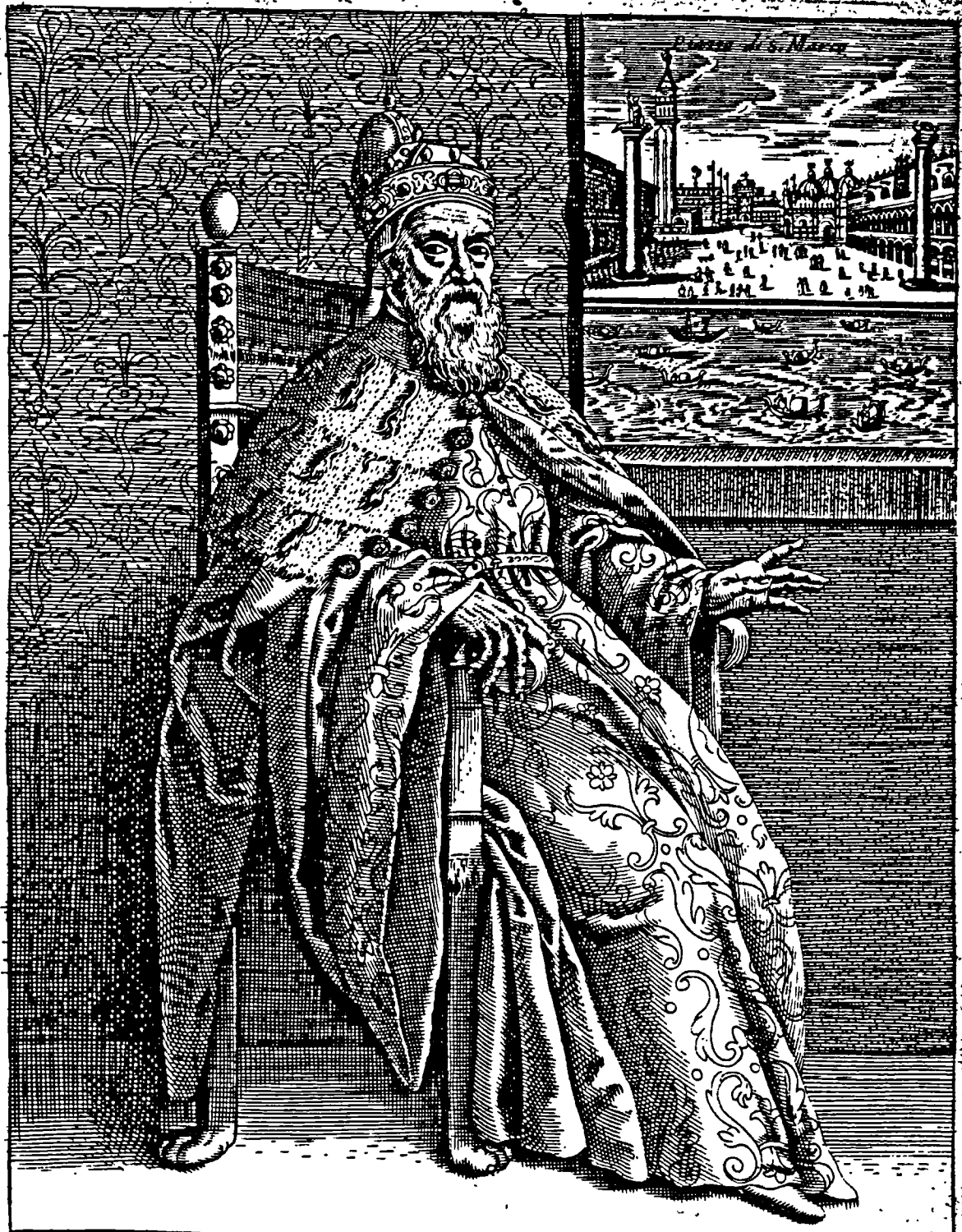


Fig. 11. Three images of Venice from Vecellio, *De Gli Habiti...* (1590).

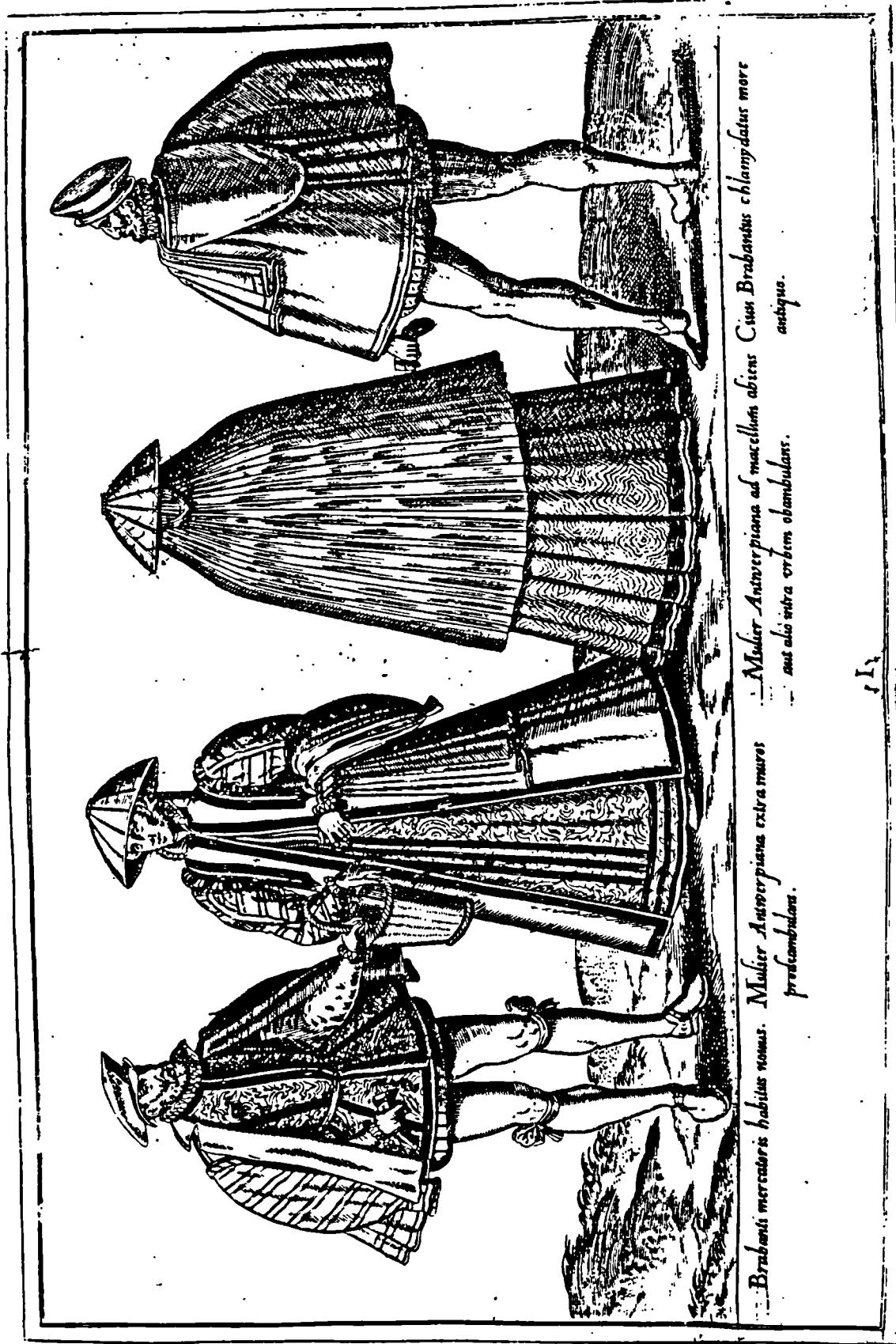


Fig. 12. Venetian procession with captions denoting different participants and the ducal *trionfi*, from Giacomo Franco, *Habiti d'Huomeni et Donne Venetiane* (1609).



*In questo habito si uede il Ser.^{mo} Doge di Venetia, nelle ceremonie et feste
principal: il qual habito fuori chel corno, che e proprio ornamento, nel
rimanente e tutto regale. Franco forma con Priuilegio*

Fig. 13. Engraving of the Doge in Franco, *Habiti d'Huomeni...*



*Brabantis mercatoris habitus novus. Mulier Antwerpiana extra muros
 prestambulans. Mulier Antwerpiana ad macellum abiens Cuius Brabantis chilampidatus more
 aut alio vitra orbem obambulans. anliquo.*

Fig. 14. A woman going for a walk and a woman walking to the market from de Bruyn, *Omnium Poene Gentium Imagines* (1577).

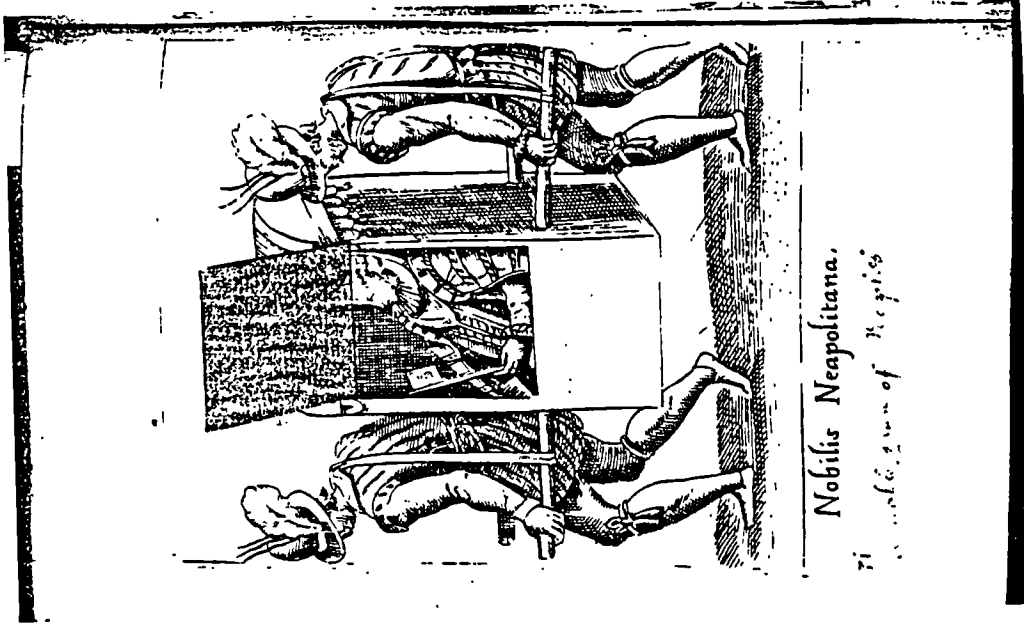
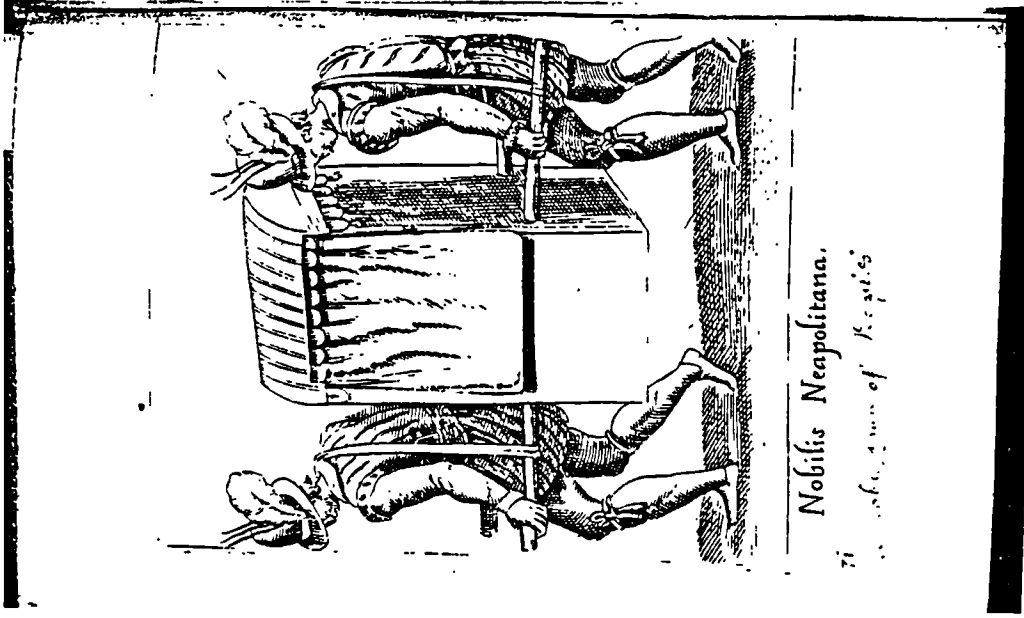


Fig. 15. Litter of the 'Nobilis Neapolitana' with flat & raised curtain from Pietro Bertelli, *Diversarum Nationum Habitus* (1594-6).



Cortigiana Veneta

[Faint, illegible text]

Fig. 16. Venetian courtesan showing undergarments [this copy lacks the skirt overlay]. Bertelli, *Diversarum Nationum Habitus*.

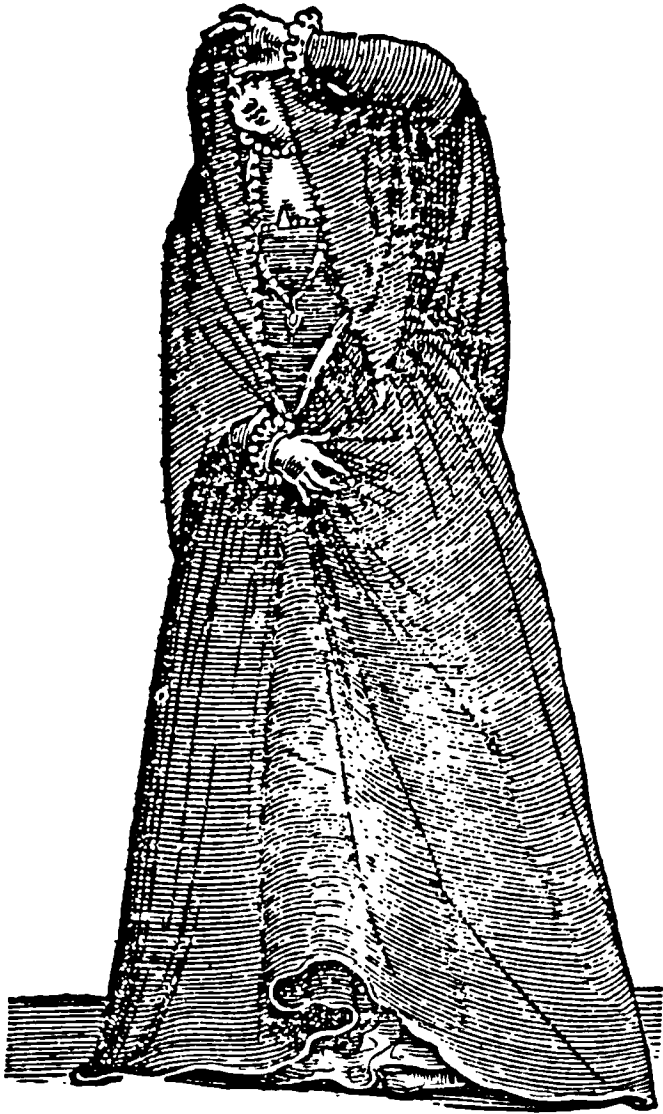


Fig. 17. A courtesan out of doors from Vecellio, *De Gli Habiti*.

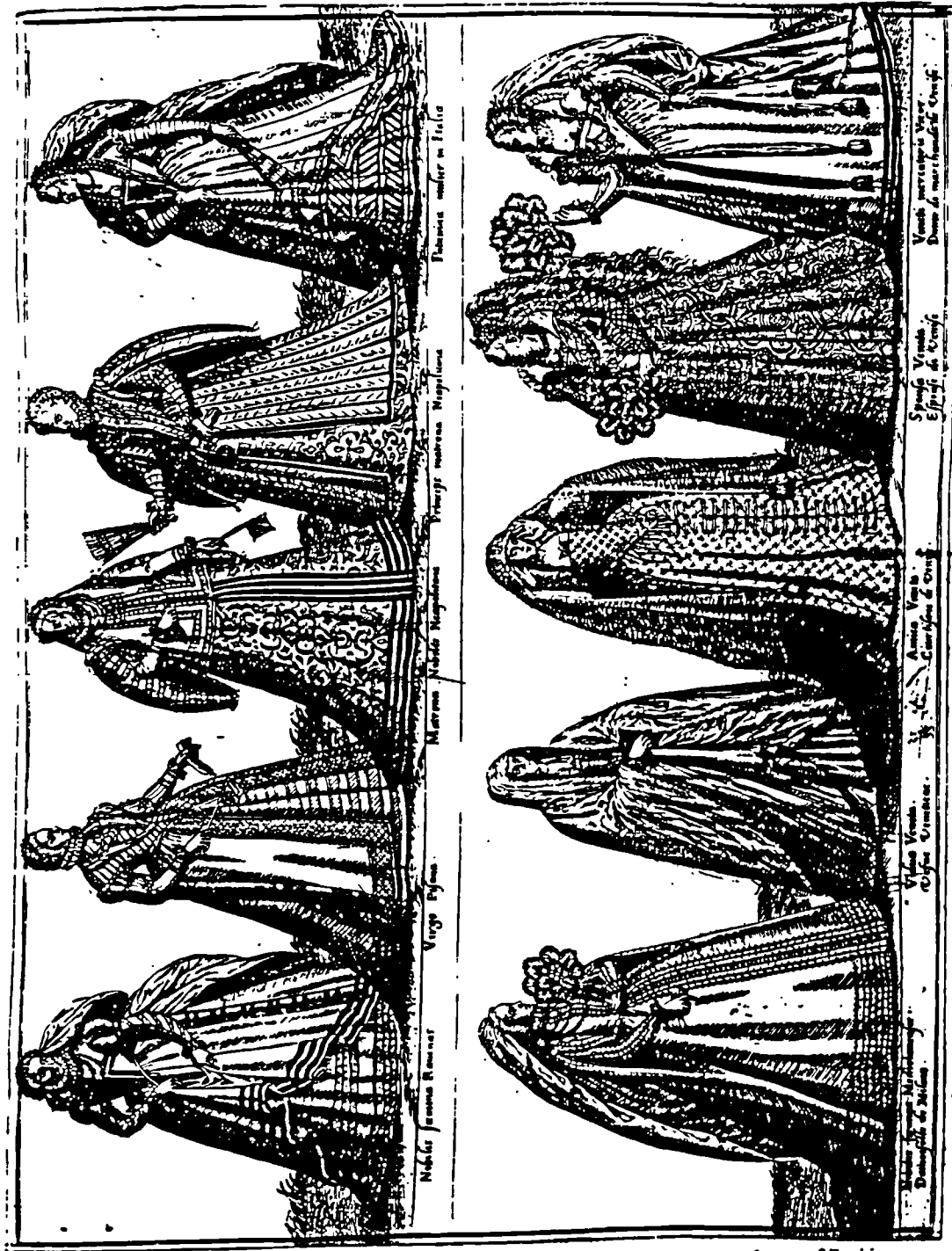


Fig. 18. Courtesan, noble and bourgeois wives, widows and young ladies from de Bruyn, *Omnium Pene Europae, Asiae, Africae Atque Americae Gentium Habitus* (1581).

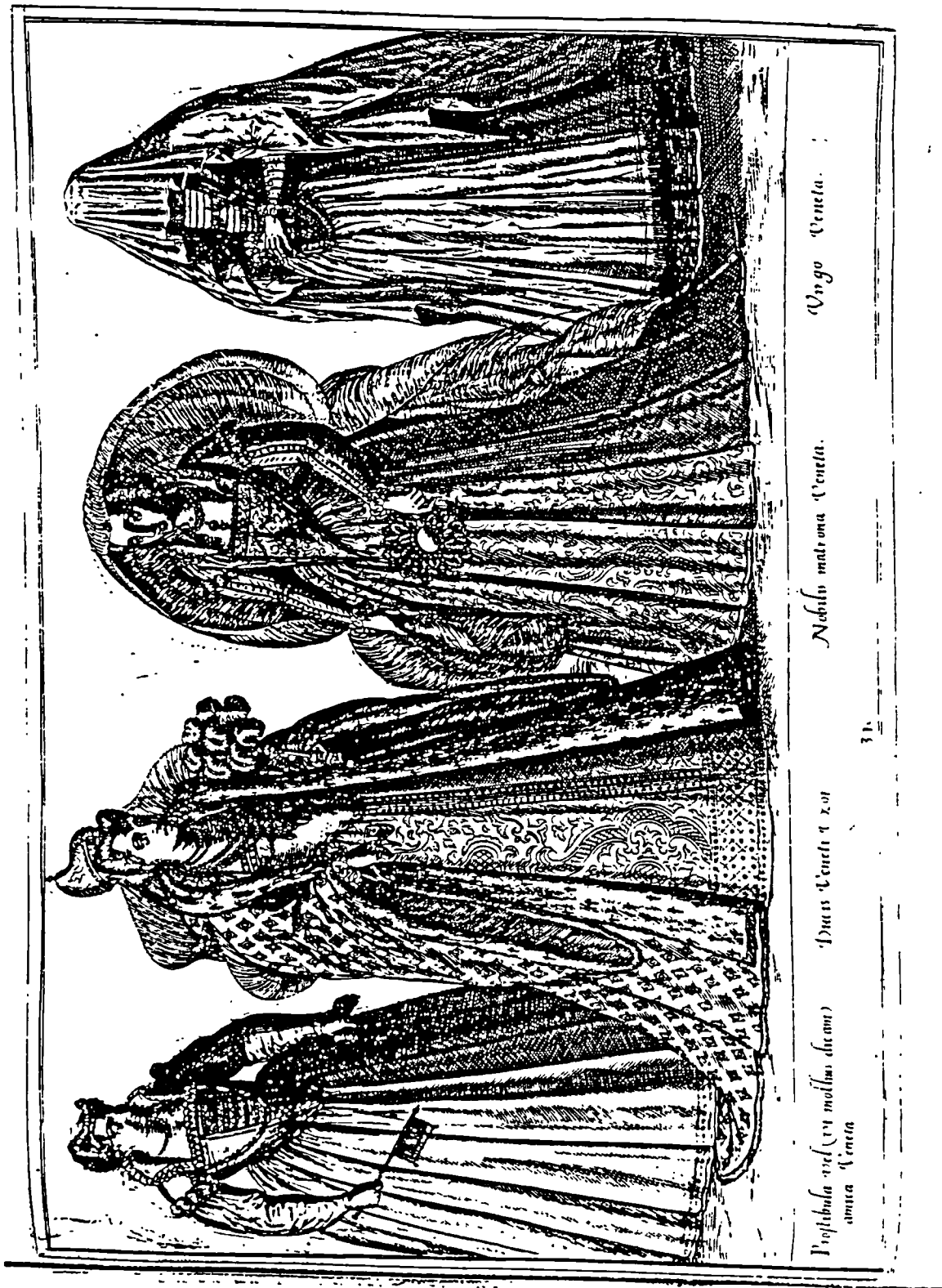


Fig. 19. Dogress & prostitute from de Bruyn, *Omnium Pene Europae*

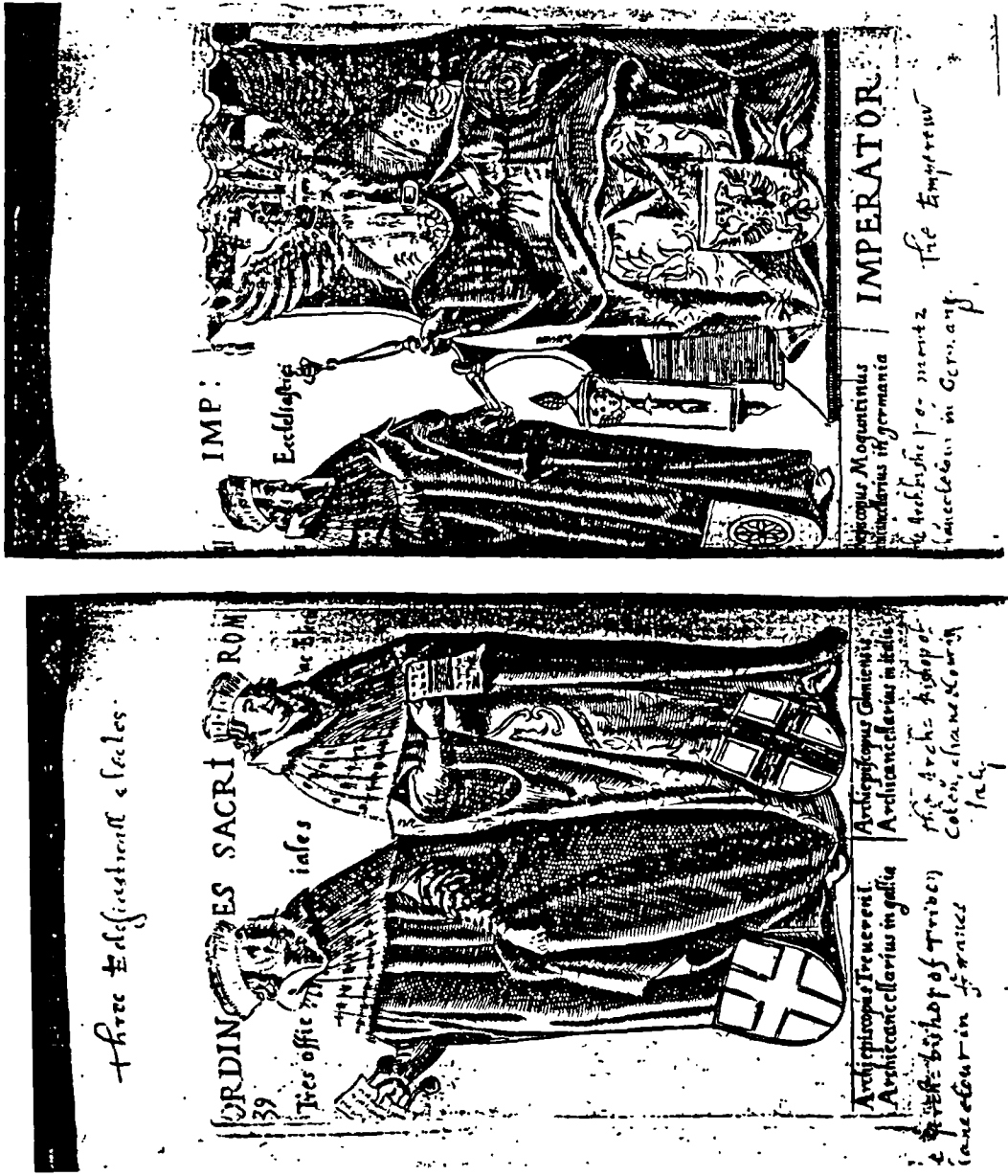


Fig. 20. The Holy Roman Emperor with the three Ecclesiastical Electors from Petri Bertelli, *Diversarum Nationum Habitus*.

