

‘A Sea-Change’:  
Representations of the Marine in Jacobean Drama and Visual  
Culture

By

Maria Shmygol

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## NOTE ON PRESENTATION

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### Standard Editions and Abbreviations:

<i>ELH</i>	<i>English Literary History</i>
<i>N&amp;Q</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
<i>OED</i>	Online edition <a href="http://dictionary.oed.com/">http://dictionary.oed.com/</a> , unless otherwise stated
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Languages Association</i>
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studies in English Literature, 1500-1800</i>

Initial quotations from primary sources (whether from modern editions or EEBO texts) are cited fully in a footnote following the first quotation and then appear in parentheses in the main text following all subsequent references to the text in question.

### Editorial Note:

The usage of i/j and u/v in all quotations from early modern texts has been silently regularised, unless the quotation is taken from modern scholarly editions or appear as citations in critical texts that have retained the archaic forms). I/j, u/v, and y/i in the quotations from the *Histoire tragique* in Chapter Four are similarly regularised but all other early modern French forms are retained. The translation which follows the quotations is my own and appears in full alongside a transcription of the *Histoire tragique* in the Appendix.

This thesis follows the referencing conventions of the Modern Humanities Research Association's *MHRA Style Guide: A Handbook for Authors, Editors, and Writers of Theses* (2008).

# INTRODUCTION

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## I. Representations of the marine in Jacobean drama

*Pericles* (1606-1609) is a play haunted by the persistent threats of immersion. The storm-tossed Prince of Tyre, his wife, and their daughter come dangerously close to drowning at sea. Both the identities and the fortunes of Pericles and his family are shaped by the sea, which demonstrates its capacity to bring about the loss, reconciliation, and wonder that occur throughout the play. During the first shipwreck, which deposits Pericles in Pentapolis, the storm-tossed prince pleads with the natural elements and begs them to relent their ceaseless battering of his body:

Wind, rain and thunder, remember earthly man  
Is but a substance that must yield to you,  
And I, as fits my nature, do obey you.<sup>1</sup>

‘Substance’ is a telling choice of word here, highlighting as it does both the corporeal substance of Pericles’s anatomy and the elemental substances of air, water, and thunder that threaten to annihilate it. In the early modern theatre, these elemental substances would have been generated by very material means, given that the stormy sound effects would emanate from properties used backstage, such as the rolling of a cannon ball for thunder.<sup>2</sup> ‘Substance’, however, also gestures towards ‘that of which something incorporeal is considered to exist’ (*OED*, 7b). This complicates any straightforward division of the overtly corporeal Pericles and the supposedly incorporeal elements of air and water, which are, in fact, embodied precisely through the bodily labour of the men working the sound effects backstage, while Pericles’s own corporeality is put into question in the process of being attacked by the elements. This is also echoed in Pericles’s subsequent invocation of Aeolus, the god of the

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<sup>1</sup> William Shakespeare, *Pericles*, ed. by Suzanne Gossett (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2004), (II. 1. 2-4).

<sup>2</sup> Andrew Gurr notes that ‘thunder came from the “roul’d bullet”’, *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574-1642*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 186.

winds, whom he begs to quell the gales and stop the ‘sulphurous flashes’ of lightening, which again alludes to the materials involved in realising the effects of the storm backstage.<sup>3</sup>

Upon being forced to contend with the elements once more in another storm at sea later in the play, Pericles, instead of attempting to address the raging elements, pleads with Neptune, whom he clearly identifies as the sovereign (and therefore the regulator) of the dangerous space in which he finds himself. He beseeches the ‘god of this great vast’ to:

...rebuke these surges  
Which wash both heaven and hell, and thou that hast  
Upon the winds command, bind them in brass,  
Having called them from the deep. O, still  
Thy deafening dreadful thunders; gently quench  
Thy nimble sulphurous flashes! (III. 1. 1-6)

The request that Neptune should not simply quell but ‘rebuke’ the surging waters is provocative, since it implies that Neptune should shame or otherwise punish the rebellious seas which may be acting independently of his command, which suggests these spaces have the potential to resist control even at the hands of their mythological master. The suggestion that the marine forces surrounding Pericles somehow rebel against Neptune’s will is implicit here, and this supposed volatile temperamentality serves to undermine what was commonly recognised as the absolute power of the sea-god over his dominions.

Pericles’s plight in the midst of these sea storms raises two important issues with which this thesis is concerned: issues of control over marine spaces and the material dimensions of representing those spaces. While the term ‘marine’ normally encompasses the natural environment of the seas and ‘maritime’ usually designates the human uses of that environment, my work reveals that the two categories often overlap

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<sup>3</sup> On the use of sulphur as means of producing lightening through fireworks see Philip Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire: Special Effects in Early English and Scottish Theatre* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1998), pp. 38-46.



in Jacobean drama. My approach to thinking about representations of the marine necessarily takes into account the natural environment and life found in the sea, but I am also interested in exploring the maritime elements of this—that is, the human interactions and utilisations of that environment. As the ensuing chapters shall demonstrate, maritime agents and adventurers often take on the characteristics of the non-human marine fluidity. As Chapters One and Two demonstrate, for example, the richness of the iconographic, symbolic, and metaphorical devices and images associated with the marine informs celebration of maritime endeavours. Chapters Three, Four, and Five continue this line of enquiry, but in considering a range of dramatic maritime characters and distinctly non-human marine bodies they reveal that maritime occupations and personages are often inflected with a distinctly marine set of fluid characteristics. To that end, I categorise as ‘marine’ those things that are produced by the sea, including tangible products such as fish, ‘monsters’, precious materials, and more figurative marine products such as literary traditions influenced by the sea. While I employ the term ‘maritime’ to refer to human endeavours at sea, the human elements that I discuss sometimes necessitate the application of the term ‘marine’ to fully describe the transformative processes that they undergo while at sea.

Primarily, this study is concerned with different forms of Jacobean drama and performances that span across different sites, from the commercial stages of London to the civic pageantry that took place on the Thames and in the City, and the court entertainments held at Whitehall Palace. My research necessarily casts a wide net over the subject matter that it deals with in order to illustrate how these different modes of performance engage with representations of the marine through the technologies available to them, whether verbal, material, or both. While the sea had long been a receptacle for literary and poetic attention and can repeatedly be found as the stronghold of adventure, wonder, danger, and exile in the English narrative tradition, it is specifically at the beginning of the seventeenth century that the sea takes a hold of the literary imagination with particular force.<sup>4</sup> This is unsurprising, given that

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<sup>4</sup> See for example Sebastian I. Sobeeck, *The Sea and Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2007).

following James I's accession to the throne in 1603 England was governed by a ruler who was very much interested in voicing his claims to maritime sovereignty. Likewise, England's increasing commerce in the Old World and the New during the seventeenth century invested the marine metaphor with even more topical meanings linked with commercial adventuring at sea, which was especially fitting given London's status as a port.

The cultural, political, and economic predominance of the marine in early modern England found numerous means of expression in commercial, civic, and court drama, where different facets of maritime identity and occupation create different visions of maritime spaces. The following chapters will elucidate how these modes of performance often invoke and exploit the dramatic potential of the marine and its commercial, political, and iconographical meanings. Commercial drama, written for a pre-proscenial stage, realises the marine through language and metaphor, appealing to a collective imaginary in bodying forth the limitless watery expanses on which the action takes place.<sup>5</sup> The sea has a strong presence on the early modern stage and critical scholarship has engaged with its poetic presence, conjured in the imaginations of the audiences much in the same way as it is it conjured by Edgar for the blind Gloucester in *King Lear* (1604-1605). In the Dover cliff scene, the sea is represented entirely by language, yet that language draws on crucial images of the sea largely informed by maritime labour, which enable the tableau vivant to become a reality in Gloucester's mind.<sup>6</sup> In other plays such as *The Tempest* (1611) and *Pericles*, the representation of the sea onstage draws on similar methods of scene-setting through language, while also introducing key material components that help to solidify the fact

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<sup>5</sup> On the Renaissance stage see Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574-1642*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) and Andrew Gurr and Mariko Ichikawa, *Staging in Shakespeare's Theatres* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). For a useful range of material dealing with properties on the commercial stage see Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda, eds, *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> On the Dover cliff scene see Jonathan Goldberg, 'Dover Cliff and the Conditions of Representation: *King Lear* 4:6 in Perspective', *Poetics Today*, 5:3 (1984), 537-47; Schleiner, Winfried, 'Justifying the Unjustifiable: The Dover Cliff Scene in 'King Lear'', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 36:3, 337-343; Michael Hattaway, 'Shakespeare and the Invention of Landscape: The View from Dover Cliff', in *Shakespeare's World/World Shakespeares*, ed. by Richard Fotheringham, Christa Jansohn, and R. S. White (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp. 73-86.

that these plays are set ‘at sea’. My work explores how the visual and material presence of the marine on the popular stage inflects both its language and its action, establishing links to how action is shaped in other types of drama that also makes use of the sea.

The imaginative embodiment of the marine finds a very different—and indeed a more overtly material—means of expression in civic drama and the court masque, where the extensive and elaborate pageant devices and stage machinery were largely indebted to and shaped by continental theatrical design. The material means of expressing the sea that are found in the civic performances and the court masques discussed in this study necessitates the inclusion of continental material, which forms an important part of the discussion in Chapters Four and Five. While several key pieces of scholarship by the likes of Allardyce Nicoll, J. R. Mulryne, and others have demonstrated the relevance of European theatre practice for the shaping of early modern English drama in general terms, this thesis, through its focus specifically on the marine, presents an insight into how other types of continental means of envisaging the sea in print, material culture, and scenography contributed to the kinds of specifically Jacobean innovations in representing the marine in drama.<sup>7</sup>

The indebtedness of Jacobean marine spectacles to their European precedents demonstrates the ways in which emerging trends in drama were points of connection between wider cultural and political changes, where the local and the global often intersected. The predominance of the marine in European court festivals reveals not only its pervasive and popular theatrical potential as a source of delight, but also carries a much larger political significance in the face of European colonial and

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<sup>7</sup> Allardyce Nicoll’s research in *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage* (London: Harrap, 1937) demonstrates how strongly the means of scenographic expression in the Jacobean court masque was shaped by continental European practice. J. R. Mulryne’s work on European festivals and entries has explicated the relationship between Italianate performances and their influence on English practice; see ‘Entries and Festivals in Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century Florence as Precedents for Court and Theatre in England 1600-1620’, in *Writing Royal Entries in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Marie-Claude Canova-Green and J. Andrews (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 357-73.

politico-economic ambition.<sup>8</sup> Through the increasing importance of maritime adventuring and commerce in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the seas came to play an important national role as connectors of people and places. Jacobean drama, in its various forms, persistently engages with this conceit, where representations of the marine are frequently conjured through a concern with the acquisition and transportation of commodities and goods. On a more theatrically practical level, the sea is also a point of connection between the local and the global in terms of the new technologies and staging practices borrowed from continental stage manuals and performances. For example, European performances of water spectacles such as the mock water-battles, or *naumachiae*, at the Florentine court of the Medicis or the stage machines and scenery designed by the likes of Niccoló Sabbatini and Bernardo Buontalenti, provided a crucial set of templates and examples for the Jacobean courts masques, where the material realisation of the marine through proscenial scenery and devices was used to give shape to English ambitions and concerns.<sup>9</sup> These innovations were incorporated into the design and staging of masques at the Jacobean court by the likes of Inigo Jones, who had spent time in Italy, and the Italian architect, Constantino de' Servi, together with Salomon and Isaac de Caus, whose expertise in architecture and hydraulic design also resonates in the staging of these entertainments.<sup>10</sup> Such transmissions and translations of European staging practices created elaborate spaces

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<sup>8</sup> For example, water festivities played an important part in Catherine de' Medici's political negotiations during her progress with her son, the young Charles IX, in 1564-6. The marine featured heavily in the magnificences performed at Fontainebleau in 1564 and at the water fête at Bayonne the following year, which concluded the politically disastrous encounter between the French and Spanish courts, and was devised as part of a larger set of celebrations for a supposed Franco-Hispanic *entente*. See Roy Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), pp. 131-48.

<sup>9</sup> A modern translation of Sabbatini's stagecraft manual can be found in *The Renaissance Stage: Documents of Serlio, Sabbatini and Furtenbach*, trans. by Allardyce Nicoll, John H. McDowell, and George R. Kernodle, ed. by Barnard Hewitt (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1958), pp. 37-177. Sabbatini's influence on the staging of Jacobean masques is noted by Allardyce Nicoll in *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage* (London: Harrap, 1937).

<sup>10</sup> Roy Strong draws links between the presence of these continental figures and the increasing prevalence of Italianate fashions in England in *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), pp. 86-137.

for performing the marine at a court that was increasingly looking outwards to Europe in terms of policy, culture, and fashion.<sup>11</sup>

The conceits that underpin the uses of the marine in court masques found different forms of expression and staging in civic and commercial drama that was being concurrently written for and performed in other spaces around the City. These spaces and the audiences for which the plays and entertainments discussed in this thesis were written engage with the marine in ways that underscore the roles played by maritime labour in shaping sea-scapes, highlighting the malleability of aqueous spaces and human interactions within them. Dramatic expressions of the marine in this period reveal that there are universal means of invoking the sea as a place of commercial enterprise, wonder, or danger, but I would like to suggest that the different forms of drama discussed in this study adapt and invoke particular elements of this identity depending on the venue and audiences for which they are written. Certain elements of the sea, like malicious piratical figures that threaten national maritime endeavour, for example, are largely excluded from court performances but are popular fodder for the commercial stage, which often holds a different set of priorities in dramatizing the sea. This is not, however, to suggest that these priorities are mutually exclusive, and the ensuing chapters will address moments when these forms of expression intersect. For example, concern with overt physical materiality that is characteristic of the masques and civic pageants manifests itself in the ‘bare’ circumstances of the commercial stage, and pirates, a preserve of the commercial stage and otherwise largely excluded from court entertainment, are nevertheless found in several performances devised for James I and his court.

While civic drama, commercial theatre, and court entertainments have differing preoccupations with staging the sea, their means of representing the marine tends to

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<sup>11</sup> While these influences will be addressed in detail in Chapter Five, a general account of European fashions in Jacobean masques is provided by Martin Butler, ‘The Invention of Britain and the Early Stuart Masque’, in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. by R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 65-85. Also see J. R. Mulryne, ‘Entries and Festivals in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century Florence as Precedents for Court and Theatre in England 1600-1620’, in *Writing Royal Entries in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Marie-Claude Canova-Green and J. Andrews (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 357-73.

rely on a shared set of ‘markers’ that reappear in their imaginative and material engagements with it, including fishermen, pirates, fish, sea monsters, mermaids, and sea deities. To a large extent, the difference in how these markers are invoked in drama relates not only to the form, genre, poetic concerns, and material staging practices available in different means of performance, but also to the other cultural avenues in which these markers were circulating at the time. In thinking about the marine, therefore, this thesis approaches not only its poetic and material dimensions in different forms of drama but also in other cultural material, such as popular print, treatises of natural history, popular pamphlets, design manuals, garden architecture, and decorative objects in order to uncover the rich connections between these different expressions of the marine and their convergence in drama. The performance of the sea across wet and dry spaces explored in the chapters that follow relies on varying degrees of material properties, some of which are physically present in performance and some of which are conjured through language and an appeal to the collective imagination of the audience, who could draw on experiences of objects, knowledge and, meaning available elsewhere. The kinds of imaginative affective triggers that my study explores, whether those presented by means of material objects or poetry, are important intersections between the kinds of experiences and cultural conceptions of the marine held by the audience and their representations in drama. An effective elucidation of this necessitates looking to the material and visual manifestations of the marine that so often inform its representation on the stage, at court, and in civic pageantry.

The following sections of the Introduction set out how my research fits into early modern literary studies and provides historical contexts for the kinds of sea-changes that were at play at the turn of the seventeenth century. An overview of the continental debates about maritime sovereignty and rights and Britain’s place in them helps to foreground some of the recurring concerns with maritime sovereignty and property that recur in the plays and entertainments discussed in later chapters. Likewise, it highlights the slipperiness of legal terms used in the maritime legal debates, which problematized a straightforward categorisation of maritime spaces into

degrees of lawfulness and ownership. This essential slipperiness and the inherent resistance to control that it harbours are problems that the early modern cultural imagination continually grapples with in its representations of the marine, whether in drama or elsewhere. The material briefly discussed here also serves to highlight how the maritime legal debates impacted different levels of society, from the wide-reaching pretensions of the monarch to claims over territorial waters, to the much more localised claims of fishermen along the English and Scottish coasts.

Before focusing on the representation of the marine in different forms of Jacobean drama that echo, reflect, and sometimes subvert the kinds of political dimensions of the maritime situation of the opening decades of James I's reign discussed in this Introduction, Chapter One pauses to consider the marine's dramatic uses in royal entertainment of the decades leading up to James's accession. Several Elizabethan progress entertainments are discussed together with the 1594 Scottish baptismal entertainment at Stirling, which serve to illustrate the point that the marine operated in rather a different kind of framework in Elizabethan entertainments to those of her Scottish counterpart. Whereas entertainments for Elizabeth are generally tied more to the pastoral chivalric myths surrounding the Virgin Queen, the Stuart entertainment at Stirling anticipates many of the European influences and spectacular marine properties that would later become current in the Jacobean court masques. This chapter also discusses *The Aphrodisial* (1602), a seldom-studied but important marine play by William Percy, written very shortly before the turning-point that saw the end of the Tudor dynasty and the establishment of the Stuarts on the English throne.

The material that follows is then organised loosely by type of drama: civic, commercial, and courtly. Chapter Two focuses on the uses of sea tropes and properties in civic drama, namely the annual festivities of the Lord Mayors' Shows, portions of which took place directly on the Thames. My line of enquiry here teases out the links between the local and the global, between commercial enterprise and what sea tropes mean when they are used in pageants that celebrate the economic structures and traditions that underpin the livery companies. I relate the maritime to the urban in this

chapter, since the riverine waters of the Thames are rearticulated in a distinctly global capacity through the uses of peripatetic merchant ships, sea monsters, and other devices that spill out from the river into the City.

The popular appeal of some of these devices and conceits is then explored in Chapter Three, where the focus on maritime endeavour, whether licit or illicit, shifts onto the commercial stage. I consider the fortunes of different kinds of seafarers that were found on the Jacobean commercial stage, including merchants, mariners, and pirates. My reading of these figures in Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West, Part I* (1596-1603), Heywood and Rowley's *Fortune by Land and Sea* (1607-1609), and *A Christian Turned Turk* (1609-1612) proposes that the commercial stage was a space in which the complexities of legitimate and illegitimate maritime endeavour could be freely played out. These types of figures are largely excluded from civic drama and court performance, given that those modes of performance have a tendency to not only aestheticize the marine but also to idealise maritime commercial endeavour, which leads to the exclusion of characters of questionable legitimacy. Although mercantile tropes and images of maritime communities characterise so many of the Lord Mayors' Shows, pirates—who are an important element of mercantile engagement, whether as foes or collaborators—are excluded from the pictures of civic unity that the Shows seek to present. Neither are these unlawful maritime agents invited onto the court stage, where their presence would be unsuitable and repugnant to a monarch concerned with eradicating piracy, which he identified as a direct affront to his sovereignty of seas.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, the sensational spectacle that piratical sea-fights embody are sometimes found echoed in royal entertainments on the Thames, such as the sea-fight staged on the Thames for the investiture of Henry, Prince of Wales, in 1610 and the *naumachia*-style pageant performed for the wedding celebrations of Princess Elizabeth to Frederick V, Elector Palatinate in 1613.<sup>13</sup> Thinking about the 'performance' of

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<sup>12</sup> See below, pp. 28-9; pp. 99-101.

<sup>13</sup> Marie-Claude Canova Green provides an account of these water spectacles and situates them within a larger narrative of European depictions of the Ottoman threat in water spectacles in 'Lepanto Revisited: Water-fights and the Turkish Threat', in *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J. R. Mulryne* ed. by Margaret Shewring (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 177-98 (pp. 185-90).



capital punishment at Southwark and Wapping, it is possible to relate the stage pirates to these locations in the City, especially given the fact that two of the plays discussed in Chapter Three—*Fortune by Land and Sea* and *A Christian Turned Turk*—were both based on historical pirate figures. The chapter also thinks about women and seafaring, focusing on *Fair Maid* where seafaring is quickly contaminated by piracy.

Chapter Four extends the concern with the uses of marine spectacles outlined in Chapter Two and the anxieties about the licit and illicit as found in the seafaring material but shifts the focus away from the human onto the animal. This chapter deals with non-human bodies found in the sea, like the whales, mermaids and tritons previously discussed in the Lord Mayor's Shows and the Elizabethan and Stuart entertainments in Chapter One. Here, I seek to map out the kinds of printed and material artefacts and debates that influenced representations of ambiguous marine bodies in drama and the ways in which conceptions of marine monstrosity influence readings of other bodies that are discovered in littoral locations, as is the case with Caliban in *The Tempest*. Consulting marine monstrosity across different cultural and literary registers, I probe the significance of Caliban being identified as a 'strange fish'. Contact with water often destabilises the human on an anatomical level, but contact through the sighting of sea creatures is just as unstable because the early modern imagination can repeatedly be found projecting the human onto the animal and vice versa, resulting in creatures that unnaturally and aberrantly straddle the line between human and fish. The sea evidently changes the signification of the bodies that it contains and this chapter is interested in discussing how this conceit is played out in printed illustrations and drama. This in turn allows for reflection on the kinds of material discourses that inform the conception of decorative 'monstrous' marine bodies found in Jacobean drama, where wider cultural constructions of sea creatures as aberrant and wondrous underpins their verbal and physical constructions, revealing that even in physical terms (i.e. when constructed through stage device and costume) these creatures still essentially remain malleable and their signification fluid.

The final chapter addresses the influences and shared tactics of portraying the marine in court masques, which are characterised by innovations in stagecraft that bring about new means of dramatic representation. I am interested in pursuing the question of what these technologies allow dramatic performance to do to ‘underwater’ spaces. Necessarily, then, this chapter considers European material culture, garden design, and the convergence of both in European scenography, which were being disseminated with increasing prevalence in England in the early seventeenth century. This line of enquiry enables me to illustrate the shared strategies and means of expression found in Jacobean court masques and continental modes of performance and decorative design. The range of material properties discussed in the chapter informs the creation of the marine in masque devices, which in turn impact the poetical renderings of marine conceits. To that end, I develop a typology of what I have termed the ‘decorative marine idiom’ and outline its verbal manifestations in *The Tempest* and its more physically material manifestations in the stage designs for *Tethys’ Festival* (1610), *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Grayes Inn* (1612), *Masque of Flowers* (1614) and several Jacobean water progresses. This approach to the court masques facilitates a better understanding of how the court of a monarch vehemently attempting to assert his sovereignty of the sea was staging watery spectacles and how those spectacles fit into a wider cultural interest in the appropriation of marine aesthetics.

The Conclusion then brings together the strands of enquiry pursued in previous chapters and offers some further thoughts on how representations of the marine were negotiated in different forms of Jacobean drama. In discussing how the ‘wet’ and the ‘dry’ performance spaces of London rely on different degrees of material properties in their representations of marine spaces, entities, and personages, my work arrives at a critical vantage point which reflects on the materiality and poetics of Jacobean drama. This vantage point is made possible by a consideration of marine materialities—maritime goods, personnel, monsters, deities, the aesthetic properties of the water itself—that circulated within the City and the court. Civic pageantry, commercial drama and court masques employ these commonplace and universal markers of the marine but the uses to which these markers are put and the language and media in

which they are expressed link those markers to different cultural registers. The Conclusion, therefore, offers some final thoughts on the interrelated ways of visualising and performing the marine in early modern material culture and Jacobean drama, and by way of doing so, revisits *Pericles* and its concerns with staging what it means to be at sea.

## II. The marine and spatiality in early modern studies

While some of the texts discussed in the following chapters have, for the most part, received ample critical attention elsewhere, the focus of my research allows for a series of comparisons between them that are seldom found in available scholarship.<sup>14</sup> My work traces the interconnected strategies for representing the marine in Jacobean drama and elucidates the natural link between material culture and the sea, which emerges from the importance of the sea as a means of bringing forth objects both from within itself (as with fish, monsters, coral, pearls) and through commerce (as with exotic foreign goods). As Catherine Richardson notes, ‘new patterns of commerce [...] linked the English economy increasingly closely and directly to the world economy that brought exotic materials and objects from the Baltic, Iberia, the Mediterranean, the East Indies and the New World’.<sup>15</sup> At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the sea was increasingly characterised by trade, which necessarily brought with it the impulse to control the trade routes and water-ways that connected Britain to both the Old World and the New. The preoccupation with controlling maritime space that is found in the *mare liberum* debates repeatedly invokes and attempts to define the larger space through the property that it contains, which the next section will discuss in more detail. Taking my interests in early modern drama and this basic impulse to align the sea with property rights as a starting point, my research led me to consider how different types

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<sup>14</sup> For example, comprehensive studies dealing with civic drama describe the presence of marine-oriented devices and conceits but typically do not relate them to other types of performances in which they figure. See David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971) and Tracy Hill’s more recent study, *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor’s Show 1585-1639* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

<sup>15</sup> Catherine Richardson, *Shakespeare and Material Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 26-7.

of ‘property’ are used in civic pageantry, commercial drama, and court masques. I became interested in how the insurmountable vastness of the sea was translated into these forms of entertainment, variously relying on physical properties and on verbal objects and ‘immaterial’ materialities. While there are many excellent studies of early modern maritime culture and drama, there is a lack of criticism that directly aligns representations of the marine in drama with other ways of performing the sea in material culture (in its capacity as avenues of commerce and adventuring, decoration, spectacle, and curiosity).

The kinds of material allusions that we find in drama are part of a wider early modern fascination with giving shape or bodying forth marine markers, which is evident in the political maritime debates, in visualisations of sea monsters in popular print and natural histories, in garden architecture, silverware, and other forms of decoration. As the chapters that follow reveal, the transmission of certain conceits, practices, and ways of visualising the marine across these forms of dramatic, visual, and material discourse often takes place between continental Europe and England. This transmission, however, also takes place not only between cultures but between different modes of visual and material circulation. For example, when encyclopaedic images are lifted from European works and used in English ones but then shifted further, displaced from their natural history context and exported into sensationalised popular print, this shift exploits their wondrous bodies in relation to specific locations and cultural events.

The focus on linking drama and material culture through the marine has allowed me to contribute several important readings of how performance operates in non-dramatic artefacts such as grottoes and silverware, and how shared marine conceits were expressed materially in these spaces and objects. The kinds of materiality and the approach to verbal and physical objects that I pursue include those that are present physically or otherwise performed through ekphrasis, where they draw on the audience’s knowledge acquired elsewhere. This approach to materiality, in many ways, is indebted to the work of Catherine Richardson, whose *Shakespeare and*

*Material Culture* (2011) focuses primarily on ‘objects rather than, for instance, the sounds or smells of the early modern theatre: because material culture is a term which “encapsulates not just the physical attributes of an object, but the myriad and shifting contexts through which it acquires meaning”’.<sup>16</sup> Especially important is Richardson’s suggestion that it is ‘partly the physical durability of objects which gives them a central function in accumulating and disseminating theatrical meanings’ and that it is their physical form:

[A]round which words and ideas can cluster and to which they become attached. Vibrant objects resonate with larger issues which have no material form of their own – economic questions of commodification and exchange, for instance. [...] Words draw *attention* to the meaning of things in a given situation’.<sup>17</sup>

But whereas she focuses exclusively on Shakespeare—and therefore largely on plays written for the commercial outdoor stage—I am interested in looking at how certain types of material culture relate not only to drama staged commercially, but also civically and at court, because these different sites often approach materiality in rather different ways. At its most basic level, distinctions can be drawn between the relatively ‘bare’ stage of the commercial theatre, where objects (verbal as well as material) were invested with potent meaning or present in order to evoke a particularly sense of place, the urban and riverine environments in which civic drama took place, with its peripatetic devices and pageants, and the proscenium-framed masques, which made use of elaborate stagecraft and stage properties.

In *Shakespeare and Material Culture*, Richardson approaches drama as an extension of material culture and focuses largely on the physical and to a lesser degree on the verbal objects found in Shakespeare’s plays and the kinds of meanings and negotiations that they make possible. She argues that ‘the early modern theatre was a uniquely important place for the working out of the meanings of material culture. It was a place where words and things could be brought together prominently, and the

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<sup>16</sup> Richardson, *Shakespeare and Material Culture*, p. 30, quoting Karen Harvey ed., *History and Material Culture* (London: Rutledge, 2009), p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

meanings of each challenged publicly'.<sup>18</sup> This assertion resonates with Steven Mullaney's arguments about the commercial theatres being a 'new technology' with which to think because they:

[I]ntroduced new dimensions, in a quite literal sense, to an already extensive early modern performative sphere, producing a complex cognitive space for playwrights, players, and audiences to occupy and experience – an affective technology, if you will, within which, and with which, they could think and feel things not always easy or comfortable to articulate.<sup>19</sup>

Richardson's assertion that because the off-stage meanings of objects are tied up with larger cultural shifts, 'the theatrical meanings of objects might be understood in the context of various shifts in the development of drama', is especially important for the critical approach that my own work takes to civic drama and court masques as well as the commercial theatres.<sup>20</sup> The cultural changes pertaining to commerce, sovereignty, and cultural consumption of marine aesthetics in print and material culture can certainly be felt across these modes of dramatic performance. Representations of the marine, whether made possible by material properties or verbal props conjured through appeals to the other off-stage discourses they were associated with, are certainly marked by early modern culture's increasing engagements with the sea, economically, politically, aesthetically, in discourses of natural history, and in sensationalised cheap print. Marine tropes have a special relevance for the changing technologies in Renaissance Europe and following James's accession in 1603 they can likewise be found gaining currency in England.

Despite there being a large body of scholarly work that deals with early modern maritime culture, material relating to early modern drama and the sea is, rather unsurprisingly perhaps, largely confined to a focus on Shakespeare. For example, Alexander Falconer's *Shakespeare and the Sea* (1964) offers a comprehensive survey of the different manifestations of marine deities, personages, agents, and terms that are

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<sup>18</sup> Richardson, *Shakespeare and Material Culture*, p. 35.

<sup>19</sup> Steven Mullaney, 'Affective Technologies: Towards an Emotional Logic of the Elizabethan Stage', in *Environment and Embodiment*, ed. by Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 71-89 (p. 74).

<sup>20</sup> Richardson, *Shakespeare and Material Culture*, p. 32.

found in Shakespeare's canon.<sup>21</sup> Philip Edwards's study, *Sea-Mark: The Metaphorical Voyage, Spenser to Milton* (1997), is wider in scope but there is very little to be found on non-Shakespearean commercial drama and nothing at all on civic or court entertainments despite the fertile ground that many of the those works contain.<sup>22</sup> The focus on Shakespeare is also firmly present in more recent studies that have played a large part in steering the course of ecocritical engagement with early modern drama and the sea. In his 2009 article, 'Towards a Blue Cultural Studies: The Sea, Maritime Culture, and Early Modern English Literature', Steve Mentz put forward the case for a deeper and more meaningful reading of the sea as not simply a plane to be crossed but as a space in its own right deserving of critical attention.<sup>23</sup> Mentz's discussion of Blue Cultural Studies, or New Thalassology, in the article lays much of the theoretical groundwork that he later develops further in his *At the Bottom of Shakespeare's Ocean* (2009), which situates Shakespeare's engagement with the ocean alongside more contemporary writers such as Herman Melville, Derek Walcott, and Eduard Glissant, revealing continuity in humankind's imaginative responses to mass bodies of waters and littoral spaces.<sup>24</sup>

A similar type of presentist approach is found in Dan Brayton's recent monograph, *Shakespeare's Ocean* (2012), in which he incisively argues for a more direct and immediate engagement with the sea in ecocriticism, which, he suggests, by its land-centred conceptions of 'environment' and limited scope on deep waters often ignores or neglects the sea and maritime spaces.<sup>25</sup> The work undertaken by Mentz and Brayton challenges anthropocentric and land-oriented approaches to Shakespeare's canon and literary theory, focusing on marine environments from a largely contemporary vantage point largely governed with the devastating 'sea changes' and environmental depredations taking place in the twenty-first century. These ecocritical

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<sup>21</sup> Alexander Falconer, *Shakespeare and the Sea* (London: Constable, 1964).

<sup>22</sup> Philip Edwards, *Sea-Mark: The Metaphorical Voyage, Spenser to Milton* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997).

<sup>23</sup> Steve Mentz, 'Towards a Blue Cultural Studies: The Sea, Maritime Culture, and Early Modern English Literature', *Literature Compass*, 6:5 (2009), 997-1013.

<sup>24</sup> Steve Mentz, *At the Bottom of Shakespeare's Ocean* (London: Continuum, 2009).

<sup>25</sup> See Mentz's *At the Bottom of Shakespeare's Ocean* and Dan Brayton, *Shakespeare's Ocean: An Ecocritical Exploration* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

studies engage with a range of plays and texts considered in this thesis, but they do so from very specific critical and theoretic vantage points that often neglect the kinds of readings that my thesis makes possible.

The sea has likewise received attention in studies of early modern spatiality, in collections of essays such as Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein's edited volume *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space* (2001).<sup>26</sup> The volume explores national and imperial visions in spatial units of meaning such as the body, the stage, the city, the country, and the continent. The epistemological frameworks surrounding specific spatial constructs discussed in the volume relate mostly to terrestrial space, but Bradin Cormack's contribution on *Pericles* and the idea of jurisdiction in marginal waters persuasively helps to situate the sea as part of a wider narrative of spatial dynamics in early modern culture.<sup>27</sup>

Other studies of maritime culture have focused on issues of maritime politics relating to law.<sup>28</sup> An important contribution to this field of study is Claire Jowitt's edited volume, *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650* (2007), as well as her more recent monograph, *The Culture of Piracy, 1580–1630: English Literature and Seaborne Crime* (2010).<sup>29</sup> Jowitt's exploration of the ways in which traditional power structures are joined with maritime alterity in the cultural production and dissemination of piracy brings together a literary history of pirates in which they are seen as paradoxically mimicking as well as flouting traditional political power

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<sup>26</sup> Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein, eds, *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

<sup>27</sup> Bradin Cormack, 'Marginal Waters: *Pericles* and the Idea of Jurisdiction', in *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space*, pp. 155-80.

<sup>28</sup> See, for example key studies such as Thomas Wemyss Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea: An Historical Account of the Claims of England to the Dominion of the British Seas, and of the Evolution of the Territorial Waters: With Special Reference to the Rights of Fishing and the Naval Salute* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1911) and David Loades, *England's Maritime Empire: Seapower, Commerce and Policy, 1490-1690* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000). A lot of the scholarship of maritime law focuses on jurisdiction and piracy, such as John C. Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag: Pirates of the Tudor Age* (Stroud: The History Press, 2009); Joel H. Baer, *British Piracy in the Golden Age: History and Interpretation*, 4 vols (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007); David Cordingly, *Under the Black Flag: The Romance and the Reality of Life Among the Pirates* (London: Random House, 1995).

<sup>29</sup> See Claire Jowitt, ed., *Pirates?: The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) and *The Culture of Piracy, 1580–1630: English Literature and Seaborne Crime* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).



structures. Jowitt's extensive and engaging research on both literary and historical pirates has provided an invaluable addition to the study of early maritime culture, and while there is some overlap in the dramatic works discussed in *The Culture of Piracy* and the third chapter of this thesis, my approach to these works focuses primarily on the transformations and uses that pirate body undergoes in drama.

In recent years studies of spatiality and literature in early modern England have increasingly come to engage with the riverine and maritime environments which surround the production of that literature. A particularly useful example is Julie Sanders's ground-breaking work, *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama* (2011), in which she offers a diverse and eloquent exploration of different sites across city and country, mapping out a series of imaginative engagements between those sites and the drama written and performed in and about them during the Caroline period. More importantly, a sizeable proportion of Sanders's study is devoted to investigating the 'mobile parameters' of aqueous spaces, in which she stresses the 'plural aspect to the sensory perception of the river because that helps to drive home the centrality of water in the everyday early modern urban experience'.<sup>30</sup> Sanders's work on this 'centrality' illustrates how it operated through quotidian engagements with rivers, which she uncovers in her readings of the Lord Mayors' Shows and Dekker's masque, *London's Tempe* (1629), proposing that they are 'deeply invested in the spaces and symbolism of water and, in particular, the River Thames, down which part of the mayoral procession journeyed'.<sup>31</sup> These 'spaces and symbolism' likewise form an important part of my work on the Jacobean Lord Mayors' Shows and court masques, especially for looking at the ways in which the symbolism of riverine water in the Thames echoes wider maritime conceits and allusions, which are played out in the pageants and stage devices I discuss. Sanders's suggestion that 'some of these pageants were not only street theatre, but also maritime or riverine theatre, a quasi-dramatic form in which the river represents a weird mixture of the symbolic and the

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<sup>30</sup> Julie Sanders, *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama, 1620-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 22; p. 13.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

actual' likewise resonates with my work more generally given the emphasis that I place on the river as being used symbolically to represent the sea.<sup>32</sup>

Sanders proposes that Caroline riverine spaces are sites of both literal and imagined performances:

The river was, then, hugely important in cultural and geographical terms and yet, to talk about water in the context of the theatrical culture of Caroline London provokes something of an ironic response in that, in the practical confines of the commercial stage at least, this key element is often only figured, imagined, and represented, rather than literally staged.<sup>33</sup>

This is certainly also applicable to the essentially dry spaces of the Jacobean commercial stages, and the ensuing parts of the thesis will elucidate the conduits through which physical and imagined 'wetness' permeated Jacobean drama. The everyday practices of navigation and the ferrying and sale of commodities and property in riverine and urban locales of the City were often invoked in dramatic and festive performances where the links between the sea and property plays an important part.