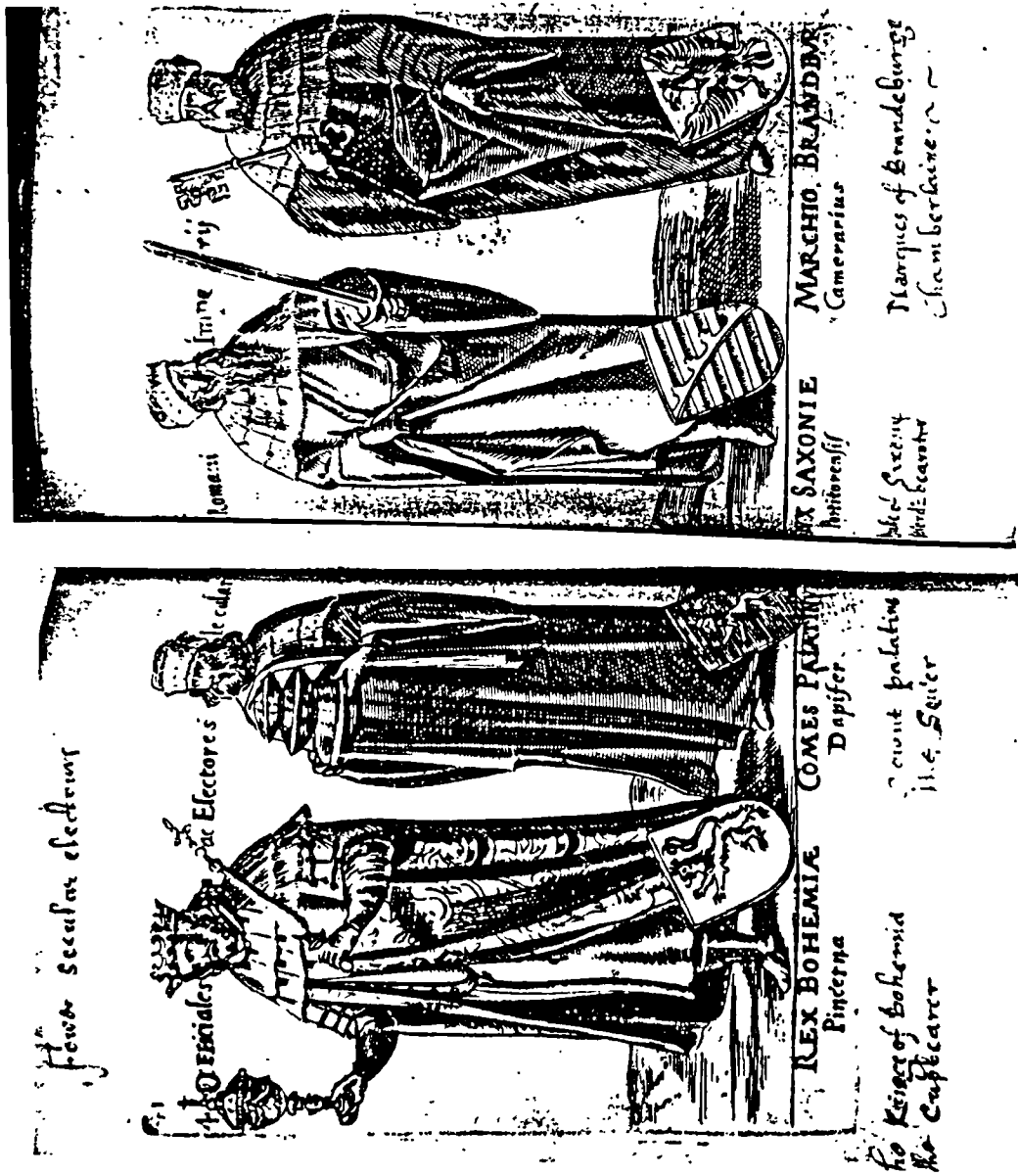


Fig. 21. The four Secular Electors from Bertelli, *Diversarum Nationum Habitus*

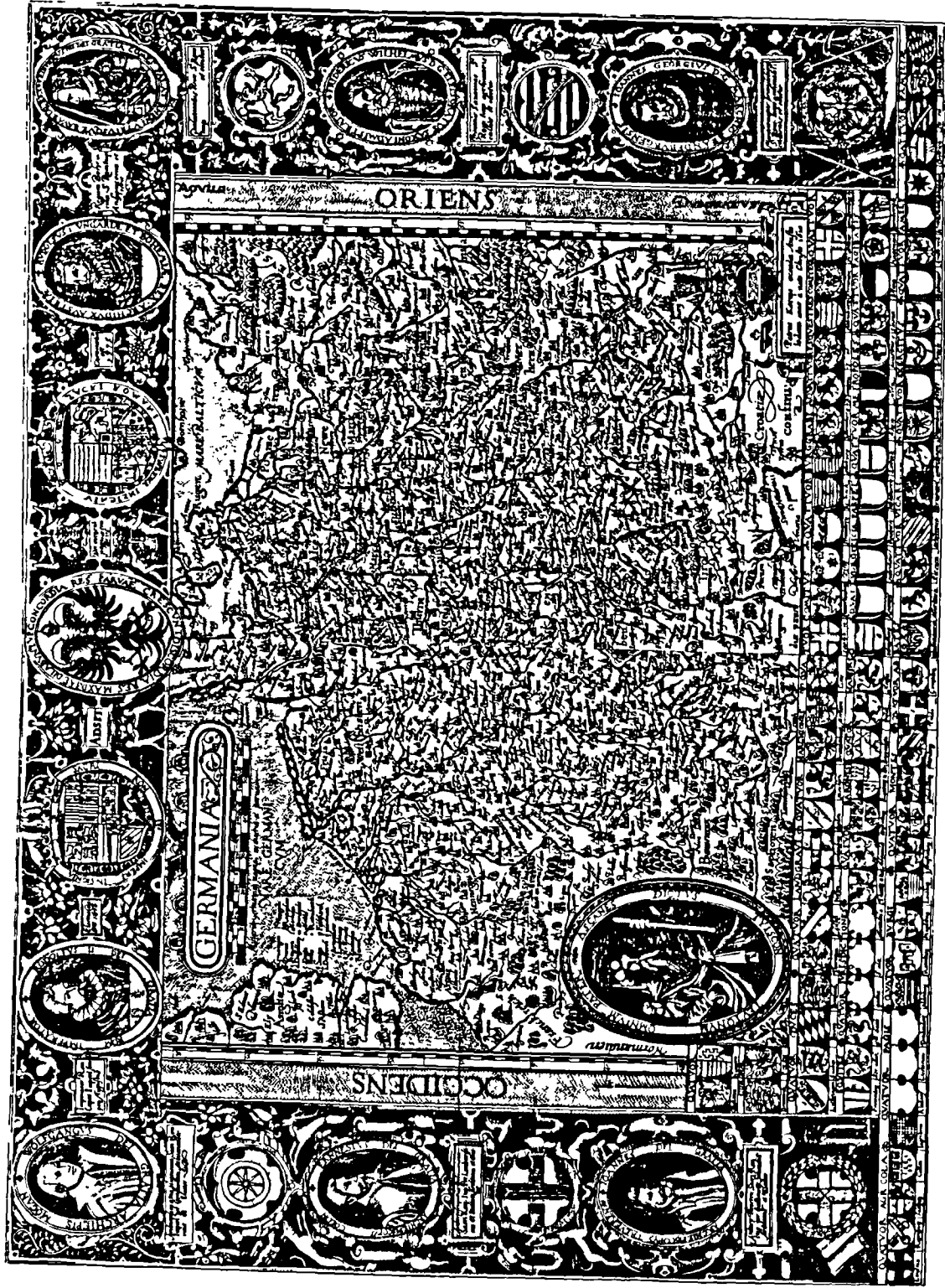


Fig. 23. Peter van der Keere, *Germania* (1610) with Rudolph II as "Rom. Imperator" and "Hungariae et Bohemiae Rex. Archidux Austriae".

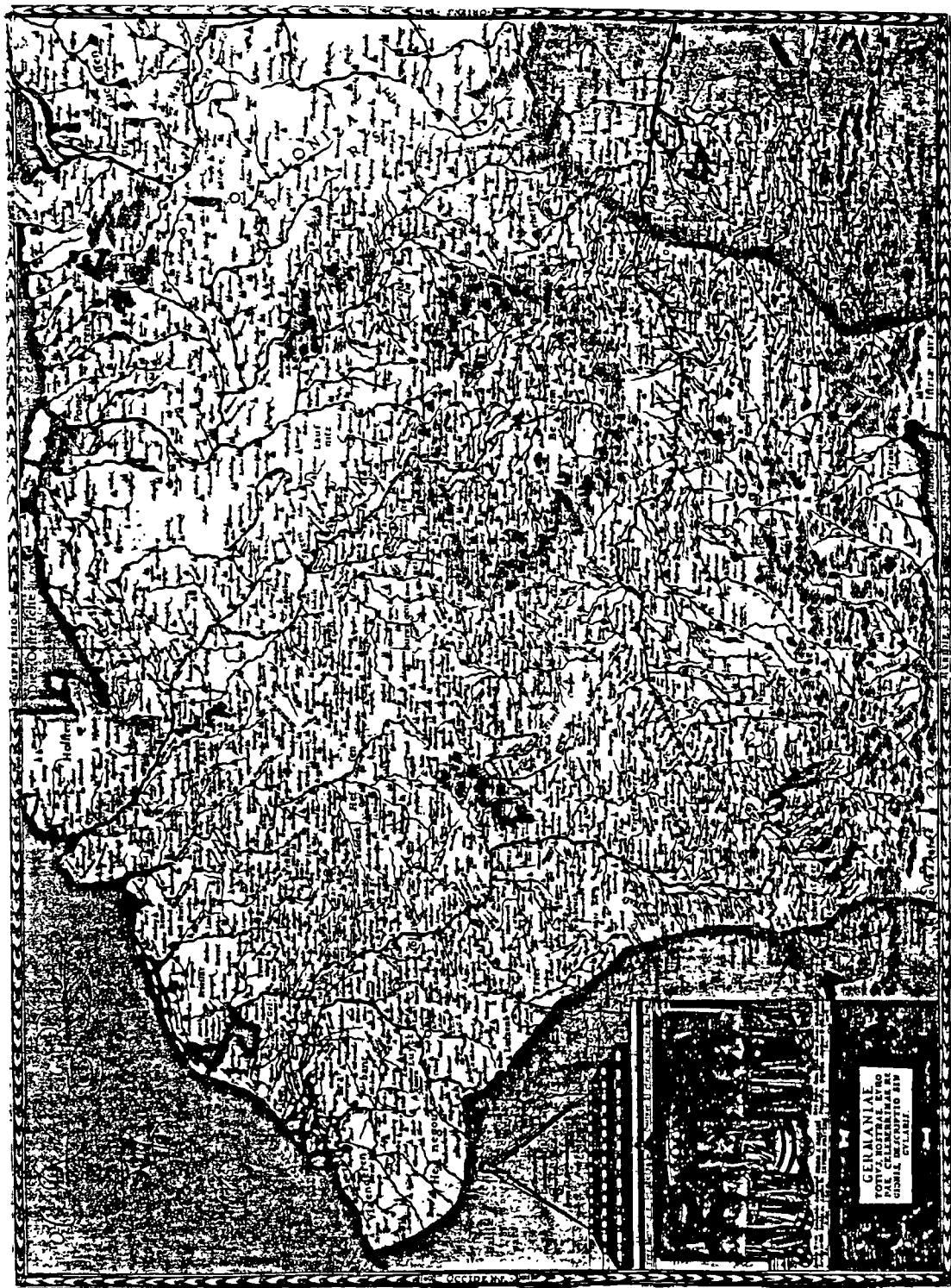


Fig. 24. 'Germani Geographicis Tabulis Illustrata' with the images of Emperor and Electors reproduced in bottom left, from *Speculum Orbis Terrae* (1593).

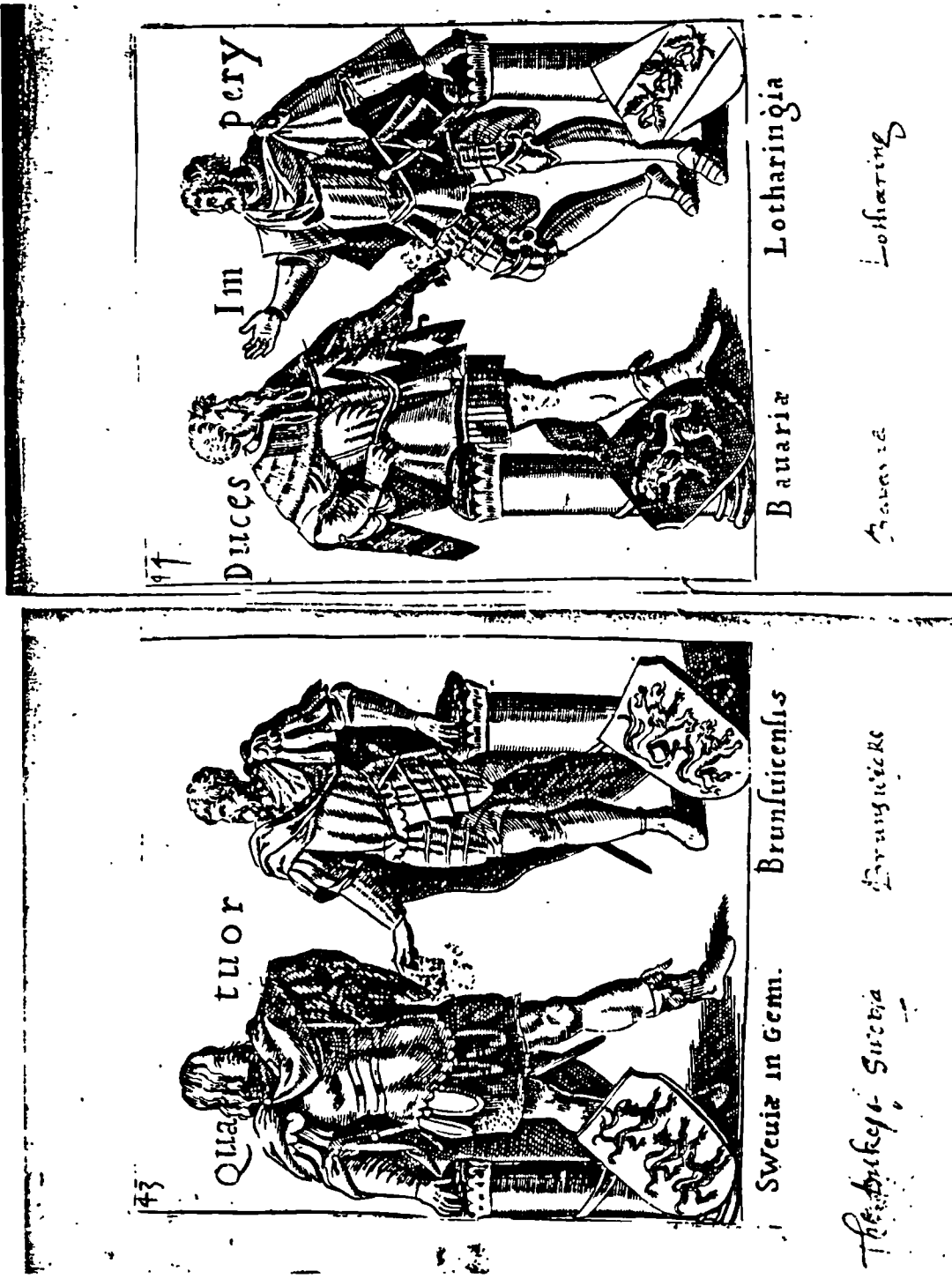


Fig. 25. Four Dukes from Bertelli, *Diversarum Nationum Habitus*.

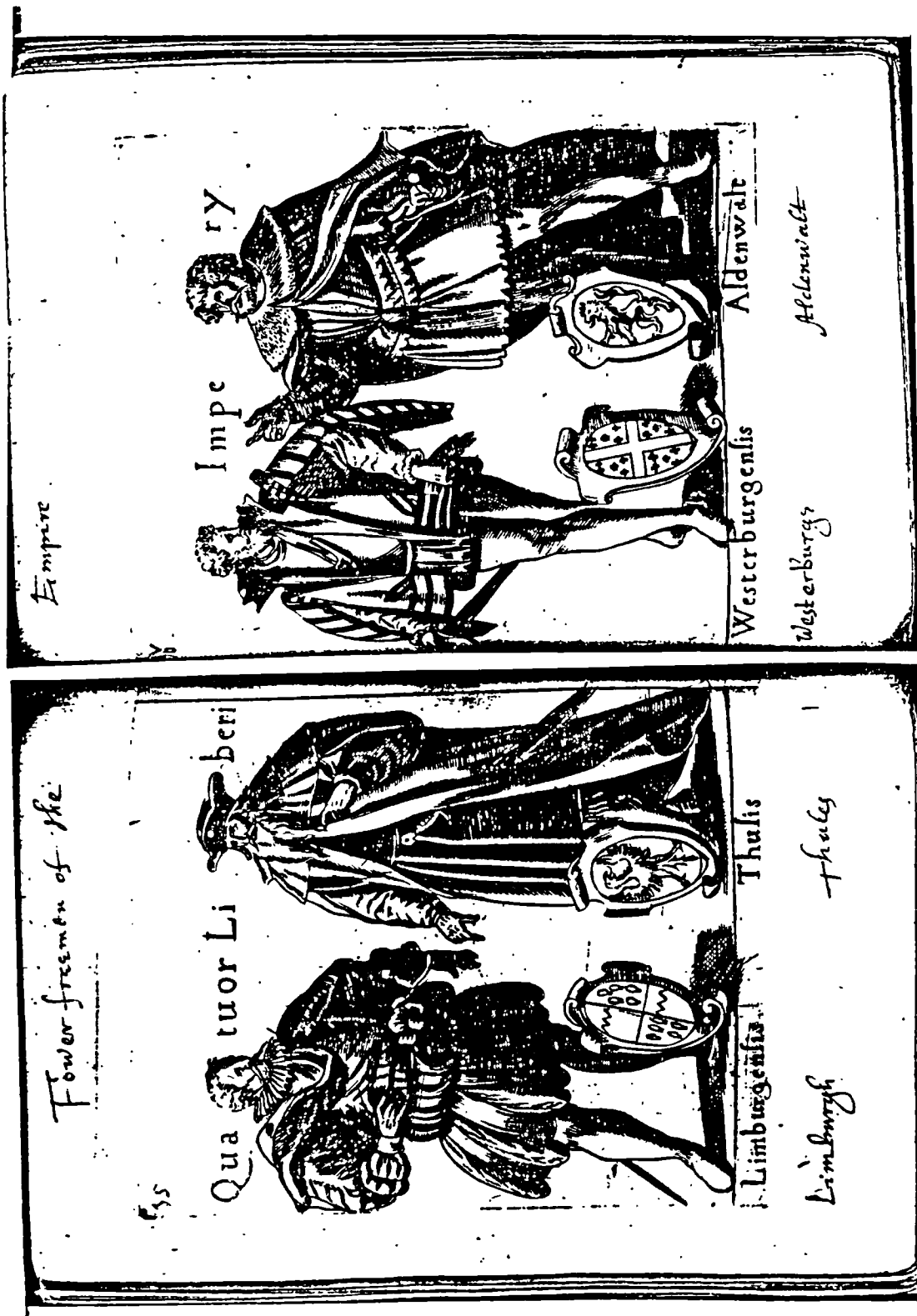


Fig. 26. "Fower free men of the Empire" from Bertelli, *Diversarum Nationum Habitus*.

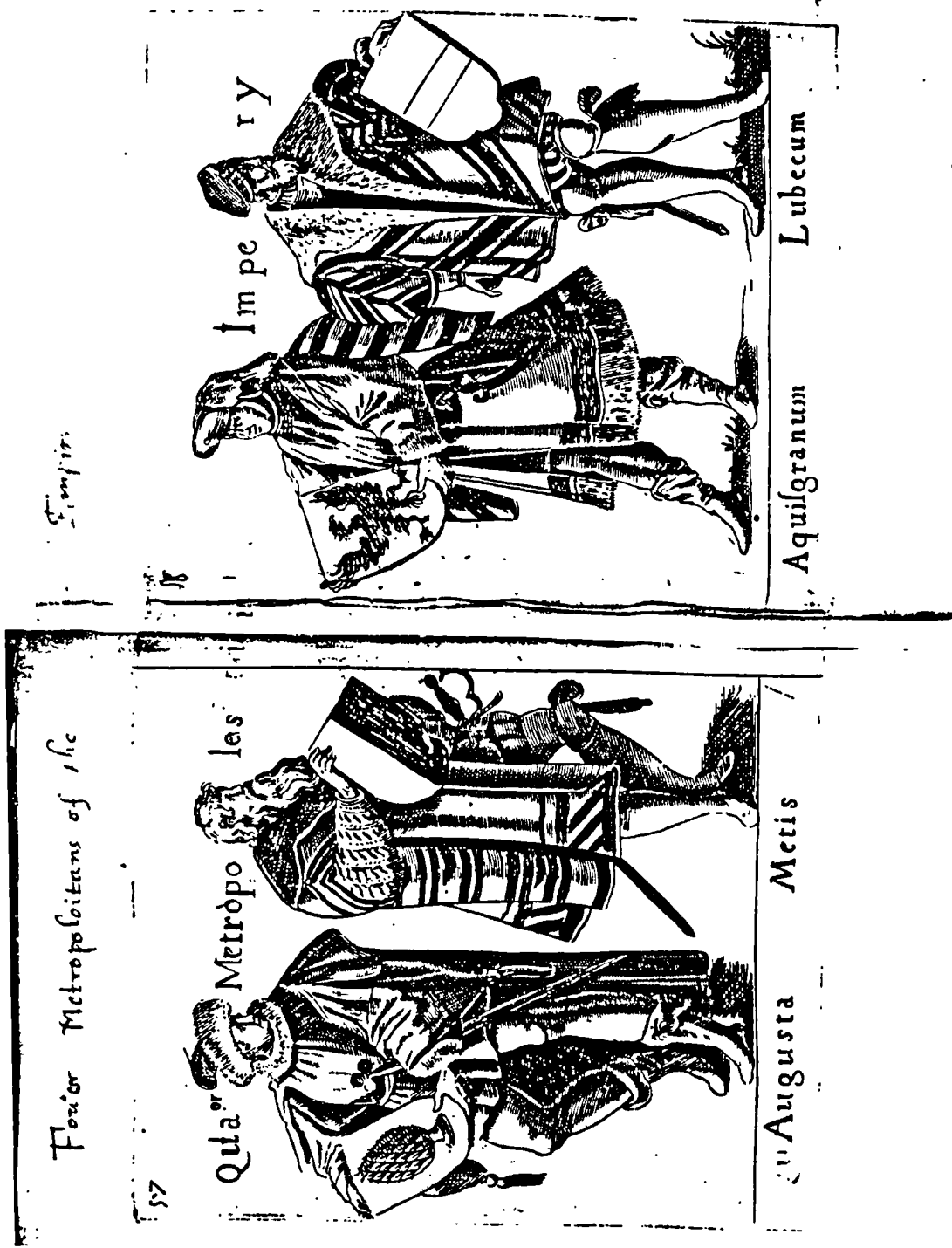


Fig. 27. "Fouer metropolitans of the Empire" from Bertelli, *Diversarum Nationum Habitus*.

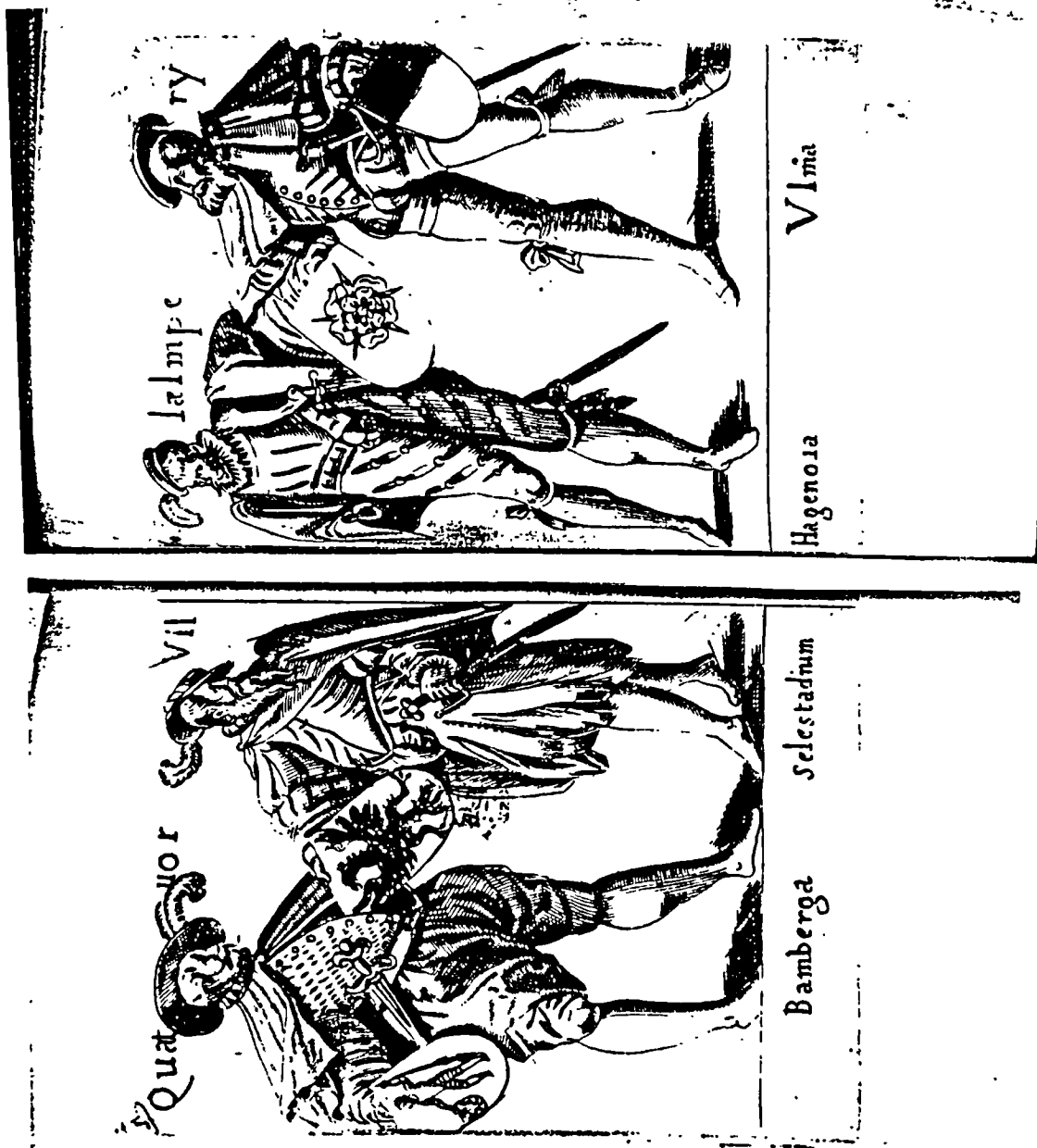


Fig. 28. Four Imperial Cities from Bertelli, *Diversarum Nationum Habitus*

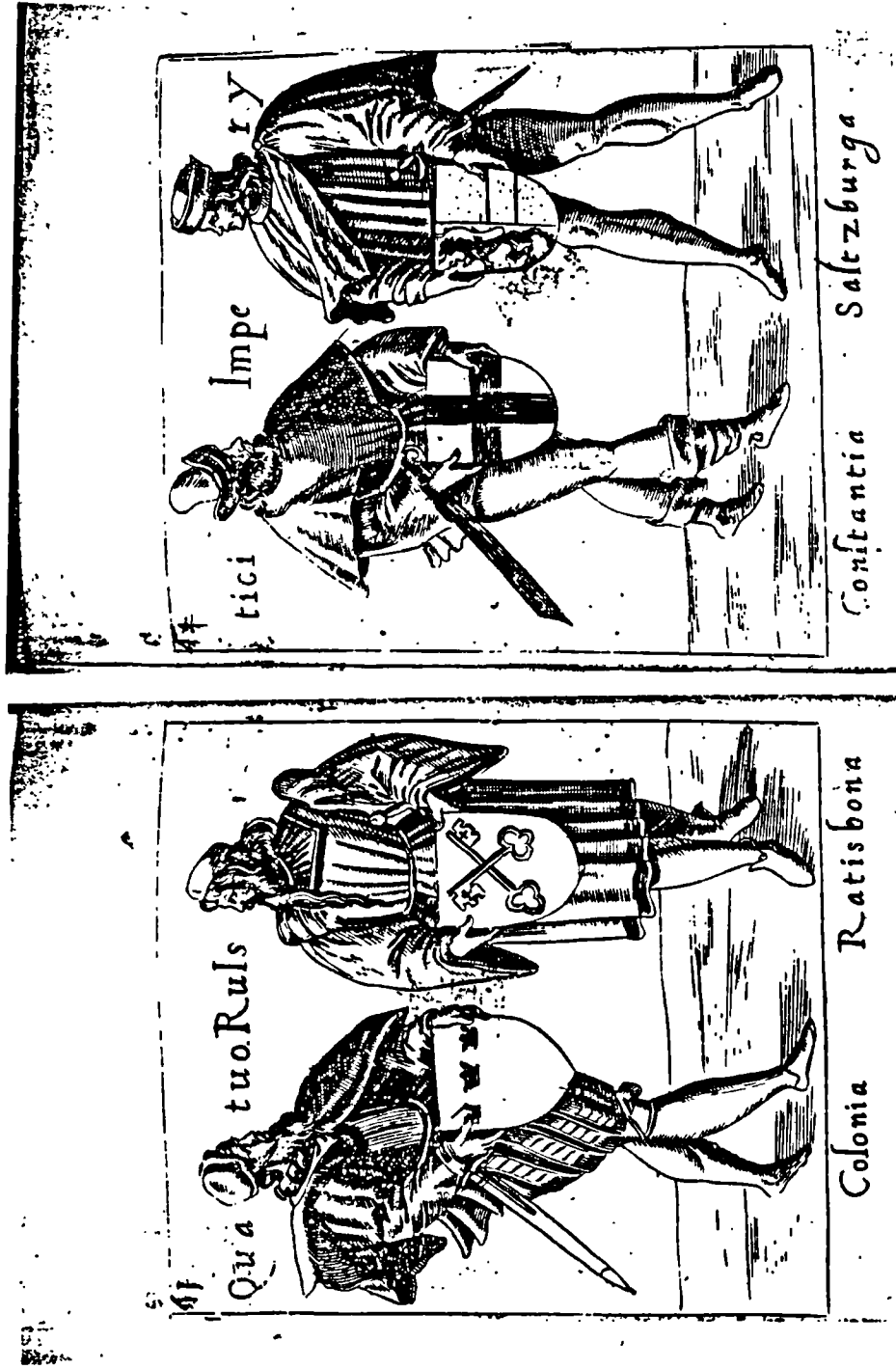


Fig. 29. Four 'Rulstici' from Bertelli, *Diversarum Nationum Habitus*.