### **III. The changing face of maritime property**

Early modern Europe's commercial and mercantile reliance on maritime spaces brought them under increasing scrutiny, as arguments about rights of navigation, maritime depredations, and other forms of encroachment highlighted the instability of land-based legal norms when out at sea. In its capacity as a space for conveying goods from foreign lands and for harbouring its own extensive array of properties, or *res*, the sea complicated notions of control, ownership, and use, which led to a series of maritime legal debates in the early seventeenth century that respectively approached the sea as being open and free for all to use (*mare liberum*) or closed (*mare clausum*). The kinds of problems inherent in representing the marine in drama, where it is often

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

characterised by fluid boundaries and metamorphoses, are found in the maritime legal debates as well. This is unsurprising given that the debates are a response to the unstable and unfixed nature of maritime spaces and objects, seeking as they do to impose definable categories of ownership and rights.

This section provides an overview of the important changes in the maritime situation of the early 1600s but it likewise provides a brief background on how the sea had, in some measure at least, existed as a legal entity in the classical Roman laws of Justinian, the Glossators (eleventh- and twelfth-century continental scholars who provided explanations for the rediscovered Roman laws), and the Post-Glossator jurists and theoreticians.<sup>34</sup> The legal pretensions to maritime control are mostly grounded in material objects, or *res marinis*, which are used as a means of both inscribing forms of ownership and use and overcoming the legal immateriality of maritime space.

The legal theory pertaining to maritime jurisdiction and sovereignty is examined largely from two perspectives: that pertaining to the status of the sea itself as an immovable object, and that pertaining to the status and ownership of commodities found therein. This section begins by establishing the place of both the sea and *res marinis*, or maritime commodities, in the epistemological frameworks of classical and medieval legal authorities and the later seventeenth-century jurisconsults such as Hugo Grotius, William Welwood, and John Selden. These legal theories are read against the more pragmatic political and economic concerns that lie behind James I's claims for maritime sovereignty, embodied in proclamations concerning fishing, trade, and other maritime endeavours in the years following his accession.

Part of the problem faced by early modern legal thinkers in attempting to make sense of the sea as a legal space was that they were faced with a series of new situations requiring clarification and codification which had previously simply not

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<sup>34</sup> On precedents for claiming maritime sovereignty see Lauren Benton's *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), particularly Chapter Three, 'Sovereignty at Sea: Jurisdiction, Piracy, and the Origins of Ocean Regionalism', pp. 104-61.

been needed. The foundation of the early modern maritime debates relied heavily upon classical precedents, which Grotius consulted throughout *Mare Liberum* and in the subsequent rebuttals to criticism of his work by Welwood and Selden.<sup>35</sup> Citations from all manner of authorities collected in the *Institutes* of Gaius and Justinian's *Digest* abound in the maritime debates, revealing that the sea (no matter in however limited or underdeveloped a capacity) had long held some form of currency in the jurisprudential imagination. Although these debates make ample use of the inherited ways of reading the sea as a receptacle of *dominium* and *imperium*, the efforts in codifying these inherited readings reveal the need to introduce elements of contemporary practice as well as classical ideals. For instance, the Papal order under the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 to equally divide the hemisphere among the Spanish and Portuguese did away with any notions of *mare liberum* by giving control of the waterways to the Iberian nations respectively.<sup>36</sup> The treaty consecrated the monopoly of intercontinental trade held by the two powers and effectively appropriated the sea-space into their control. By the early seventeenth-century, the Papacy and Iberian powers were no longer in a position to uphold the treaty, since the arrival of other European nations to the enterprise of multilateral trade unsettled any claims to supremacy by circumventing any pretensions to ownership of the sea. The divisions created by Treaty of Tordesillas were rejected and challenged by non-Catholic nations, illustrating the ineffectiveness of attempting to project arbitrary divisions onto the sea. The same problem remained in the opening decades of the seventeenth century; whether *mare clausum* or *mare liberum*, the nations concerned could never hope to gain control simply through inherited classical precedents or legal philosophies—the notion of overarching ownership of the seas inevitably needed to recognise the object-based (rather than spatial-based) use of the seas in engaging with maritime rights.

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<sup>35</sup> Hugo Grotius, *The Free Sea*, trans. Richard Hakluyt, ed. by David Armitage (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004). See also Monica Brito Vieira, 'Mare Liberum vs. Mare Clausum: Grotius, Frietas, and Selden's debate on dominion over the seas', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64:3 (2003), 361-77.

<sup>36</sup> The role played by the Treaty of Tordesillas in shaping navigation and colonisation is discussed in Ricardo Padrón, 'A Sea of Denial: The Early Modern Spanish Invention of the Pacific Rim', *Hispanic Review*, 77:1 (2009), 1-27 and Philip E. Steinburg, 'Lines of Division, Lines of Connection: Stewardship in the World Ocean', *Geographical Review*, 89:2 (1999), 254-64.

The sophistication and development of the sea as a form of property open to rights and (non)ownership correlates as much with advances in legal philosophy as with developments in national trade and exploration. For instance, Greek law recognised the sea as a type of thing common for the use of mankind, but it lacked the system of property rights (namely the classes of *dominium* and *proprietas*) later developed by Roman jurisprudence. Thus, in varying degrees, the sea had long held a status as a type property, thing, or *res* (a term commonly used to ‘designate that which is capable of becoming the object of rights’), which was open to communal use, but had the potential to be appropriated into a class of ownership.<sup>37</sup>

Greek and Roman law recognised the sea as a communal space but did not go beyond this in trying to uniformly establish the ownership and property rights found therein. In Roman law, under the *humani iuris*, property (*res*) could be either public or private, but there were several other categories of a different type of (non)ownership which existed outside the parameters of the public/private binary. *Res communes*, for example, existed as a class in its own right in that it has no owner at all, neither public nor private; they were common by the principles of *ius naturale*, or natural law, but subject to the *ius gentium*, or law of nations (which was based on a shared system of customs). Another class was that of *res publicae*, which were things falling under the territory of the state that could be divided into two categories: *res publicae in patrimonio* (things or goods belonging to the state, i.e. slaves, houses) and *res publicae extra patrimonium* (things made public by the nature of their use, i.e. navigable rivers, roads, ports).<sup>38</sup>

Justinian’s jurists designated for the sea a place in Roman jurisprudence as a *res communis humani iuris*, open to the use of all men but owned by none. Although the sea itself could be owned by none by virtue of it being a *res communis*, ports and rivers were treated as *res publicae*, with the *proprietas*, or ownership, being lodged in the state. Similarly, the products harvested from the sea had the potential to be

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<sup>37</sup> Percy Thomas Fenn Jr., ‘Justinian and the Freedom of the Seas’, *The American Journal of International Law*, 19:4 (1925), 716-27 (p. 726).

<sup>38</sup> For a further discussion of these terms see Fenn, ‘Justinian and the Freedom of the Seas’, p. 721.

appropriated into private ownership following their removal from the sea and into the hands of individuals such as fishermen. As Percy Thomas Fenn Jr. points out, fish were in fact *res nullius*, ‘even if the law provided no niche to contain them’, because while they have no owner during their residence within the parameters of the sea, they have the potential to be appropriated into ownership following their capture and removal.<sup>39</sup> This metamorphosis of proprietary status further illustrates the complexity of appending a definite legal category to the sea and its contents.

In an article on the theory of territorial waters, Fenn charts a sense of conflict during the middle ages, when the inherited status of the sea as *res communis* remained largely unaltered, but the sources of and the methods for acquiring rights in the sea came to be challenged.<sup>40</sup> The Glossators contributed some contemporary thought to the status of the sea and the rights of privilege and property to be exercised therein. As Fenn points out, ‘legislation in the sense of lawmaking was foreign to mediaeval [*sic*] thought. Law was interpreted, not created; discovered, not made,’ therefore innovation in property rights and the creation of new laws for appropriation of the sea was not yet a concept for the legal imagination.<sup>41</sup> At this juncture, then, sovereign power was not identified as a force sufficient for overriding the dictates of *ius gentium*, which stated that the sea was open to all.

However, after the Glossators there arose a new class of jurists who interpreted classical Roman law in light of contemporary practice, whose work revealed an increasing tendency towards a belief that sovereigns or states possessed ‘some kind of inchoate property rights in the sea adjacent to the territories of the same’.<sup>42</sup> The rise of feudalism and the role of the monarch as titular landowner of the realm capable of bestowing grants of exclusive privilege and rights to property consecrated a model of relations between monarch and public property which had the potential to be used for laying claim to the sea. The feudal development of property rights on land had a

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 719.

<sup>40</sup> Percy Thomas Fenn Jr., ‘Origins of the Theory of Territorial Water’, *American Journal of International Law*, 20:3 (1926), 465-82 (p. 466).

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 467.

subsequent impact on the sea, evident in the attempted extension of feudal ownership outwards beyond the peripheral *terra firma* of the realm.

The granting of exclusive fishing rights in a state-owned fishery was a commonly-practiced means of granting use, but this practice was not understood as a gesture of implying or laying claims to ownership of those waters. By its very nature, the sea presented a problem which feudal jurisprudence could not overcome because the sea was not an object of private property. The sea could not be appropriated until medieval jurisprudence came to realise that laws needed to be made rather than simply inherited or discovered in order to keep up with the rise of the modern state, and the role of the king as an embodiment of that state, who would inevitably need to have control over his aqueous as well as territorial realms. Feudal law attributed to the king *regalia*, or exclusive rights, privileges and prerogatives, therefore through him, a property right in the sea could be asserted via an appeal to the rights of custom or usage. It was granted that certain sovereigns had special interests in their kingdoms' neighbouring waters, and as such had the power to exercise jurisdiction over them.<sup>43</sup> For example, the eventual introduction of the Admiral as an office of state responsible for punishing offences committed at sea in 1500 recognises the sea as a district of the nation to be overseen by it. Nevertheless, the jurisdiction exercised over particular parts of the sea did not necessarily guarantee or validate claims of ownership for those spaces.

Following the advancements made by the Post-Glossators, subsequent jurisconsults undertook a reinterpretation of the Roman laws, which were greatly out of touch with the practicalities of late medieval Europe. The greatest, and perhaps most important, development from the old system was that use (and not ownership) now became a chief criterion of the law.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, the feudal model of king-as-owner likewise played a part in later policy, particularly James I's assertion of maritime sovereignty. Albericus Gentilis, the Italian jurist who had emigrated to England in the

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<sup>43</sup> See Fulton, *Sovereignty of the Sea*, pp. 3-5.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 474.

late sixteenth century, includes the sea within the meaning of the word *territory*, thereby establishing the use of territorial waters in legal thought.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, proximity and use, together with the feudal understanding of the ultimate power of the king over his realm (both territorial and aqueous), provide a logical culmination of maritime rights which became a key issue in early seventeenth-century jurisprudential debates on maritime law.

The desire to control Britain's territorial waters finds precedent in historical narratives of sovereigns who attempt to cast their power over the seas—many scholars frequently cite the iconic King Canute anecdote in relation to maritime sovereignty.<sup>46</sup> The story is one of contest between man and nature; a commanding of the sea by an ambitious monarch who sits himself on the shore and bids the waves not to encroach upon him. Unsurprisingly, Canute finds himself humbled by the onslaught of the returning tide, which seeps into his regal cloak, bringing with it an undercurrent of defiance in the face of royal command. As a tactic for taking control of the sea, this episode seems destined to fail from the beginning because even sovereigns cannot hope to physically control the elements. And yet, the symbolic gesture was one still being felt in the opening decades of seventeenth-century Britain; while James did not follow Canute's ritual of physical contest of monarchical will against nature, he did adopt a new maritime policy and outlook whereby, through a series of proclamations, negotiations, and debates, he was asserting Britain's right to maritime sovereignty over her territorial waters.

James's claims of maritime sovereignty were certainly a departure from Elizabeth's policy of *mare liberum*, but the claims to maritime sovereignty that the new monarch professed were indicative of an insular mythology of maritime rights and supremacy.<sup>47</sup> Sebastian Sobiecki's excellently nuanced introduction to *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages* (2011) explicates the 'marine myth' of the tenth-

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<sup>45</sup> Fenn, 'Origins of the Theory of Territorial Water', p. 478.

<sup>46</sup> For example, see Paul Franssen, 'Canute or Neptune? The Dominion of the Seas and Two Versions of *The Tempest*', *Cahiers Elizabéthains*, 57 (2000), 79-94.

<sup>47</sup> On Elizabeth's maritime policy see Fulton, *Sovereignty of the Sea*, pp. 86-117.



century King Edgar who, since the twelfth century, was thought to have been the uniting force behind an insular empire.<sup>48</sup> Sobecki uncovers layers of historical fabrication perpetrated by the Benedictine monks of Worcester, who styled Edgar a ‘maritime monarch *par excellence*’ through a series of falsified charters and documents in order to safeguard their local and personal interests.<sup>49</sup> Edgar thus became identified as the force responsible for allegedly extending his realms across the British Isles and over the Irish Sea.<sup>50</sup> Sobecki points out that because of this myth, Edgar became easily identifiable as a symbol of British cultural identity for subsequent writers—not least those responsible for the *Libelle of Englyshe Policie* (1436-1438) and *Principal Navigations* (1598), which Sobecki considers in the introduction to his edited volume alongside the resurfacing of the Edgar myth at the height of the English juriconsult John Selden’s ‘reclamation’ of Britain’s territorial waters in the seventeenth century.<sup>51</sup> That figures such as Edgar could be cited as historical precedent demonstrates the alignment and integration of James VI’s Scottish policies of *mare clausum* into an English historiography that already establishes links to maritime sovereignty, setting the new monarch as an extension of rather than an alternative to his immediate predecessor’s policy.

As well as being invoked by Selden himself in the Latin *Mare Clausum* (composed c.1614, published 1635), Edgar makes an appearance in the prefatory material to John Nedham’s 1652 English translation of the treatise as a means of legitimating Britain’s claims to a maritime empire and sovereignty over the sea. The prefatory poem, which takes the form of an ode spoken by Neptune and addressed to the English commonwealth, acknowledges Edgar’s importance as the champion of its rights to the adjacent seas:

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<sup>48</sup> Sebastian Sobecki, ‘Edgar’s Archipelago’ in *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages: Maritime Narratives, Identity and Culture*, ed. by Sebastian Sobecki (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), pp. 1-30.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Anon., *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye: A Poem on the Use of Sea-Power, 1436*, ed. by George Warner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926).

What wealth or glorie may arise  
 By the North-West discoveries is due unto thy care,  
 Th'adopting them with English names,  
 The greatness of thy minde proclaims, and what thy actions are.  
 New Seas thou gain'st; & to the antient FOUR  
 By Edgar left, thou addest many more. (19-24)<sup>52</sup>

The vestiges of Edgar's maritime legacy that survive in the commonwealth are seen as a precedent for maritime supremacy and a rightful claim to the 'British' seas surrounding it. It is significant that Neptune is here addressing the commonwealth rather than the rights of an individual monarch to hold dominion over the sea—there is an implicit link being established between the sea and the nation as a whole rather than a privileged sovereign individual. This is especially important for the project of unification undertaken by James; the territorial waters over which he was seeking to exert his sovereignty were not those of Scotland, England, and Wales respectively, but of a united Britain, which finds its very roots in the sea.

The claims to these British links to maritime sovereignty can be discerned in the proclamations issued by James in the opening decade of his reign, which sought to assert control over the domestic maritime situation left in the wake of his predecessor. The war with Spain had legitimised depredations on Spanish ships, since letters of marque were issued by the Elizabethan state to mariners, thereby encouraging their aggression. The on-going depredations following James's ascension in 1603 were problematic for maintaining the peace with Spain, and James issued several proclamations relating to piracy, the first of which comments directly on the need to put an end to harassment of Spanish shipping:

We are not ignorant that our late deare sister the Queene of England, had of long time warres with the King of Spaine, and during that time gave Licenses and Commissions to divers of her, and our now Subjects, to set out and furnish to Sea, at their charges, divers ships warlikly appointed, for the surprising and taking of the said Kings subjects and goods, and for the enjoying of the same, being taken and brought home as lawfull Prize.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Cited in Sobecki, 'Edgar's Archipelago', pp. 4-5.

<sup>53</sup> 'A Proclamation concerning Warlike ships at Sea' (1603) in *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, ed. by James Larkin and Paul Hughes, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973-1983), I: *Royal proclamations of King James I, 1603-1625*, p. 30.

The proclamation goes on to note that English mariners who have taken Spanish ships are:

[L]ike to bee extreamey hindered, or rather many of them undone (being a great number of our good and serviceable Subjects) if they may not bee suffered to enjoy such Goods as they have so taken, before any notice is given unto them of the discontinuance of the said late warre [...] [and] shall quietly enjoy the sayde Shippes and goods taken as aforesayd.<sup>54</sup>

This intermediate stage of permissible plunder reveals the complications of attempting to revoke a long-standing policy of depredations, since it straddles legality and blurs the distinction between present and former laws, giving precedent for some cases to exist outside the boundaries of the policies outlined here by James.

In 1603 James also issued ‘A Proclamation to repress all Piracies and Depredations upon the Sea’, in which he outlines his disdain for piratical activity and notes that abettors shall likewise receive punishment: ‘al the Kings Subjects shal forebeare from ayding or receiving of any Pirat or Sea-Rover, or any person not being a knowen Merchant’.<sup>55</sup> The distinction drawn between merchant and pirate here is interesting, since the two categories are often interchangeable and therefore not quite as stable or diametrically opposed as the proclamation implies, as we shall see in Chapter Three. The quasi-piratical endeavours of merchantships complicate the last part of the proclamation, in which James disqualifies pirates from his protection: ‘And generally his Majestie declareth and denouceth all such Pirats and Rovers upon the Seas to be out of his Majestie’s Protection, and lawfully to bee by any person taken, punished, and suppressed with extremitie’.<sup>56</sup> By excluding the pirates from his protection, James alienates the maritime agents whose endeavours already necessitate a geographical distancing from the state, and although the pirates are thus located as existing beyond the state, they are still liable to be punished by it.

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

As well as seeking to put an end to piratical endeavours of individuals (evident in the repeated proclamations issued for the capture of specifically named persons), James issued a 'Proclamation against selling of Ships' (1604), which sought to control the trading of ships to enemies of Britain:

Many English Ships with their Furniture sold of late into forreine parts beyond the Seas, contrary to the Lawe and Statutes in that case provided, and to the great damage and hurt of his loving Subjects; Doeth expressly charge and command all Merchants, Owners of Ships, Mariners, and all other his Subjects whom it may concerne, That from henceforth they and every of them shall forebeare to Sell, Trucke, Exchange or alienate any English Ship or Vessell, directly or indirectly, under the great Seale of England.<sup>57</sup>

The regulation of domestic ships that this proclamation demands draws attention to the dangers of setting national property adrift in a space where ownership can easily be erased. Similarly to the swiftly changing allegiances which turn merchants into pirates, the very instruments of Britain's naval and commercial power are identified as having the same potential. The emphasis on the ship's 'furniture' gestures towards the expected anxiety relating to lost cargo and provisions, but it likewise alludes to the military instruments commonly found on ships.<sup>58</sup> In this way, the proclamation highlights not only the potential commercial losses suffered as a consequence of illegally selling ships, but also the dangers that the sales of ships' cannon and other like 'furniture' might have in malicious hands willing to use it against the state for whose service it was originally built. While these proclamations relate to the illegal dissemination of maritime bodies and properties abroad, there was an interest in another type of marine body much closer to home which was central to the *mare liberum* debates.

The former theories about the acquisition of property rights being lodged either in ownership or in custom and use is complicated by an overarching assertion of *dominium* as we find it in some of James's proclamations. Custom and use pertain to

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 93. For subsequent proclamations against pirates between 1604 and 1609 see pp. 98-99; pp. 145-46; pp. 203-06.

<sup>58</sup> For 'furniture' as cargo and provisions see *OED* 3a; for 'furniture' as military instruments and equipment see *OED* 4b and 5a.

communal enterprises, to localised points of fishing offshore, or of a sustained national naval or merchant presence, yet the suggestions in the Jacobean proclamations often undermine custom-based practices, suggesting that James was seeking to implement a more personal sense of sovereignty modelled on land-based political power structures. For example, in his ‘Proclamation touching Fishing’ (1609), James clearly states his displeasure at the encroachment of the Dutch fishermen into the herring fisheries along the eastern coast of Scotland and England, claiming the adjacent seas as his dominion and banning fishing without a license.

So finding our connivance therein hath not only given occasion to over great *encroachments upon our regalities or rather questioning for our right*, but hath been a means of much daily wrongs to our own people that exercise the trade of fishing [...] whereby not only divers of our own coast-towns are much decayed, but the number of mariners daily diminished, which is a matter of great consequence to our estate, considering how much *strength thereof consisteth in the power of shipping and the use of navigation*. (my italics)<sup>59</sup>

James here identifies the encroachment of the Dutch fishermen as blatant disregard of his ‘regalities’, or right to bestow exclusive rights to subjects, thereby implicitly echoing the essence of Gentili’s thoughts on the adjacent seas being an extension of the realm in which *regalia* operates. This proclamation can be read as further undermining the custom-based order of maritime space under the *ius gentium*, because Dutch fishing along the British coast was by no means a new phenomenon in the early 1600s. It was, by then, a custom, which was—according to the later correspondence from Dutch jurisconsults—locatable in and permissible by the nature of the sea as a *res communis*.

The break from the long-standing and official policy of the free seas of his predecessor sought to establish a new type of sovereign who would exercise power over national maritime space as well as his terrestrial nation. But rather than deploying an aggressive naval force to do battle with his adversaries, James favoured the role of *rex pacificus*, which relied on policy, debate, and jurisprudence as tools with which to

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<sup>59</sup> King James I of England, ‘By the King. A Proclamation touching Fishing’, in Larkin and Hughes, *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, pp. 217-19 (p. 218).

exercise *dominium* over the seas. James's reign saw a movement away from the chivalric myths of Gloriana, and daring naval encounters like the defeat of the Armada, replacing them with strategies of settling peace with Spain and imposing order on the high seas through legislation. A new type of myth emerged from the growth in trade and enterprise, in which mercantile exchange and economic contact with new lands provided fertile ground for adventure. The very meaning of the word 'adventure' was being altered by the spread of mercantile activity; from the mid sixteenth century the term began to signify 'a financial risk or venture; a commercial enterprise; a speculation. Also as a mass noun: the action or fact of pursuing such an undertaking' (*OED*, 7a). In the seventeenth century the term was even used specifically 'in marine insurance: the risk or peril insured against; the period during which a ship, cargo, etc., is considered to be at risk' (*OED*, 3b). These conceits are played out the Lord Mayors' Shows, where mercantile venture is indeed presented as a kind of noble adventure, and the illicit mariner figures and pirates that were excluded from the Shows but made repeated performances in plays on the commercial stage serve to illustrate the kinds of risks—financial and otherwise—that maritime adventure was associated with at this time.

It seems then, that any real 'control' over the sea can only exist through physical control of tangible marine goods such as fish, which can be caught and traded within the visible parameters of a maritime economy. However, the harvesting of marine properties, given their tendency to metamorphose into a variety of different classes of *res*, complicates any straightforward claim to ownership or control of those properties. In fact, James's aspirations for maritime sovereignty manifest themselves in the Anglo-Dutch fishing debates, which were essentially ignited by the previously mentioned proclamation in which he manifests his ownership of fish in his waters. As well as the issuing of the proclamation, the year 1609 also saw the anonymous publication of Grotius's *Mare Liberum*, in which he asserted the freedom of navigation and partly touched on the problems of fishing in passing. While it was, at the time, in England's best interests to support the basic arguments navigation and use of the seas, the Scottish jurist William Welwood took issue with Grotius's apparent assertion of

free fishing in his *An Abridgement of All Sea-Lawes* (1613). Welwood states his concerns that fishing rather than navigation is the underlying issue behind *Mare Liberum*, the latter being entirely ‘a thing far off from all controversy, at least upon the ocean’.<sup>60</sup> This attack went on to elicit a response from Grotius, in the form of the ‘Defence of Chapter V of the *Mare Liberum*’ (c. 1615), which was never published and remained shrouded in obscurity until it was discovered among some family papers in 1864.<sup>61</sup>

The debate between Welwood and Grotius, concerned as it is with theories pertaining to fishing practices as found in classical authorities and scripture, exists in a kind of vacuum which is far removed from the physicality of the fishing practices of those involved pragmatically in the capture and trade of fish. Grotius describes Welwood as ‘a man rather suspicious and who can see what does not exist’ in what Grotius maintains was only a passing example of how fishing on the sea cannot be prohibited by anyone because the sea is an inherently free space.<sup>62</sup> Welwood’s obsession with ‘localised’ (in the sense that the vastness of the sea and of the property found therein become concentrated in fishing hubs at certain point in the sea) product-based ownership implies that contrary to Grotius’ general points about the lack of Portuguese precedent for maritime ownership, *Mare Liberum* offers a clear sense of precedent for the Dutch encroachment into British coastal waters.

It is unsurprising that Welwood should lay so much stress on protecting the fishing rights of the domestic fishermen, given not only the negative effect on the domestic fishing trade caused by foreign fishermen, but also the importance of fishing in establishing national rights over the sea. Fishing, like commerce, was increasingly

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<sup>60</sup> William Welwood, ‘Of the Community and Propriety of the Seas’, in *The Free Sea*, trans. Richard Hakluyt, ed. by David Armitage (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004), pp. 65-74 (p. 65).

<sup>61</sup> Hugo Grotius, *The Free Sea* trans. by David Armitage (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004), p. xxiv. Armitage provides a useful overview of the progression of the maritime debates among Grotius and Welwood and the role that the ‘Defence’ played in rebutting Welwood’s suspicions about *Mare Liberum* being composed specifically in order to establish precedent for the extensive Dutch encroachment into the herring fisheries (pp. xi-xx).

<sup>62</sup> Hugo Grotius, ‘Defence of Chapter V of the *Mare Liberum*’, in Armitage ed., *The Free Sea*, pp. 77-130 (p. 78-9).

becoming a global enterprise. Edward M. Test, in his contribution to the to *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture* (2008), takes as a test-case the Newfoundland salt-dry cod fisheries, which he argues represented a new kind of global trade, in which the fisheries were reliant on a mobile workforce operating in the New World and trading the products in the Old. Test's chapter is mainly concerned with Prospero's enchanted isle, which is envisaged as representing 'the new economics of a global exchange, stressing the importance of (and dependence upon) uncolonised foreign spaces for the growth of the early modern nation state'.<sup>63</sup> Test traces the operation of salt-cod fisheries, the processes of which reveal the fish undergoing different cycles of change—both physical, through the process of salting, and economic, since the fisheries feed into new networks of exchange and classes of property. The cod, as a form of *res marinis*, is therefore located at the nexus of a 'new economics' which was itself redefining the early modern practices of economic adventure and modes of ownership, use, and exchange.

The 'new economics' also echo other developments in a new order of mercantile power. The growth of the East India Company and the Virginia Company likewise reveals powerful political and economic forces which operate on a relatively new power-structure.<sup>64</sup> The trading companies are 'localised' in a similar sense in that the fishing hubs as economic ventures are localised points at which maritime property rights become enacted; the companies operate through stockholders, merchants, and mariners, with set offices and trading points in England and abroad. The power of the companies is thus divided across a range of groups and individuals; the notion of

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<sup>63</sup> Edward M. Test, 'The Tempest and the Newfoundland Cod Fishery', in *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700*, ed. by Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 201-20 (p. 202).

<sup>64</sup> For a study of the joint-stock structure of these trading companies see William Robert Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910-1912), I.



‘ownership’ is here far different to the traditional classes of ownership laid down in Roman law, and invested into the sovereign as a singular landowner. The following chapter will consider the role of fishing, land ownership, and other concerns with marine property in a number of pre-Jacobean entertainments by way of establishing the currency and means of expression inherited by James following his accession.

## CHAPTER ONE

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### *The Marine in English and Scottish Entertainments pre 1603*

#### I.

The presence of water in its many forms, whether used directly or represented symbolically, becomes increasingly identifiable as a specifically marine motif in Jacobean contexts, but water in Elizabethan entertainments—even when used as a stage for marine spectacle—is nevertheless rooted quite firmly and explicitly in the pastoral settings of the English landscape. These entertainments often reveal how deeply Elizabeth's power as sovereign is invested in the landscape through which her itinerant court progresses; her participation is frequently anticipated by the entertainments, where she brings about transformations in the landscape with her presence and words. From her royal entry in 1559 onwards, Elizabeth proved herself as a monarch who actively participated in performances, both civic and provincial.<sup>1</sup> The nature of Elizabeth's active role (even if it is figured by a mere acknowledgement of her power to transform with her mere presence) within the entertainments discussed below envisages her as a monarch who has complete and unquestionable sovereignty over her dominions. This chapter explores the kind of marine or otherwise water-oriented dramas performed for Elizabeth and for James VI prior to his accession to the English throne in order to set a context for how representations of the marine operated in the years leading up to the Jacobean material discussed in the subsequent chapters.

The choice of Elizabethan entertainments has been confined to two provincial entertainments, *The Entertainment at Cowdray* and the *Entertainment at Elvetham*, both staged for Elizabeth and her court during the 1591 progress. These entertainments have been selected for their importance as a 'link between the diversions and

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<sup>1</sup> For a useful example of Elizabeth's willingness to participate in entertainments, see David M. Bergeron's discussion of the Royal Entry in 1559, *English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971), pp. 12-23.

mummings of the medieval and Tudor court, and the masques of James I and Charles I', useful for illustrating how:

Native tradition was welded with French and Italian influence to provide the great achievement of Jones and Jonson, but they give further evidence of the Elizabethan obsession with self-dramatization: the desire to make the outward events of the individual life reflect the truth of the individual's social and spiritual state.<sup>2</sup>

In this context, the Elizabethan material discussed below affords a glimpse both at how the marine operates in Elizabeth's cult of self-dramatization and how it gestures towards the importance of European fashions for shaping the staging of royal entertainments, which will be paramount in my later discussion of Jacobean court masques in Chapter Five. I discuss these two Elizabethan progress entertainments staged at Cowdray and Elvetham in 1591 in order to illustrate how the marine trope and metaphor are blended with the pastoral, chivalric ideal heavily coloured with romance, which is, to some extent, inward-looking as far as the idealised vision of Elizabeth as steward of her realm is concerned. I also discuss the Scottish baptismal entertainment described by William Fowler in the *Reportarie* (1594), which is marked by a concern with marine imagery that looks outwards towards England and the wider world, using commonplace marine tropes in a way that envisages a stable future under the would-be the English heir. The chapter finishes by considering a long-neglected manuscript play, William Percy's *The Aphrodysial; or, Sea-Feast* (1602), which imaginatively mirrors the types of piscatory and marine elements present at the English and Scottish entertainments in a fantastical underwater court presided over by sea deities. Percy's play is likewise important for the richness of its marine material and its responsiveness to emerging trends in marine conceits that would flourish in later plays and masques. This selection of dramatic entertainments created for Elizabeth in England and for James VI in Scotland serves as prologue for the ensuing chapters, which variously explore the platforms—commercial, civic, and courtly—on which many of the marine conceits discussed below flourished.

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<sup>2</sup> Jean Wilson, ed., *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1980), p. 59-60.

## II. Elizabethan progress entertainments: *Cowdray* and *Elvetham* (1591)

Elizabeth was often figured as a kind of knight-errant figure in the entertainments that were performed for her itinerant court during her progresses.<sup>3</sup> The entertainments, performed at the provincial estates of nobles, served to inscribe Elizabeth into the English landscape, often using water-based conceits, whether through artificial constructions, like the lake dug especially for the *Entertainment at Elvetham*, natural waters, such as those at Kenilworth, or simply through mythological and quotidian personages and characters, whom she meets along the way, as with the fishermen discussed below.<sup>4</sup> Water is thus celebrated as a practical feature of the wider landscape of which it is a part, but it is also exploited for its dramatic potential by being woven into a wider tapestry of romance that commonly surrounded Elizabeth. As Jean Wilson notes:

Elizabeth's journeyings became fraught with adventure. Satyrs and Wild Men lurked behind every tree, ready to address her in Poulter's Measure. Shepherds and Shepherdesses infested the hills, singing pastoral ditties, and demanding that she arbitrate in their disputes. Strangely familiar Unknown Knights fought in clearings through which she must pass, while Ladies swam in the lakes, ready to yield her their sovereignty over the waters. She even occasionally met a hermit, who had always 'been in his youth an inland man'. All these she must answer in suitable fashion, judge, and reward. The Elizabethan courtiers prepared to entertain their Queen in the knowledge that she was both a gifted actress and a skilled improviser.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> For example, see Chapter One in Nandini Das, *Renaissance Romance: The Transformation of English Prose Fiction, 1570-1620* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 35-54; Michael Leslie, "'Something Nasty in the Wilderness': Entertaining Queen Elizabeth on her Progresses", *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 10 (1998), 47-72; Bruce R. Smith, 'Landscape with Figures: The Three Realms of Queen Elizabeth's Country-house Revels', *Renaissance Drama*, n.s., 8 (1977), 57-115. Richard McCoy's study also provides broader sense of how such allusions to chivalry operated in early modern culture: *Rites of Knighthood: The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

<sup>4</sup> On the importance of the lake at Kenilworth see Richard K. Morris, 'The Earl of Leicester's Remodelling of Kenilworth Castle for Queen Elizabeth', *Antiquaries Journal*, 89 (2009), 241-305, and Catherine G. Canino, 'Elizabeth, Shakespeare and the Castle: The Story of the Kenilworth Revels', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 42:2 (2011), 959-60.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I*, p. 42.

Engagements with marine tropes therefore figure against this backdrop and its enchanted spaces, embedded into the landscape of a chivalric romance through which Elizabeth actively perambulates. I would like to consider several episodes from a number of progresses in order to highlight the ways in which maritime concerns—which, by their very nature, relate to the wider world beyond the bounds of England’s insularity—are expressed in a specifically ‘local’ way, tied to the vision of a chivalric insular Englishness so effectively summarised by Wilson above.

On a number of occasions, Elizabeth was confronted with piscatory motifs that were integrated into the pastoral ideals that underpinned the festive landscapes of the entertainments in which they were set. Fishing, in contexts such as these, arguably:

[S]hared with the pastoral both a background and Christian implications (the promise of Christ to make his followers ‘fishers of men’ ensured that the priest might be seen as fisherman as well as shepherd) and the life of the fisherman, working in co-operation with his fellows, of in peaceful solitude, exploiting the abundance of natural resources, his only adversaries the natural forces of wind and sea, was as amenable as that of the shepherd to an idyllic presentation.<sup>6</sup>

The entertainment at Cowdray was given by Anthony Browne, Lord Montague, in Sussex in August 1591, and featured an encounter that took place by a fishing pond, where an Angler goes about his business.<sup>7</sup> Apparently oblivious to her Majesty’s presence, he complains that despite two patient hours of waiting at his labour he

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<sup>6</sup> Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I*, p. 87. Wilson goes on to acknowledge the best-known example of a piscatory text in English as Walton’s *The Compleat Angler* (1653), which ‘was quite extensively written in English in the sixteenth century’ (Ibid.). While Wilson proceeds to mention Phineas Fletcher (p. 97), whose play, *Sicelides: A Piscatory* (1631), clearly identifies itself as part of this tradition, it should be noted that as early as 1602 William Percy’s *The Aphrodysial*, discussed below, also draws on piscatory tropes. In fact, the running title in the ‘working-copy’ text in Alnwick MS 509 reads ‘A fish-feast’, which is then crossed out and replaced with ‘A sea-feast’—an emendation that is then retained in the more ‘final’ version of the play found in Huntington HM4.

<sup>7</sup> Wilson notes that the socio-political interests of this entertainment are an expression of loyalty from a Catholic noble and a ‘centre of Catholicism’. She likewise suggests that *Cowdray* emphasised the loyalty of Sussex as a whole rather than the Montagues in particular, noting that ‘The tree hung with shields is an image of the hearts of oak of Sussex dedicated to her, and also a reference, presumably, to the maritime situation of the county (this may be the earliest reference to English ships as hearts of oak), which is reiterated in the draught of fishes presented to her’ (*Entertainments for Elizabeth I*, p. 86). Elizabeth Heale discusses the Catholic dimensions of the entertainment at Cowdray in ‘Contesting Terms: Loyal Catholicism and Lord Montague’s Entertainment at Cowdray, 1591’, in *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 189-206.

‘cannot catch an oyster’.<sup>8</sup> The Angler, pondering a possible lack of bait as the reason for his misfortune, invokes the fishing metaphor as a means of critiquing societal ills, since ‘everie man laies bait for another’. ‘In the City,’ he exclaims:

[M]erchants bait their tongues with a lie and an oath, and so make simple men swallow deceitful wares: and fishing for commoditie is growen so farre, that men are become fishes, for Lande lords put such sweete baits on rackt rents, that as good it were to be a perch in a pikes belly, as a Tenant in theyr farmes. (p. 558).

This observation on the greed of the predatory city landlords is contrasted with the honest labour of the Angler and Netter who joins him immediately after his speech is concluded. The Netter, after supplying his own speech that puns on his occupation and envisages him as a catcher of false, treacherous hearts, eventually draws in his net and presents Elizabeth with a draught of fish at her feet.

This episode at Cowdray celebrates the virtues of the fishermen’s honest labour, which implicitly serve as a point of contrast with the urban unwholesomeness envisaged in the bloated landlords feeding on their tenants. The Angler, whose speech opens with ‘Next rowing in a Western barge well far Angling’, invokes the bustling riverine trade of the City as much as it does Cowdray’s rural setting on the bank of the Rother, which further contrasts with the idylls of an alternative water-based occupation in the country.<sup>9</sup> The apparent impoverishment and lack that govern the morally-corrupt social order in the City is overcome in the Netter’s offering up of his piscatory bounty to his monarch. The simplicity of the fishermen’s trade, celebrated in the speeches and ditty recorded in this episode at Cowdray, present their labour as sincere and honest,

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<sup>8</sup> Gabriel Heaton, ‘The Queen’s Entertainment at Cowdray’, in *John Nichols’s The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. by Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), III: 1579-1595, pp. 548-61 (p. 558)

<sup>9</sup> Gabriel Heaton usefully glosses this line: ‘soon I will be rowing people upstream on the Thames (“rowing in a Western barge”); angling farewell (“well fare Angling”);’, ‘The Queen’s Entertainment at Cowdray’, p. 558.

unlike the machinations of the greedy landlords in the City.<sup>10</sup> Through the fishermen's labour, the land yields its rich store, bracketed by descriptions of Elizabeth's hunting in the printed account.