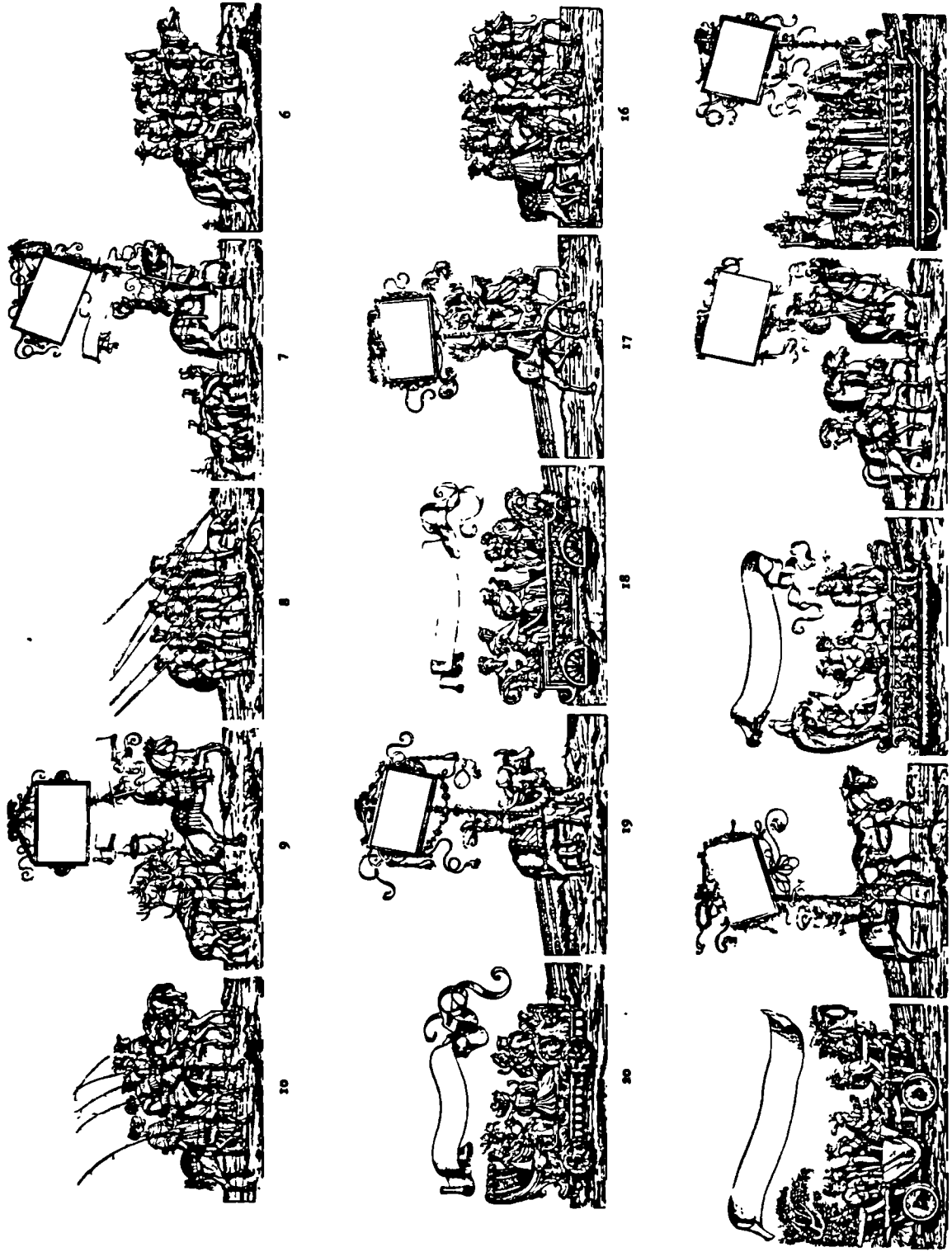


Fig. 30. Images from *The Triumph of Maximilian I* (1526) woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and others.

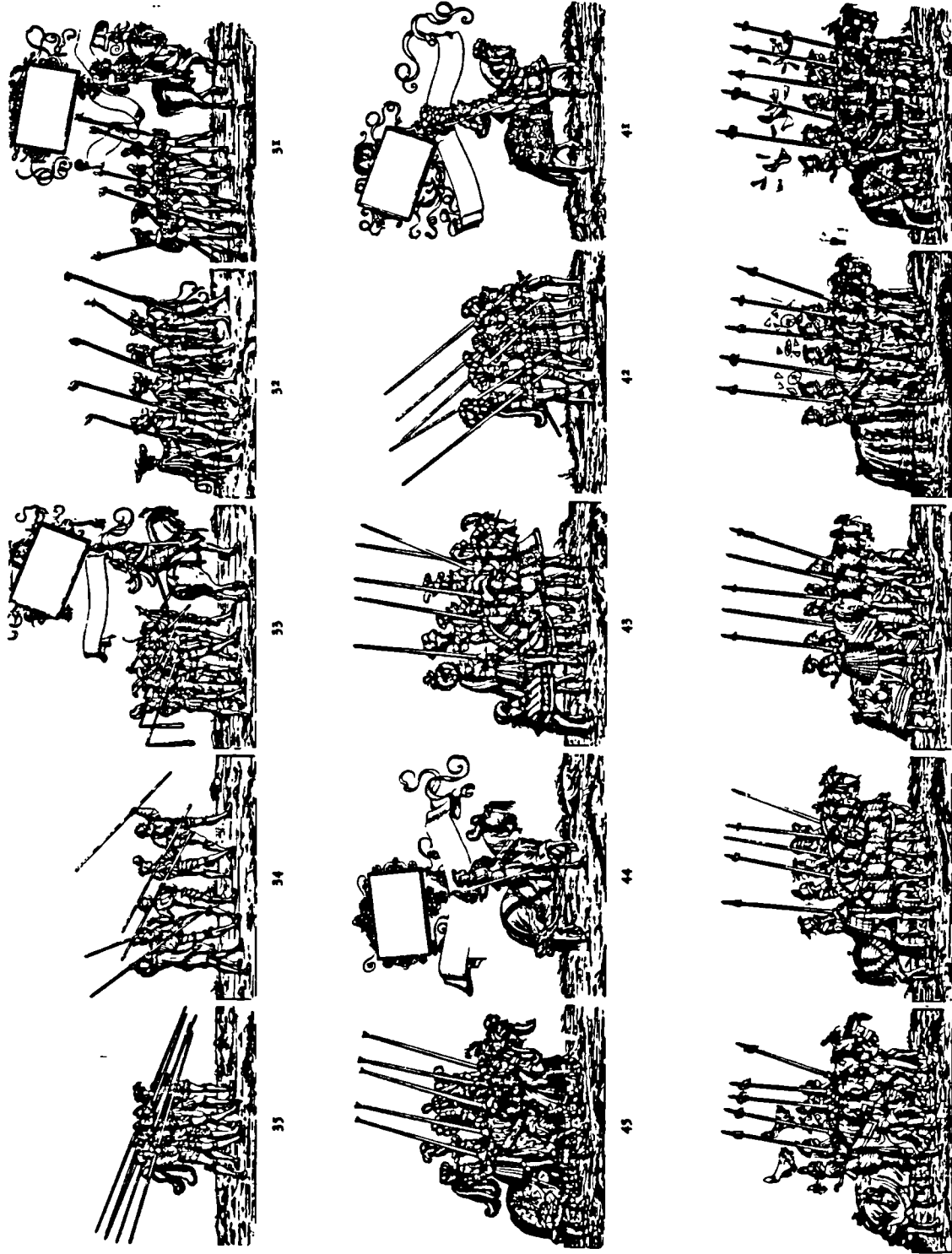


Fig. 31. *The Triumph of Maximilian I* (1526).

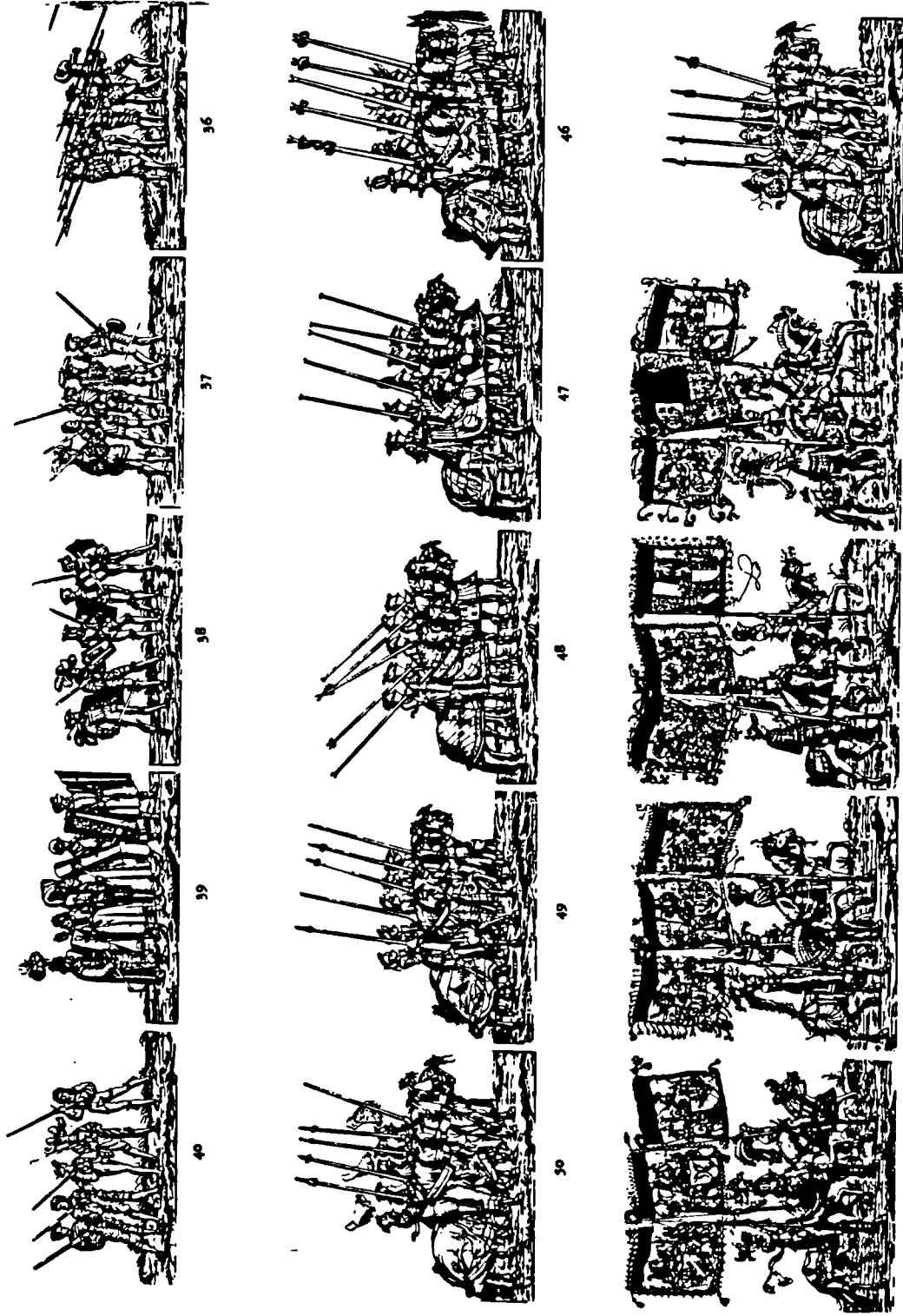


Fig. 32. *The Triumph of Maximilian I (1526).*

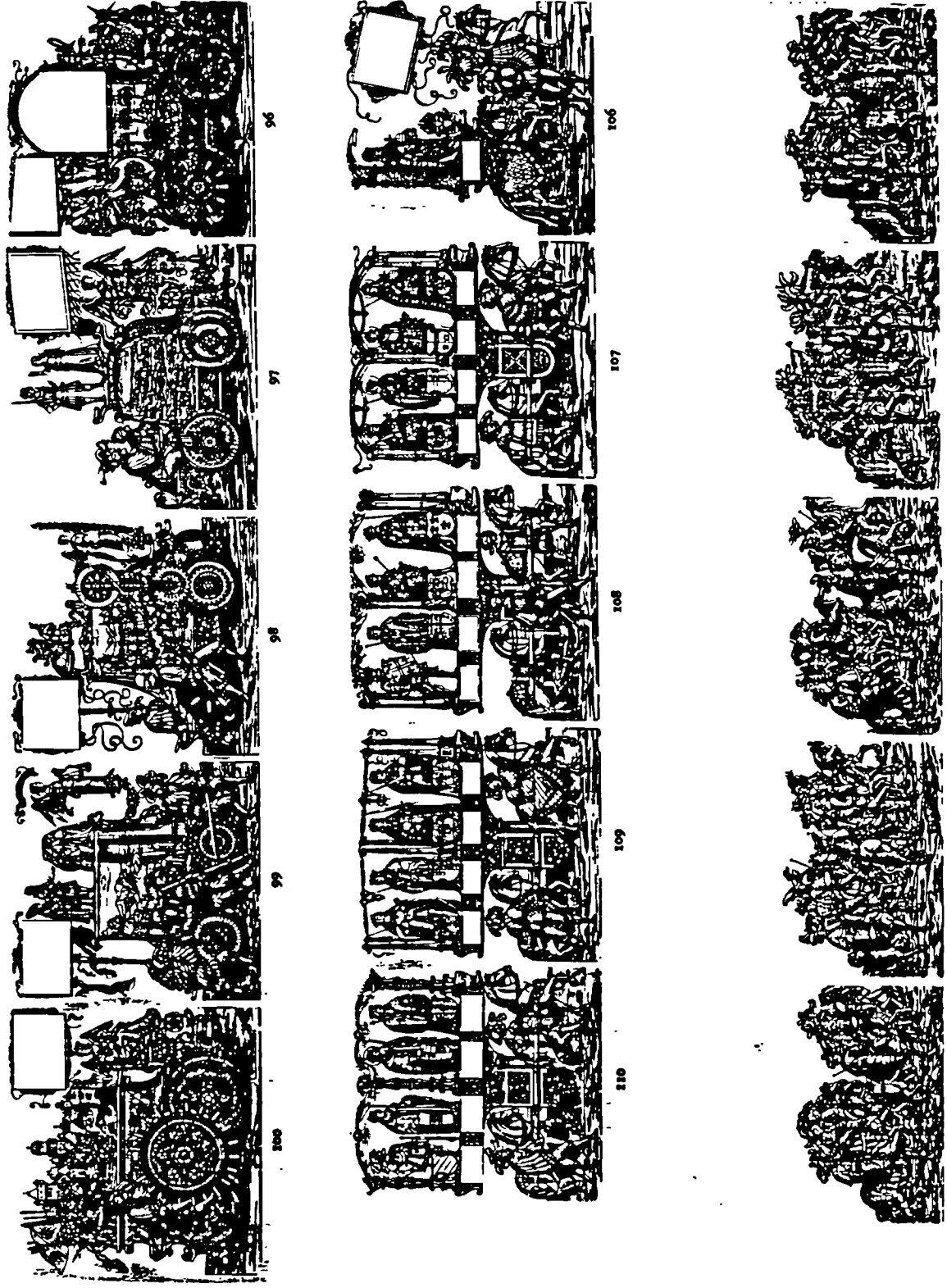


Fig. 33. *The Triumph of Maximilian I (1526).*



Fig. 34. "herald (announcer of the triumph)" from *The Triumph of Maximilian I* (1526).

Chapter 4

“This Capital Rebellion”³¹⁰: The Design of Essex and London

In the previous chapters the deployment of different notions of ceremonial space has been examined in a range of cultural practices from chorography to costume books to city maps. Within each of these arenas a latent presence of the city conceived as a ceremonially articulated entity has been uncovered and the potential of this model to expand beyond its referent explored. Hence Stow could read aloud the presence of the community in the city walls, Dekker the corridors of the Court in the topography of the city, and an anonymous hand could attempt to write the orders of the Empire into representative figures. Behind all these reading habits lies the spectre of a ceremonial order powerful enough in its conceptual currency to kick in with only the vaguest suggestion of a potential performance. From the paper triumphs of Maximilian I to the anticipated entry of Charles I a ceremonial ordering of space and social place infiltrates cultural artefacts seemingly a long way removed from the path of the triumphal chariot. In the current chapter I move from the study of a cultural form to a cultural event in order to explore more fully the importance of the city in the cultural imagination. By examining the resonance of the city within the actions, reactions, reports and retorts surrounding the Essex rebellion I seek to show how the contest for the control of the city intersects with agendas for the representation of the civic sign.

³¹⁰ From Yelverton's description at the trial of Essex's actions as "this his capital rebellion against the whole state of England" in PRO SP 12/278/101 fol. 167v-168r.

Section 1: Making History

This daye there were divers letters wrytten and signed by divers of thier Lordships whereof there were no copyes kept, being dispatched in haste.³¹¹

The Earl burned divers papers that were in a little casket, whereof one was as he said, a history of his troubles.³¹²

Two actions occurring half a mile and half a day apart afford a tantalising glimpse of textual artefacts passing out of reach. In each case it appears that the events of that day, February 8th 1601, have affected the very material which might be called in to explain them: throwing a spanner into the works of the secretariat on the one hand and a match to the foul papers of the principal player on the other. Yet, despite the temptation to read such acts as hostile to the production of histories of the period, as obstructing the careful chronicling of what happened when, the two incidents that surface in these contemporary texts in fact offer compelling evidence of the importance attached to the reading of history both into and out of these situations. In the Privy Council registers the inability of the administrative procedures to bear up under the pressure of events functions itself as a measure of their importance; the event is quite literally record-breaking in its significance. For the nineteenth-century editors the self-confessed insufficiency of these records prompted the insertion of an explanatory note in the margins declaring “The conspiracy of the Earl of Essex and his friends.”³¹³ Yet the attempt to recuperate

³¹¹ *Acts of the Privy Council of England vol. 31: 1600-1601* ed. John Roche Dasent (London: HMSO 1906) [hereafter *APC 31*], p.147.

³¹² Examination of Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland on Feb. 12th in *Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1598-1601* ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1869) [hereafter *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*], p.552.

³¹³ The original ledger contains no such gloss, PRO PC2/26 p.71.

the blindspots of the archives is effective only in so far as it is able to move beyond the ledger and appeal to another form of text, the kind of historical narrative of which this might be the title.

Just such an explanatory text as that suggested by the editorial marginalia is presented, and then disposed of, in the image of Essex sending the “history of his troubles” into the fire. This destructive act on the part of the Earl demonstrates an awareness of both himself and his actions as subject to the act of interpretation and it is with the specific aim of removing the potential authority of textual evidence from the reading of events that Essex silenced these sources, in the words of another prisoner “that they should tell no tales to hurt his friends.”³¹⁴ Unhappily for Essex the silence of these papers was not matched by his associates and accomplices whose examinations and confessions provided loquacious testament not merely to the rebellion but to the very burning of these papers. From these examples emerges the notion that the making of history - understood as both the construction and adoption of the position of the subject of history - is equally a question of the making impossible of other histories. It is this process, the attempt to control the availability of the events to interpretation, which from the outset dominates the Essex rebellion as rival claims to speak authoritatively

³¹⁴ From the examination of Lord Sandys on Feb. 16th, *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, p.574. In this respect at least Essex was partially successful since although Edward Bushell's confession records the Earl as saying that from the papers “it would appear... how he was betrayed in the city”, this aspect of the investigation could yield no evidence and the extent of involvement of Sheriff Smith and others of the civic elite remains a subject of speculation. Ironically it was one of the few who told no tales - Henry Cuffe, implicated by Essex after his trial by his direct statement that “none hath been a greater instigator of me than yourself” - who regretted the absence of that document, informing his examiners “he was very sorry it was burnt.” Examinations of Bushell and Cuffe on Feb. 16th; abstract of Essex's confession following trial dated Feb. 23rd, *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, p.572., pp.587-588.

come into conflict in both the actions of that day and the shaping of responses to them.

For the student of cultural production the sheer wealth of materials generated by the Essex rebellion is hefty recompense for any local losses. It is indeed partly as a result of the effective failure of claims to speak authoritatively, I argue, that the Essex rebellion proved such fertile ground for the production of a range of cultural artefacts which sought to understand, appropriate, explain and extenuate the deeds of that day. It is this process of cultural production with which the current chapter is concerned, and at the heart of this interest lies a site which all of these narratives lay claim to: the city. For the city in the Essex rebellion functions as the object of the designs of all parties, and it is in relation to its figuration in physical, spatial and discursive terms that the claims and counter-claims for this event are constructed.

The first attempt on the part of the Privy Council secretariat to recuperate what the documentation could not contain provides an opening example of the figuration of the city in the Essex rebellion. The place of the absent letters is filled in the registers with a rough reckoning of their intent which notes the various warrants sent for the raising of men. In addition to the demand for men to guard the Court, the gates of the City and the Tower, the Lord Mayor is charged to have a thousand men in the city ready to receive orders, whilst the officials of the Inns of Court are instructed to arm themselves in readiness, with provision that “the yonger sorte might be commaunded to keepe themselves within their

houses.”³¹⁵ The records of these warrants occupy the moment of the first response to the news of Essex’s rising and as such offer us a glimpse of the imagined shape of the rebellion. In fact the shape that emerges in the attention to the securing of both Court and Tower and to the defence of the area between them through the City gates and the liberties, is one that is already strikingly familiar. The same sites dwelt on here are those that the ritual practice of articulating civic identity in pageants and entries accentuate in the construction of a ceremonial city which was found inscribed within the map in Chapter 2. The remarkable coincidence of key co-ordinates between these security measures and the ceremonial geography of the city points firstly to the strategic military implications behind the control of these sites, exposing in the process the persistent martial resonance underpinning and determining the ceremonial city and the spatial strategies through which it is inscribed. A further consequence of this overlapping of agendas through the sharing of material from which the readings of the city in ceremony and in jeopardy are constructed suggests itself in the possibility of the cross-over from one into the other. Thus the military control of these sites has clear implications for the control of the vocabulary of the civic sign, whilst the deployment of the civic sign can itself prove a useful tool in the defence and fortification of the city. It is towards the uncovering of this overlap between constructions and fortifications of the city in the Essex rebellion that we now turn in order to analyse the role of the city in providing a *platform* for the production of readings of rebellion. For it is arguable that, in an encounter which

³¹⁵ The only item amongst these measures without an explicitly defensive purpose is the direction “for a guard to be kept for safetye of the Rolles”, suggesting the vital importance attached to authority over the State records even in a time of crisis. *APC 31*, p.147-8.

saw so little in the way of military engagement, it is in the contest for the civic sign that one witnesses the most action.

Section 2: The Verbal Contest: Naming, proclaiming and shaming

Despite the lack of violent conflict to report, the various accounts of the Essex rebellion lack nothing in terms of drama. Indeed one of the most prominent features of all treatments of the day's events is the degree of attention accorded to verbal acts. Such operations as proclaiming, publishing and swearing - public verbal interventions in the action of civic rebellion - register repeatedly within the descriptions, suggesting both their prevalence throughout the stages of this day, and the importance attached to the form of action they represent. A surviving document, one of the warrants issued by the Deputy Lieutenant on the day of the insurrection at the behest of the Privy Council, provides an insight into the process by which these verbal acts are accorded authority:

Whereas the Earl of Essex and his confederates have taken arms against the Queen's Majesty, and have this day been proclaimed traitors, and thereby are to be prosecuted as traitors and rebels: These are, in her Majesty's name, straitly to charge and commend you, upon your allegiance, forthwith to arme youselves, as many as you can with horse and armour, and the rest as foot with pike and shot, presently to repair hither and with us to march to the Court for the defence of her Majesty's person.³¹⁶

³¹⁶ Warrant of Feb. 8th 1601 in *Historical Manuscripts Commission* [hereafter *HMC*]: *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, &c. Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*. Part XI (Dublin: HMSO 1906) [hereafter *Salisbury Papers XI*], pp.29-30.

The confidence with which this document can describe a projection into the future in which Essex and his confederates are *to be* charged and juridically disposed of rests here upon the simple verbal act of proclaiming them traitors. It is the authority which the proclamation attributes to the act of proclaiming which makes it capable of sustaining such a sequence, the force of this intervention finding its corollary in the emphatic use of the direct mode of address to the reader or hearer of the warrant. The anxieties manifested in the imagined shape of rebellion translate themselves here into the enforcement of a particular reading of the actions of Essex and his cohorts, underwritten by the full might of the State through the invocation of the name of the Queen. The warrant thus functions as a 'live' document producing a polarisation in the potential reading of the insurrection which attempts to saturate the conceptual space of interpretation. One either recognises their treachery or is a traitor oneself, and the effect of recognising this treachery is the producing of allegiance in action. The kind of allegiance whose production is aimed at here is precisely that intended in the Lord Keeper's account of his actions at Essex House when, putting on his hat, he commanded the crowd "upon your allegiance, to lay down your weapons, and to depart, which you ought all to do, being thus commanded, if you be good subjects."³¹⁷ The intended effect of such a verbal intervention is to remove any

³¹⁷ Declaration of the Lord Keeper Feb. 19th, *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, p.586. This disobedience was explicitly read by Coke at the trial in these terms: "here you see treason in the house, before he went out he was a traytor", PRO SP 12/278/102 fol.186v/206v. Richard Lacey has referred to this action as "the Elizabethan equivalent of reading the Riot Act. If Essex continued the assembly and his men marched with him then they were breaking the law and, having been warned, they had no complaint against any punishment they incurred", *Robert, Earl of Essex: Elizabethan Icarus* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson 1971). G.B. Harrison has drawn attention to the significance of Egerton's re-placement of his hat "in sign that he spoke as the Queen's representative", *The Life and Death of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex* (London: Cassell & Co. 1937), p.285.

possibility of slippage in the interpretation of the group's actions either now or in the future by inscribing the presence of authority in advance. It threatens the conspirators with the forewarning that their actions are already subject to an interpretative position which will result in prosecution.

In this context the act of proclaiming should be understood not as a closely argued or richly detailed textual construction to be read out to the citizens - the printed proclamation of the following day speaks not of one but "many Proclamations of rebellion made by our King of Heralds"³¹⁸ - rather it is the verbal act of speaking on behalf of the monarch, communicating in the name of the Queen the naming of Essex as traitor. That this verbal act could at least claim to constitute an active intervention in the proceedings of the rebellion is suggested by Sir Robert Cecil's description, in a letter to Sir George Carew, of his brother's involvement:

Lord Burghley, Colonell Generall of the foote ... with some 10 horse, went into London and proclaimed the Erle of Essex a traytor, with all his adherents, by the mouth of the King of Armes, notwithstanding that my Lord of Essex, with all his complices, were in the city.³¹⁹

For Cecil, reporting the actions of "this little army", the verbal act of proclaiming takes on the aspect of an actual military encounter in which the same qualities of courage and devotion to duty are required in order to re-invoke the duty of

³¹⁸ Proclamation of Feb. 9th, no.808 in *Tudor Royal Proclamations vol.III: The Later Tudors* ed. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1969)[hereafter *Tudor Royal Proclamations III*], pp.230-232, p.231.

³¹⁹ From the letter of Feb. 10th printed in *Letters from Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew* ed. John Maclean [hereafter *Cecil-Carew Letters*] (London: Camden Society 1864), p.67.

subject to sovereign in this engagement for control of the city and its citizens.³²⁰ Once appealed to, that duty is reported to have proved an effective enough deterrent to involvement on the part of the citizens. For one newsletter writer calling himself Vincent Hussey it was explicitly “*by reason* of the proclamation calling the Earl traitor, [that] he could not prevail with the Lord Mayor and the rest”.³²¹ Other details not dwelt on by Cecil but emerging from several manuscript accounts suggest that confidence in the effectiveness of the proclamations was underwritten by more practical measures. Hence a pardon was granted to all those involved who would lay down arms immediately and a reward of £1,000 offered for the turning in of Essex.³²² Nevertheless the claim of having responded at once to the voice of authority provided a serviceable means of explaining away the involvement of some of those implicated in the rebellion. The letter of Edmund Wiseman and Andrew Glascocke is typical in its structuring of events to reflect the authority of majesty when claiming that “unadvisedly [we] went with him into the City, where so soon as we heard of her majesty’s proclamation, [we] presently forsook him, as hating the name of traitors.”³²³ Indeed Essex himself would succumb to this formula, albeit posthumously, when Robert Pricket’s attempt to resurrect the honour of the fallen leader had Hate

³²⁰ For a satirical counter-reading of these events see below p.192.

³²¹ Letter dated Feb. 11th PRO SP 12/278/49r., [my italics]. An abbreviated and corrupted version of this letter is printed in *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, pp.549-552. The figure of Vincent Hussey and the construction of this and the other newsletter bearing his name are discussed more fully below pp.179-180.

³²² A manuscript account of which several copies survive records the “promise of 1000 li to him that would take his [Essex’s] persone and pardonne to all such as wolde forsake him.” Printed in *HMC: Calendar of the MSS of the Most Hon the Marquis of Bath preserved at Longleat, Wiltshire Vol:5 Talbot, Dudley & Devereux Papers 1533-1659* ed. G. Dyfnallt Owen (London: HMSO 1980), p.278. For details of the other copies of this manuscript account see below fn.333. The version in BL Harleian MS 5202 fols. 1-5 omits the reference to the £1000 reward.

³²³ Letter of Feb. 10th, *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.38. For other examples see the letters of Francis Manners and Edmund Whitelocke, *Salisbury Papers XI*, pp.34-35, pp.40-41, and the examination of Edward Littleton on Feb. 18th, *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, p.577.

conspire to “Proclayme him traytor.../The name of traytor kild him dead.”³²⁴ The contemporary explanations whether expedient or in earnest recognise, however, the opportunity provided by the proclamation for a display of allegiance and in doing so magnify the authority of the Queen’s name. Nor were such performances restricted to the immediate locale, Sir William Browne, stationed in Flushing, reported that “finding the bruit confirmed of the proclamation... I found it fitting to call the Captains and Officers together... to administer an oath of obedience” whilst reassuring concerned locals that “the very name of her Majestie was enough to suppress all such seditions.”³²⁵

Yet, while these testimonies speak of the resonance, credible or actual, of the authority of the proclamation and its efficacy in enforcing a reading of Essex’s actions as treasonous, by their very recourse to this exhortative injunction they acknowledge a two-fold risk well exemplified by the desperate confession of one John Bargar. As late in the day as the attempt to return through Ludgate, Bargar’s account has him “protesting that all this while I never heard that he was proclaimed traitor.”³²⁶ This remarkable auditory imperception - later to be outdone by the Earl of Southampton’s outlandish claim at the trial that “when I was in Lon[don] I hard not the proclamacon”³²⁷ - draws attention to risks inherent

³²⁴ Robert Pricket, *Honors Fame in Triumph Riding* (London: R.B for Roger Jackson 1604) reprint ed. A.B. Grosart ([Blackburn]: n. p. 1881), p.16.

³²⁵ Letters to Sir Robert Sidney and Sir Robert Cecil of Feb. 12th with a copy of the oath administered, *HMC: Report on the MSS of Lord De L’Isle & Dudley Preserved at Penshurst Place* ed. C.L. Kingsford & W.A. Shaw (London: HMSO 1934) vol. II, pp.504-505. See also the letter to Sidney of Feb. 17th, p. 508, and that to Cecil of March 9th in *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.116.

³²⁶ Letter to Lord Cobham (undated) in *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.30-33, p.32. His confession of Feb. 13th appears in *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, p.560-2.

³²⁷ PRO SP 12/278/102 fol. 189v/209v.

in the proclamation strategy. Not only does the consignment of authority to the vagaries of this method of broadcasting render the message susceptible to mishearing, it also acknowledges implicitly the non-inevitability of the reading which the proclamation enforces. This is precisely the basis upon which Bargar builds his defence of his own actions:

I heard a confused noise crying, Murder, murder, God save the Queen. My Lord of Essex should have been murdered in his bed by Sir Walter Rawleigh and his confederates, that they had gotten a strong troop of horse and that they were ready to charge them in the rear, and that he sought nothing but a sudden defence till her Majesty might be better informed of it. The voice of so many earls, barons, knights and gent. made me believe it.³²⁸

The ears of John Bargar are occupied by another voice invoking authority whose claims are no more to be challenged than those of the royal person they displace. Indeed he positions himself within the account as the loyal trusting subject, even going so far as to present his involvement as a recommendation for service since “I am sure you will look for the like proceedings to be in your followers, if the like case should happen to your Lordship.”³²⁹ The case here turns upon the vexed question of the efficacy of this renegade body of authority and the “false voice” deployed in their cause. Bargar’s strategy for absolving himself runs the risk of reducing the resonance of royal authority by revealing the availability of the city to verbal perversion. In the reconstruction of events surrounding the acts of proclamation a tension is thus revealed between the possibility of the Earl performing an effective impersonation of authority and the need to preserve intact

³²⁸ *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.30.

³²⁹ *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.32.

the inalienable prerogative of majesty. This tension is brought sharply into focus by the variety of treatments accorded an aspect of the events of this day which has previously received little attention: the entry of the Earl into the city at Ludgate.

Just how did Essex and his accomplices gain access to the city of London ? On this point the histories remain silent. Essex is uniformly depicted as leaving Essex House one moment with his company in good voice, and the next as within the city.³³⁰ The implication in these reports is that the warrant from the Privy Council had not yet been dispatched to the Lord Mayor and, the gates being thus undefended, the Earl met with no resistance. Irrespective of whether the city had been forewarned - and some details suggest this to have been the case³³¹ - the unproblematic treatment given to this facet of the rebellion's progress belies the significance of the moment and manner of their entrance. One hitherto unstudied manuscript account, however, differs from modern accounts in describing the manner of their entrance in some detail, in the process countering the received version of events:

³³⁰ Amongst modern-day historians the entrance has attracted sparse attention. Neither G.B. Harrison nor Mervyn James mention it. Lacey Baldwin Smith uses Bacon's account and does not mention the gates *Treason in Tudor England: Politics and Paranoia* (London: Jonathan Cape 1986), p.246. Walter Bouchier Devereux has him proceeding through empty streets directly to the house of Sheriff Smith, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex, in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I and Charles I, 1540-1646* (London: John Murray 1853) 2 vols., vol.1 pp.144-145; Richard Lacey mentions the passing through Ludgate without other comment, *Robert, Earl of Essex*, p.289. Lytton Strachey follows Camden's suggestion that the citizens had been forewarned to stay indoors, taking it as evidence that he entered without either opposition or greeting, *Elizabeth and Essex: A Tragic History* (London: Penguin 1950), p.193. For contemporary treatments see below.

³³¹ Thus William Camden's account reports the order given to the Lord Mayor to alert the citizenry following Raleigh's return from his water conference with Sir Ferdinando Gorges as simultaneous to the dispatch of the counsellors to Essex House, *The Historie of the most renowned and Victorious Princesse Elizabeth, late Queene of England* trans. R.N. (London: Benjamin Fisher 1630), IV p.175.

My Lord Mayor having about an houre before notice to guard ye city rose from ye sermon at Pauls & caused ye gates to be [s]hut but when my Lord of Essex came to Ludgate that was opened him & [t]hen they were foure hundred strong & drew their swords alledging yt my Lord Cobham & Sr Walter Rawleigh would have murdered him ... ye night [b]efore & yt he came to ye city for ayde, ye good of her majestie & maintenance [of] religion, & so came triumphingly down Cheapeside wth great plaudites [ye] boyes of ye city giving shouts wth joy.³³²

This can be compared to another early manuscript account:

Cominge to Ludgate the gates were shutt against them, but at theyr cryeing they were for the Queen and menconing ye intended murther with protestacon that they came into ye cittie for safegarde of their lives, the gates were opened unto them and so they marched into the cittie.³³³

In both versions of the entrance into London, then, the Earl does not simply pass into the city, nor is his access a response to military force. In neither case is the military threat dwelt upon. Rather, both accounts go out of their way to demonstrate the lack of military foreboding attendant upon his company, commenting respectively that they came “without cloakes or armour onely with their rapiers and daggers” and “armed onely with swordes and daggers.” In place

³³² This account entitled ‘A rare accident which happened in London upon Sunday being ye 8th of February 1600’ and dated February 9th has not been the subject of any historical or critical scrutiny thus far. It is an anonymous piece of 2 sides in length, an example of the ‘separate’, or detailed report covering a notable public event such as were produced for circulation from the 1580s on. See Richard Cust, ‘News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England’ in *Past & Present* 112 (Aug. 1996), pp.60-90, esp. pp. 62-65, and F.J. Levy, ‘How Information Spread among the Gentry’ in *Journal of British Studies* XXI:2 (Spring 1982), pp.11-34, esp. pp.20-25. For a full transcription and details of this manuscript see Appendix II.

³³³ From another ‘separate’ copied into a ledger amongst the Devereux Papers and entitled ‘The first proceedings of ye Earles of Essex and South[amp]ton, together with some speeches that passed between them and ye Lord Admiral... on ye 8th of Feb. 1600’ printed in *Devereux Papers*, pp.277-281, p.278. This account also survives in three other manuscript versions with only the slightest variations; BL Harleian MS 4289 fols. 4-8; BL Egerton MS 2606 and BL Harleian MS 5202 fols. 1-5.

of the explanation of forced entry we witness the gates being opened to receive Essex and his followers in a move which connotes, disturbingly for the authorities, the breaking down of barriers between rebel and citizen. Indeed it is precisely at this point of admission into the city in the first account that the numbers of the party swell, further signalling a merging of civic populace and ingressor. The walls of the city represent a protective barrier against the threat from outside and provide a defining line for the articulation of a community within - a dual operation that animates, as we have seen, Munday's pageant of *Himatia Poleos* "The Cloathing... of the Cittie", where their defensive function, to "preserve it from all dangerous annoyances", constitutes the device around which the celebration of civic identity is constructed.³³⁴ With the gates explicitly opening to receive him, then, Essex is transformed from a threatening foreign body into a property of the community, an act whose expansive force is neatly captured in Camden's disjunctive marginal gloss "Essex entereth into London."³³⁵

For the author of the first account the assertion of community in the granting of access to the space of the city is expressed through a vocabulary of ceremony in which the Earl's reception is described in terms of a triumph greeted with public acclaim. It is important to note that the currency of the association of the Earl with such a reception was well established - the oft quoted passage from Shakespeare's *Henry V* imagining the Earl's return from Ireland, focuses less on the suppression of rebellion than upon the massive popular support for each

³³⁴ Anthony Munday, *Himatia-Poleos. The Triumphs of Olde Draperie, or the rich Cloathing of England* (London: Edward Allde 1614), pp.5-6. See the discussion of this passage in Chapter 2 Section 3.

³³⁵ Camden, *Historie of Princesse Elizabeth*, IV p.176.

figure.³³⁶ Yet despite the availability, indeed the adjacency, of the notion of ceremonial performance for the figuration of the Earl's actions this element of the description, stressing the acclamatory response to the entrance of Essex, is absent from all but one of the printed accounts. The absence of such material from the majority of printed works suggests an anxiety over this passage through Ludgate under the very eyes of the statue of Elizabeth. The legitimisation of the Earl's access to the city represented by the opening of the gates throws doubt upon the dependability of the categorisation of Essex and his party as rebels and it is the potentially destabilising impact of such material which, I want to suggest, encourages the process by which the crowd comes to be crowded out of the printed versions.

During this period the antiquarian John Stow was at work simultaneously upon the *Annals* and their more concise cousin the *Summary* or *Abridgment* of the *Chronicles*. It is in these historical works that we find specific evidence of representations of Essex as the textual site for repeated editing in and out of references to public acclamation. With the 1598 edition of the *Summary*, produced when Essex was close to the height of his public popularity, descriptions of the Earl are ready to acknowledge the degree of his public

³³⁶ "How London doth pour out her citizens./ The Mayor and all his brethren, in best sort./ Like to the senators of th'antique Rome/ With the plebeians swarming at their heels./ Go forth and fetch their conqu'ring Caesar in -/ As, by a lower but high-loving likelihood,/ Were now the General of our gracious Empress -/ As in good time he may - from Ireland coming,/ Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,/ How many would the peaceful city quit,/ To welcome him !" Shakespeare, *Henry V*, ed. Gary Taylor in *The Complete Oxford Shakespeare* ed. Wells and Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1986), Act V Chorus, lines 24-34. Spenser's 'Prothalamion' similarly figures Essex shortly after his return from Spain, in the role of acclaimed hero of the multitude "That filleth England with thy triumph's fame", *Poetical Works* ed. J.C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1970), p.602 line 151.

support. Hence the celebration of his achievements in Cadiz is described in the following terms:

Sundaie the 8. of August, great triumph was made in London, for the good successe of the earle of Essex, and his company, in Spaine, the winning, sacking & burning of the famous towne of Cadiz, the overthrow and burning of the Spanish navie, and other accidents. A sermon of thankesgiving was preached at Pauls Crosse in the fore noune, bone fires throuhe the streets [sic.] in the afternoone, from 2 of the clocke till x. or xi. drinking, banketeing, & other waies reioycing.³³⁷

By the time the next edition of the more detailed *Annals* was put out in November 1600, with the Earl in disgrace, both the direct mention of Essex and the details of the public celebrations had disappeared and the reader was informed merely that “great triumph was made at London for the good successe of the two Generals, and companie in Spaine.”³³⁸ The sensitivity to the issue of Essex’s standing in popular affection which such a treatment of the Cadiz celebrations suggests is yet more rigidly applied in the first edition of the *Annals* to cover the period of the rebellion, early in 1601. Stow accords only a single terse paragraph to the events of that day and the reading of the entrance is devoid of ambiguity. Essex and his accomplices, he notes,

in warlike manner, departed from his house by the Strand, and entered the Citie of London, at the Temple-barre, crying for the Queene, for the Queene.³³⁹

³³⁷ John Stow, *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England* (London: Richard Bradocke 1598), p.450.

³³⁸ *The Annales of England. Faithfully collected out of the most autenticall Authors, Records, and other monuments of Antiquitie, lately collected, encreased, and continued, from the first habitation untill this present yeare 1600* (London: Ralfe Newberry 1600), p.1283.

³³⁹ John Stow, *The Annales of England* (London: George Bishop and Thomas Adams 1605), p.1405. The same phrase is used in the description contained in *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England* (London: John Harrison 1604), p.431. Readers purchasing the edition of the

There is no suggestion here of any note of even popular presence, much less public acclaim. Instead it is the military threat concomitant with a reading of armed rebellion which dominates the account; this is despite the emphasis upon the lack of arms carried by the party both in the earlier accounts and at the trial.³⁴⁰ Stow, an antiquarian whose early researches had brought him under suspicion on occasion, here provides an ultra cautious handling of the Essex revolt; indeed he gives far less space to elucidating this event than to many contemporary occurrences of less note.³⁴¹ The reasons behind this conservative taciturnity are suggested in his comments upon the trial of the Earl where he merely notes the verdict before adding “as more at large appeareth in Bookes thereof extant, published by authoritie, wherefore I will forbear to set downe in this place any further of that matter.”³⁴² In Stow’s text, then, the awareness of a controlling interest in the narration of events surrounding the rebellion registers in a discreet act of deference.

Following John Stow’s death in 1605 the updating of the chronicles was taken on by Edmund Howes who acknowledged the encouragement of

Annales whose title page claimed that it was “continued, from the first habitation to the present yeere, 1601” were in fact acquiring the text of the 1600 edition which ceased at 24 November 1600.

³⁴⁰ See Bacon’s use of both the Pisistratus and Guise parallels to explain this lack of weaponry, examined in Section 5 below.

³⁴¹ Stow came under scrutiny most notably on 17th February 1569 when he was examined by the Lord Mayor concerning the possession of a Spanish manifesto, had his library searched and was called to account for number of proscribed catholic volumes in his possession. See the ‘Life of Stow’ prefixed to C.L. Kingsford’s edition of *The Survey of London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1908), vol.I p.xv-xix. On Stow’s project and method see also F.J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino: Huntington Library Publications 1967), pp.186-195.

³⁴² Stow, *Annales* (1605), p.1406. Stow is evidently referring here to Bacon’s *Declaration* (1601) discussed below.

Archbishop Whitgift, himself a former friend of Essex and the organiser of the thanksgiving sermons which solemnised the Cadiz festivities.³⁴³ One aspect of the revision to Stow's text undertaken by Howes involved the restoring to view of the public popularity of the Earl of Essex. Hence, when overhauling his predecessor's treatment of the Earl's departure for Ireland, it is precisely the presence and performance of the crowd which he inserts into the description he inherited, the new version reporting:

[Essex] roade through Grace-streete, Cornehill, Cheapside, and other high streets, in all which places, and in the fieldes, the people pressed exceedingly to behold him, especially in the high wayes for more then foure myles space, crying and saying, God blesse your Lordship, God preserve your honour, &c.³⁴⁴

Howes' revision, published ten years after the original, imbues this ceremonial circulation of the key thoroughfares of the city and the progress into the fields beyond with the same emphasis on the crowd response noted in the early manuscript account of the rising. The deliberate cultivation of a context of popular acclamation extends even further in his much-expanded treatment of the rebellion itself, where a crowd speaking from the same script is joined with the imagery of the manuscript account:

³⁴³ *The annales, or Generall Chronicle of England, begun first by maister Iohn Stow, and after him continued and augmented with matters forreyne, and domestique, auncient and moderne, unto the ende of this present yeere 1614.* by Edmund Howes, gentleman (London: Thomas Adams 1615). The debt to the late Archbishop Whitgift is recorded in the Dedicatory letter addressed to Prince Charles.

³⁴⁴ Stow-Howes, *Annales* (1615), p.787-8. For Stow's version, which makes no mention of the crowd, see *Annales* (1605), p.1309. Howes is also careful to point out, in describing the departure of Lord Mountjoy to replace the Earl in the role of Lord Lieutenant, that he was "honourably accompanied and attended, though not in such Magnificence as was the Earle of Essex.", p. 789.

[A]nd as they passed Fleete-streete, [they] cryed, for the Queen, for the Queene, and in other places they sayd that Cobham and Rawleigh would have murdered the earle of Essex in his bed: the generall multitude, being entirely affected to the Earle, sayd, that the Queene and the earle were made friendes, and that her maiestie hadde appoynted him to ryde in that triumphant manner through London, unto his house in Seeding-lane, & all the way he went, the people cryed, God save your Honour, God blesse your Honor, &c.³⁴⁵

In Howes' treatment, then, the excised voices of the crowd, direct descendants of those "boys of ye city" whose cries rang out in the early manuscript account, return to register their affection. In doing so the text not only provides further evidence of the popular acclaim surrounding the public appearances of the Earl but signals additionally the coupling of the disparaged "false voices" of the company with the impressive sight of the renegade host to produce an image of ceremonial authority. It is precisely the crowd here who are represented as reading authority into the Earl's entrance, and, whilst the detail of the opening of the gates is not mentioned, it is significantly the "triumphant manner" which once again denotes the legitimisation of access to the space of the city.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁵ Stow-Howes, *Annales* (1615), p.792.

³⁴⁶ One other printed version constructs its account in these terms describing how "Il s'en alla à Londres accompagné de trois cens chevaux, pour faire quelque esmotion à son advantage, gagner la faveur du Peuple, qui le receut avec de grandes & plausibles acclamations, le suivant & accompagnant par la ville, prisant son courage & les services faicts à la Royne & au Royaume." (He set off for London accompanied by 300 horse, to arouse some feeling to his advantage, to win the favour of the people, who received him with great and plausible acclamation, following him and accompanying him through the city, taking his courage and his services rendered to Queen and Kingdom). The note of popular enthusiasm for the Earl which this passage strikes is only tempered by the vague suggestion of the Earl's Machiavellian manipulation of his standing. It is left to the marginal gloss to provide a derisory debunking of the morbid fascination of the crowd: "La populace suit le Comte d'Essex comme un basteleur, ou un condanné qu'on meine à l'execution" (The populace follow the Earl of Essex like a juggler, or one condemned that is led to execution). Pierre Matthieu, *Histoire de France et des choses memorables advenues aux Provinces estrangere* (Paris: Jean Metayer 1605), vol. II liv. IV, p.27v. Two years later Edward Grimston produced a work entitled *A General Inventoire of The History of France, from the beginning of that Monarchie, unto the Treatie of Vervins, in the year 1598. Written by Ihon de Serres. And continued unto these Times, out off the best Authors which have written of that Subiect*. (London: George Eld 1607). Although Matthieu

For the Queen and the Queen's ministers so clear an emphasis on the effective impersonation of authority was a deeply threatening notion, tending both to undermine the clear division between traitor and subject inscribed in the proclamation, and to reveal the city as an unstable entity, available to the most persuasive voice regardless of the legitimacy of its authority. In a version of the events penned by Francis Bacon, and scrutinised by members of the Privy Council as well as the Queen herself, the authorities rushed into print within a few weeks of the Earl's death with their own strategy for reading the entrance into the city and the popular response which awaited it:

[I]t seemes God did strike him with the spirit of Amazement...

For after he had once by Ludgate entred into the Citie, he never had as much as the heart or assurance to speake any set or confident speech to the people (but repeated onely over and over his tale as he passed by *That he should have been murthered*) nor to doe any act of foresight or courage: but he that had vowed hee would never bee cooped up more, cooped himselfe first within the wals of the Citie, and after within the wals of an house... For passing through Cheapeside, and so towards Smiths house, and finding, though some came about him, yet none ioyned or armed with him, he provoked them by speeches as he passed, to arme, telling them, *they did him hurt and no good, to come about him with no weapons.*

But there was not in so populous a Citie, where he thought himselfe held so deare, one man, from the chiefest Citizen, to the meanest Artificer or Prentise, that armed with him:³⁴⁷

was Grimston's principal source for the period after 1598 no attempt was made to include any of the material on the Essex rebellion.

³⁴⁷ Francis Bacon, *A Declaration of the Practises & Treasons attempted and committed by Robert late Earle of Essex and his Complices, against her Maiestie and her Kingdoms, and of the proceedings as well at the arraignments & Convictions of the said late Earle, and his adherents, as after* (London: Robert Barker 1601), [hereafter *Declaration*] sig. F3r-v. On the composition of this work and its course to the press see James Spedding, *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts 1861-1874) 7 vols., vol. II pp.239-244.

Whilst a crowd of sorts is evoked here, in Bacon's account the deafness of the populace to his appeals functions as the signifier of a very real absence of authority represented by the Earl. The narrative turns the spotlight away from the citizen and focuses its glare instead upon the failure of this proto-leader, with his inability to speak to any effect. The text lingers over the disintegration of the image of authority in describing him:

so as being extremely appalled, as divers that happened to see him then, might visibly perceive in his face and countenance, and almost moulten with sweate, though without any cause of bodily labour but only by the perplexitie and horror of his minde.³⁴⁸

Here the crowd, which in Howes' text could read the triumphant manner of Essex's entrance under the sign of legitimate authority, is superseded by a sceptical social body pictured scrutinising the face of the individual and reading therein the consternation at the heart of the supposed leader. The substitution of the plausible with the radically implausible figurehead aims at securing the civic sign by enforcing a separation between the intention to persuade and the impact. The result of this strategy is to make possible the re-location of the transgression in the intentions of the Earl and detach the crowd from any taint of involvement in the insurrection. Such an approach is as expedient for the authorities as for those in whose direction suspicions might otherwise be cast, since it facilitates the reading of events which would dominate proceedings in the courtroom. In this construction of the Earl's offence, which will be revisited in more detail in Section

³⁴⁸ Bacon, *Declaration*, sig.F3v.

5, the intentions are reproduced as charges which can be both successfully prosecuted and publicly condemned as designs upon the city without broadcasting the vulnerability of their object.

Bacon's account, in addition to turning the focus inward upon the traitor, also turns inside out the notion of an acclaimed entrance into the space of the city. As with other accounts, his re-reading of the space of the city passes lightly over the manner of Essex's entrance, locating the Earl as *already* entered through Ludgate and backdating his failure in persuasion only to the moment subsequent to this unstudied entrance. Yet Bacon proceeds to extend this treatment to a re-articulation of civic space in which the Earl finds himself "cooped... within the wals of the Citie." To present the city in such a fashion is to turn on its head the notion of an autonomous community identified and defined by the assertion of a common boundary and to affirm instead the civic defences as additional security measures available to the state. This reading, then, which makes all citizens definitively into subjects, switches the emphasis from the Earl's entrance into the city to his attempted exit from it, an incident which saw the only decisive military encounter of the city venture. No doubt such a focus, noticeable in the accounts of Bacon, Stow and Camden, could not sit easily with too great an emphasis upon the entrance to the city. To locate Ludgate as a line of defence irrespective of the direction of approach is a somewhat disconcerting tactic, since it begs the question of quite who is being defended and against what. For the sealing of Ludgate against the returning Earl repositions the city as a holding zone for the protection of the Court, and in doing so suggests both a certain indifference to the

fate of the city and a simultaneous failure to differentiate between the citizens and the renegade body of authority in their midst. In a striking detail contained in Howes' account the repulse of Essex at Ludgate is mediated by an act of community on the part of the social body unique to his version of events. He records that as the Earl came to Queenhithe "at his request, unto the citizens, the great chayne which crosseth the streete was held up to give him passage."³⁴⁹ This second permeation of a civic boundary, once again a consequence of the citizenry inclining to Essex's appeals, is a second breach in the inviolable exterior of city and citizen as viewed through the spectacles of correctly ordered subject - monarch relations.