The following month, Elizabeth and her court were treated to another entertainment at the water's edge during the entertainment hosted by Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford at Elvetham. Rather than discovering a small-scale performance at a modest site such as the pond at Cowdray, at Elvetham the Queen was presented with a lavish series of spectacles performed on a purpose-built lake (Fig. 1). Having received word of the Queen's plans to visit him at one of his less impressive properties, Hertford constructed an lavish canvas palace and quarters for the Queen's party, together with an artificial crescent-shaped lake that contained three island-style devices: a 'Snail-Mount', a 'Ship-Isle', and a 'Fort'. The highly theatrical construction of these devices belongs to a very different iconographical and symbolic register than that of the local and very English waters used in the presentation of the fish at Cowdray. Here, the fort and the ship transform the waters of Elvetham's crescent lake into a stage for wider maritime conceits, and the pseudo-monstrous snail device certainly taps into the types of aqueous wonders commonly written about in natural history and popular print.<sup>11</sup>

These devices were clearly designed as a means of playing out Elizabeth's capacity to affect transformations with her sovereign gaze and words, yet the construction of this vast aqueous stage in order to make these performances possible also bears witness to the topographical changes that her presence has the potential to

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<sup>10</sup> This image of the fishermen echoes that found in Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblems* (Leiden, 1586), which appends a similarly humble description:

...content, long time to pause, and staie,  
Thoughe nothing elles hee see, besides the waue:  
Yet, onelie trust for thinges unseene doth serve,  
Which feeds him ofte, till he doth almost starve. (sig. I4<sup>r</sup>)

<sup>11</sup> This will be examined more fully in Chapter Four, where the anatomy and fluid categories of being embodied by the mythological characters commonly found in entertainments of this type will be interrogated in the wider context of natural historical writing and popular culture.

inspire—the landscape literally changes to accommodate her place within it.<sup>12</sup> The sizable ‘notable grounds’ upon the crescent-shaped lake were devised to ‘present her Majestie with sports and pastimes’.<sup>13</sup> All three devises are variously figured through an emphasis on living nature: the Ship-Isle, which, according to the pamphlet was a hundred feet long and eighty feet broad, bore ‘three trees orderly set for three masts’, while the Fort was a structure twenty feet squared and overgrown with willows, and the Snail-Mount ‘rising to foure circles of greene privie hedges, the whole in height twentie foot, and fortie foot broad at the bottom’ (p. 572). The greenery and flora of the devices thus extends the natural surroundings of the entertainment directly onto the artificial lake, contrasting the ‘divers boats prepared for musicke’ and the pinnaces furnished with masts, yards, sailes, anchors, cables, and all other ordinarie tackling, and with iron peeces; and lastlie with flagges, streamers, and pendants, to the number of twelve, all painted with divers colours, and sundry devises’ (p. 572). The organic state of the tree-masts on the ship isle serve as an emblematic reminder of where the fully-constructed ships on the lake originate, recalling perhaps the emblematic oak hung with the Sussex coats of arms that Elizabeth had seen at Cowdray the previous month.

In many ways, the lake and its striking decorative features are reminiscent of European trends in water pageants and fêtes.<sup>14</sup> The masque-like water entertainment certainly echoes the use of classical marine personages often found at water-fêtes on the continent, who indulge in a water battle here for Elizabeth’s delectation. The

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<sup>12</sup> H. Neville Davies provides a ground-breaking reassessment of the confused bibliographic history of the *Entertainment at Elvetham*, which refutes the practices of former editors—Jean Wilson among them—who edited under the false assumptions of a lost quarto imagined by John Gough Nichols. Davies’s discovery of the second quarto rectifies several misreadings in the former sources, including the woodcut, which the early editors had adapted into a copy clearly marked by eighteenth-century tastes. It is for these reasons that Davies’s edition of the text is consulted here rather than Wilson’s more widely-available version. See H. Neville Davies, ‘Looking Again at Elvetham: An Elizabethan Entertainment Revisited’, in *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J. R. Mulryne*, ed. by Margaret Shewring (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 211-42.

<sup>13</sup> Davies, H. Neville, ed., ‘The Queene’s Entertainment at Elvetham’, in *John Nichols’s The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. by Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), III: 1579-1595, pp. 563-95 (p. 572).

<sup>14</sup> See Roy Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), pp. 195-6.



entertainment opens with a ‘pompous array of sea-persons’, including five tritons and two sea-gods, led by Nereus, who ‘waded brest-high or swam till they approached near the seat of her Majestie’ (pp. 581-2). Neæra, ‘the olde supposed love of Sylvanus, a God of the Woods’, also approaches Elizabeth on a pinnace and presents her with a jewel (p. 582). The ensuing show consists of a contest between land and sea, made manifest in Sylvanus’s attempts to be revenged on the aqueous faction. Water is literally used as a weapon by the tritons, who are ‘all attired in ouglie marine suites, and everie one armed with a huge wooden squirt in his hand’ (p. 582). The tritons use the water squirts to retaliate against the barrage of darts being fired at them from the banks of the lake by Sylvanus’s faction. The mock-battle invoked in this playful meeting of land and water calls to mind the *naumachiae* staged in Venice and France.<sup>15</sup> Wilson notes that the influence of French and Italian water-fêtes may perhaps be detected in the water-pageants at Kenilworth, Norwich, and Elvetham, although the vessels used on the water are much less sophisticated than the galleys at the *naumachia* in the Pitti Palace in Florence of 1589 and the whale and barges depicted on the Valois tapestries. As Wilson points out, Elizabethan entertainments should be envisaged as ‘less mechanically sophisticated, but no less visually rich’.<sup>16</sup>

While the devices that feature on the river are quite strikingly organic, there is an element of mechanics evident in the ‘Snail-Mount’, which must have concealed a pyrotechnical outlet, since it is described as ‘a monster, having hornes of bul-rushes, full of wild-fire, continually burning’ (p. 582). The monster’s figuring among a number of overtly nationalistic devices that embody maritime prowess and military fortitude anticipates the explication of it being a metaphorical placeholder for the kind of maritime threat that England had been pitted against only several years previously.

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<sup>15</sup> See for example Maria Ines Aliverti, ‘Water Policy and Water Festivals: The Case of Pisa Under Ferdinando de’ Medici (1588-1609) and J. R. Mulryne, ‘Arbitrary Reality: Fact and Fantasy in the Florentine *Naumachia*, 1589’, in Shewring, ed. *Waterborne Pageants*, pp. 119-41; 143-75.

<sup>16</sup> Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I*, p. 58. Also see Richard Cooper, ‘French Renaissance Waterborne Festivals in the Sixteenth Century’, in *Waterborne Pageants*, ed. Shewring, pp. 9-36, and J. R. Mulryne, ‘Arbitrary Reality’. For an examination of the water festivities at Fontainebleau and Bayonne as depicted in the Valois tapestries, see Frances Yates, *The Valois Tapestries*, 2nd edn (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1959; repr. London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 53-60.

The fire-spouting monster is identified as an enemy of the English state, ‘Yon ugly monster creeping from the South | To spoyle these blessed fields of Albion’, alluding to the threat of the Spanish Armada, defeated only several years previously.<sup>17</sup> Elizabeth’s very gaze, however, transforms the creature into a harmless snail:

By self same beams is chang’d into a snaile,  
Whose bul-rush-hornes are not of force to hurt,  
As this snaile is, so be thine enemies! (p. 584)

The metamorphosis brought about on the ‘local’ or otherwise domestic waters of Elvetham metaphorically resonates with a much wider maritime preoccupation, where water deities uphold her efforts, Neptune raising the ‘Fort-Isle’ ‘for your defence’ and Thetis sending her ‘muscike maydes | To please Elisae’s eares with harmony’ (p. 584). The threatening fire becomes simple ‘bul-rush-horns’; the gunpowder having been burned away, the creature returns to a state of spectacular but otherwise harmless piece of ‘natural’ scenery, embedded harmonically in its pastoral surroundings. The changeable appearance of the monster, at first awe-inspiring and threatening but then rendered commonplace and utterly harmless by Elizabeth’s presence, is a telling example of how the sovereign’s power is performed in the entertainment, but it likewise echoes practices of visualising and reporting marine monstrosity, and the consequent potential for disenchantment that such visualisations and reports may bring about.<sup>18</sup>

The defeat of the monster, which is rendered harmless through Elizabeth’s powers to subdue her enemies with her gaze and the support of marine beings inverts

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<sup>17</sup> The image of Elizabeth leading the defence against the Armada is discussed in Karen Hearn, ‘“Elizabeth I and the Spanish Armada”: A Painting and Its Afterlife,’ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 14 (2004), 123-40.

<sup>18</sup> As Chapter Four will illustrate in greater detail, this type of metamorphosis between the commonplace and the monstrous governs the reportage of marine creatures in popular print and natural history, where the monstrous is generally made less frightening by being made available in an unthreatening printed account but also sometimes precisely through a shift in perspective which reveals the ‘monstrous’ body as nothing more than a misidentified creature such as a walrus or seal. Here, the metamorphosed object is used as a kind of figurative means of performing the sovereign’s power, which will again be evident in the material on Jacobean court entertainments discussed in Chapter Five. However, the malleability and fluidity of marine entities, whether sea-creatures, marine objects harvested for their aesthetic appeal, or simply people engaged in a maritime occupation, likewise holds the potential to resist physical and ideological control, as Chapters Three and Four will illustrate.

the overwhelmingly physical and sensory dimensions of the mock-battle staged on the crescent lake, doing away with the physical flinging of water and darts. Rather, the transformation of the monster into a snail acts as an extension of the monarch's powers to metamorphose nature with her mere presence. This type of power of monarchical presence is reminiscent of the instance in the Cowdray entertainment when the fishermen imply that Elizabeth's arrival prevents the fish from daring to come forth. The concluding speech of the Elvetham entertainment likewise incorporates nature's reactions to the monarch visitation; the Porter adapts a coincidental downpour or rain into his farewell to the Queen, claiming that the heavens weep in lament at her departure. The Snail-Mount monster, regardless of its status as a metaphor for the maritime threats from the South, is—like the fish and the skies—humbled and incapacitated in her presence. In this way, through her inherent power to control the landscape, Elizabeth subdues much more distant and threatening forces in an entertainment that strikingly renders the maritime threat into a romance obstacle to be vanquished.

At Elvetham, Elizabeth was also invited to name the pinnacle on the crescent lake, which she called the *Bonadventure*. Harry H. Boyle identifies this symbolic gesture and the water-show in general as being a part of Hertford's attempts to allegorise Lord Thomas Howard's implication in the loss of a 600-tonne Navy ship of the same name in the Azores, arguing that 'the show is a program piece designed for a specific occasion and it becomes an aesthetic whole only when it is seen as a delicately devised topical allegory'.<sup>19</sup> While Boyle's reading of the water-show, Elizabeth's naming of the ship, and the allegorical meaning of the 'Ship-Isle' is interesting, it relies rather too much on the topicality of the allegory that he identifies here. In refuting what he sees as a misguided reading by Boyle, Curt Breight claims for *Elvetham* an equally fanciful status as an allegory for a complex network of sexual politics.<sup>20</sup> The interpretations proffered by Boyle and Breight are fascinating in their

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<sup>19</sup> Harry H. Boyle, 'Elizabeth's Entertainment at Elvetham: War Policy in Pageantry', *Studies in Philology*, 68:2 (1971), 146-66.

<sup>20</sup> Curt Breight, 'Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony: The Earl of Hertford's Entertainment of Elizabeth at Elvetham, 1591', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 45:1 (1992), 20-48.

own right but they are a little too quick to inscribe specificity onto performative devices that have a broader cultural and imaginative relevance that encompasses dramatic spectacle and national ambition. Boyle does, nevertheless pick up on an important characteristic that makes *Elvetham* an important dramatic precursor to the types of Jacobean entertainments discussed later in this thesis:

Instead of simply presenting, as was commonly done, several sequential, but otherwise unconnected, units of pageantry, *Elvetham*'s mimesis tells a story in allegorical terms and is in fact a kind of drama whose chief characters, represented as mythological figures, have dynamic roles.<sup>21</sup>

While the kind of allegory that Boyle reads into the entertainment has largely been discredited by subsequent critical scholarship of Breight and Neville Davies, the sense of interconnectedness between the various components of the water show does highlight the kind of dramatic structure that would later be found in the masques. Wilson recognises these early trends, commenting on the 'mythological trimmings' of the piece, but concludes that 'the classicism of Buontalenti had evidently not yet reached England, nor would it do so until the years of Jones's supremacy'.<sup>22</sup> This suggestion accurately underlies the fact that many of the devices—marine ones among them—were already current in the cultural imagination, even if they did not have the dramaturgical and performative outlets and means of material expression that would be possible at the court of Elizabeth's successor.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Boyle, 'Elizabeth's Entertainment at Elvetham', p. 149.

<sup>22</sup> Wilson, *Entertainment for Elizabeth I*, p. 59.

<sup>23</sup> Marine imagery and stage properties were also evidently used in a number of Elizabethan court entertainments; on at least two occasions, records indicate that payments were made for shells, suggesting that marine personages were used. *Panecia* was performed by Leicester's Men at Hampton Court 1574, and although the play is no longer extant, 'silver shells' appear in the list of properties. Similarly, the Revels Account lists payments for the mending and painting of four whelk shells in another lost entertainment, a court masque (c. 1584), most likely performed at Whitehall Palace, presumably for the Queen. The whelks, alongside the blue gown also listed for this entry, would probably have been used for Tritons or other marine personages. See Martin Wiggins, *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), II: 1567-1598, no. 567 and no. 749.

### III. James VI and the Scottish baptismal entertainment (1594)

The importance of marine tropes in royal entertainments can be found in the Scottish court entertainments as well as the English ones, most notably at Stirling in 1594. With Queen Elizabeth ageing and childless, the arrival of James's first-born son heralded a new heir to the English throne. As can be expected, the long-delayed baptismal celebrations were a lavish affair, with representatives and ambassadors from courts across Europe, a newly-erected chapel build especially for the occasion, and several remarkable entertainment devices created for the festivities at James's behest.<sup>24</sup> William Fowler's *Reportarie* (Edinburgh and London, 1594) details the opulently-costumed allegorical personages and marine deities who regaled the guests from a fully-rigged ship that glided into the room on an artificial sea, presenting the guests with a banquet of fish-shaped confections.<sup>25</sup> The marine devices and deities described in great detail by Fowler, together with the whimsical piscatory offering, are in some ways similar to those used at Elvetham and Cowdray, but here they are strikingly used indoors rather than in an aqueous setting embedded in the landscape. Whereas the pond at Cowdray was presumably already a natural feature of the grounds and the artificially-made lake at Elvetham likewise a naturalistic stage for such marine characters and objects, at the baptismal entertainment the marine metaphor becomes a heavily stylized artificial stage, on the constructed waters of which the entertainment takes place.<sup>26</sup> The Elizabethan entertainments and Scottish baptismal entertainment certainly showcase the fluidity of marine imagery across different media and cultural registers. The familiar piscatory occupations, the appearance of water devices directly in the lake, and the masque-like sea-fight of the water deities draw on different ways of experiencing the sea that would resonate among the commoners and the courtiers. The

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<sup>24</sup> Although Henry was born in February, the baptismal festivities were postponed until August for a number of reasons, among them the building of the new Chapel Royal at Stirling and delays with the arrival of certain foreign emissaries.

<sup>25</sup> William Fowler, *A True Reportarie of the Baptisme of the Prince of Scotland, 30 August 1594*, in John Nichols's *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. by Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), III: 1579-1595, pp. 742-64 (all citations are from this edition). Also available in John Gough Nichols, *The Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, 2nd edn (London, 1823) III, pp. 353-69.

<sup>26</sup> Martin Wiggins provides a useful summary and list of properties used in the entertainment in *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue*, II: 1567-1598, no. 965.

baptismal entertainment goes even further in its expressions of sea imagery, using different media and forms of artifice to express the marine for his guests in a multitude of sensory ways. The marine splendour in the baptismal entertainments at once demonstrates the scale on which James's Scottish court was prepared to mark the occasion of the first royal baptism and celebrates the progeny of the Scottish-Danish match on specifically connective terms; the ship as the physical symbol that made the union and transportation of the Queen to Scotland possible, and means of theatrical expression itself a largely European import in terms of its personages and devices, flattering for the European elite present at the celebration and indicative of the progressive and outward-looking scope of the monarch.

In discussing how the printed account of the entertainment constitutes its own mode of performance in its careful documentation of the events held in celebration and the allegory of the devices used therein, Rick Bowers suggests that:

The *Reportarie* both represents and extends official announcement, record, and indication of public policy. Make no mistake, it seems to say, this royal baptism represents more than a solemn Scottish occurrence, a courtly fete, or even political theatre; it is a statement of future British policy.<sup>27</sup>

In approaching the entertainment in terms of the documentary status of the printed texts—both Scottish and English—Bowers rightly notes that ‘the intended audience clearly stretches beyond the courtiers and diplomats assembled at Stirling Castle’.<sup>28</sup> The printed text, much like many other accounts of ephemeral performances, makes possible the inclusion of elements that may not necessarily have been performable during the event, such as the misguided attempts to incorporate a live lion into the entertainment—ambitious but ultimately unrealisable in practice. Almost a decade later, the pamphlet was reprinted in London in 1603, addressing the curiosity of the City, as Michael Ulliot suggests, about its new monarch and his family, but it also

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<sup>27</sup> Rick Bowers, ‘James VI, Prince Henry, and A *True Reportarie* of Baptism at Stirling 1594’, *Renaissance and Reformation*, 29:4 (2005), 3-22 (p. 7).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4. Bowers goes on to suggest that the Scottish version the *Reportarie* ‘begins as a high level of mythological and political symbolism with the Scoto-Danish Arms featured prominently on the recto and verso of the title page. The English version more conventionally features only the commercial device of its London printer, Peter Short’ (*Ibid.*).

serves as a resurrection of an important Stuart celebration deeply invested into marine iconography.<sup>29</sup> Resurrection of the baptismal entertainment in the English cultural imagination in London places the indulgence in lavish marine devices at the beginning of the Jacobean reign, which would return to the use of these devices under the expert command of Jonson and Jones, Munday, Dekker, and other dramatists and craftsmen involved in the production of masques and civic drama.