Bacon's account was to provide one of the central sources for later histories and its construction was designed to guarantee a maximum of authority. The inclusion of confessions with the names of those present, scripted excerpts from the trial answering each point of the charges, and other evidence "word for word taken out of the originals", all sit side by side with a narrative account which weaves together material from the confessions and other more imaginative elements.³⁵⁰ Yet the very force with which the text seeks continually to demonstrate its authenticity alerts the reader to the anxieties which brought it into being. By challenging the readings of the entrance and exit of the city in the *plot* put forward by Bacon's version of events the faultlines along which it is

³⁴⁹ Stow-Howes, *Annales* (1615), p.792.

³⁵⁰ Bacon, *Declaration*, title-page. The narrative account which prefaces the details of the trial is certainly the first attempt to produce a history of the troubles constructed from the examination of witnesses and access to state documents. Camden's account, appearing within a work organised in annal form, nevertheless adopts this approach to the explanation of the rebellion and the build-up towards those events.

constructed come into view. Indeed the text itself appears to concede that it is engaged in an active attempt to challenge for authority in the telling of these events when it explains its publication as taking place “because there doe passe abroad in the hands of many men divers false and corrupt Collections and Relations of the proceedings.”³⁵¹ In spite of Bacon’s warnings, however, it is to these circulating currents that we now turn.

Section 3: Report and Libel: seditious words

On the day following the uprising the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, feeling himself to be “towards an ague”, nevertheless overcame his indisposition sufficiently to pen a letter to Sir Robert Cecil expressing his apprehension over the current situation:

I would think it were good that present letters were written into as many shires as may be thought fittest to advertise the overthrow and taking of all these traitors, and that they are fast in the Tower; for God knows how variable the reports of this accident were even here amongst ourselves, and therefore bruits of his rising going abroad, and the success thereof not presently following, may stir up evil minds I know not how far.³⁵²

Uppermost in Buckhurst’s thoughts is the need to control the dissemination of news relating to the events of the previous day - an objective threatened on two fronts. Firstly and most immediately Buckhurst’s letter produces the haunting spectre of unchecked reports of an unchecked rebellion circulating in the country.

³⁵¹ Bacon, *Declaration*, sig.A3v.

³⁵² Letter of Feb. 9th , *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.35-6.

The evident anxiety over the potential impact of such news upon the population at large reveals in the process a belief in an unauthorised chain of communications along which news of the revolt might pass, outstripping the pace of official channels. It is in response to fears over the existence of an effective, uncontrolled information network that an imperative course of action surfaces: the need to transform the collision of conflicting accounts obtaining at the very heart of government into an authoritative report suitable for transmission.

Buckhurst's imaging of an invisible network against whose subversive forces the engines and energies of the state ought to be marshalled cites the letter as the chosen medium by which such information should be disseminated and this is indeed the form taken by many of the earliest reports. Thus the two manuscript accounts quoted in Section 2 take the form of 'separates', or unattributed relations of particular events, that might be enclosed within a letter, copied and passed on. Of these reports, whose exclusive focus on the events of the February 8th suggests their composition and dispatch immediately after that date, one survives in (at least) four copies indicating a reasonably effective distribution system.³⁵³ Alongside these accounts there survive the personalised newsletters of John Chamberlain keeping Dudley Carleton informed of events at home and, in addition, two newsletters touching the Essex rebellion which constitute the sole known contributions to the format of one Vincent Hussey.³⁵⁴ Unlike

³⁵³ On these manuscript accounts and on 'separates' in general see footnotes 332 and 332.

³⁵⁴ John Chamberlain's letter of February 24th is the earliest of his letters post-dating the rebellion to survive. In it he refers to an earlier dispatch which had recounted "the beginning and progresse of our troubles and as many particulars as I could bethinke me of in such huddling haste", demonstrating the importance attached to the speedy provision of detailed information on such an event. *Letters Written by John Chamberlain During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* ed. Sarah Williams (London: Camden Society 1861), p.102.

Chamberlain's these latter two compositions silently collate information from several sources into a narrative account of proceedings. Although historians relying upon the partial and inaccurate transcriptions in the *Calendar of State Papers* have not commented upon the fact, the extant copies are in fact *drafts* rather than dispatched letters, penned in the hand of Thomas Phelippes.³⁵⁵ That Phelippes, a former Essex employee and a noted decipherer who had recently successfully petitioned Sir Robert Cecil "to gain your favour by doing you some service in matter of intelligence", should be connected in such a way with these documents ought to suggest at least the possibility that this celebrated pseudonymous letterwriter could have been producing these letters in the Secretary's service.³⁵⁶ It is at least clear that the sources implicit in their construction are closely connected to the Court since not only are the words of the Queen reported but even those of Sir Christopher Blount at his own examination are closely paraphrased. The closing sentences provide further grounds for suspecting the involvement of a certain leading figure at court:

But the mayne poynt of all was the providence and celerity of the Secretary, who I have heard foresaw ... it before he was believed, and showed great dexterity and corage in ministering sodayne remedye when it burst forth And so as having laboured as particularly as I could to advertise you this matter

³⁵⁵ The two letters, dated Feb. 11th and 18th, do not run entirely consecutively; hence letter 1 is found on PRO SP 12/278/49r, 50r while letter 2 covers PRO SP 12/278/49v, 50v, 54v. The printed versions are in *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, pp.549-552, pp.582-585. On Phelippes see P.W. Hasler, *The House of Commons 1558-1603* (London: HMSO 1981), III pp.219-220; on his service for Essex see Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The Trouble Life of Francis Bacon* (London: Gollancz 1998), pp.55-56, pp.138-139 and Alan Haynes, *Invisible Power: The Elizabethan Secret Services 1570-1603* (Stroud: Alan Sutton 1992), pp.96-97.

³⁵⁶ Phelippes' petitioning letter is dated April 14th 1600, by the time of his communication of June 16th 1600 it is clear that Cecil is making use of his services. *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, pp.420-421, pp.442-443.

because I know it wilbe worth the reporting in the place you are... farewell.³⁵⁷

Certainly the letter's attention to Cecil's role in the events of that day, and its adoption of a pro-active position in encouraging the further advertising of that role, would meet the needs of the Secretary as well as the concerns of the Lord Treasurer - not least by the author's inclusion of a copy of the proclamation of February 9th with the text.³⁵⁸ The care taken by Cecil over the drafting and publication of the proclamation as a means of advertising the rebellion's suppression signals his sharing of the Lord Treasurer's concerns.³⁵⁹ This document was included with letters to certain figures in positions of responsibility - thus Mountjoy and Carew in Ireland received the printed text along with letters identical save for the hope articulated to the former that the news "will extinguish all other good affections which long familiarity and confidence in the innocency of your friends have bred in you towards them."³⁶⁰

³⁵⁷ PRO SP 12/278/50r. There is however some inconsistency over dating in relation to the examination of Sir Charles Blount since the surviving records of examination are dated after this letter. See the examinations of Feb. 16th and 18th in *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, p.575, pp.578-579, and that dated Feb. 13th in *Salisbury Papers XI*, pp.47-49. Part of the draft of the second letter reporting the speeches at the Star Chamber on Feb. 13th is even written upon a report of those same proceedings, see fn.405.

³⁵⁸ The Hussey letter notes in a postscript the inclusion of the proclamation.

³⁵⁹ See the draft of the proclamation dated Feb. 9th in PRO SP 12/278/36 (not printed in *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*).

³⁶⁰ *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, pp.546-547. For the letter to Sir George Carew which also contains the report on "our little army" quoted in Section 2 see that of Feb. 10th printed in *Cecil-Carew Letters*, pp.65-67. Lacey Baldwin Smith has suggested that the government may have deliberately attempted to avoid implicating Mountjoy in the treason proceedings. This is despite the evidence of letters exchanged between Mountjoy, Essex and King James VI concerning the possibility of sending troops into England which may well have been known to the authorities. *Treason in Tudor England*, pp.262-263. See also Wallace McCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics, 1588-1603* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1992), pp.532-535.

Whilst distributing the proclamation as an official report of events to certain key individuals was of vital concern, its broader dissemination to a news-hungry populace was also high on the agenda, as the letter to Sir Richard Shuttleworth and the Council of the Marches in Wales demonstrates:

Wee wrote unto you very lately to lett you understand of the wicked and trayterous attempt of the [Earl of] Essex and other his confederates and of the apprehencion of him and them, whereof yt hath bin thought convenient both to give unto those partes and the other countyes of the realme such perticuler knowledge as all her Majesty's lovinge and faythfull subjects may take notice thereof, which by a publique proclamacion is signified whereof wee send unto you a good number, and do pray you that you will take presente order for the satisfaccion of all the people within your jurisdiccion to send to the severall countyes, cyttyes and markt townes this proclamacions, and to cause them both to be proclaimed and publiquely sett up in the streetes in such usuall places as all her Majesty's subjects may take knowledge of the same.³⁶¹

This letter of the Privy Council follows up an earlier confirmation of the revolt's suppression with a kind of writ giving detailed instructions for the securing of a maximum aural and visual audience for the proclamation - an operation to which considerable importance was attached in this area, where support for Essex was known to be strong.³⁶² With printings also targeting French and Dutch speaking audiences, the efforts invested in its dissemination suggest that the Proclamation is

³⁶¹ Undated Letter from the Privy Council, *APC 31*, pp.149-150.

³⁶² On the system in place for the promulgation of proclamations see Frederic A. Youngs, jr., *The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1976), pp.18-26; Youngs points out the occasional use of letters to noblemen or officers to stand in place of writs for the dissemination of proclamations, p.23. On the strength of support for the Earl of Essex in Wales see Mervyn James, 'At a crossroads of the political culture: the Essex revolt, 1601' in *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1986), pp.416-465, esp. pp.424-427.

likely to have been one of the most widespread written commentaries upon the rebellion.³⁶³

In this text occupying such a key position in the publication of the rebellion's putting down, the strategy adopted is firstly to stress the efforts on the part of the Queen in attempting to satisfy the initial grievances of the rebels, thereby countering the notion that she had proved indifferent to any wrongs incurred by Essex's party, and then to celebrate the "loyal disposition of our peoples (whereof we never doubted)" demonstrated in the rebellion's failure to attract support.³⁶⁴ The effect of this structuring of the account is to emphasise and reinforce the bonds of reciprocal duty binding monarch and subject and to isolate the position of the rebels "deceived of their expectation".³⁶⁵ Yet, whilst advertising the consolidating message of the correct performance of their respective roles by Queen and citizens, the proclamation text simultaneously extends the spectre of treason in two directions; backwards into Ireland with the mention of "plots with the traitor Tyrone" - an earlier draft had mentioned only "intelligence" with the Irish rebel³⁶⁶ - and forwards to enjoin a vigilance against

³⁶³ For the various versions see the note on publication in *Tudor Royal Proclamations III*, p.230. The writ issued to the Lord Mayor of London for the promulgation of the proclamation survives in the Corporation of London Record Office, *Journals MSS*, vol. 25 fol. 240v. It is close in form to that recorded in the common-place book of Stephen Powle, a Clerk of the Crown, and cited by Youngs as the standard version, *Proclamations of the Tudor Queens* table 5, p.22.

³⁶⁴ The printed proclamation, from which quotations in this paragraph are taken, is no.808 in *Tudor Royal Proclamations III*, pp.230-232. The extant draft of this proclamation is even more fulsome in the expression of such thankfulness towards the people "as we cannt containe the same within our owne brest", PRO SP 12/278/36.

³⁶⁵ Again the draft version is even more explicit in its setting out of this reciprocity in terms of a mutual interest, remarking "although the benefitt of theire [the citizens] loyaultie in such cases doth chiefly redound to themselves, as being thereby preserved from utter spoile ... yet shall they fynde on our part whensoever we shall have cause to shew it, that we have so thankful a meaning towarde them, as is consistent to the honour of a Prince that can well discerne the value and price that is to be made of loyall and servicable people." PRO SP 12/278/36.

³⁶⁶ PRO SP 12/278/36.

such as might be “instruments and ministers” of this and any future insurrections. In this manner, then, the proclamation, rather than dispel the atmosphere of unrest arising from the rebellion, tends instead towards its exacerbation, calling the citizens and the country as a whole to order by the invocation of a continued prospect of instability.

The suspicions displayed in the proclamation find a manifest accessory in the steps taken to secure the city’s safety in the days following the rebellion. Anxieties translate into actions which give body to the anticipation of imminent unrest. Almost a week after the event the Privy Council was issuing warrants for the levying of yet more men; 500 to Charing Cross, 400 to both Stratfords in the east, 300 each for Southwark and Holborn and 400 more to Greenwich and Deptford. At the same time the Lord Mayor was being urged to secure the bridge and to grant the charge of Newgate and Ludgate, respectively, to the Crown’s appointees Sir John Gilbert and Sir Robert Crosse, as well as furnishing the same with men and arms.³⁶⁷ Two days later the Queen’s representatives in the city, Sir Edward Wotton and Sir Henry Brouckner, were reporting the implementation of a further tightening of security. The numbers at the vital western gates and the bridge were raised to 100 and Moorgate actually blocked up altogether, while prisons, armourers and all stores of powder within the city were placed under guard. In addition to all these measures,

for a more certain and speedy way to strengthen the guards and suppress any sudden uproar, we appointed two places of assembly, viz. the Exchange and Paul’s churchyard, for a

³⁶⁷ See the various letters of Feb. 14th in *APC 31*, pp.155-157.

continual stand of six hundred soldiers, which upon every occasion might make head to any sudden commotion, and command all parts of the city and supply the rounds.³⁶⁸

The precise form of commotion anticipated here is made explicit in the Lord Mayor's warrant for the levying of these troops "to prevente the attempte of anie Trayterouse or evill disposed personnes."³⁶⁹ The same insecurities surfaced in another proclamation issued on February 15th which brought in strict methods for dealing with vagabonds in the counties surrounding London - these figures of apprehension were perceived as "being of likelihood ready to lay hold of any occasion to enter into any tumult or disorder."³⁷⁰ The Vincent Hussey newsletter of February 18th maintains the atmosphere of tense suspicion in its description of the Court as "guarded like a camp... troops of armed men march up and down, as if the Spaniards were in the land," whilst the city was so well secured "as though there were great mistrust."³⁷¹ Such comments signal the extreme anxieties underlying so massive a deployment of force and the confusion which surrounds the attempt to arm against an invisible, or at least ill-defined, enemy. The Hussey image of a land fearing invasion can all too easily lend itself to the description of a territory under occupation, a populace subjected to martial law, whilst the object of mistrust is in no way distinguished from the citizens whom the proclamation had earlier claimed were "never doubted."

³⁶⁸ Letter of Sir Edward Wotton and Sir Henry Brouckner to the Privy Council on Feb. 16th, *Salisbury Papers XI*, pp.58-59.

³⁶⁹ From the letter of Feb. 15th in the Corporation of London Record Office, *Journals MSS*, vol.25 fol.242r.

³⁷⁰ *Tudor Royal Proclamations III*, no.809, pp.232-233.

³⁷¹ PRO SP 12/ 278/50v. John Chamberlain also describes the strong military presence in the City and at Court in his letter of Feb. 24th, *Letters*, p.106.

Examples of the kind of counter-suspicion haunting the Hussey newsletter are more clearly suggested by some of the refinements made in the enforcement of the post-rebellion security strategy. The Privy Council demonstrate a sensitivity to this atmosphere of mutual suspicion in their guidelines for the implementation of the proclamation against vagabonds. Alongside the measures to ward off potential trouble makers, a recommendation to employ discretion was included amongst the instructions since “yt ys not meant that the severytie and rigor of the proclamacion shalbe executed against the multitude.”³⁷² An awareness of the need for delicate handling appears to have grown in tandem with the increased military presence. When in the immediate aftermath of the rebellion, Sir Thomas North and two others had been ordered to ensure the manning of the Postern gate on Tower Hill, an area disputed by the rival jurisdictions of the City and the Lieutenant of the Tower, the appeal to the necessity of “theis doubtfull times” appears to have been a sufficient pacifier.³⁷³ A week later, however, when Sir Robert Crosse and Sir John Gilbert were demanding custody of the keys to the gates with whose safety they had been entrusted, the Privy Council had at the Mayor’s insistence to persuade them away from a course “which may breed some conceipt in the mindes of such as are apte to take sinister impressions.”³⁷⁴ The anxiety over the keys of the city demonstrates the extent of the overlap between military and ceremonial constructions of the city. The sensitivity of both Lord Mayor and Privy Council acknowledges the availability of these actions to *mis-*readings - which is to say readings beyond their control - and in the process

³⁷² From the warrants sent to the Provost Marshals of the adjacent counties, *APC 31*, p.164-165.

³⁷³ *APC 31*, p.153. The date of this letter is uncertain, but a second entry with a less detailed reference to the despatch of what appears to be the same message is dated Feb. 13th, *APC 31*, p.154.

³⁷⁴ Letter of Feb. 19th in *APC 31*, p.173.

implicitly recognises a degree of literacy in the reading of civic spaces amongst the populace. It is then hardly surprising that once again the control of access to the city is the object of these contested readings. The same sites at and through which the various ceremonies of the city performed their carefully negotiated settlements between autonomy and dependence retain the capacity to generate symbolic readings of the relation between authority and community in the context of the threat of unrest. The good intentions of those acting to preserve the peace are always liable to come under a sceptical scrutiny whereby protection gives way to the image of occupation, and community to subjection.

Just as the securing of the city cannot be secured against the potential for symbolic readings of the control of access to civic spaces, so an inverse anxiety is aroused by the city's seeming vulnerability to discursive appropriation. For those in positions of authority "sinister impressions" are accorded a significant degree of agency, with the safety of the city presented as in grave danger from the threat of verbal and textual attack. There is perhaps no clearer example of official unease in this respect than the strange case of the plot of certain apprentices to lead 5,000 in an action on the capital. Amongst the most striking aspects of this plan is the extent to which it reflects almost exactly the threat anticipated in the defensive measures cited above. For the targeted points for seizure were the gates, prisons, churches, armourers and powder stores, before an attempt was to be made on the Tower in the company of a hostaged Lord Mayor. The end of the plot was to have been the release of the Earl of Essex and his presentation before the Queen to reconcile their differences. In this course it bears a remarkable resemblance to

the Drury House plots being confessed by the Essex conspirators themselves at just the same moment. This double coincidence of plot, which may well have been produced as much by the examiners as the examined, nevertheless helps to account for the hold it exercised over the imagination of the authorities. Had the levels of popular support envisaged by plotters and inquisitors existed, one might have thought the Earl himself more likely to have benefited from them in his actions of the previous week. Yet the real significance of this affair is not the viability or otherwise of a scheme which could yield but two prisoners, and that a week after “the complotters, either crossed or forewarned by some accidents, seemed to repent and purposed to desist.”³⁷⁵ Rather the interest lies in the means by which the uprising was to be effected:

They intended to draw their company together by libels, with hope to have some 5,000 persons. Two libels made, but none of those published. Some others dispersed, but the authors not yet known.³⁷⁶

That confesser and examiner should collude in according such efficacy to libels demonstrates not the practicability of the scheme so much as the imagined potency of these texts and the fecundity of the Essex rebellion as a cultural site for their generation. The plot ‘uncovered’ here evokes the powerful appeal to the imagination of another mode of circulation in which the city’s vulnerability to seizure is not merely figured through, but actively stems from, the act of discursive construction. The intense anxiety revealed here surfaces equally in the proclamations of February 9th and 15th of which are haunted by the looming

³⁷⁵ From the abbreviate of the examination dated Feb. 23rd, *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.78.

³⁷⁶ *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.77.

spectre of those “that shall give out slanderous and undutiful words or rumours against us and our government”, and of the vagabonds “that lie privily in corners and bad houses, listening after news and stirs, and spreading rumours and tales.”³⁷⁷ Indeed a further proclamation directed specifically against the perpetrators of “divers traitorous and slanderous libels” at large in London attempted the exorcism of these troubling spectres with the offer of a reward of £100 for information on the authors.³⁷⁸

Clearly the libel constituted a potent sign under which the anxieties over the city’s vulnerability to discursive appropriation by a range of voices took shape. Although the libels associated with the apprentices’ plot do not survive and our knowledge of them, as with many others circulating in the aftermath of the Essex rebellion, is limited to the textual traces relating to their collection and examination, the picture which emerges is nevertheless of a broad range of materials and of means of circulation. Adam Fox, along with other recent students of the field, has drawn attention to the wide range of cultural interventions which might fall under the heading libel, from the spoken and written to the use of visual imagery - all of which might be deployed in a co-ordinated act of publication where the contribution of a text might be “to maximize the circulation and to add the visual dimension of something pasted up in public.”³⁷⁹ It is possible that the terms “made”, “published” and “dispersed”,

³⁷⁷ *Tudor Royal Proclamations III*, nos.808, 809, p.232.

³⁷⁸ *Tudor Royal Proclamations III*, no.810, p.233.

³⁷⁹ Adam Fox, ‘Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England’ in *Past & Present* 145 (Nov 1994), pp.47-83, p.51. On the use of visual imagery see especially the discussion of the case of George Hawkins, pp.49-52, and the few examples given by William Hudson in the seventeenth century tract ‘A Treatise of the Court of Star Chamber’ printed in *Collectanea Juridica: consisting of tracts relative to the law and constitution of England* (London: E & R

used of the apprentices' actions, denote aspects of the process of transmission of libels from oral invention and transcription, to acts of performance and distribution which extend beyond the circulation model of verse libels found copied into common-place books alongside letters and reports of the rebellion.³⁸⁰

In the weeks after the revolt the Lord Mayor, Sir William Rider, assiduously collected and forwarded to Cecil a series of libels notable for the manner of their attempted intervention in the cultural life of the city. Rider scrupulously records the discovery of libels in places of public congregation about the city from that found simultaneously in both Newgate Market and the Poultry, to another uncovered "upon the Stairs of the Royal Exchange."³⁸¹ Such points of transmission, allied to the potential forms of performance suggested above, recall the Privy Council's efforts to achieve a maximum exposure for their sanctioned reading of events by enjoining those receiving the proclamations "to cause them

Brooke 1792), vol. II pp.1-240, p.101. Other important treatments of the libel transmission include Pauline Croft, 'The Reputation of Robert Cecil: libels, political opinion and popular awareness in the early seventeenth century' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6th series vol. 1 (1991), pp.43-69; Alastair Bellany, 'A Poem on the Archbishop's Hearse: Puritanism, Libel and Sedition after the Hampton Court Conference' in *Journal of British Studies* 34 (April 1995), pp.137-164, and "'Rayling Rymes and Vaunting Verse': Libellous Politics in Early Stuart England, 1603-1628' in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* ed. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1993), pp.285-310; Thomas Cogswell, 'Underground verse and the transformation of early Stuart political culture' in *Political Culture and cultural politics in early modern England* ed. Susan D. Amussen and Mark Kishlansky (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1995), pp.277-300; Martin Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music and Mocking Rhymes in Early Modern England' in *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* ed. Barry Reay (London: Routledge 1985), pp.166-197.

³⁸⁰ On verse libels see Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 1995), pp.76-133. Marotti gives several examples of verses relating to Essex including a pro-Cecil rhyme, pp.95-98. Croft's analysis of the libels against Cecil, whilst its claim "that they should be considered as spontaneous expressions of popular culture" is somewhat overstated, nevertheless argues convincingly that their origins are "[m]ostly metropolitan... rather than among factious courtiers" amongst whom they certainly enjoyed a great readership. 'Reputation of Robert Cecil', pp.62-63.

³⁸¹ See the letters from the Lord Mayor to Cecil on March 19th and April 3rd in *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.132, p.156.

both to be proclaimed and publicely sett up in the streetes in such usuall places as all her Majesty's subjects may take knowledge of the same"³⁸² The libel, however, moves beyond these open and frequented sites to achieve a level of penetration unavailable to the promulgators of the proclamation. Thus the very fabric of the city is permeated by one exemplar found "stuck between two boards in Old Fish Street", whilst an attack on Robert Cecil which is likely to date from this period intervened in the reading of the civic environment in the form of an inscription above the door of his lodgings in London; "Here lieth the Toad".³⁸³ Here a transformation in the reading of the space of the city is allied to a transgression of spatial boundaries, constituting a pollution of the urban environment. This is precisely the association provided by the account of one citizen's discovery of an offending artefact when "going to make clean his entry, and to shut in his outer door, [he] found the same cast into the entry."³⁸⁴ The libel arriving here appears as both an intrusion and an infection whose threat must be removed to secure the safety and purity of the urban environment.³⁸⁵

³⁸² *APC 31*, pp.149-150.

³⁸³ See the letter of the Lord Mayor on February 14th in *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.53, and the accusations against John Mylles, a servant of Essex (the dating of this last record is uncertain and may predate the rebellion), *Salisbury Papers XIV Addenda* (London: HMSO 1923), pp.162-163. The principal offence committed by Mylles in relation to the Cecil "libel" appears to be that of publishing the inscription (which is also recorded above his lodgings at Court) suggesting that it is the infiltration of these privileged spaces which arouses anxiety. See also the later case of Thomas Edwardes against Dr Wootton in which the latter sent the plaintiff a defamatory letter and then published copies amongst the community - the ruling determined that it was this publication which made the action punishable. John Hawarde, *Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata 1593-1609* ed. W.P. Baildon (London: privately printed 1894), pp.343-346. On the circulation of libels against Cecil see Croft, 'Reputation of Robert Cecil', esp. pp.46-50.

³⁸⁴ Letter of the Lord Mayor to Cecil March 4th, *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.104.

³⁸⁵ The identification of cultural conceptions of danger with defilement and uncleanness are examined in relation to their figuration through the body in Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Ark 1984). For an example of the common association of the spread of infection with the spread of news and rumour see Henry Wotton's attack upon the authorised versions as "pestilent Libels" discussed in Section 4 below.

The spatially transgressive effect of the libel can also be seen in the attempts at both a symbolic and material level to infiltrate relations between figures of authority. Hence one such artefact addressed itself “into the hands of our most noble and gracious Queen of England” and took the form of a letter to the monarch, while the Lord Mayor was obliged to admit that a “lewd libel [was] put into my hands as I came this fornoon from the Sessions, by one that named himself servant to my lord Admiral.”³⁸⁶ In these examples the impersonation of authority suggests the susceptibility of official channels to the risk of infection, and makes use of imposture as a strategy for the re-reading of both the event and the contested cultural arena.³⁸⁷ One of the best-known libels relating to the Essex rebellion performs its re-reading of events by characterising sanctioned authority in terms of an imperfect impersonation:

[Litte]ll Cecill trippes upp & downe
 [He] rules bot Court & Crowne
 [Wi]th hi[s bro]the[r B]urlei[gh] clowne
 in his great foxfurd g[ow]ne
 wth the longe proc[la]m[at]ion
 hee swore hee savd the towne
 is it not likelie ³⁸⁸

³⁸⁶ Undated letter calendared under February and letter of Feb. 16th, *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.91, pp.57-8. The former mode of intervention was to be publicly realised some twenty years later when a verse libel was left in the hand of Elizabeth’s tomb statue at Westminster Abbey. See Alastair Bellany, “‘Rayling Rymes and Vaunting Verse’”, p.291. Another celebrated example of such infiltration of the discursive networks of authority concerns the satirical poem placed amongst the elegies and epitaphs atop Archbishop Whitgift’s hearse in 1604, on this “ritualized object”, see Bellany, ‘A Poem on the Archbishop’s Hearse’.

³⁸⁷ This form of usurpation of authority is clearly redolent of the Bakhtinian notion of carnivalesque inversion whose investment with notions of impurity and infection is examined in Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (London: Methuen 1986). On the links between libel and carnival see particularly Ingram, ‘Ridings, Rough Music and Mocking Rhymes in Early Modern England’, esp. pp.178-192.

³⁸⁸ PRO SP 12/278/23. See also Croft, ‘The Reputation of Robert Cecil’, p.47.

In this example the re-positioning of the service of the Cecils as an unwarranted assumption of authority is undertaken through the explicit challenging of both the ironically “long” proclamation itself and Lord Burleigh’s announcement of it as an effective instrument in the securing of the city.³⁸⁹ This circulating libel, then, rejects the attempts of the Cecils to control the city through both the verbal act and the reporting of that act by re-reading self-proclaimed legitimacy as a form of impersonation. Conversely, the trope of impersonation is equally open to construction in directly hostile terms as in the case of the libel found in the market place at Sarum which prompted the authorities there “to set watch and ward throughout the whole city”:

Ye noble Earls, it is a grief to our hearts coming from sea to hear this news, that thou noble Essex shouldest be so rewarded for the voyage into Cales and Ireland. Fear not; England and Scotland will revenge shortly thy quarrel, for in every city I have company. Spain.³⁹⁰

This text, which the officials termed a “seditious libel”, inverts the impersonation motif by imaging a secret communication between rival authorities, producing in the process a veiled threat. The unlikely coalition evoked here functions less as an incitement to rebellion than as a concentration of diverse potential threats to the state designed to play upon contemporary anxieties over national security. As such the libel re-reads nation and city to produce a silent and

³⁸⁹ The brevity of Burleigh’s act of proclaiming is dwelt upon in one mocking report in which “the Lo. Burleigh came & proclaymed him traytor, whereupon one of his [Essex’s] Companye shotte at the Lo. Burleigh & kylled the trumpeters horse & the Heralde & the Lo. Burleigh wth all his companye rode awaye as faste as their horses woulde runne in so muche as there horses ranne & leapte over many people” From an account of the Earl’s trial discussed more fully in Section 5 which contains a brief description of the events in the city, BL Sloane MS 756 fol. 9v.

³⁹⁰ Forwarded to the Privy Council by the Bishop of Salisbury and others on Feb. 20th, *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.75.

invisible presence, a waiting army, who remain undetected and seemingly unaffected by the efforts towards an exhaustive dissemination of the proclamation and other attempts to re-enlist their loyalties as good subjects.

The categorisation of the above piece as a “seditious libel” raises the issue of the prosecution of offenders in these cases. The landmark case in the articulation of a legal definition for libel was that prosecuted by Attorney General Coke in 1605, prior to which, as one commentator has noted, “judicial punishments of seditious words tended to precede precise legal definitions in case law.”³⁹¹ Legal historians of the period have pointed to the availability of a range of methods for the prosecution of libel in which cases might rest not only on the basis of the defamation of an individual but also on the publishing of defamatory statements against the government, a crime interpretable as treason in certain circumstances.³⁹² Yet there is only one known example of a libel prosecution linked to the insurrection. In a contemporary listing of events related to the Essex rebellion it is noted that about February 15th “one Waterhouse, a lawyer’s clerk, was hanged in Smithfield for making libels.”³⁹³ Such a disparity illustrates well the dangers inherent in examining the importance of libel solely within a juridical

³⁹¹ Roger B. Manning, ‘The Origins of the Doctrine of Sedition’ in *Albion* 12:2 (Summer 1980), pp.99-121, p. 119. For the report of the Coke case see Hawarde, *Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata*, pp.222-230.

³⁹² On the different legal means available for dealing with libel and their standardisation see J.F. Stephen, *A History of The Criminal Law of England* (London: Macmillan 1883), vol. II pp.298-313; W.S. Holdsworth, ‘Defamation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’ in *Law Quarterly Review* Vol.40, no.CLVII (Jan 1924), pp.303-315 and Philip Hamburger, ‘The Development of the Law of Seditious Libel and the Control of the Press’ in *Stanford Law Review* 37 (February 1985), pp.661-762, esp pp.666-675. M. Lindsay Kaplan has recently treated the elasticity of the term libel and its relation to slander in *The culture of slander in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997), pp.12-33.

³⁹³ The reference is contained in a chronological account of events relating to the Essex rebellion contained under the August 1601 heading in *CSP Dom. 1601-1603* ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Longman & Trübner 1870), p.88.

context. An examination of the letters accompanying the turning in of libels discovered by the Lord Mayor and others - in which the sole line of enquiry is the attempt to ascertain the author from the handwriting - testifies not merely to the unlikelihood of any prosecution, but to this very evasion of detection as an important factor in the libel's capacity to arouse anxiety.

The potency of the libel, then, can be seen as extending beyond a textual or graphic assault upon a particular party. Its ability to permeate the boundaries of civic and domestic space lend the anxiety which attaches to it a recursive aspect in which the intrusion has always already taken place. This effect can then contribute to the impact of the impersonation of authority - hence the Sarum libel's *invasion* of the public space of the market lends resonance to the textual threats of an internal invasion and causes the city's literal arming against such an eventuality. The libel is thus experienced as the symptom of a constant invisible network, the examples detected never able to exhaust the pervasiveness of the imagined circulation. The sense of an inability to stem the perceived free flow of such artefacts is perhaps unsurprising given the implication of the agents of authority themselves in their dissemination - is not the Lord Mayor's copying and forwarding of libels to Cecil after all a further permeation of boundaries ? Nor is it overstating the case to read an obsessive anxiety over the libel as co-existing at the heart of government with a compulsive interest in them, particularly when one considers that even Cecil himself, the chief object of any personalised attacks in relation to the rebellion, is situated as a distribution point by one interested party

who has news of a circulating libel and asks the Secretary “If you shall vouchsafe to lend it me but a short space, it shall be returned with speed and secrecy.”³⁹⁴

Section 4: Preaching to convert

At the heart of the city, at the meeting point of the two streets which led towards the western gates of Newgate and Ludgate and Cheapside, the city’s principal and oldest ceremonial thoroughfare, lay the churchyard of St Paul’s. In this place of convergence for the traffic, commerce and cultural life of the city, stood Paul’s Cross, the open pulpit from which the citizens received weekly admonitions and exhortations. While catering to the spiritual well-being of the civic population, however, it was also the focus for ceremonies of national and civic importance. When Queen Elizabeth made her only state visit to the city aside from the royal entry prior to her coronation, it was “going, as it were in triumph” to Paul’s to hear the last in a series of sermons of thanksgiving for victory over the Armada.³⁹⁵ Similarly, when the civic religious calendar arrived at its climax, the Lord Mayor and his brethren in full ceremonial attire would hear a series of sermons on the holy days of Easter, preached in conjunction with those at the

³⁹⁴ Undated letter of 1601 to Cecil from the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Hunsdon, *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.550. The text referred to here is quite possibly that cited above commenting on Lord Burghley and the Proclamation since its opening verse refers directly to the Lord Chamberlain who describes his knowledge of this libel “which shoots at many, yet hits very few, that has glanced at sundry of the Court, and amongst others at myself, and my other near freinds.”

³⁹⁵ Camden, *Historie of Princesse Elizabeth*, IV p.144. See also the account printed by Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (London: n. p. 1823) vol. III p.539; and Millar Maclure, *The Paul’s Cross Sermons 1534-1642* (Toronto: Toronto University Press 1958), p.71.

similar structure at St Mary Spittal without the walls.³⁹⁶ In these ceremonial actions the sermons, with the choice of speaker coming under the aegis of the Bishop of London, provided the religious focus for the event, sanctifying and solemnising these civic rituals. Yet the Cross also had a long-standing association with more specifically secular performances, being first recorded as a place of public congregation for folk-moots as well as a place for the proclamation of notices.³⁹⁷

All these roles come together in the figuring of this site in events on the 8th of February 1601. Camden's account claims Paul's Cross as the primary focus of the conspirators' plot to woo the people, the intention being to arrive "a little before the end of the Sermon at Pauls, there to informe the Aldermen and people of the causes of their coming and to crave their ayde against his adversaries."³⁹⁸ The site onto which these hopes are projected, - and which in Camden's account are defeated by the panic with which the counsellors' arrival prompted Essex to go forth having "forgot both horses and his designe"³⁹⁹- finds itself converted in even the most sympathetic account of the rebellion into the scene of the final evacuation of hope from the venture. Thus, in a pathetic moment which signals the transformation of the heroic figure into the desperate failed leader familiar from Bacon's narrative, the description of Essex's response to the news of Sheriff Smith's failed embassy describes how he "came forth &

³⁹⁶ On these sermons see Stow's account in *The Survey of London* ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1908), I pp.167-168 and the treatment in Horton Davies, *Like Angels from a Cloud: The English metaphysical preachers 1588-1645* (San Marino: Huntington Library 1986), pp.416-420.

³⁹⁷ See Maclure, *Paul's Cross Sermons*, pp.4-6.

³⁹⁸ Camden, *Historie of Princesse Elizabeth*, IV pp.174-175.

³⁹⁹ Camden, *Historie of Princesse Elizabeth*, IV p.176.

walked [Che]apeside againe & stayd a good space at Pauls gate in ye end of Cheape then went into Pauls Churchyard & there stayd halfe an houre this while ye [Cit]izens raising armes ye gates made strong ye streets chayned.”⁴⁰⁰ In these two incidents the isolation of Essex from the citizen populace is figured around the Cross in Paul’s churchyard - firstly by his failure to arrive in time to connect with the social body, and then by his forlorn contemplation at this place of congregation.

Yet the site of Paul’s Cross is significant not only for its place in the unfolding drama of the rebellion on that Sunday, but also for the attempts to shape the responses of the populace in its aftermath. In the weeks that followed, sermons across the city and country dwelt upon the events of that day and none proved more central to the process of defining official reactions than those delivered at Paul’s Cross. Detailed directions for the preachers emanated from the centre of spiritual and political governance and in the case of Paul’s Cross these efforts to influence opinion overlapped with more direct responses to the rebellion. On the weekend after the rebellion the security measures introduced by Sir Edward Wotton, Sir Henry Brouckner and the Lord Mayor came into conflict with the attempts of preachers to deliver their own verdicts upon the uprising. Thus Bancroft, the Bishop of London, wrote in a state of confusion to Cecil:

Upon a warrant from you lordships that all persons shall keep their house to-morrow, my Lord Mayor is determined that none but women shall go to the church, nor stir abroad, saving such as shall be appointed to bear arms. In so much as his lordship sendeth word that he mindeth to keep 500 armed men

⁴⁰⁰ ‘A rare accident’, see Appendix II.

all the day in St Paul's Churchyard, where the preaching place is. If this be the intent of their lordships I think it best that the preachers should be silent in the matters I delivered them this morning to have been delivered to their several auditories concerning the traitors, &c., as being unfit to be imparted to women, except you do think otherwise⁴⁰¹

In this letter the meeting of these different commands and jurisdictions reveals the city as an overdetermined site invested with military, social and political significance where the different demands cannot be brought into immediate harmony. Despite these conflicting interests, however, the injunction against venturing abroad appears to have been overturned since the sermon at Paul's Cross went ahead as planned, Bancroft confessing himself well satisfied with the preacher who "performed his duty well and delivered to the people the whole matter of the arch traitor, according to the instructions you were acquainted with."⁴⁰² The letters of both Wotton and the Lord Mayor on the same day, however, make clear that the militia force was in place and temper acceptance of Bancroft's portrait of events:

The auditory was great (though the Lord Mayor and his brethren were absent) and the applause for her Majesty's deliverance from the mischiefs intended exceeding great, loud and joyous. The traitor is now laid out well in colours to every man's satisfaction that heard the sermon, as I suppose or could judge by men's countenances.⁴⁰³

Whether the audience consisted solely of militia men or whether this military force was simply present to lend a guiding hand in the applause is uncertain but in either

⁴⁰¹ Letter to Cecil of Feb. 14th, *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.52.

⁴⁰² Letter to Cecil of Feb. 15th, *Salisbury Papers XI*, pp.55-56.

⁴⁰³ *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.55-56. For the letter of Wotton see *Salisbury Papers XI*, pp.58-59.

For the letter of the Lord Mayor see Corporation of London Record Office, *Journals MSS* vol.25, fol.242r.

case the audience produced the required response to the anatomising of Essex's treachery.

The sermons that took place on this day appear to have been based upon a series of instructions prepared for dissemination amongst the preachers which survives in manuscript. The focus of this model text, headed 'Directions for the preachers', is upon the utter discrediting of Essex and his former authority. Hence the text notes that "he has carried himself after a very insolent and ambitious sort, especially for six or seven years past, wherein he has been contriving this most traitorous attempt."⁴⁰⁴ This transformation of the rebellion into the product of long premeditation continues and extends suggestions contained in the proclamation and is supported with a series of accusations against the Earl and his accomplices which resemble strongly those aired before the Justices of the Peace for distribution in the provinces "uppon Friday following being ... last Star Chamber day of this terme, when as always something of interest is delivered to the judges and justices."⁴⁰⁵ In both cases the points dwelt upon are the Queen's bounty in preferring the Earl, the religious hypocrisy of the Earl in courting both catholic and protestant, the plotting in Ireland with Tyrone, and the matter of the book of Henry IV.⁴⁰⁶ The culmination of the directions for

⁴⁰⁴ *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, pp.565-568, p.566.

⁴⁰⁵ PRO SP 12/278/fol.49v. From the second and only other recorded letter of Vincent Hussey, once again in the hand of Thomas Phelippes, which gives details of the proceedings and particularly of Cecil's "pertinent speech.". Other accounts of the Star Chamber session are contained in two different manuscripts dated Feb. 13th one of which is again in Phelippes' hand and on its reverse contains part of the Hussey letter which both summarises and copies directly from it. PRO SP 12/278/54, PRO SP 12/278/55, transcriptions printed in *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, pp.553-557.

⁴⁰⁶ On both the accusations of religious dissimulation and the printing of Hayward's Henry IV, see Mervyn James 'At a crossroads of the political culture', pp.418-423; Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought*, pp.258-264 and see also Annabel Patterson's examination of the case of Hayward's

preachers stresses the continued threat to the state that has led to the mobilisation of mounting numbers of armed men since “Her Majesty’s danger is increased.”⁴⁰⁷ This danger was given lively form in the figure of Thomas Lee, the renegade captain apprehended and executed for attempting to gain access to the Queen in order to “seize upon her person” and bring her to release Essex.⁴⁰⁸ Perhaps the most notable aspect of this treatment of Essex, however, is the comparative lack of any direct mention of the rebellion itself. Of the accusations levelled against the Earl in the sermon few surface in the charges brought against him at the trial. The discrepancy was noted by John Chamberlain as something which “stickes much in many mens mindes” indicating that these pronouncements were not so readily accepted as Bancroft’s account would have one believe.⁴⁰⁹ Rather they suggest that a discriminating ear was leant to the sermons with an awareness of the cultural work they were attempting to perform.

The communication of the sermons in accordance with the directions for preachers was not only subject to a potentially discerning auditory, however, the message might equally well be perverted via a poor or partial performance. Hence, despite the careful planning, the Hussey newsletter reports the failure of those preachers who,

text in *Censorship and Interpretation: the conditions of writing and reading in early modern England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1984), pp.44-48.

⁴⁰⁷ *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, p.568.

⁴⁰⁸ *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, p.568. On the career of Thomas Lee and his extraordinarily ill-performed, perhaps even deliberately suicidal, crime see the article by James P Myers jr., “‘Murdering Heart... Murdering Hand’: Captain Thomas Lee of Ireland, Elizabethan Assassin” in *Sixteenth Century Journal XXII:1* (1991), pp.47-60.

⁴⁰⁹ From the letter of February 24th, Chamberlain, *Letters*, p.105.

did amplyfye [the matter] beyond all probabilitye of truth so as it is impossible for me to expresse unto you the varietye of mens thoughts and speeches touching this proceeding. On the one side they crye crucifye And yett on the other side there is such jealousie and dout of light & bad fellows... uppon a rumour I have of one come to Court ..ye Preachers of London shold rise to deliver him by force out of the Tower.⁴¹⁰

The range of responses resulting from the erratic preaching raise anxieties over the effective dissemination of the material contained in the recommended text despite the fact that the responses of the auditors recorded here tend towards the justification of the actions of the state and a vigilant suspicion that works largely in the interests of authority. Nevertheless the lack of confidence in the medium provoked attempts at control in a difficult and sensitive area. In the case of the nonconformist preacher Stephen Egerton, the Bishop of London sent an observer to assess his treatment of the rebellion. Although the bachelor of divinity attending the sermon noted that “He professed not to know so much [of the details of the rebellion] as many of his auditory, not having access where they had, as the court etc.,” the Bishop was clearly unwilling to engage in a public calling to account.⁴¹¹ In his letter to Cecil on the subject the desire to keep the manipulation of the instruments of religion from view surfaces in the judgement that “If he can satisfy your Honour concerning his loose dealing in such a high matter of state, I am after a sort of quietness, so as you undertake for him.”⁴¹² Indeed one preacher

⁴¹⁰ PRO SP 12/278/50v.

⁴¹¹ Letter to Cecil of April 2nd enclosing a report on the sermon of Feb. 15th in *Salisbury Papers XI*, pp.154-155.

⁴¹² *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.155. See also Egerton’s attempts to justify his performance in the letter to Cecil of April 4th, pp.157-158. For the documents and rumours relating to the conspiracy of priests mentioned both in Star Chamber and in the directions, see the letter from Bancroft on March 4th and the examinations included in the letter of April 16th, p.109, pp.165-168. On the association of radical Protestants with Essex see also Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Jonathan Cape 1967), pp.444-447.

somewhat more amenable to the interests of authority concedes the currency of the charge alleged against them,

which some ill affected, and foule mouthed have given out, because we [the preachers] , being commaunded by authority, on the Saboth after the insurrection, in our severall cures, did describe the nature and uglinessse of the rebellion are becom *time servers & men pleasers*, leaving the great man that is dead, and now cleaving to others, and closing with them for preferments.⁴¹³

Perhaps no preacher had more work to do in clearing himself of this charge than the author of this statement, William Barlow, for it was Barlow that gave the Paul's Cross Sermon on the Sunday following Essex's execution. His efforts to explicate and justify the actions of the state upon the Earl would find themselves set out in print along with extensive framing material only a few weeks later.⁴¹⁴ In this respect Barlow's sermon proved more fortunate than his preceding service at Paul's Cross, for it was this former chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift who delivered the Cadiz thanksgiving sermon which could find no place in Stow's later histories. Although Barlow made a spirited attempt to salvage his personal integrity by contending that he received no benefit either from praising or condemning Essex and only agreed to perform the latter when "it was inioyned by a commaundement peremptory", it seems unlikely that those selecting the future Bishop of Rochester

⁴¹³ William Barlow, *A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse, on the first Sunday in Lent; Martij I. 1600 With a short discourse of the late Earle of Essex his confession, and penitence, before and at the time of his death.* (London: Matthew Law 1601), sig.B7v.

⁴¹⁴ The publication was registered with the Stationers' Co. on March 18th, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640* (London: n.p. 1876), III p.69. On this sermon see also Maclure, *Paul's Cross Sermons*, pp.80-87. Maclure's findings have been recently re-stated by Thomas E. Novak in 'Propaganda and the Pulpit: Robert Cecil, William Barlow and the Essex and Gunpowder Plots' in *The Witness of Times: Manifestations of Ideology in Seventeenth Century England* ed. K. Z. Keller and G. J. Schiffhorst (Pittsburgh: Dusquesne University Press 1993), pp.34-52.

for the role would have been indifferent to this symmetry when so many of his auditors clearly were not.⁴¹⁵ The choice of Barlow to perform the task suggests rather a deliberate attempt to challenge Essex's persistent appeal as a figure of public authority, to denude him of the last vestiges of ceremonial charisma. In this it recalls the way in which Bacon's narrative of the rebellion had praised the people for staying at home on the February 8th since otherwise "the nakednesse of Essex troupe would not have so well appeared."⁴¹⁶ Indeed Henry Wotton, a member of Essex's household until near to the period of rebellion, well understood the similarity of intent behind these two texts:

I am sure no discovery, no expression, either to his Memory, Friends, or Dependants, can weigh down the indignity of the Sermon at Pauls Crosse, and set out by Command; or that Discourse that was so carefully commended abroad of his Treasons; which were two of the most pestilent Libels against his Fame, that any Age hath seen published against any Malefactor.⁴¹⁷

Wotton, according to his friend Walton, had fled at the time of Essex's incarceration as "knowing Treason to be so comprehensive... he thought prevention by absence out of England, a better security than to stay in it, and plead his innocency in a Prison", and thus would have learnt of the sermon in question through its printed incarnation.⁴¹⁸ His comments register the

⁴¹⁵ Barlow, *Sermon*, sig.A6r.

⁴¹⁶ Bacon, *Declaration*, sig.F4r.

⁴¹⁷ Henry Wotton, 'The Difference and Disparity between the Estates and Conditions of George, duke of Buckingham, and Robert earl of Essex' in *Reliquiae Wottonianae, or A Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems, with Characters of Sundry Personages* (London: Thomas Maxey for R.Marriot, G. Bedel, T. Garthwait 1651), pp.52-53.

⁴¹⁸ Izaak Walton, *The Lives of Dr John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr Richard Hooker, Mr George Herbert* (London: Thomas Newcomb for Richard Marriott 1670) facsimile edition (Menston: Scolar Press 1969), p.22. On Wotton's service as one of Essex's secretaries see Paul

equivalence of the different modes of circulation through which the reputation of his former master Essex and the reading of the rebellion are constructed. The sermon is recognised as part of a deliberate project to counter the malicious rumours of others, but here fails to escape the charge that it is itself another form of malicious libel. The same collapsing of the opposition between official accounts and their scandalous, subversive rivals is evident in the popular claims against which Barlow is forced to defend himself. Rehearsing these charges Barlow's offence is explicitly imagined - in direct response to the dual authority he represents - as both a seditious and a blasphemous libel since "it was given out that I was stroken... with a dreadfull sicknesse; or as if I had spoken treason, that I was, the next day, committed close prisoner to the Tower."⁴¹⁹

Perhaps predictably Barlow's strategy in countering these charges is to endeavour to secure all available authority for his own text. Beyond the claims for his personal integrity, he invokes a parallel authority to Bacon's "word for word out of the originals", claiming for his narrative the thoroughness of diligent research since from the time of his confirmation in the role of preacher "I was not one day from the Court, still labouring to informe my selfe of everything which I doubted."⁴²⁰ To this authority of method is then added Barlow's role as one of the ministers to whom Essex confessed his errors. Here the claim to be bearing witness directly to the words of Essex is substantiated in dramatic fashion by the performative display of the confession itself when he claims that "I reade it out of

Hammer, 'The Uses of Scholarship: The Secretariat of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, c.1585-1601' in *EHR* (Feb 1994), pp.26-51.

⁴¹⁹ Barlow, *Sermon*, sig.A4r.

⁴²⁰ Barlow, *Sermon*, sig.A3r.

the paper.”⁴²¹ To establish the credibility of his testimony even further Barlow then proceeds to implicate Essex himself in the broadcasting of the Earl’s errors, reporting how Essex had made the two confessors promise “that we [Barlow and Montford] would give publicke and open testimonie of that his penitence and detestation of his offence.”⁴²²

With these strategies for legitimising his text, then, Barlow seeks to bring together spiritual and material authority in order to distinguish his work from the kind of “pestilent libels” with which Wotton would classify it. Rather than a reporter of events actively engaged in the struggle for control of the discursive construction of the rebellion, Barlow seeks to represent his role as that of witness to Essex’s own spiritual contrition and juridical self-incrimination. The confession itself, “foure sheets of paper, every worde in his owne hand” as Barlow terms it, does not survive.⁴²³ Hence the legitimacy of the claims to a full explanation of Essex’s actions through announced quotation and summary remains now, as then, a subject of speculation. One textual source from which Barlow drew much inspiration does survive, however, in the form of a letter from Sir Robert Cecil containing detailed instructions for the treatment of the rebellion.⁴²⁴ The advice culminates in his recommendations for handling the subject of the city:

⁴²¹ Barlow, *Sermon*, sig.A3r. To support his claims to both veracity and diligence in the reporting of Essex’s words he even includes a short section at the end of the text where he records the aspects in which Montfort, another divine present at Essex’s confession, finds difference between his recollections and those of Barlow.

⁴²² Barlow, *Sermon*, sig.A5r.

⁴²³ Barlow, *Sermon*, sig.D1r, Bacon, *Declaration*, sig.Q3r-Q4v.

⁴²⁴ The instructions also make mention of previous contact over the contents of the sermon remarking “I leave all the things which I have delivered you by my Lords’ direction to be carried and applied as you like”, calendared under Feb. 26th in *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, pp.598-599. Millar Maclure has shown how closely Barlow followed these instructions *Paul’s Cross Sermons*, pp.83-86; see also Novak, ‘Propaganda and the Pulpit’, pp.37-44.

If you can bring it in well, it will be very fit to remember that his purpose of taking the Tower was only to have been a bridle to the city, if happily the city should have misliked his other attempt.⁴²⁵

Once again this passage takes aim at the ceremonial authority of Essex by laying open the military designs lying just beneath the surface of the attempt on London. In doing so, the excerpt recalls the anxieties aroused by the disputed custody of the keys to the city gates examined in Section 3. As with the “sinister impressions” evoked there, the advice to Barlow points to the overlap between a military and a ceremonial geography of the city. Essex’s designs upon the Tower are figured as an assault upon this stronghold on both fronts. If the entrance into London at Ludgate evoked a ritual assertion of the acceptance of the stranger into the community, sealing a compact between Essex and the citizens, the sermon directions attempt to reverse that signification. As such the ceremonial precedent which the image most closely resembles is that of the Royal Entry (or more accurately the Royal Exit) whose spatial narrative traversed the city from this “bridle” to the palace of Westminster. The intentions of Essex and his party are linked to an appropriation of that spatial narrative in the attempt to cultivate a ceremonial charisma which constitutes the “other attempt” upon the city. Yet, as Cecil’s letter makes clear, the attempt to seize ceremonial authority is underwritten by a monopolisation of force running directly counter to the assertion of community. In so doing the advice exposes an operation which it is the purpose of ceremony to conceal: the translation of authority into charisma.

⁴²⁵ *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, p.599.

The attack upon the popularity of Essex is thus undertaken through an exposure of the agenda of ceremony whereby the populace are revealed as subjects to this ambitious noble rather than the object of his affection. This reading of events is further signalled by Bacon's treatment of the same material which inspired Cecil. For the Secretary was here borrowing a phrase from the examination of Sir Charles Danvers which Bacon also included in reconditioned form:

[The conspirators debated] whether it were fit to take the Tower of London. The reason whereof was this: that after the Court was possessed, it was necessary to give reputation to the action, by having such a place to bridle the Citie, if there should be any mislike of their possessing of the Court.⁴²⁶

In Bacon's equivocal phrase "to give reputation to the action", inserted into the confession, we return once again to the intersection of ceremonial and martial designs upon the city, in which control of the discursive construction of events is linked to control of the Tower itself. To reveal this intention is to reveal the mechanics underlying the production of charisma and to expose Essex and his accomplices in the act of cultivating, and hence implicitly impersonating, legitimate authority.