The entertainment ambitiously called for a thirty-six-gun fully-rigged ship, forty feet high, bearing James's colours and sailing on an a twenty-four-foot long artificial sea, 'her motion was so artificially devised within herself, that none could perceive what brought her in' (p. 461).<sup>30</sup> This seemingly pilotless ship followed on from an equally spectacular chariot full of goddesses, which was—according to James's original designs—supposed to have been pulled in by a lion, but a richly-attired Moor had to suffice on the day of the entertainment. The printed account is clear that the 'invention' of these ceremonies was James's own, therefore the symbolism inherent in the devices was clearly an important means of presenting both his monarchy and the ambitions championed at the birth of his son and heir.

A crowned Neptune came in on the stern of the ship, holding his trident and bearing an inscription on his apparel that alluded to his part in the James and Anne of Denmark's union. He was accompanied by Thetis with her mace, also bearing an inscription, which promised safe passage. Tritons and 'all the Marine people' frolicked in the artificial sea surrounding the ship, decorated with 'the riches of the seas, as Pearles, Corals, Shelles, and Mettalls, very rare and excellent' (p. 761). Fowler provides a detailed account of how the ship was decorated, noting that it bore the Scottish and Danish coats of arms with a device that read 'Beholde (O Prince) what doth make these kingdomes severally blessed, jointly (O Prince of hope) thou holdes, and hast together' (p. 761), and goes on to comment on the 'morall meaning' inherent

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<sup>29</sup> Ulliyot, ed., *Reportarie*, p. 743.

<sup>30</sup> James Fergusson offers an account of the ship's afterlife and conjectures about the likely circumstances of its construction in *The White Hind and Other Discoveries* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), pp. 84-96.

in the ship device that made it such an attractive and fitting one for James to wish to include in the entertainment:

The Kings Majestie, having undertaken in such a desperate time, to sayle to *Norway*, and like a new *Jason*, to bring his Queene our gracious Lady to this Kingdome, being detained and stopped by the conspiracies of Witches, and such devilish Dragons, thought it very meete, to followe foorth this is owne invention, that as *Neptunus* (speaking poetically, and by such fictions, as the like Interludes and actions are accustomed to be decorated withal) joined the King to the Queene. (p. 762)

The sea-voyage evokes epic-romance tropes in the identification of James as a ‘new *Jason*’, which aligns the monarch’s sea voyage with epic quests and homecoming, while the ‘devilish Dragons’ present an alternative from of adventuring. The ship of state is thus also a part of a personal narrative linked to overcoming adversity at sea and returning homeward. Maritime adversity was no doubt an anxiety that marked the maritime interests of the audience, whether domestic ones with interests in trade and fishing, or the foreign guests who had faced journeys by sea to attend the baptism, especially given that many of them were representatives of monarchs whose interests were tied up in maritime enterprise. While the threats here arise from elemental causes (which James quite famously believed to have been conjured through witchcraft), other more human dangers were likewise a constant threat to safe passage of precious cargo.<sup>31</sup> The triumph over the tempestuous seas in this case is doubly consolidated in the cause of the celebrations—the baptism of the first-born son—and in the harmless, static waters of the artificial sea. Uncontrollable water is no longer a threat; in the safe, dry space of an indoor banquet performance, the very thing that threatened to preclude the fruitful union of James and his Queen is wrought into a stage upon which to celebrate the hopeful progeny that arises from it. In this way, the dangers posed by apparently unruly and dangerous marine forces is aestheticized and reimagined as the

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<sup>31</sup> Thomas G. Lolis provides a useful review of available scholarship on James I and witchcraft in ‘The City of Witches: James I, the Unholy Sabbath, and the Homosocial Refashioning of the Witches’ Community’, *Clio*, 37:3 (2008), 322-37.



prelude to a prosperous Stuart heir, especially fitting in hindsight given the young Prince's maritime interests during his adolescence in London.<sup>32</sup>

Neptune is recognised as their protector on the journey back to Scotland and by extension as an implicit supporter of James's maritime quests, romantic or otherwise. Having come again to witness the 'blessed delivery', he now brings:

[S]uch things as the Sea afoords, to decore this festival time withal: which immediatly were delivered to the Sewers, forth of the Galleries of this Ship, out of Christalline glasse, very curiously painted with Gold & Azure, all sortes of Fishes: as Hearinges, Whytings, Flookes, Oysters, Buckies, Lampets, Partans, Lapstars, Crabs, Spout-fish, Clammes: with other infinit things made of Suger, and most lively represented in their own shape. And whiles the ship was unloading: *Arion* sitting upon the Galeys nose, which resembled the form of a Dolphine fish, played upon his Harp. (p. 762)

Although distributed to a collective audience rather than bestowed on a single recipient, the sugary fish here is reminiscent of the idealised piscatory offering that Elizabeth received in the draught of fish presented to her at Cowdray. Their distribution from the sea-worthy vessel brought into the banquet hall aligns them with a much larger-scale fishing and mercantile practice than the net of the humble fishermen who trawl the ponds of England. It is uncertain whether the confections (presumably set in moulds) distributed from the ship were indeed wrought with such precise detail so as to make them readily distinguishable into the different varieties of fish, crustaceans, and molluscs. The printed text's insistence on the range of largely marine species in this veritable feast of sugary delights echoes also the plenitude of Scotland's coastal fisheries, which, as noted in the Introduction, James's post-1603 British maritime policy would later seek to protect.

Describing the theatricality that so often marked banquets, Catherine Richardson draws connections between dramatic and culinary performances:

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<sup>32</sup> On Prince Henry's interests in maritime matters see Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), p. 41; pp. 57-62.

[S]ome dishes leaned so far in the direction of artistic creations that they were no longer food at all. [...] poetry, banquets and the theatrical entertainments which often accompanied them were more closely linked that we might at first expect – aphorisms written on food, intended to be spoken, to be performed by the guests.<sup>33</sup>

The expected boundaries separating textuality, performance, and materiality prove porous in such circumstances. Ornate food items, thus, were an important means of materially realising conceits and providing a palpable (and indeed palatable) means of consuming meaning. In the instance of this banquet, the sugary fish are an extension of the mythological and mythographic marine performances in the baptismal entertainment but they also have a far more immediate topicality in this instance. Given the presence of foreign ambassadors at the banquet, the incorporation of fish into the entertainment feast may very well have been read as a gesture towards the negotiations relating to foreign fishing in Scottish waters at the time.<sup>34</sup>

The political dimensions of maritime festivity are present at the end of the account, when Fowler describes the royal feast on board a Danish ship docked at Edinburgh, ‘in commemoration whereof, the whole Artillerie of that great Vessel were shot in great number’ to which three great Ships of the Estates responded ‘to the number of six score great shot’ (p. 764). Shots were likewise fired from Edinburgh Castle by way of saluting every ship, which ‘shewed them selves in readines by order with a number of gear Cannon shotte’ (p. 764). The raucous thundering of the cannons was a commonplace display of port-side exchanges between ships (even the ship in the banquet hall at Stirling Castle fired shots as it was brought in) that becomes a festive show of military prowess in this instance. The kinds of dynastic ambitions played out in the entertainment are thus inherently found outside the realms of James’s fanciful

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<sup>33</sup> Richardson, *Shakespeare and Material Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 134.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas Wemyss Fulton notes that the Dutch ambassadors present at the baptismal celebrations were in fact also negotiating the signing of a treaty that would re-affirm the settlement of the 1550 treaty signed at Binche by Emperor Charles V and Mary, Queen of Scots, which confirmed freedom of commerce and navigation. The treaty extended liberties for the use of one another’s ports and offered protection from pirates to fishermen but contained no specific fishery clause as such. See *The Sovereignty of the Sea: An Historical Account of the Claims of England to the Dominion of the British Seas, and of the Evolution of the Territorial Waters: With Special Reference to the Rights of Fishing and the Naval Salute* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1911), pp. 79-82.

ship of state. The baptismal celebrations, by means of the ship device and its rich store of fish, together with the benevolent and protective sea deities that steer it to the Scottish court, presents an idealised maritime force that unites kingdoms (as it had between Denmark and Scotland) and shares in a hopeful vision of an expansive future. Fowler, rounds up his account of the banquet with a discovery of the sentence ‘*Submissimus adorat Oceanus*, inferring that the Ocean Sea, by offering the shapes of her treasure, humbly adored and treasured the sitters’ (p. 763). These shapes of the Ocean Sea’s treasure—whether in the apparent detailing on the finely manufactured confectionary fish, the exquisite costuming of the water deities and people of the sea, or the decorative objects found littering the artificial waters of the sea platform that bears the ship—would be found in abundance in the Jacobean court masques.

The material discussed thus far in this chapter reveals that representations of the marine played an important function in court entertainments, both in the indoor spaces of court festivity and in the larger landscape of the sovereign’s realms. The expressions of the marine at *Elvetham*, drawing as they do on the threat of the Spanish Armada that was still so vibrant in the cultural imagination, frame the playfulness of the mock sea-fight around a very real set of national maritime concerns. The Stuart baptismal entertainment likewise invokes the marine as a means of alluding to national naval prowess and to the Scottish fishery debates but mostly infuses it with an even greater specificity by way of celebrating the successful crossing of maritime space and the joining of Scotland to Europe through the marriage to Queen Anne of Denmark. The very European manner in which the marine is rendered in these entertainments reveals how deeply continental powers were invested in inflecting expressions of sovereign power and harmony with maritime tropes. The sea is clearly seen here not simply as a void to be traversed but as a place for personal and national narratives, revealing the plasticity of the tropes that are used to express these concerns. The figuration of the marine in the entertainments discussed thus far demonstrates their topicality and relevance for sixteenth-century cultural and political negotiations. The

following section will use William Percy's remarkable underwater play, *The Aphrodysial*, to further consider the dramatic allure of envisaging the sea as a place for narrative that is marked with love-quests, magic, piscatory tropes and engagements, and treasures.

#### IV. Underwater festivity in *The Aphrodysial* (1602)

The piscatory preoccupations and marine mythologies found at play in the entertainments discussed above converge powerfully in a rarely-studied play by William Percy, which offers an excursus into an underwater court where the boundaries between fantasy and reality are playfully traversed. *The Aphrodysial, or, Sea-Feast: A Marinall* was composed in 1602, making it a chronologically fitting addition to this chapter in that it looks both forwards and backwards—indulging in allusions to the ageing Queen Elizabeth but also, within the wider framework of his family's political machinations, looking forward to the eventual accession of James I.<sup>35</sup> While Percy himself does not appear to have played a direct hand in politics, his family certainly had political ambitions. His father, the eighth Earl of Northumberland, had been sent to the Tower on suspicion of involvement in the Throckmorton conspiracy, where he died, apparently having committed suicide.<sup>36</sup> William's elder brother, Henry Percy, who subsequently became the ninth Earl of Northumberland, actively supported James VI's candidacy for the English throne but later fell from grace following his involvement in the Gunpowder Plot in 1605.<sup>37</sup> William Percy's plays—the majority of which were written between 1601 and 1603—could therefore

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<sup>35</sup> The play is extant in two manuscripts: Alnwick Castle MS 509 (1546) and Huntington Library MS HM4 (1547). While the plays were mostly composed in the first decade of the seventeenth century, the surviving manuscripts are later transcriptions carried out by Percy in the final years of his life while residing in Oxford. The majority of the plays were written between 1601 and 1603, as indicated by the dates borne by them in the manuscripts and through internal evidence, which indicates that Percy must have copied the surviving transcripts from earlier papers that are no longer extant. A summary of the play has previously been produced by Madeleine Hope Dodds, 'William Percy's *Aphrodysial*', *Notes and Queries*, 161 (1931), 237-40; 257- 61, followed by an old-spelling thesis edition based on the Huntington Library MS by Robert Robin Denzel Fenn, 'An Old-Spelling Edition of *The Aphrodysial*' (unpublished masters thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1991).

<sup>36</sup> See Matthew Dimmock, ed. *William Percy's Mahomet and His Heaven: A Critical Edition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 13.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13-16.

have been performed at entertainments given by the Earl in an attempt to gain favour and influence, and thereby to advance his own political agenda. This certainly appears to be the case with *The Faery Pastoral; or, The Forest of Elves* (1603), performed during James's visit to Northumberland's estate at Isleworth, where the king expressed his pleasure at the pastoral nature of the play.<sup>38</sup>

*The Aphrodysial*, like much of Percy's drama, has received scant critical attention, unsurprisingly perhaps, given that Percy's canon was long esteemed as 'dramatically and artistically [...] wretched—the prolix, pedantic, bloodless, laboured excogitations of a queer, cramped, academic personality; only when one tries to build [the plays] into this picture of the man do they acquire a half-pathetic, half-absurd interest'.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, Percy's plays, for some decades now, have been undergoing a reassessment, and he is increasingly emerging as an interesting and important figure in late Elizabethan and early Jacobean drama.<sup>40</sup> For instance, Matthew Dimmock's recent edition of *Mahomet and His Heaven* (2006) highlights the importance of Percy's

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<sup>38</sup> The majority of his plays were composed 1601-3: *The Cuck-queanes and Cuckolds Errants; or, The Bearing down the Inn* (1601), *Arabia Sitiens; or, a Dream of a Dry Year* (1601) (Dimmock uses the earlier title for this play 'Mahomet and his Heaven' for his edition of the play), *A Country's Tragedy in Vacuniam; or, Cupid's Sacrifice* (1602), *The Aphrodysiall; or, Sea Feast: A Marinall* (1602), *The Faery Pastoral; or, the Forrest of Elves* (1603), and the last play was written significantly later—*Necromantes; or, the Two Supposed Heads* (1632)—most likely to mark his nephew becoming the Earl of Northumberland. For James's favourable reception of *The Faery Pastoral* see Dodds, 'William Percy's *Aphrodysial*', p. 237.

<sup>39</sup> Harold N. Hillebrand, 'William Percy: An Elizabethan Amateur', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 1:4 (1938), 391-416 (p. 408). Existing published scholarship is largely limited to the following: George F. Reynolds, 'William Percy and His Plays, with a Summary of the Customs of Elizabethan Staging', *Modern Philology*, 12:4 (1914), 241-60; Madeleine Hope Dodds, 'William Percy and Charles Fitzjeffrey', *N&Q*, 160 (1931), 420-22; 'William Percy and James I', *N&Q* 161 (1931), 13-14; 'William Percy's *Aphrodysial*', *N&Q*, 161 (1931), 237-40, 257-61; 'William Percy's Epigrams', *N&Q*, 161 (1931), 57-60; 'The Financial Affairs of an Elizabethan Gentleman', *Archaeologica Aeliana*, n.s. 22 (1944), 91-100; 'A Dreame of a drye yeare', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 32 (1933), 172-95; 'A Forrest tragaedye in Vacunium', *Modern Language Review* 40 (1945) 246-58; Harold N. Hillebrand, 'William Percy: An Elizabethan Amateur', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 1:4 (1938), 391-416.

<sup>40</sup> A number of unpublished thesis editions of Percy's plays highlight Percy's engagement with current trends in drama and his awareness of current affair in London. See: Patrick Kincaid, 'A Critical Edition of William Percy's *The Cuckqueanes and Cuckolds Errants*', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 1999); Caroline Elizabeth Jameson, 'An Edition of *A forrest tragedye in Vacunium* [by William Percy]' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 1972); Clayton Joseph Burns, 'William Percy's *Arabia Sitiens*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1972); and Robert Denzel Fenn, 'William Percy's "Faery Pastorall": An Old Spelling Edition' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of British Columbia, 1998).

contribution to the dramatizations of English mythologies of Islam and the Prophet Muhammad (particularly since it is the only extant play to personify the Prophet).<sup>41</sup> Dimmock praises the merits of Percy's dramaturgical imagination, suggesting that 'Percy's 'Mahomet' is the product of a considerably more sophisticated engagement with the available source material and an insight into the rapidly changing circumstances of the early seventeenth century'.<sup>42</sup> An equally unique approach to the underwater world can be found in *The Aphrodysial*, since by drawing on a wide range of marine iconography, tropes, and devices that were current elsewhere at the turn of the seventeenth century it anticipates the fruition of these sorts of spectacles at the Jacobean court.

Aside from Dimmock's edition of *Mahomet* and the smattering of unpublished thesis editions, Percy's plays are extant only in manuscript, severely limiting access to them, which largely explains why Percy rarely surfaces in critical discourse (although his only published work, the *Sonnets to the Fairest Coelia* (1594), similarly garners little by way of scholarly engagement). Although he wrote the plays mostly at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the extant copies are in fact much later transcriptions, produced when he was living out his final years in Oxford: Alnwick Castle MS 508 (1644), Alnwick Castle MS 509 (1646), and Huntington Library MS HM4 (1647). *The Aphrodysial* is extant in two of Percy's three manuscripts—Alnwick 509 and HM4—and the latter is used for the purposes of the discussion below, since it represents a more finished version of the play.<sup>43</sup> In both manuscripts, *The Aphrodysial*, like the rest of the plays, is quite heavily revised in Percy's hand, with deletions, insertions, and pasted-on slips of paper (although the majority of 'experimental' changes and emendations in Alnwick 509 are accepted in HM4, making it a more final version of the play). Madeleine Hope Dodds suggests that the play was most likely written for performance at the christening celebrations of his nephew, Algernon Percy at Essex House in October 1602, although this remains conjecture and ignores the

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<sup>41</sup> Dimmock, ed. *Mahomet and His Heaven*, pp. 1-2. See also Mark Nicholls, 'The Enigmatic William Percy', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 70:3 (2007), 469-77.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>43</sup> My thanks to the Huntington Library for providing me with a high-resolution digital copy of the manuscript.

external evidence that links Percy to the child actor companies elsewhere.<sup>44</sup> Although there are no known records of professional performance of Percy's plays, the detail and richness of the stage directions (particularly in *The Aphrodysial*) reveal much about how Percy envisaged his play in performance by child and adult companies, as well as his awareness of staging practices.<sup>45</sup>

*The Aphrodysial* is a piscatory pastoral (Percy himself identifies it as a 'marinall' in the running title) and is rather unique as it is set almost entirely underwater.<sup>46</sup> The play follows the events leading up to the sea-feast at the court of Oceanus, where Cytheræa presides over the festivities. Percy brings together several concurrent plots, including Vulcan's attempted wooing of the nymphs Arida and Humida (and his subsequent humiliation at the end of the play), together with a rather novel adaptation of the Hero and Leander myth in which the lovers are pursued by Oceanus and Glauce (a lusty sea nymph), respectively.<sup>47</sup> The interest in romantic pursuits is also extended to Neptune and Jupiter, disguised as Talus and Arion, as they set about trying to win the hand of Thetis, who vows that she will only marry the one who can find her long-lost magical ceston (traditionally a type of girdle, which Percy quite clearly envisages as being worn around the wrist rather than at the waist). Although both Neptune and Jupiter set about arduously searching for the ceston in the deepest recesses of the seabed, their endeavours prove futile and they each decide to

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<sup>44</sup> Madeleine Hope Dodds, 'William Percy's *Aphrodysial*', *Notes and Queries*, 161 (1931), 237-40 (p. 237). In his entry on Percy's *Mahomet and His Heaven*, Wiggins suggests that 'one scrap of evidence tying the play [i.e. *Mahomet*] to 1601 (and indeed the Children of Paul's) is the fact that the subtitle, *A Dream of a Dry Summer*, is quoted in *Blurt, Master Constable*, performed late that year by the same company (see *British Drama, 1533-1642: A Catalogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011-2014), IV: 1598-1602, p. 339). Mary C. Erler provides a very useful overview of 'William Percy and Plays at Paul's' in *Ecclesiastical London, Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto and British Library: University of Toronto Press, 2008), pp. 278-91.