When Barlow comes to perform Cecil's bidding and elucidate this aspect he does so in the context of a summary of the Earl's offences under the headings of the following four divisions of Essex's self-accusing: "his great sinne, his

⁴²⁶ Bacon, *Declaration*, sig. M4v. The version given in the record of Danvers' examination on Feb. 18th has "The points projected were to take the Tower first, as after the Court was possessed, it was necessary to have such a place to bridle the City, if it should dislike of their possessing the Court." *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, p.579. Novak takes the metaphor of the bridle to be Cecil's, 'Propaganda and the Pulpit', p.42-43.

bloody sinne, his crying sinne, [and] his infectious sinne.”⁴²⁷ Under the bloody sin, Barlow offers the following disparaging outburst as issuing from the mouth of the Earl after his capture,

That you were a very base people: that he trampled up and downe your city without any resistance: that he would undertake with foure hundreth men of his choise to have overrunne your citie: that he passed many of your lanes and chanes baraccadoed (it was his worde) without one blow offered at him, in his returne from Ludgate to Queenehith.⁴²⁸

In a passage which rehearses many of the anxieties noted in relation to the entrance of Essex into the city the Earl’s revolt is explicated here in terms of its transgression of boundaries. The lack of resistance encountered within the city is translated into the reproach from a boastful mouth against a vulnerable city with a feeble populace. The words attributed to Essex present his unchecked progress as a wilful violation of the space of the city and a deliberate insult to its autonomy. The spectre of the popular welcome accorded the Earl is vehemently exorcised with the expectation, again attributed to Essex himself, that blows would be offered *to* him rather than *for* him. It is this attempt to poison the ceremonial authority of Essex by making him the mouthpiece of a contemptuous re-reading of the city’s failure to respond to his presence which paves the way for a ventriloquising reappearance of the comments on the Tower:

[B]eing asked what he meant by taking the tower of London, sithence his principall project was for the court. He answered,

⁴²⁷ Barlow, *Sermon*, sig.D4v. These four sins function as vehicles for the description of Essex’s rebellion; it is a great sin, in respect of his other sins; bloody in respect of its potential outcome; crying in that it demands vengeance; and contagious in that it may infect others.

⁴²⁸ Barlow, *Sermon*, sig.D6r.

“that he meant it should have beene a bridle, to your citie,” marke that worde, a bridle hath raines and a bit: so that if you had made an head agaynst the Queene (which I hope you would not) he would have given you the raines, you should have gone on without any restraint to have beene rebels to your prince and country: but if you had united your force against him as good subiects (and as I am fully perswaded you would) they are his owne wordes, “if happily the Citie should have misliked his other attempt,” then you should taste of the Bit.⁴²⁹

Barlow’s amplification of the image of the bridled horse provides a resonant example of the efforts to harness and control the unstable sign of the city within the confines of discourse. Clearly, however, these competing interpretative choices, in which the citizens are invited to imagine themselves as either racing towards rebellion or tasting of the whip, serve to reinforce the notion of the city as a treacherous mount which can only be mastered with difficulty if at all, and one whose disobedience is on this occasion being celebrated. The result of this expounding of models of self-interpretation before the populace is to present a contractual model of authority in which consensual readings of the relation between rulers and ruled are suggested. These models were explored in Chapter 2 in relation to spatially performed negotiations of the relationship between the city as built space and the city as social body, and in Barlow’s application of horse-play to cityscape the resulting image turns upon the same dual destruction and the same failure:

They call it the playeng of the Bit in the horse[’s] mouth: but I beleeve the playing of the Ordinance from the Tower would have fetcht both your houses downe, and your bloud out.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁹ Barlow, *Sermon*, sig.D7r-v.

⁴³⁰ Barlow, *Sermon*, sig.D7v.

Indeed, when casting around for an interpretative hold over the traitorous noble, it is to Shakespeare's source that he turns: "Coriolanus, a gallant young, but a discontented Romane, who might make a fit parallel for the late Earle, if you reade his life."⁴³¹ Where Shakespeare's Coriolanus has been discussed in relation to a failure in the performance of civic ceremony, the actions of Barlow's Essex similarly throw the ceremonial consensus into jeopardy, his perversion of ceremonial authority threatening a parallel destabilisation of relations between the representatives and the subjects of authority.

The Essex produced in the sermon at Paul's Cross, then, shares the project of the Bacon narrative in focusing upon a disruptive individual who, as with Coriolanus, threatens the destruction of his own city. By drawing the parallel and locating the threat in the figure of Essex rather than exposing the instability of the civic sign the text, in its treatment of the remaining "crying" and "contagious" sins, attempts to isolate and destroy the danger to authority. Yet the last of the four constructions of the sinfulness of Essex exposes the persistence of the danger in an image still rich in its associations with the policing of the city's boundaries. This "infectious sinne" is characterised as a leprosy "which unfoldeth both the greatnesse of the danger, and argueth that the contagion of the sinne is not gone with him."⁴³² The same preoccupation haunts Bacon's *Declaration*. The volume concludes with the abstract of Essex's confession to the ministers and the very last words of the text proper are given over to the Earl's explanation "which word

⁴³¹ Barlow, *Sermon*, sig.C3v. See Maclure who ponders whether Shakespeare might have been present, *Paul's Cross Sermons*, p.85.

⁴³² Barlow, *Sermon*, sig. D7v.

Infectious, he privately had explained [sic.] to us, that it was a leprosie that had infected farre and neere.”⁴³³ Even at the point of closure, then, the text returns upon itself and seems to acknowledge the impossibility of achieving its previously stated mission to counter the “wicked and seditious libels thrown abroad.”⁴³⁴ As such the end of the text can claim no advance upon the position at its outset when the Earl’s words were deployed to concede that “the dregs of these Treasons.. a Leprosie that had infeccted farre and neere, do yet remaine in the hearts and tongues of some misaffected persons.”⁴³⁵

Section 5 “Thy accusation did but quote / The margin of some text of greater note”⁴³⁶:The several trials of the Earl of Essex

When in 1623 Samuel Daniel came to print the ‘Apology’ he had written nearly twenty years earlier for his *Tragedy of Philotas* (1605), he professed surprise at the contemporary parallels which had been read into his innocent attempt at “representing so true a History, in the ancient form of a Tragedy.”⁴³⁷ In trying to explain away the coincidences between drama and recent history - which included the playing out of a staged trial of the eponymous hero on trumped-up charges, and an unsympathetic chief Counsellor, Craterus, whose role

⁴³³ Bacon, *Declaration*, sig.Q4v.

⁴³⁴ Bacon, *Declaration*, sig.A4r.

⁴³⁵ Bacon, *Declaration*, sig.A4r.

⁴³⁶ Samuel Daniel, *The Tragedy of Philotas* (1605) ed. Laurence Michel (New Haven: Yale University Press 1949) III.ii, p.129.

⁴³⁷ Daniel, *Philotas*, p.156. For a detailed exposition of the parallels between the Essex trial and the play see Michel’s introduction, pp.36-66; for a reading of the play’s production and printing in relation to early seventeenth century censorship practices which argues for *Philotas* as an exemplary instance of Annabel Patterson’s model of functional ambiguity see Janet Clare, ‘*Art made tongue-tied by authority*’: *Elizabethan and Jacobean Dramatic Censorship* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1990), pp.127-131.

in events is comparable to that of Cecil in the Essex affair - Daniel attempts to establish the early date at which he began the work: "And living in the Country about foure yeares since... neere halfe a yeare before the late Tragedy of ours, (whereunto this is now most ignorantly resembled) unfortunately fell out heere in *England*, I began the same."⁴³⁸ Daniel's efforts to exonerate himself here actually suggest a blurring of the very distinction between history and dramatic representation upon which his argument against the transfer of significance from one to the other depends. The force of his claim to be simply staging the events of history in the form of a tragedy is diffused by his reading a few lines later of the Essex rebellion itself in terms of representation. In conceptualising the Essex rebellion in these terms Daniel is by no means unique and in this final section I hope to show that it is the trial of the Earl of Essex that plays a central role in producing this impression.

In the weeks following the rebellion the city was filling up with armed men, vagabonds came under scrutiny, libels littered the metropolis, and preachers spurred on by either malice or desire to please drummed up the wrongs done by the Earl and his party into heinous sins. The dangers of the time, the unease registering at the heart of authority, had been well published through these various mediums and measures and all combined to prepare a privileged space for the trial of Essex. In the courtroom spectacle and spotlight might lend a further authority to the punishment, or present an opportunity for vindication. The trial itself took place less than two weeks after the rebellion and its verdict was hardly in doubt.

⁴³⁸ Daniel, *Philotas*, p.156.

The very letter commanding the attendance of the Peers required to make up the jury was clear enough in informing them to come to Westminster “where your Lordship[s] shalbe further acquainted with all the particularities not onlie of their secrett practises of treason against this kingdome but of their actuall rebellion within the city of London.”⁴³⁹ Furthermore the court, which was to be presided over by Lord Buckhurst, appointed Lord High Steward for the occasion, would witness the Lord Chief Justice Popham read a deposition on his own period of captivity with the rest of the Queen’s embassy at Essex House before a jury that comprised such conspicuous adversaries of the accused as the Lords Grey, Cobham and Burghley. The trial, then, was to be less concerned with deciding guilt than producing it, and this concern extends to the production of printed texts relating the details of the event. We have already noted the haste with which Bacon’s officially approved treatment leapt into print, and John Stow’s sensitive deferral to those books “published by authoritie” when mentioning the trial in a work published in 1605, the same year as Daniel’s *Philotas*. There were still impediments to printing some ten years later when Stow’s successor alludes to the hunger for reports of this event whilst still refraining from satisfying it:

The newes of all this dayes businesse was sodainly divulged throughout London; whereat many foresooke their Suppers, and ranne hastily into the streets to see the Earle of Essex as he returned to the Tower, who went a swift pace bending his face towardses the earth, and would not looke uppon any of them, though some spake directly to him, concerning which, with other passages, and the Earles obiections and answers, &c. I have written a more large discourse, according to the general expectation, whereunto by multitudes I have beene infinitely

⁴³⁹ Letter of Feb. 8th, *APC*, p.150.

urged, but for divers reasons it must be omitted at this time, therefore let this suffice without taxing.⁴⁴⁰

The precise nature of these obstacles to publication remains unclear, but even in 1624 an author could still caution that Essex was “a man of whom it behoveth every man to be carefull how to write.”⁴⁴¹ Indeed the first alternative to Bacon’s treatment of the trial did not appear until the posthumous publication of the second part of William Camden’s *Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elisabetha*, issued by his literary executor Pierre Dupuy in 1625.⁴⁴² An English edition would have to wait until 1630. Yet, as Howes’ description suggests, a public existed that not only desired a glimpse of the spectacle but indeed *expected* details of the drama to be available. Historians in the modern era, when avoiding a dependence upon Bacon’s treatment, have made use of the accounts printed in Jardine’s *Criminal Trials* and Cobbet/Howell’s *State Trials* in discussing the proceedings, although neither of these texts represent direct transcriptions of contemporary reports of the trial.⁴⁴³ In fact a

⁴⁴⁰ Stow-Howes, *Annales* (1614), p.793.

⁴⁴¹ The author labours to explain that “because his excellent parts were so great, and the envy which attends such excellency is so boundlesse; that grow the Rush never so smoothe, yet there will be a knot, and let the speech be never so modest yet there will be too much or too little spoken; Therefore, I will only flye to my Mistresse *Truth*, and under her protectionn give a glauce at some part of his Story.” Nevertheless the text scrupulously avoids any mention of the Earl’s career after his return from Ireland, *Honour in his Perfection: Or, A Treatise in Commendation of the Vertues and Renowned Vertuous undertakings of the Illustrious and Hheroyicall Princes: Henry Earle of Oxenford, Henry Earle of Southampton, Robert Earle of Essex, and...Lord Willoughby, of Eresby* (London: B. Alsop for Benjamin Fisher 1624), pp.26-27.

⁴⁴² On the publication of the second part of Camden’s history, whose printing was prevented by the author during his lifetime, see D.R. Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England* (Toronto: Toronto University Press 1990), pp.118-125 and Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Queen Elizabeth’s First Historian: William Camden and the Beginnings of English ‘Civil History’* (London: Jonathan Cape 1971), pp.19-20.

⁴⁴³ *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanors from the Earliest Period to the Year 1783* compiled by T.B. Howell 21 vols. (London: Longman et al 1816) vol. 1, pp.1333-1360. Despite the claim in one of the prefaces that “Before each Trial in this volume, I have given notice to the Reader whence it is extracted, with such other explanations, as were necessary to enable the forming a judgement on the

remarkable number of detailed accounts from the period survive - the present work draws upon the study of twenty two, more than the number of extant reports of the rebellion itself - some in sufficient multiple versions to reinforce the notion of an effective distribution network aiding the circulation of reports.⁴⁴⁴ The surviving accounts suggest a sustained interest in the proceedings beyond the immediate moment, testifying to the trial as a focal point for interest in the Essex rebellion.

authority of the trial.” no such details are given for this text, p.iii. Although Jardine states that the source for Howell’s text is a manuscript in the State Paper Office (now the PRO), the *Calendar of State Papers* correctly notes of the two reports of the trial in its possession: “Both these accounts differ from that printed in Howell’s *State Trials*” *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, p.587. In fact Howell’s source, containing several readings found only in these two reports, is a late seventeenth century publication *The Arraignment Tryal and Condemnation of Robert Earl of Essex, and Henry Earl of Southampton, At Westminster the 19th of February 1600* (London: Thomse Basset, Sam Heyrick and Matth. Gillyflower 1679), which itself appears to be based upon the account in BL Add. MSS. 34,218 fol. 210-218. The version printed in *Criminal Trials* ed. David Jardine (London: Charles Knight 1832) 2 vols., I pp.310-365, has an even more convoluted history, being a conflation of the account in PRO SP 12/278/101 with those in BL Harleian MSS 5202 and 2194. In addition it inserts the various examinations given at the trial from the originals appearing amongst the State Papers, whilst at the same time deriving additional details from Camden’s account. The only recent historian to go beyond these sources is Mervyn James who makes use of the account in *Remains Historical & Literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Cheshire Vol. LXXXIX.: The Dr. Farmer Chetham MS* ed. A.B. Grosart (Manchester: Charles Simms for the Chetham Society 1873) [hereafter *Farmer Chetham MS.*], pp.1-29

⁴⁴⁴ The most widely reproduced manuscript account of the trial is PRO SP 12/278/102; of which the following are close, but not exact versions BL Harleian MS 4289 fols.17-40; BL Harleian MS 5202 fols. 6-33; BL Harleian MS 6854 fols. 232-242; BL Sloane MS 1427. fols. 87-99; BL Sloane MS 1779 fols. 195v-206v; BL Add MS 21, 924 and that printed, with some apparent errors in transcription (see for example fn.464), in *Farmer Chetham MS.* The account in PRO SP 12/278/101 although an independent text is evidently closely related to BL Add MS 34,218 fols. 210-218. Of this the following mss are copies: BL Lansdowne MS XCIV.54; BL Add. MS 5956 fols. 3-18 (bound out of sequence) and BL Lansdowne MS 115.19 (incomplete). In addition the account in BL Add MS 4155 fols. 94-97 is also found in slightly reduced form in BL Sloane 756 fol. 1, whilst BL Harleian MS 2194. 21 fols. 49-62 is reproduced again with some omissions in BL Add MS 39, 830 fols. 32-42. The following are independent accounts of which I have found no evidence of any other surviving copies BL Harleian MS 6854 fols. 188-202; BL Sloane MS 756 fols. 4-14; BL Add MS 5482 fols. 20v-23v; BL Harleian MS 2194. 21, fols. 49-62; and that printed in *HMC The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland preserved at Belvoir Castle* vol. I (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode for HMSO 1888), pp.371-373. Several of these accounts appear along with other materials relating to the rebellion in collections of circulating manuscripts, of which the Earl’s death speech is the most common; however, BL Harleian 5202 contains, along with the account of the trial, a copy of the *Devereux Papers* account of the rebellion whilst BL Harleian 4289, in addition to these last, also contains details of the fates of Blount, Danvers and Merrick along with lists of prisoners, and even a copy of the text of ‘Directions for Preachers’ found in *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, pp.565-568.

Manifest within the trial reports is a concern with the construction of the ritual venue both in terms of the work undertaken at Westminster Hall, where “there was built for that daie... a scaffold in forme of a court or tribunal some ii yardes high ande aboute six yardes square,” and also through the placement and precedence of those parties involved in the courtroom drama.⁴⁴⁵ Few of the descriptions, however, shed as much light on the involvement of the spectators as that penned by an Essex fan who with several companions paid 20s for a spot on the scaffold near to the action the night before the trial and was forced to remain there for fear of losing the place. The sole consolation for these devotees being that “wee carryed in o[ur] pockettes reasons, fygges... marmaladyes & the lyke wth a bottle of beere & another of sacke & tooke often there tobacco or else we had not bene able to endure yt.”⁴⁴⁶ When the trial took place the following day there was no shortage of witnesses to the event;

The halle was buylte wth large scaffoldes one eyther syde & before the Courte all fylled wth greate multytudes & numbers of people & all the wyndowes at the upper ende of the halle stored with gentlemen & people of all sortes, & the little gallerye at the southe syde of the upper ende of the halle stuffed fulle wth Ladyes & gentlemen.⁴⁴⁷

In such a theatricalised context the improvised courtroom took on the aspect of a performance space - as the Essex sympathiser termed the spectacle, “a

⁴⁴⁵ BL Harleian MS 6854 fol.188. The account in the Rutland Papers provides a form of rudimentary map of the ritual venue, *Rutland Papers*, p.371.

⁴⁴⁶ From an account entitled ‘The Arraignmente & Iudgemente of Robr. Earrle of Essex & Henry Earle of Southehampton at Westminster Hall’ in BL Sloane MS 756 fols. 4-14; fol 4v.

⁴⁴⁷ BL Sloane MS 756 fol. 5r.

true tragedye in actyon as ever was seene or reade of⁴⁴⁸ - in which the organisers aimed to dramatise the revelation of the Earl's treason. The Earl of Essex, granted the opportunity to respond to the evidence before him, acted his own part such that, according to John Chamberlain, "a man might easily perceive that, as he had ever lived popularly, so his chiefe care was to leave a goode opionion in the peoples mindes now at his parting."⁴⁴⁹ Between the different written accounts there is a considerable degree of variance in terms of the ordering of the events which were to take up an entire day. In the management of the materials of description we can read attempts to construct a narrative to fulfil the agendas of prosecutor or accused, and in some cases both. Indeed, the Earl's apparent readiness to seize upon the performative potential of the arena with humorous and inventive interjections intended to subvert the proceedings registers in all but one of the accounts consulted.⁴⁵⁰ Thus his criticisms of Coke's playing the orator and his self-aggrandising jests over his body's service to Queen and country, both at his swearing in and at his receiving of sentence, are ubiquitously reported. Yet, where Essex's enlivening asides find a place in the reports, the spirited defence of his actions, which even Camden describes as being conducted "with a cheerefull voyce and countenance, and confidence of mind", also makes available to the structuring of several of the most widely circulated accounts of the trial a dramatic shape which culminates in an even more resounding denouement.⁴⁵¹ These accounts seek to build their narratives around the exposure of a telling

⁴⁴⁸ BL Sloane MS 756 fol. 8r.

⁴⁴⁹ Chamberlain, *Letters*, p.105.

⁴⁵⁰ The one account which includes no reference to such remarks is that in BL Add MS 5482, fols. 20v-23r, which takes the form of a division of the material into the indictments, the evidence supporting them, Essex's response to each article and the confutation of his response.

⁴⁵¹ Camden, *Historie of Princesse Elizabeth*, IV p.181.

duplicity within the Earl's case. The crux of the issue upon which this approach centres is outlined in the fullest recording of the actual indictments upon which Essex and Southampton were arraigned. The second of the eight counts here alleged against them was as follows:

Putting them selves into Armes, goinge through the streates, and *Persuadinge*, and moving the Cittizens of London to stirre by false Alarmes, one while as his owne *private* quarrell, that Cobham, Rawley, and Cicill, woulde have murdered him in his bedd, other while that England was bought and solde to the Spaniards, to the greate Terror of the people.⁴⁵²

The indictment here returns to the heart of the interpretative difficulty surrounding the Essex rebellion, for, whilst at no point in the trial did the Earl attempt to deny the action of going into the city, it was precisely over the reading to be made of that event that he determined to contest the version being published by authority. The trial formed the first public opportunity since the rebellion for Essex to legitimise his actions and in attempting to do so he entered into a form of contest with the prosecution, for whom the wider significance of the trial, beyond the demonstration of guilt, lay in the final discrediting of that legitimacy.

To this end one of the key strategies of the prosecution lay in the interrogation of the verbal claims of the Earl's party. If these could be proved

⁴⁵² BL Add MS 34,218 fol.211 and BL.Add MS 5956 fol. 4. Although Chamberlain's description of three charges cites them as "the only matter objected", this can be read in terms of the omission of any charge relating to a plot with Tyrone as advertised in the pulpit the week before, whereof "there was no such matter mentioned" *Letters*, pp.104-5. Another account, which is concerned almost exclusively with the technicalities of the charges against Essex and his defence against them, records only two indictments (of which the second is very similar to that given here), but under each gives a long list of specific points alleged which may account for the confusion, BL Add MS 5284.

groundless, the exhortations might be redeployed as signifiers of the Earls' treasonable intent. Attention to the cries of the rebels was not an altogether new tactic - although one interesting innovation in the charge is the inclusion of Sir Robert Cecil in the list of those whose murderous attentions the Earl was supposed to have suspected.⁴⁵³ In fact as far back as the proclamation of February 9th the Earl and his accomplices had been condemned for having "devised and divulged base and foolish lies that their lives were sought" as well as "divers strange and seditious inventions" concerning the Spanish crown.⁴⁵⁴ On the eve of the trial, however, these claims formed a renewed focus of the investigation.⁴⁵⁵ Both proclamation and indictment suggest the adjacency of the notion of seditious libel to the construction of the case against Essex - both seek to present the claims of a *private* quarrel as mere expediency in the efforts to incite *public* insurrection. The indictment's focus upon the multitude of different claims made by Essex and his party seeks to forestall the idea of a justified cause underlying his actions, in the *Declaration* Bacon would later point out "how the tale did not hang together, as the tale of the Judges did, when one said Under the Mul-berry tree, and another said, Under the Fig-tree."⁴⁵⁶ In another account it is Coke, the Attorney General who was to have such an impact on the development

⁴⁵³ None of the manuscripts or letters relating the events of the 8th include such a claim, nor any of the printed histories with the single exception of John Speed's brief account in *The History of Great Britaine Under the Conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans* (London: J. Sudbury and G. Humble 1611), p.879.

⁴⁵⁴ *Tudor Royal Proclamations III*, 808, p.231.

⁴⁵⁵ On Feb. 17th the Privy Council wrote to Wotton, Brouncker and the Recorder of London for their help in procuring witnesses to the Earl's claims since "it is thought meete the same should be confirmed and strengthened by the testimony of some of the cyttizens and standers by within London that heard him utter those and the lyke seditious speeches", *APC*, p.170. The three duly responded the next day forwarding the examination of 8 witnesses able to testify to the matter, *Salisbury Papers*, pp.66-68; *CSP Dom. 1598-1601*, pp.580-581.

⁴⁵⁶ Bacon, *Declaration*, sig.H2r.

of libel law, that takes on the task of spelling out the expediency of Essex's claims to the court:

“He shewed himselfe noe lesse [a traitor] when he came into the city, he first *pretends* a cause against the Lo: Cobham & Sir Walter Raleigh... but when he was gott within them and began to speake nearer then he had another invencion... all which was to draw the citizens unto him,”⁴⁵⁷

The prosecution focus attention upon these verbal cries as attempts to persuade and seduce the citizens into rebellious practises. A key tactic in this process of teasing out Essex's rebellious intentions involved making use of the kind of classical parallels whose applicability Samuel Daniel had sought to reject, but which the image of Essex would continue to attract.⁴⁵⁸ The first of these, once again present in all the accounts of the trial, involves the figure of Catiline whom Yelverton, the Queen's Sergeant, compares to the Earl for his efforts to

⁴⁵⁷ PRO SP 12/278/101 fol. 169v/189v

⁴⁵⁸ Other parallels to Essex; Henry IV and V as we have seen cropped up during his later years, but after his death many more came into use. Wotton used Essex as a parallel life to that of the Duke of Buckingham. Of particular interest is Pierre Matthieu's *Histoire de France* which contains a comparison of Essex to the Duc de Biron, the trusted general to Henri IV who was executed for treason in 1602, that was reprinted as a single volume in 1607 and later translated into English. This work contains the first printed version of a story itself providing a kind of parallel to Elizabeth's celebrated moment of self-recognition as Richard II before the antiquarian William Lambard. In Matthieu's text the Queen is represented showing Biron, who actually did visit London as part of the French embassy in 1601, the head of Essex upon London Bridge remarking “Il a esté le spectacle de mes faveurs, il l'est maintenant de mon iuste courroux” (He was the spectacle of my favours, he is now that of my just wrath), p.29. The episode was well enough known for Camden to feel the necessity of explicitly rubbishing “this ridiculous vanity”, *Historie of Princesse Elizabeth*, IV p.199. The first part of George Chapman's *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron* (1608) contains a report of the interview between the Queen and the Duke in which the monarch makes indirect allusions to Essex, it is speculated that the scene may originally have been depicted rather than reported on stage. See the introduction to *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron* ed. John Margeson (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1988), pp.17-20, pp.36-37. Chamberlain, following the execution of Biron, mused upon the parallel fates of Essex, Biron and the Earl of Gowrie: “three straunge disasters, befallen three great men, in three neighbour countries in three years successively (this, you see, passes *tres sequuntur tria*) and all their cases so intricate, specially the two strangers, and their persons and services so magnified that a great part of the world rests unsatisfied in their deaths, and will not be perswaded against their deserts by any undeservings.”, letter of Nov. 4th 1602 in Chamberlain, *Letters*, p.159.

appeal to all manner of disaffected members of society in plotting to challenge the state. The usefulness of this discrediting parallel resides additionally in the reassuring distinction which it makes possible between the two since “the difference was onely this that Cateline was followed of the Romaines, but no Londoners followed thearle.”⁴⁵⁹ The effect is to exonerate the city of any implication in the insurrection - and thereby the state of producing disaffection - in so doing further marginalising the rebels and isolating their leader as a failed promoter of dissent.

The second of the central classical parallels produced to marshal the interpretation of Essex’s actions was provided by Francis Bacon, who alleged in what Camden would call “a polished and elegant speech”, that,

this practize of the Earles did put him in mind of a story wch he had read, ... wch was of [a] Nobel man of Athens named Pisistratus who came naked into the Cittie and wounded his own body, to drawe the Citizens to pittie him and take armes with him; So Essex he pretended the feare of his private Enemyes, and runneth into the Cittie to bee secured but there hee was frustrated, all were shaddowes.⁴⁶⁰

The naked Pisistratus here, shorn of his historical supporters, prefigures the Essex of Bacon’s *Declaration*, where the failure of these “shaddowes” to materialise into adherents highlights “the nakednesse of Essex troupe”, once again enforcing a distinction between the effect and the intention.⁴⁶¹ Just as Barlow’s treatment of the “bridle to the city” comments had sought to expose the Earl’s calculating

⁴⁵⁹ PRO SP 12/278/102 fol. 184v/204v.

⁴⁶⁰ BL Harleian MS 2194 fol.54v. Camden, *Historie of Princesse Elizabeth*, IV p.173.

⁴⁶¹ Bacon, *Declaration*, sig.F4r.

assessment of the city, so these parallels cast Essex in the role of the unscrupulous and manipulative demagogue fomenting rebellion in his own interests.