<sup>45</sup> For instance, towards the end of first act of the *The Aphrodysial*, the stage direction calls for 'a shower of rose-water and comfits, as was acted in Christ church, in Oxford, in *Dido and Aeneas*', which clearly refers to a performance of William Gager's play, an account of which appeared in Holinshed's *Chronicles* (see Patrick Kincaid, *A Critical Edition of William Percy's The Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errants* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 1999), p. 25.

<sup>46</sup> Alfred Harbage lists *The Aphrodysial* as a 'piscatory' in the *Annals of English Drama, 975-1700: An Analytical Record of all Plays, Extant or Lost, Chronologically Arranged and Indexed by Authors, Titles, Dramatic Companies, &co.*, revised by S. Schoenbaum (London: Methuen, 1964), pp. 82-83.

<sup>47</sup> Martin Wiggins notes that the Vulcan sub-plot is influenced by Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. See *British Drama, 1533-1642: A Catalogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011-2014), IV: 1598-1602, p. 419.

counterfeit the ceston in order to trick Thetis, one calling on Vulcan to produce a like-for-like imitation in gold and the other fetching another accurate imitation from Proteus. The play features a group of fishermen who capture a huge baleen whale that utters oracles and bring it to court as a prize for Cytheræa. The comical endeavours of Proteus, Cupid (disguised as Harpax), and the fishermen Rudens, Ponticus, and Gripus make up a considerable part of the play leading up to the final act, where all of the divergent strands of the play are brought together at Cytheræa's feast. The baleen plays a central role in resolving several of the play's concerns; the fishermen dissect the creature only to find an engineer's apprentice boy lurking in its belly, where the lost ceston was also couched.

I am particularly interested in exploring how Percy engages with a rich variety of marine iconographies and traditions which converge in the play, placing side-by-side the practicalities of fishing, classical myth, court entertainments, and the consumption of marine commodities and aesthetics that these traditions entail. In this respect, Percy's play sets the scene, as it were, for the divergent strands of enquiry into the epistemological difficulties inherent in jostling representations of nature, wonder, art, skill, and mimesis in relation to representations of the marine as explored in the following parts of this thesis. Percy imaginatively dramatizes a world of classical deities in a way that shows awareness of conventions used in masque texts.<sup>48</sup> The play is an important early example of the kinds of 'underwater' conceits that would characterise masques and entertainments that flourished at the Jacobean court in the years following its composition.

Percy's depictions of the fishermen and their endeavours to capture the prodigious baleen in order to present it as a prize at the underwater court is a fascinating insight into the process of capturing a marine marvel and preparing it as gift at court. Percy's treatment of the baleen illustrates different processes relating to the construction of wonders on the stage, and even in an underwater world filled with

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<sup>48</sup> In fact, Kincaid supposes that the Percy's affectation to write the stage directions in the past tense was caught from masque texts ('A Critical Edition of William Percy's *The Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errants*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 1999), p. 107).



magical objects and enchantments, this marine wonder is kept tantalisingly just beyond the audience's field of vision. This play affords an invaluable insight into how deeply the fascination with the marine metaphor runs even in a minor amateur dramatist best known for writing in the pastoral mode. The tantalising possibilities offered by the piscatory mode and fantastical underwater setting are exploited to great effect in this neglected play, where classical borrowings are seasoned with specifically seventeenth-century preoccupations and anxieties relating to different modes of practically and dramatically performing and consuming marine wonder.

In *The Aphrodysial*, piscatory labour is very explicitly linked to the kind of gift-giving witnessed in the Elizabethan entertainments and James's baptismal entertainment but instead of a draught of freshly-caught fish or a fish-shaped sugary morsel, the piscatory gift to the underwater queen is one of a fishy 'monstrum horrendum' (fol. 124<sup>v</sup>). The prodigious baleen, however, is only one part of the piscatory pursuits and tropes that Percy employs in his play, as the capture, currency, and consumption of fish are variously idealised as labour and sport. *The Aphrodysial* invokes a double perspective as far as the capture of fish is involved. On the one hand, the quotidian practicalities of piscatory labour are evident in the fishermen's endeavours, but on the other, these practicalities are idealised and made into 'sport' by the court nymphs, serving to re-enact the seriousness of practice in a festive way. This double perspective also extends to the types of fish that are found in the play: they are both commonplace and wondrous. Repeated reference is made to fish as a commonplace form of sustenance (for example, when the fishermen discuss their catch or when they offer a banquet of seafood as a means of enticing the whale) but fish also fulfil a much more spectacular function. Other forms of cultural and emblematic value are found in the play's engagement with fish, particularly in the ambiguous body of the whale, which is immediately identified as a wonder worthy of presentation to the mistress of the Aphrodysial feast. The whale, both as a threateningly large and potentially vicious creature and as an outlandish 'supernatural' prodigy in this instance, reflects the dangers undertaken by fishermen in their pursuits.

The title of the play itself reflects the conceit of fishing as both labour and sport; the ‘sea-feast’ is both a feast of marine victuals and a feast of aesthetic and playful engagements with the underwater world. The play devotes ample attention to various different ways of compendiously cataloguing fish, first at the hands of the fishermen and then among the female sea deities, who mirror the fishermen’s livelihood as a form of sport during their court festivities when Nereus and the court nymphs brandish their angle-rods and place wagers on who shall catch the noblest fish:

Graund Madame, since you be disposed take  
 Our poore Fishermens Sport in gree, I will  
 Leade you to Such plenteous stores of Fishes,  
 And those in copious numbers where they lye,  
 So greate and noble sport as in this  
 The extent of our watry Element there is  
 Try you th’experience when you so please. (fol. 141<sup>r</sup>)

While the nymphs seem eager to try their hand at the sport of fishing, their efforts are prefaced with a discourse on the emblematic properties of different fish and crustaceans, which unlocks a vibrant symbolic value to place alongside the economic value read into the fish by fishermen. Every specimen, from cod to lobster, mackerel, and conger eel, is weighted not for monetary worth but rather for its iconographical symbolism, the most worthy, according to Cytheræa, being the herring, ‘For as th’Old Ballade doth sing, | Of fishes of the Sea Herring’s the King’ (fol 141<sup>r</sup>).<sup>49</sup> While this generally reflects a double preoccupation with the worth that is found in fish as tradable goods and emblematic tokens, it also echoes the way in which pastoral court masques function in transforming images of everyday labour into ‘sport’ surrounded with emblems and allegory. In the context of the impending Aphrodysial or ‘fish feast’, this mirroring also sets up a contrast between fish as form of sustenance and marketable commodity and a more festive ‘sport’. Furthermore, it is tempting to read the emphasis on the importance of herring here as being a topical allusion to the state of the domestic fisheries. Wemyss Fulton notes that the domestic herring fisheries had

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<sup>49</sup> A reference to a possible later adaptation of this ballad occurs in note 229 of *Manx Notes and Queries, With an Account of François Thurot and his Naval Engagement off the Isle of Man. Reprinted from the Isle of Man Examiner*, ed. by C. Roeder (Douglas: Broadbent, 1904) <<http://www.isle-of-man.com/manxnotebook/fulltext/mnq1904/n229.htm>> [accessed 26 June 2013].

become ‘from the fifteenth century at least [...] by far the most important in Europe’, which sets a precedent for labelling the herring as the ‘King’ of sea fish.<sup>50</sup> The contemporary state of the fisheries at the time that Percy composed his play was, however, was not quite as prosperous as it had once been. The state of the domestic fisheries was much decayed and foreign imports (often of fish caught in English and Scottish waters by foreign fishermen) were seen as further damaging the already floundering domestic trade, as the introductions of acts to regulate the sale of fish and the enforcement of fish-days also illustrate.<sup>51</sup>

Capturing the baleen, however, proves to be an entirely different affair. Although the fishermen repeatedly make reference to the creature’s huge size and terrifying appearance, it never appears onstage. While it is highly probable that Percy may not have had the means at his disposal to have the creature actualised onstage by means of scenery or costume, it is tempting to imagine that this was in fact a deliberate decision regarding sightlines—a decision that may extend towards the wider concern with authenticity and counterfeiting to which the play persistently returns. Having the whale physically present would inevitably draw attention to its artificiality as a material property—whether made of wood, plaster or painted cloth—but presenting it only through the fishermen’s descriptions circumvents this problem by perpetuating possibility. The fishermen’s description, however, does call to mind what must have been a relatively commonplace mechanical device used in water pageantry:

It is a thing Abosonaunt in Nature, see what Fegaries the villain will fetch. He roareth like thirty Barril of gunpowder, He springeth at a spring Three Acres, o[f] water, He squirteth Fyre not onely before but also behind. (fol. 124<sup>r</sup>)

This immediately calls to mind the whales and sea creatures used in the Lord Mayors’ Shows on the Thames (discussed in the following chapter) as well as echoing the use of such devices in royal entertainments, a fashion for which had flourished on the

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<sup>50</sup> Fulton, *Sovereignty of the Sea*, pp. 61-62. Chapter Two (pp. 57-85) of Fulton’s study provides a detailed history of the domestic fisheries—that of herring among them—from the middle ages to the end of the sixteenth century.

<sup>51</sup> The restrictive legislation and the policy of the ‘political lent’ are discussed in *Ibid.*, p. 112-16.

continent since the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>52</sup> The hydraulics and pyrotechnics alluded to above echo the familiarity of mechanical water devices shaped like fish, such as the one found in the Ironmongers' records for the waterworks used in the 1609 show: a whale 'rounded close without sight of the boate and to row with ffins | open for ffireworkes at the mouth and water vented at the head.'<sup>53</sup> Just as the operator inside the artificial creature uses it as a performative space, Coüs does likewise with the living whale, drawing attention to the limits of verisimilitude.

The fishermen, frightened by the baleen, conspire on a range of ways to capture the creature; they set a net outside the baleen's den and proceed to pull faces at it in the hopes that they may look like one of the creature's kind and make the creature come out from his den. They attempt to speak with the baleen in different languages and he responds by telling their fortunes, astounding them with its knowledge of their lives and frightening them further. By Act III Scene 5 the fishermen decide that the only way to capture the baleen is by poisoning him, so they bring forth a piscatory feast, which it refuses, instead calling for cheese. The fishermen oblige, with the stage direction 'Here they brought in Sea fruite and cheese. Quicquid nascatur in parte villa Naturae et in mari est, Plinius lib. 8 Cap. 2. Some Analogicall resemblances to the same fruites they be that growe on the ground' (fol. 136<sup>v</sup>). Marine properties are here represented by their terrestrial counterparts, whose obvious and recognisable signification changes simply because of their maritime context; fruit are no longer fruit here, they are 'sea fruite' simply by virtue of being placed into the setting of an underwater feast. This representational conundrum feeds into the wider phenomenon of bodies whose signification becomes oddly uncertain in maritime locations, explored in Chapter Two. The fact that Percy deliberately highlights the 'common' appearance of the supposed 'sea fruite' hints at the need to acknowledge the visual discrepancies and cultural perceptions of the physical objects used to represent the sea.

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<sup>52</sup> See Roy Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), pp. 130-33; 136-37.

<sup>53</sup> Jean Robinson and D. J. Gordon, eds, *A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London, 1485-1640*, Malone Society Collections, 3 (Oxford: Malone Society, 1954), p. 73.

Once the baleen is captured and hauled to court, it is met with the expected astonishment at its enormous size; Cytheræa exclaims it is ‘As huge an Ork, as ere my eyes beheld’ (fol. 147<sup>v</sup>), while Arida chimes in with ‘Myne eyes will not endure to looke upon him’ (fol. 147<sup>v</sup>). The underwater deities, who are presumably familiar with outlandish denizens of the deep, are obviously impressed by the baleen’s extraordinary size, but especial astonishment at its sentience is noted by Nereus: ‘Certes, I have seene, in our Seas, as bigge | But that he utters Tounge and oracles | I can but muse’ (fol. 147<sup>v</sup>). This prompts Thetis to reflect on a tale told by her grandmother about ‘a Fish, that if a man but eate off | He shall utter Oracles, So, I weene, doth he’ (fol. 147<sup>v</sup>). In expressing their astonishment at the marine phenomenon the water deities seek to map out and integrate it into specific narratives, which is indicative of the wider cultural practices surrounding the ways in which marine entities trigger wonder and its associated imaginative responses. The nymphs offer conjectures about the possibility of either Pythagoras or the ‘griesly God of the Tartarus’ being hidden within the creature, alluding to the possibility that the baleen is either some mechanical marvel or a supernatural being. In any case, the court’s reaction to the creature reveals that it does not fit any clear model of known magic in their underwater world. Eager to investigate the source of the baleen’s otherworldly abilities, Oceanus demands that the fishermen ‘rippe ope his belly and see’ (fol. 147<sup>v</sup>), evidently advocating an empirical means of examining the source of the baleen’s powers which is here thought to be buried deep in its anatomy.

This intrusive anatomical enquiry—which in itself mirrors the simple gutting of a fish—leads to an abrupt dispelling of the baleen’s status as prodigy, with the stage direction ‘An Enginers Boy with greasy pouch by his syde, gnawing on a whole half cheate loafe spred with Butter, with workmans Aprone and greasy flat cap invested’ (fol. 147<sup>v</sup>). The court is dumbfounded—and the fishermen outraged—that they had been tricked by a mischievous apprentice boy. In one fell swoop, the prodigy is revealed as nothing more than an opportunistic merging of fish and human; Coüs tells the court how, being an apprentice to Talus, they were set upon by enemies and hurled into the sea, where ‘Mee this Fish was Curteous to receiue | Into his Mawe, So

praeserud he my life' (fol. 148<sup>r</sup>). The 'prodigy' is thus disenchanted through material investigation. Although the 'oracles' that it had uttered are treated comically by Percy, the fishermen (and later the court) initially regard the baleen as an aberrant, possibly pseudo-divine entity, yet, this identity is instantaneously overturned by the crude, profane boy, who emerges savouring victuals ill-begotten through his trickery. This revelation in some ways echoes the transformation of the 'monster' at Elvetham into a harmless snail, where a threatening monstrous body is metamorphosed into something far more commonplace. I shall return to the baleen and its metamorphosis in Chapter Four, where it will be situated among a number of discourses on marine monstrosity.

Aside from playing a part in the rather anti-climactic metamorphosis at court, there is a further dimension to Coüs's role at the *Aphrodysial*. Following his extraction from the creature's belly, the engineer's apprentice reveals that Thetis' magic ceston was instrumental in his performance inside the creature. Percy cannot resist indulging in a characteristically crude pun—'by vertue of the sub paena I greete you, loe'—as the boy pulls out the ceston from his breeches: 'He Tooke a Third Bracelet furth his slop or Pouch (whither the better) Lyke unto the former Two Bracelets. Slop the best' (fol. 149<sup>r</sup>). Like the opening up of the baleen, the discovery of the ceston here is undermined by the farcical circumstances of the revelation; far from being heroically sought out by an esteemed deity, the enchanted object is reclaimed by the lowliest character in the play (much to Thetis's chagrin, since, according to her bargain, she must marry the ceston's finder—a fate she avoids by pleading with the boy and offering gold).

Unlike the counterfeit cestons, which are the respective fruits of Vulcan's exquisite craftsmanship and Proteus's magic, the authentic ceston falls into Coüs's hands entirely by chance, 'I found him in the Fishes | belly, And for the same I am Canonized sure' (fol. 149<sup>r</sup>). While this deflating discovery serves to resolve the part of the plot dealing with Neptune and Jupiter's wooing of Thetis, the ceston also offers a means of re-enchanting the Coüs-baleen. It is a vital new component which retrospectively and radically alters—and partly reverses or at least 'neutralises'—the

disenchantment arising from the discovery of the apprentice boy inside the prodigious creature. Coüs confirms that the magic ceston had given him the power to speak multiple languages, prognosticate the future, and see into the past; in other words, the ceston is disclosed as an integral part of the Coüs-baleen's prodigality and therefore validates prodigiousness of the 'composite' creature. In this way, two important aspects of theatricality are brought together in the baleen, which embodies the tension between ceding control to wonder and disenchanting that wonder by acknowledging the literal material of performance.

The magic inherent in the ceston operates in a different capacity to that of the baleen, since the latter is regarded as being outside the bounds of nature within the play-world of *The Aphrodysial*. Unlike the utterings of the prodigious baleen, its powers are not questioned; it is accepted as a marvel without being investigated or doubted. While inside the baleen, the ceston enables Coüs to be a channel between his own lowly, profane nature and knowledge that undoubtedly comes from some accepted divine or mystical source. The ceston evidently resists the kind of disenchantment arising from empirical enquiry into anatomical composition undergone by the body of the baleen, playing out its enchanted potential in redeeming the prodigious nature of the Coüs-baleen, since the utterings that emerged from its mouth were not the mere ramblings of a crafty apprentice boy but expressions—however farcical or absurd—of some higher power. Although the 'prodigy' is deconstructed into its parts and consequently de-mystified, the fishermen's former trust into its prodigious nature is restored, since the ventriloquization of the creature is now understood as being jointly shared between Coüs and the powers inherent in the ceston.

To a certain extent, the processes involved in Percy's somewhat eccentric means of envisaging the performance of monstrous piscatory tropes anticipates the staged performances of making and reading monstrosity in plays such as *The Tempest*. As well as the extensive engagement with fish, the play hints at several different ways in which the sea, whether through its organic *res marinis* or its wider aesthetic

properties, becomes commodified in court culture. The itemisation of marine properties embodies assertions made in previous chapters, in which the sea is signified through tropes and images which often hold competing ways of performing or embodying water. The legal imagination's preoccupation with accurately defining the status of marine bodies by extension bears on the problem of the unseen baleen, because it remains visually undefined (and therefore unstable) until it is disassembled at the end of the play and its various 'parts' are able to speak for their own proprietary status.

The play's persistent concern with ownership is made evident from the opening stage direction: 'Triton sitting by Oceanus and writing in a Toale Booke on his thigh, Oceanus now sitting in the chaire of state' (fol. 121<sup>r</sup>).<sup>54</sup> The toll book presided over by Triton indicates some form of record-keeping and perhaps serves to introduce in material terms the preoccupations with verbally listing compendious accounts of different fish elsewhere in the play. However, the tally of fish taken by the fishermen later in the play is the result of their harvesting the sea for 'prize', but here Triton—an agent of the sea at the marine court—most likely has a different interest in harvesting property not from the sea but rather from outside its realms. While the fishermen hold their catch as prize, the sought-after prize of marine deities extends to harvesting humans from the outside world and hoarding them in the deep, as with Hero and Leander, who are at risk of becoming appropriated as the property of Oceanus and Glauce respectively.