The effect of these accusations was to determine the form taken by the Earl's defence, for in response to the charge that his words were nothing more than "base and foolish lies" he was forced into supporting the truth value of his claims. It appears that Essex was reasonably successful in presenting the meeting between Raleigh and Sir Ferdinando Gorges in the early hours of February 8th as an intimation of the imminent danger in which Essex and his party stood, and thus of some justification underlying the mooted fear of attack.⁴⁶² Bacon's intervention in proceedings arrives at this point in the most circulated texts to make clear the limited valency of this rumoured threat as a motive for his other actions that day, remarking: "But you ymprisoned the counsellors, what reference hath that parte to my Lo: Cobham or the rest."⁴⁶³ By circumscribing the area of Essex's self-justification within the complaints of a private wrong, the events at Essex House appear free to imply a premeditated treason. Yet the Earl's defence did not rely solely upon these rumours of private wrong. He sought also to justify his actions in the following terms:

I was driven to this hazard, by those that have the Queene's eare and doe abuse it, enforminge againste mee many untruthes, which knowinge I chuse rather to hazard her maiesties *mercie* then to abide the dangerous courses that should runne against me. Beinge demanded who were these *persons* at which he cheiflie aymed, he answered Mr Secretarie

⁴⁶² On hearing Gorges' declaration read out to the Court, Essex demanded that he affirm his evidence in person and used the subsequent cross-examination skilfully to undermine the testimony of those who gave evidence against him in the interest of their own lives.

⁴⁶³ PRO SP 12/278/102 fol. 192r/212r.

Cecill, the Lo. Cobham and Sr Walter Rawleigh, against whome he had just cause of exceptions, as would have diverted her Ma.tie's favour from them.⁴⁶⁴

This passage contains the elements of a different sort of defence in which it is not the physical threat to himself and his accomplices which is alleged, but a threat to the process of government through the abuse to authority of false counsel. Mervyn James has argued for an interpretation of the Essex revolt as the last rebellion to be motivated by a cult of honour, in the process showing how the Earl's attitude at the trial "was intended to underwrite and confirm the traditional dissidence of honour which bound men of lineage and lordship to each other in the obligation to confront unworthy ministers, or even monarchs."⁴⁶⁵ This righteous stance, deriving a mandate from Essex's post as Earl Marshal, the defender of the honour of the realm, provided a platform for challenging the abuse of the Queen's ear by these counsellors which receives far greater exposure in two of the manuscript accounts surviving in unique examples.⁴⁶⁶ Here the Earl's representative role enables him to,

⁴⁶⁴ PRO SP/12/278/102 fol.191r/211r. Compare the variant readings (e.g. "care" for "eare", "inforcinge" for "enforminge") in *Farmer Chetham MS*, p.13.

⁴⁶⁵ James, 'At a crossroads of the political culture', pp.453-455, p.455.

⁴⁶⁶ On the authority of the Earl Marshal see the contemporary manuscript tracts by Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, Thinne and others collected by Thomas Hearne, *A Collection of Curious Discourses written by Eminent Antiquaries upon several heads in our English Antiquities* (London: W. and J. Richardson 1771), vol. II, pp.90-129. Of particular interest is the tract by Mr Davis which notes that "by his office he is a conservator of the peace throughout the kingdom, as well without the verge as within: and therefore in the booke of the peace, my Lord of Essex, when he was mareschall, was named in every court, as well as the chancellor and treasurer. But he had speciall jursidiction within the verge, which is twelve miles round about the tonnel of the king; for soe it is called in the statute of 13 R2," p.110. Such evidence provides support for James' suggestion that Essex believed the title of Earl Marshal provided him with both mandate and authority for reform, and in particular suggests a possible means of legitimising the attempt to control access to the queen. See also 'The Office of Earl Marshall of England' in Charles Howard, *Historical Anecdotes of some of the Howard Family* (London: G. Scott for J. Robson 1769), pp.138-201.

assure himselfe that the Qn: would both allow of his parte & accept of his service as she had don in former tymes yf he could by any meanes have come to have deliverd his greife & the true cause thereof unto her, wch he said he was bard from by his enemies wch were potent about her & still possessed her eares and therefore went onely so far forth to strengthen himselfe with company of the towne as might have given him a safe passage to her ma: ties presence, there to have prostrated himselfe at her feet & to have unfolded his greifes & wronges, & that he & his companions ment to have submitted themselves to the Qn: wth papers and not to have stood to the iustifyinge of their act with swords, But he denied the usinge of the Qn:s name.⁴⁶⁷

In this version of Essex's defence the designs upon the Court are re-presented rather in terms of an embassy, in which the ceremonial geography of the passage from the city underwrites a supplicatory mission. Here the officer with ultimate responsibility for the upholding of the orders of precedence (and hence of a central aspect of the vocabulary of ceremony) images himself at the head of a prostrate party of petitioners stretching from the city to the nobility who offer the re-articulation of their true service in a kind of distorted version of the accessional acts of confirmation of charters and office holders. In this regard the denial that they had appropriated the Queen's name is of central significance for it upholds the claim of appealing to the Queen rather than appropriating to themselves the right to stand in her stead. Hence the defence of their treatment of the herald from the same document explains:

He confessed yt he willed Sr Xpofer Blount to goe to ye Herald in Gracious Street & to bid him not to abuse the Qn:s name by his proclaiminge her Commandements because he knewe him to be a detested fellowe & one yt had been burnt in

⁴⁶⁷ BL Add MS 5482, fol. 21v.

the hand, & therefore not fitt to make any proclamacons yt persons of worth should take notice.⁴⁶⁸

This claiming of the right to challenge the service of those purporting to act in the Queen's name is denied space in the circulating manuscripts, which tend instead towards the personalisation of the Earl's cause, emphasising self-interest over a mandate for reform. In these accounts it is the suggestion that Essex's claims against the counsellors of state were mere lies without foundation that prompted the most dramatic and decisive encounter in the trial. Essex, having failed in an attempt to undermine Bacon with details of the counsel's previous service to himself, is represented as asserting the justification of his cause by accusing Cecil of having spoken in favour of the Infanta of Spain's title to the throne of England. This direct charge to the honour of the Secretary prompted his immediate intervention in the proceedings. One typically dramatic account describes the performance as follows:

Scarse had hee spoken the words when Cecill who stood and heard beinge hidden in a close roome, came forth into the Courte, And falling downe on his knee besought the Lord Steward that hee might have leave to answeare so false and foule a report.⁴⁶⁹

Essex's image of himself prostrate before the monarch as the loyal counsellor wronged by mischievous abusing tongues, is here supplanted by the figure of the Secretary genuflecting before the court to crave the right to redress the wrongs done to him in their presence. Cecil's speech in response to these imputations

⁴⁶⁸ BL Add MS 5482, fol.22r.

⁴⁶⁹ BL Harleian MS 2194 fol. 55r.

forms a climactic moment in the drama of the trial and is assiduously recorded in every one of the circulating reports with a remarkable degree of consistency - suggesting the possibility that its striking impact was sustained through deliberate dissemination.⁴⁷⁰ Even those treatments not favourable to the Secretary reveal in the terms of their disparagement a grudging recognition of its effectiveness. So one disgusted spectator mockingly suggests that Cecil had “for more than two years past been thinking of what he had to say.”⁴⁷¹ The protracted scene which followed, resulting in the calling of Sir William Knollys, whom Southampton confessed to be the source of the report, provided the testimony which cleared Cecil of the imputation. By turning the tables on Essex’s claim to speak representatively against the perversion of government and re-locating it in terms of the lack of substance underlying his verbal utterances, the “impudent behaviour” of the Earl - as Chamberlain puts it after Cecil (in a sign that he at least was convinced by the performance) - was revealed as an attempt to explain away his efforts at incitement.⁴⁷² Essex, backed into a dramatic showdown, responds meekly in one of the multi-copied manuscripts that “it was tolde him in an other sence.”⁴⁷³ Nor are the implications of this denouement lost on the sympathetic observer who hung on for twenty four hours to witness the trial’s ending. In his version the encounter of Essex and Cecil takes on a dramatic aspect that would not be out of place in Daniel’s tragedy, as Essex comments:

⁴⁷⁰ Perhaps unsurprisingly Cecil’s letter to Sir George Carew bristles with indignation over “such a barbarous imputation” and records its setting to rights, *Cecil-Carew Letters*, p.70.

⁴⁷¹ “plus [de] deux ans passé, bien songé a ce qu’il avoit à dire.” From a letter ascribed to Monsieur de Rohan that gives a damning account of the conduct of the prosecutors and jury. According to Sawyer the letter was denied by Rohan when made public. It is printed in *Memoirs of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Q.Elizabeth and K.James I collected (chiefly) from the Original Papers Of the Right Honourable Sir Ralph Winwood* ed. Edmund Sawyer (London: W.B. for T.Ward 1725) 3 vols., vol.1 p.298.

⁴⁷² Chamberlain, *Letters* p.105.

I am gladde to live to see this daye wherein you tryumph so gloryouslye let all men here notyce howe lytle I am moved herwith ha ha ha sayd the Secretarye how shamelessly thou dooste reioyse in thy treasons⁴⁷⁴

From this point the circulated manuscript accounts speed towards the verdict, racing through the other depositions read out to the court en route to the foregone conclusion. In the most widespread account that conclusion takes the form of a final tussle over the Earl's intentions towards Crown and city, where Coke and Bacon share the attack, the former returning to the image of the Earl's passage to the Court and insisting on the directness of its design upon the crown:

it was not possible but his purpose must be to sett the crowne upon his owne head: for (quoth he) you drewe manie Earles, Barons, and gent. of great houses, into the business with you: how shall it be thought you could have rewarded them⁴⁷⁵

In Coke's words we find an echo of the excuses offered earlier by the hapless John Bargar caught up with and caught out by the claims of a renegade body of authority. Yet, where Bargar's claims were offered as an unlikely excuse for compliance, Coke's positioning of them at the level of intention enables the full force of the image of the usurpation of authority to be unleashed. Bacon, following up on this assault, directs his attentions again to the kneebound progress, continuing:

put case the earles of Essex intent were as he would have it beleaved to go as a Supp:lt to her Ma:tie yet shall their

⁴⁷³ PRO SP 12/278/101 fol. 177r.

⁴⁷⁴ BL Sloane MS 756 fol. 10r.

⁴⁷⁵ PRO SP 12/278/102 fol. 197v/217v.

peticons be armed peticons which alwaies preceede losse of libertie to the prince.⁴⁷⁶

The Earl's attempt to construct a supplicatory reading of the approach to the Court is here overturned in terms which suggest that such an appropriation of the highway from city to Court cannot be tolerated. The military resonance underwriting the ceremonial geography whose manifestation is carefully managed in the licensed performance of ceremony is here brought to the fore to discredit the claim to legitimacy. Essex's appropriation of the spatial trajectory of ceremony in the guise of subjection re-emerges as a perversion of that vocabulary - an attempt to legitimate the challenging, rather than the maintenance, of social order. When Essex objects that had such been the case "he would not have stirred with so slender a companie", Bacon uses a final parallel to return the focus to the root object, the city:

It was not the companie you carried with you, that you trusted unto, but the assistance which you hoped for in the Cittie. The Guyse thrust himself into Paris against the kinge with onelye a gent. and found that help there (which you (thanks be to god) fayled of here[]), and what followed: the kinge was put to his pilgrims habitt, and in that disguise was forced to escape the furie of the Guyse: you came with faire pretence, with all hayle and a kisse to the cittie, butt thend was treason. And that hath been sufficientlye proved.⁴⁷⁷

In this concluding speech, following which the Lord Steward calls on the Lieutenant of the Tower to remove the prisoners and the peers to retire and decide their verdict, the very lack of arms of the Earl's party is converted into a

⁴⁷⁶ PRO SP 12/278/102 fol. 197v/217v.

⁴⁷⁷ PRO SP 12/278/102 fol 198r/218r.

sign of both his hostile intent and his ineffectiveness. With the earlier parallels of Catiline in Rome and Pisistratus in Athens the emphasis had been upon the attempted seduction of the civic populace. Here, however, the acceleration through history to the near-contemporary example of the Duke of Lorraine's entrance into Paris figures the city more explicitly as the site of contest. The space of the city is located as the locus of authority and the King's displacement is portrayed as a double dislocation in which not only is he detached from his military capacity but also severed from his ceremonial authority, precisely figured here through the loss of the *habitus* of kingship. In this study the links between the military and ceremonial have been examined in terms of their shared investment in civic space and it is this dual significance of the city which the Earl's defence proves ultimately unable to counter effectively. Hence, when the Earl's burning of the documents is brought back to haunt him, his comment that they would show how "the Cittie had betray'd him" is made to betray instead his own awareness of the centrality of the city to the reading of his actions. His response is a witty but deeply disingenuous attempt to deny the significance of the site for whose sake he is to lose his head:

Yea my Lord said Mr Attorney you thought to have possessed
yo.r selfe of Londone in one houre
Possesse my selfe said Essex; how by puttinge it in my pockett [?] ⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁸ BL Harleian MS 2194 fol.56v. The same remark appears in slightly different form in BL Sloane MS 756 fol. 12v, where Essex urges "for the takinge of the cittye, that you Mr Attorneye speake of, what shoulde I have done wth yt [?] put it in my pockette [?]"

Conclusion

In the four chapters which make up this study a shared concern with the city as a cultural site for the projection of differing models of authority and community has been uncovered. In Chapters 1 and 2 the obstacles to the apprehending of the city as a subject of representation within a cartographic conception of space were explored, revealing in the process the continued resonance of an image of the city as conjoining social body and built environment. In the final two chapters this emphasis upon attempts to produce visual and textual images of the city was broadened to investigate the pervasiveness and potency of a model of the city as representative space. What conclusions can be drawn from the interpretative work embarked upon here ? Firstly I would like to suggest that the readings of the range of cultural artefacts undertaken in the course of this project - maps, costume images, libels, manuscripts, proclamations and printed works - can broaden both the understanding of the significance of the early modern city and awareness of the numerous under-investigated textual and material sites which can help to shed some light upon its cultural resonance in the period. In addition the practice of placing under scrutiny the different reading strategies which these materials invite can extend the relevance of the insights obtained to other areas, suggesting the value of exploring material easily marginalised within the programme of literary studies. Thus the images of empire in the costume books are pertinent not only to an understanding of the geography of embodiment, but also point, from an unlikely source, towards a possible elucidation of the propaganda strategies of the Habsburg emperors. Similarly the study of the Essex

rebellion, in revealing the verbal, textual and spatial contest over control of the civic sign as part and parcel of the events of the rebellion and its aftermath, can challenge received historical narratives of the event itself, re-locating the dissemination and suppression of divergent accounts as central to the proceedings. In this way, then, the project proclaims the benefits of a reading practice sensitive to the productive force of representation.

Appendix I: Bibliography of costume books

Abbreviations:

BL (British Library)

Bod. (Bodleian Library, Oxford)

BMP&D (British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings)

KBS (Royal Library, Stockholm)

- Amman, Jost, *Gynaeceum sive Theatrum Mulierum* (Frankfurt: Sigismund Feyerabendt 1586) with epigrams by Francis Modius [BMP&D 159.c.5], [Bod. Douce A 233 (2)], facsimile ed. Alfred Aspland (London: Trübner for the Holbien Society 1872).
- Amman, Jost, *Cleri totius Romanae Ecclesiae sibiecti, Seu, Pontificiorum ordnium omnium omnino* (Frankfurt: Sigismund Feyerabendt 1585) with epigrams by Francis Modius [BL 7742.b.1] [Bod. Mar. 192].
- Bertelli, Ferdinando, *Omnium Fere' Gentium Nostrae Aetatis Habitus, Nunquam ante hac aediti* (Venice: F. Bertelli 1563) [Bodleian Vet. F1 d.32] facsimile published as *Ferdinando Bertelli's Trachtenbuch, Venedig 1563* (Zwickau: F. Ullman 1913) (Zwickaver Fasimiledruche No.17, 1913); 2nd ed. (Venice: 1569).
- Bertelli, Petri, *Diversarum Nationum Habitus Centum et quattor iconibus in are incisus diligenter expressi item Ordines Duo Processionum unus Summi Pontificis Alter Sereniss. Principis Venetiarum* (Padua: A Alcia & P. Bertellium 1594-6)⁴⁷⁹, 3 vols. [BL 810.c.2.], vol I and II only [Bod. Douce B. 609].
- Boissard, Jean-Jacques, *Habitus variarum Orbis gentium* ([Antwerp]: Caspar Rutz 1581). [BL LR. 406.d.b.(2)] [BMP&D 169.c.9].
- Bruyn, Abraham de, *Omnium Poene Gentium Imagines, Ubi oris totiusq' corporis & vestium habitus, in ordinus cuiuscunq, ac loci hominibus diligentissime expromuntur.* (Cologne: Caspar Rutz and Abraham de Bruyn 1577) [BL c.81.i.7.] [BL 810.l.1.(2)] [Bod.1.(delta). 643]
- Bruyn, Abraham de, *Omnium Pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae Atque Americae Gentium Habitus* (Antwerp: n.p.1581). [BL L.R. 406.d.b.(1)] [BL.810.K.2] [KBS SK.K. KOST. Ny. RAR.] [BMP&D 169.c.8]
- Bruyn, Abraham de, *Imperii ac Sacerdotii Ornatus. Diversarum Item Ge[n]tium Pecularis Vestitus.* ([Antwerp]: Caspar Rutz [1578]) [BL 810.l.1.(1)] [BMP&D 169.c.8] [Bod. Douce D subst.16]

⁴⁷⁹ According to René Colas the three volumes are dated 1589, 1591, 1596. The dates I give are those found in the editions consulted, *Bibliographie Générale du Costume et de la Mode* compiled by René Colas (Paris: Librairie René Colas 1933).

- De Glen, Jean, *Des Habits, Moeurs, Ceremonies, Facons de Faire Anciennes & modernes du Monde, traicté non moins utile, que delectable plein de bonnes & saintes instructions* (Liège: Jean de Glen 1601). [BL G.16390]
- Fabri, Alessandro, *Divers. Nationum Habitus* (Padua: n.p.1593) 3 vols. [BM P&D 169.a.3]
- Franco, Giacomo, *Habiti d' Huomeni et Donne Venetiane Con la Processione della Ser.ma Signoria et Altri Particolari cioe Trionfi Feste et Ceremonie Publiche Della Nobilissima Città di Venetia* (Venice: Giacomo Franco [1609-1610]) [BL c.48.h.11] [Bod. Antiq. d. I. 5] [Bod. Douce M.730 (2)] [KBS SK.K. KOST. ITAL.]; facsimile edition (Venice: F. Ongania 1876).
- Franco, Giacomo, *Habiti delle Donne Venetiane intagliate in Rame nuovamente da Giacomo Franco* (Venice: 1610) [Bod. Douce Points d.19 (1)], facsimile edition (Venice: F. Ongania 1877).
- Grassi, Bartolomeo, *Dei Veri Ritratti degl' Habiti di tutte le Parti del Mondo. Intaglianti in Rame* (Rome: n.p.1585).[Warburg COD 240]
- Recueil de la diversité des habits qui sont de present en usaige tant es pays d' Europe, Asie, Affrique et Illes Sauvages* (Paris: Richard Button 1562) [Bod. Douce cc.129]; 2nd ed. (Paris: Francois des prez 1567) [Bod. Douce DD.132.]; 3rd ed. with Latin text by Ioannis Sluperij, *Omnium Fere Gentium nostraeq', aetatis Nationum, Habitus & Effigies* (Antwerp: Ioannem Bellerum 1572) [BL 810.c.1] [Bod. Douce S. 385] [Bod. Crynes 443]
- Vecellio, Cesare, *De Gli Habiti Antichi, et Moderni di Diverse Parti del Mondo* (Venice: Damian Zenato 1590). [BL 810.I.2] [Bod. Douce VV168] [Bod. Crynes 751]
- Vecellio, Cesare, *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il Mondo* (Venice: I Sessa 1598). [BL 143 a 11] [Bod. Douce VV73]
- Weigel, Hans, *Habitus Praecipuorum Populorum, tam virorum quam foeminarum Singulari arte depicti: Trachtenbuch* woodcuts by Jost Amman (Nuremberg: Hans Weigel 1577). [BL C119.h.6] [BMP&D 169.c.7] [Bod. Douce Prints C.33]

Appendix II: Contemporary account of the Essex rebellion

Provenance:

The following manuscript is included in a collection of tracts whose current binding dates from the late nineteenth century. Whilst recent remounting has obscured the evidence it is almost certain that it was affixed to the work it immediately precedes, Bacon's *A Declaration of the Practises & Treasons attempted and committed by Robert late Earle of Essex* [BL E.1940 (1)], prior to entering the collections of the British Museum. Although classified together with the Thomson Tracts this volume is a later addition to that collection and its provenance is unknown, although the stamps indicate that this volume was in the Museum's collection by 1834 at the very latest and could date back to the founding collections. The manuscript is in a contemporary hand and has been cut into two sheets and cropped so that traces of an illegible line appear at the head of page two. The reverse contains a list of prisoners in the same hand, which is similar to those found amongst the State Papers and Salisbury Papers, under a partial obscured heading: "names of such as were taken & one escaping."⁴⁸⁰ At the end of the list is the following comment in another hand "note that every name noted with this little star * is such as could not be well read in an old copie by way of letter sent unto a private freind 9 ffebr 1600", suggesting the possibility that both letter and list may have been copied together. Although the other known manuscript accounts of the rebellion survive, with minor differences, in

⁴⁸⁰ Copies of the lists of prisoners were widely disseminated, as the numerous surviving examples indicate. Thomas Lee notes the inclusion of a copy in a letter to his relation Sir Henry Lee just prior to the former's apprehension, while William Reynolds wrote an impassioned letter to Cecil complaining of the absence from the list of the names of two individuals whose involvement in the rebellion he was willing to vouch for. *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.44, pp.46-47. For other surviving copies of the list see *Salisbury Papers XI*, p.34, pp.86-88, PRO SP 12/278/31-34 and 38-41.

several versions I have been unable to find any other copies of this text. Those details not found in any other account of the rebellion are discussed in Chapter 4.

Note on the text:

Square brackets indicate likely readings for portions of the text obscured by cropping at the edges with underlining indicating more questionable possibilities.

Italics denote the emending of abbreviations, no other emendations have been undertaken. An asterisk signifies a passage deleted in the original, a series of dashes an illegible word. The lineation of the manuscript has been retained.

Text:

A rare accident which happened in London upon Sunday
being ye 8th of February 1600

The Earle of Essex being ye night before sent for to my Lord *Treasurer*
to speake there with ye counsell denyed to come to them, & then upon
Sunday morning about ten of ye clocke there came to Essex house to speake
with him my Lord Keep. ye Earle of Worchester ye cheife Justice Popham
and Sr Wilm. Knowles to examine him to whom he refused to answere
& lightly esteemed them, & having all ye morning before bin sending for
all his freinds they came in multitudes, & he imprisoned in his owne house the
Lords leaving ye charge of his house & custody of them cheifely to Sr Gelly
Merricke

and with ye Earles of Southampton Rutland & Bedford ye Lords Sands
Mounteagle

& Cromwell Sr Xphofer Blunt Sr Charles Danvers, 2 of Northumberlands & 2 of
Rutlands brothers with Catesby & Littleton accompanied wth other kns. and
Gentlemen Captaines & swaggering companions about 300 they issued out of
Essex house wthout cloakes or armour only wth their rapiers & daggers
not drawn but their points upwards & some with pistolls & petronells & so
about XIen of ye clocke before ye sermons in *every* church were ended came
down Fleetestreete My Lord Mayor having about an houre before
notice to guard ye city rose from ye sermon at Pauls & caused ye gates to be
[s]hut but when my Lord of Essex came to Ludgate that was opened him &
[t]hen they were foure hundred strong & drew their swords alledging yt my Lord
on ye ----

Cobham & Sr Walter Rawleigh would have murthered him ^ * ye night
[b]efore & yt he came to ye city for ayde, ye good of her *majestie* & maintenance
[of] religion, & so came triumphingly down Cheapeside wth great plaudites

wards

[] boyes of ye city giving shouts wth joy & so went to ^ Sheriffe Smiths house [ne]are ye exchange, but before he came thither my Lord Burleigh followed [h]im wth heralds & *proclaymed* him in Cheapeside TRaitoR & also all his [fo]llowers yt did not *presently* depart his company & pursuing him neare with [ye] Lord Mayor assisting whom Essex with his forces desperately assaulted & caused

[th]em to retire killing ye Lord Burleighs horse wth a shot. So coming to Sheriffe [Sm]iths still expecting ye city should rise with him, and he tould ye Sheriffe yt [he] was come to him for ayde to defend ye Queene, Religion and his Life [??]th ye state of the city. The Sheriffe went himselfe to ye Lord Mayor [?]left Essex with ye rest in his house where they had some victualls, and some halberds, & not liking his answere he came forth & walked [Che]apeside againe stayd a good space at Pauls gate in ye end of Cheape then went into Pauls Churchyard & there stayd halfe an houre this while ye [Cit]izens raising armes ye gates made strong ye streets chayned there was [litt]ell violence offered any of them save ye taking of some of ye straglers [ac]com~~panying~~ them. Many fell from him upon the proclamatione

[sheet 2]

notwithstanding ye Mayor & all were up in armes he walked to & fro till three of ye clocke in ye afternoone & seeing no good successe to his weake interprise was desirous to goe homewards to Essex house againe, but assaying returne through Ludgate againe (being not then one hundred strong) he w[as] repulsed, one Tracy his page slaine Sr Xpofer Blunt wounded (*which* was ye most resolute man) Essex himselfe shot through ye hat, & some more hurt, then being all [at]

their wits end they came to watling streete & up Friday streete into Cheapeside where ye Lord Mayor ment to have encountered with him, but before they could m[ove/eet] Essex turned into Bow-church-yard & so through Bow-lane went to ye water[side]

where as many as could, tooke boats, & ye rest were taken, those yt tooke bo[ats] landed at Essex house thinking (as it seemed) to have found ye Lords & s[r] Wllm.]

Knowles there as Essex left them & by them to have ransomed him selfe, [] Sr Ferdinando Gorges one of his followers came halfe and houre before wth a [false]

message (thereby to save himselfe) to Sr Gelly Merricke yt he must deliver ye Lords [&]

goe for ye Earle to her majestie upon a message whereby they were gone before E[ssex]

came home else they had not bin so well discharged. There he thought to end [his]

life & with him southampton Rutland Mouteagle & Sands of ye Nobility [& ?] divers of good sort playing with muskets from *over* ye gates into ye streete, ye ho[use]

was then beset both by Land & water, all ye gallants & martiall men of ye [] with ye guard came down ye strand in armes & played wth shott [the ?] windowes *over* ye gates. This while my Lord Admirall Generall for []

service wth Sr Robt Sidney wonne ye garden & banquetin house bef[ore]
it was night, & ye Court (white hall) was guarded wth 2000 Lond[on]
souldiers about IXne of ye clocke at night 2 great pieces of ordinanc[e]
came from ye Tower & were placed *against*. Essex gates being before
bro[ughte]
downe Captaine Owen Salisbury was before slain with a shot in Es[sex]
house. These peeces being placed Essex desired to parle with my L[ord]
Admirall then in ye garden & he upon ye Leads at which parle ye Admir[all]
not willing to doe them any hurt
willed that ye Ladies might be sent forth ^ but presently they all yeelde[d]
and ye three Earles were comitted to ye Tower & each had one of [ye]
Queenes men to attend them, Mr Richard Warburton attended Essex
ye rest of his followers were comitted to other prisoners,
The Londoners shewed themselves [e]ither too favourable or too
every one guarding his owne house
timerous ^ Her maiesty whome God long preserve & ye state is now
quiet though lately disturbed ffinis Februarii 9 1600

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