The use of the toll book at the beginning of the play anticipates the interlinked concerns with concepts of property in the sense of ownership rights and material properties that recur in different capacities throughout the play. Percy persistently makes use of properties; the enchanted ceston, the counterfeit cestons, a decorative brooch used by Oceanus to trick Leander, the angling rods, Proteus' magic books, and

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<sup>54</sup> In her summary of the play, Dodds transcribes the Alnwick MS as 'table book', which most likely carries the meaning found under *OED* 'Table' 2b 'A small portable tablet for writing upon, esp. for notes or memoranda; a writing tablet'. In any case, 'table book', while not as explicitly linked with inventory as Fenn's transcription of the Huntington MSS 'toale booke', nevertheless retains some measure of Triton's responsibilities for recording information.



mysterious ‘sea-fruits’ used to entice the baleen appear alongside the unseen properties such as the plenitude of fish that is repeatedly mentioned. There is a symbiosis between the natural, organic properties and those that are crafted, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five in relation to the growing fashion for marine aesthetics in design and ornament and the court masques. There is a particularly tantalising moment in which uncertain materiality is performed by Proteus, who is associated with metamorphosis and potentially unfixed physical form. Jupiter, disguised as Arion, begs Proteus to conjure a like-for-like cestone in a ‘dreame’, whom Proteus obliges with the following stage direction:

The Hall opening, was scene a summer Noone day couch of Sand cullour, with a Sort of dreams Animate and Inanimate of divers cullours hanging by Invisible or on Ash cullour Threds or Sylk over bolster of the Couch (it bolt and erect) being but bigge as Pawns of cheese. (fol. 139<sup>r</sup>)

The ‘dreams’ are trinket-like objects resembling a monkey, cat, mongrel, jackanapes, to name a few, which Proteus lists as he offers them to Arion, but the association of his ability inflects the supposed physical presence of these objects with an unsteady sense of materiality, especially given his conjuring earlier in the play.<sup>55</sup>

Although *The Aphrodysial* is essentially an amateur piece of drama by a minor noble who existed on the fringes of Oxford and London literary culture, it comes at a key turning-point in English history. It is perhaps not coincidental that the dramatic potential of an underwater setting so heavily concentrated on the celebration of fish is unlocked through appraisals of the economic as well as cultural value of fish in the play. In many ways Percy’s play anticipates key moments of sea-change which would later be more imaginatively and astutely articulated by Shakespeare in plays such as *Pericles* and *The Tempest*. Likewise, the preoccupation with classical sea deities and a marine setting composed of stage design and elaborate costume foreshadows the marine masques which would be performed at the Jacobean court post-1603. For the

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<sup>55</sup> While helping the fishermen in their attempts to capture the baleen, Proteus performs conjurations, bringing onstage a magic book, magic rod, and ‘the Signes of the Zodiake mixt with other of a Fashion more strange’. These would certainly have appealed to his brother, the ‘wizard earl’ (fol. 134<sup>v</sup>). See G. R. Batho, ‘The Library of the “Wizard” Earl: Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632), *The Library*, 5th ser., 15 (1960), 246-61.

moment, I would like to use the play's concern with and depiction of skilled labour as a means of steering the focus towards forms of civic entertainments designed to celebrate artisanal and commercial trade and show how the sea inflects the material and poetic means of expression in these celebrations.

## CHAPTER TWO

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### *Civic Pageantry: Marine Metaphor and Urban Location*

#### I.

In considering the representation of the marine beyond the realms of the professional stage, this chapter addresses the ways in which civic drama engages with marine iconography through its reliance on a wealth of material properties and pageant devices. The commercial stage is one on which maritime location is often collectively conjured through the imagination without being rooted to any material signifiers; the stage is both dry land and high sea, both castle and ship. Civic pageantry, on the other hand, is a form of entertainment that is deeply invested into reliance upon material properties as well as the topography of London, and therefore allows for a vastly different kind of outlet for marine imagery and metaphor. In particular, the material discussed here pertains to the Lord Mayor's Shows, which were an annual celebration held in late October to celebrate the inauguration of the Lord Mayor elect. Since the mayoralty was selected from the twelve livery companies, the celebratory Shows were organised and financed by the companies to which the Lord Mayor elect belonged. Unlike the drama written for the commercial stage, which was limited to performance in a purposely-built space, the Shows constituted a more strategically complex mode of performance. As forms of civic entertainment, they took place in multiple locations throughout London and on the river Thames, and necessitated the use of different components, such as pyrotechnics, music, water shows, speeches, *tableaux vivants*, and pageants (which generally refer to mobile devices that are the focus of some form of dramatic performance, whether through dumbshow, speeches, or dialogue).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Introduction in Tracey Hill's monograph study of the Lord Mayors' Shows usefully sets out the designations of their parts (i.e. the entirety of the Show, its various pageants, and the devices used in those pageants). *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor's Show, 1585-1639* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), pp. 1-51.

As well as investigating the means by which marine metaphor and imagery are materialised in civic drama, my approach to the Shows considers the implications of using the marine trope on the waters of the river Thames and its urban environs. The river figures as an important element of the Shows as a practical means of transporting the Mayor and other civic dignitaries, and through its figuration as a personage in some of the pageants, thereby participating in the festivities as a kind of ‘stage’ and an actor simultaneously.<sup>2</sup> The river thus implicitly—yet persistently—figures in the Shows’ political and economic concerns, celebrating as they do the office of the mayoralty and the companies to which the new Mayor elect belongs. It is wholly unsurprising that sea imagery should be so frequently invoked in these civic performances that mediate socio-political negotiations between the livery companies, the Crown, and the City, given the conceptual and geographical connections between the Thames and the sea.

I would like to suggest that as well as reflecting decorative fashions in stage design and architecture elsewhere in England during this period, the waterborne devices and marine-themed land pageants imaginatively celebrate the commercial and mercantile functions of the Thames through an articulation of it in the Shows. Figurations of the Thames as a watery stage, a personified character, and as material pageant property often depict the river as a crucial avenue of the City’s mercantile enterprise and a vital means of establishing and safeguarding England’s place on the global exchange. From the point of view of the Lord Mayors’ Shows as products of companies that have especial cause to showcase their maritime engagements, then, certain connections can be drawn between the Thames and the sea. At the same time, many of the Shows also celebrate the river as part of a wider narrative of a self-sustaining insular nation. This chapter, therefore, concerns itself with two things. First, how the civic mode of drama was responding to and making use of marine iconography and tropes within the urban parameters of London and the aqueous spaces through which it passes or which it touches. Secondly, how the imaginative poetry and the material object work together in an urban setting, stretching across land and river

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<sup>2</sup> For a history of the multitude of cultural uses of the Thames see Mick Sinclair, *The Thames: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

in peripatetically performing beyond the limitations of the dry commercial stage, considering the implications of performing maritime conceits in a riverine environment, which imaginatively reconfigures the fluvial waters into marine ones in celebrating the maritime ventures that increasingly come to define British identity in this period.<sup>3</sup>

## II. The Shows in text and performance

The Shows were ephemeral spectacles whose appeal was made up from non-verbal elements that do not easily translate into printed texts. Fireworks, music, and other sensory experiences deemed too commonplace to be recorded in detail in the printed accounts nevertheless formed a large part of the Shows' appeal to spectators. Furthermore, it is not always clear whether the printed accounts were prepared before or after the Shows, and whether or not they reflect an envisaged performance that sets out the pageants and devices as they were intended to be understood, including any speeches that may have been omitted or rendered inaudible.<sup>4</sup> Tracey Hill reminds us that 'the Shows were more fragmented than one might have assumed from the coherence attempted by the printed works', which she demonstrates in *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor's Show, 1585-1639* (2012), by thoroughly examining numerous records from the livery company books, eyewitness accounts, and other documents that paint a much fuller picture of how the Shows were put together than can be inferred from the printed texts alone.<sup>5</sup>

Rather than providing an exhaustive analysis of the Shows in their entirety, this chapter focuses on a cross-section of material taken mainly from the printed texts prepared by the dramatists responsible for writing the Shows, and consults, where necessary, other sources, in order to reveal the means by which representations of the

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<sup>3</sup> David Loades provides an excellent overview of the importance of maritime enterprise to the City in *England's Maritime Empire: Seapower, Commerce and Policy, 1490-1619* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000), pp. 137-65.

<sup>4</sup> As Hill notes, the printed Show texts can be placed in different categories: 'programmes, souvenirs or prospectuses, or a combination of all three', *Pageantry and Power*, p. 215; see also pp. 214-36 for a useful discussion of examples.

<sup>5</sup> Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p. 161.

marine formed an important dramatic and visual element in a mode of performance so deeply invested in the use of material properties. Given that this thesis is concerned with thinking about the material and the metaphorical uses of marine imagery and how this relationship changes between printed text and different means of performance (whether visual, material, decorative, etc.), the materiality of the printed Show texts is useful for a number of reasons. First, it asks us to consider how certain motifs are allegorised or actualised in performance and how they are then re-presented in the textual accounts, and secondly, it allows us to see how professional dramatists sought to present the spectacles retrospectively as a unified narrative. The materiality of the emblematic and allegorical material properties used in the Shows characterises them as visual performances that rely on universally recognisable compositions that can apparently be discerned without the need for explanation. However, the function of the printed Shows is essentially to translate those visuals into text for the reader, taking care to solidify the meaning of the by now visually unavailable pageants. This act of translation essentially destabilises, to some extent, the authority of the material properties that it seeks to describe by affirming or imposing meanings upon them that may not have been available to the onlookers during the Shows. This process makes the pageant texts a useful means of extending my interests in materiality and representations of the marine, since the ephemerality of the physical ‘shape’ of the pageants and their sensory dimensions are performed in texts that often play around with vantage points and ways of conveying meaning through narration—where physical devices have been replaced by words.

Although the surviving pageant texts tend to bear the name of the dramatist responsible for writing the Shows and thus present them in a similar manner to play texts, the Lord Mayors’ Shows are ‘hybrid cultural productions’, incorporating contributions from numerous bodies from within and without the livery companies.<sup>6</sup> The Shows were a collaborative form of entertainment that drew on and were constituted by financial contributions from company members, properties and costumes in the company’s repertoire, the speeches and visions of the dramatists and

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<sup>6</sup> Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p. 215.

poets, the craftsmanship of the artificers, the co-operation of the porters who carried the devices, down to the participation of the various audiences (such as the Lord Mayor elect with his fellow public dignitaries and the crowds of onlookers). While the form and means of performance in the Lord Mayors' Shows is inherently different to the commercial drama and court entertainments performed elsewhere in London, there are important points that connect these difference platforms of performance; the involvement of professional dramatists such as Middleton, Munday, and Dekker, who held a monopoly as far as the devising of the Shows was concerned, and the participation of actors from the London stage in civic drama, such as Edward Alleyn and William Bourne in Jonson and Dekker's *Magnificent Entertainment* (1604), Richard Burbage and John Rice in Munday's *London's Love* (1610), as well as John Lowin in *Chruso-Thriambos* (1611).<sup>7</sup>

A perusal of the Lord Mayors' Shows devised by Munday, Dekker, and Middleton, among others, reveals a wealth of engagements with marine culture and aesthetics, realised through metaphors and allusions in speeches, decorative water pageants, spectacular peripatetic devices, and the mythological figures found therein. The nature of the Lord Mayors' Shows made much of the aesthetic and dramatic opportunities afforded by the use of elaborate scenery and material properties both on land and on water, allowing for a very different manifestation of marine spaces and entities than in the works previously discussed. The imaginative representations of marine or otherwise aquatic entities on the animated tableaux, decorative barges, and ships that often formed such an integral part of the pageants realise in concrete terms the visions of watery splendour and opulence envisaged in the commercial drama written by the same playwrights for the popular stage. The inherent materiality of the Shows provides a useful insight into how the dramaturgical imagination, in conjunction with the vision and the stock properties of the livery companies, was engaging with expressions of marine iconography and metaphor in the wet and dry spaces of London. Although the pageants and performances discussed in this chapter

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<sup>7</sup> See Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p. 144, and David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971), p. 325.

by no means focus exclusively—or at times even directly—on marine spaces and tropes, the aquatic elements played out in these performances provoke reflection on how the imaginative currency of particular objects and tropes operates in a civic settling.

To that end, my line of enquiry in considering a sizeable body of Show texts focuses on aquatically-inflected objects that engage with the mercantile sense of communality and beneficence being celebrated by the companies and the wider significance of decorative marine devices used in the Shows. Ships are an important part of this, since they stand as metaphors for perseverance and bear on concerns with the mercantile that inflects many of the civic pageants, but are also a literal—and spectacular—demonstration of the means by which England is linked to the wider maritime world.<sup>8</sup> The performance of these Shows in the urban parameters and aqueous spaces of London affords an insight into how marine tropes and representations of maritime endeavour could be figured specifically in terms of the river, both materially and metaphorically.

Hill usefully points out that ‘the writers and the artificers had the Thames to hand, so to speak, and were understandably keen to exploit its potential as a venue for pageantry’, while lamenting that:

The role that the river Thames played in the Shows is [an] aspect that has, in the main, lost its original significance for modern commentators, although it is clear that the Companies considered the barge, galley foist and entertainments accompanying the Lord Mayor along the river to be at least as important as the pageantry on land.<sup>9</sup>

The Thames’ potential as a dramatic ‘venue’ is exploited in a number of important ways, both in terms of celebrating the river as a means of connecting the livery companies to the world of multilateral trade, but also as an arena for spectacle and

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<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblems* (London, 1586), sig. B2<sup>v</sup>, where a woodcut of a ship is accompanied by the motto ‘*Res humane in summo delictant*’ and sig. S<sup>v</sup> for ‘*Constantia comes victoriae*’. For a detailed and comprehensive analysis of emblems and *imprese* see Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (Harlow: Longman, 1994).

<sup>9</sup> Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p. 160; p. 155.



wonder, as evidenced by the imaginative use of decorative barges, animated sea-monsters, and intricate marine-themed *tableaux vivants* that conceptually transform the river into a means of opening a window onto maritime space. The next section will consider how the Thames and the performative potential of the ships used in water pageants was used in several Shows as a means of celebrating maritime endeavour and the civic beneficence that characterises many of the Lord Mayor's Day festivities.

### III. Civic beneficence and community

Decorative barges, boats and ships were an obvious and necessary part of the water show, but in several of the Shows pageant ships were used to showcase a sense of communality and community that pervades so much of the composition and the content of the Lord Mayors' Shows. As well as offering the opportunity for a remarkable water spectacle, the ship devices that are found in Shows such as Munday's *Triumphs of Reunited Britannia* (1605) and *Chrysanaleia* (1616) also have the function of embodying an idealised micro-community, thereby alluding to the collective virtues of the company in charge of the Show and of the nation as a whole.<sup>10</sup> In the idealised tableaux of civic and mercantile virtue embodied by many of the pageant devices, it is 'as if acting and speaking as though harmony exists [...] will help to bring it about in reality'.<sup>11</sup> In this sense, the ship device becomes an interesting test-case for considering how the metaphorical and the actual are managed in the ship's function as a platform for showcasing various types of maritime labour, ambition, and wealth.

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<sup>10</sup> Elizabeth Fowler discusses the cultural visibility of the ship/nation metaphor in relation to *The Tempest*, aligning the storm-tossed ship at the beginning of the play with a tradition of ungovernable ships in 'The Ship Adrift', in *The Tempest and Its Travels*, ed. by Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion, 2007), pp. 37-40. See also Andrea Alciati's image of a foundering ship of state in his collection of emblems (Antwerp, 1577), reprinted in Heather James, *Shakespeare's Troy: Drama, Politics, and the Translation of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), fig. 16. On medieval uses of the ship topos, see J. R. Reinhard, 'Setting Adrift in Medieval Law and Literature', *PMLA*, 56 (1941), 33-68, and Chapter Seven of V. A. Kolve's *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), pp. 297-358.

<sup>11</sup> Catherine Patterson, 'Married to the Town: Francis Parlett's Rhetoric of Urban Magistracy in Early Modern England', in *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. by Norman L. Jones and Daniel Woolf (Basingstoke: Palgrave 2007), pp. 156-77 (p. 151), cited in Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p. 10.

Devised for the Merchant Taylors to celebrate the mayoralty of Sir Leonard Halliday, *The Triumphs of Reunited Britannia* (1605) is notable as much for the attention devoted to celebrating the reunion of the British kingdom as for its celebration of the mayoralty. While such Shows unsurprisingly tend to lean towards underscoring the companies' economic independence from the Crown, this one lends itself to giving a voice to Munday's interests in history by way of celebrating James I's accomplishment of the union via a retelling of the Brutus pseudo-myth.<sup>12</sup> The rather long preamble in the printed text recounts Britain's origins, readying the way for the description of the main pageant, which consists of a dramatization of the Brutus pseudo-myth upon a 'prominent Britain's Mount'.<sup>13</sup>

Immediately following the historiographical genealogy of the British nation is a description of a pageant device that effectively mirrors the insularity of the kingdom: the merchant ship called *The Royall Exchange*. Rather than being made specifically for this Show, the device was in fact the company's pageant ship, having been originally constructed for Sir Robert Lee's mayoralty in 1602 (in which Munday also had a hand). The Merchant Taylors' Court Books note that the ship was a fitting device to include in the 1602 Show because it served as an apt symbol for the Company's enterprise.<sup>14</sup> The ship was later suspended from the ceiling of the company's hall and used again as the *Royall Exchange* in 1605 for Munday's first Jacobean Lord Mayor's show.<sup>15</sup> Following its excursion along the Thames, the ship was once again returned to the company's hall, and was then used occasionally for entertainments within the hall itself, most interestingly in the Jacobean period as part of Jonson's 'Merchant Taylors

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<sup>12</sup> Munday published an edition of John Stowe's *Survey of London* 1618, so it is unsurprising that he would use the opportunity of preparing the printed Show text as a means of indulgently providing a brief outline of the pseudo-myth to accompany the description of the main pageant. For a discussion of Munday's editions of Stow see David M. Bergeron, 'Afterlives: Thomas Middleton and Anthony Munday', *Studies in Philology*, 111:1 (2014), pp. 65-82.

<sup>13</sup> Richard Dutton, ed., *Jacobean Civic Pageants* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1995), p. 118.

<sup>14</sup> Jean Robinson and D. J. Gordon, eds, *A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London, 1485-1640*, Malone Society Collections, 3 (Oxford: Malone Society, 1954), pp. 58-59.

<sup>15</sup> See David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971), p. 137 and Gabriel Heaton, *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 148-49.

Entertainment' written for James's visit in 1607.<sup>16</sup> The ship was brought out of doors for two further Jacobean Lord Mayors' shows: Dekker's *Troia-Nova Triumphans* (1612) and John Webster's *Monuments of Honour* (1624), which are discussed below. The Merchant Taylors' pageant ship is thus a symbol of the Company, being used variously in different forms of entertainments within and without their hall. Existing at once as property and metaphor, the significance of the *Royall Exchange* was both material and symbolic.

Its repeated use in the mayoral Shows is unsurprising partly due to the practicalities of wishing to make use of an impressive property already in the possession of the company, but likewise owing to the importance of the ship device as representative of the Merchant Taylors' mercantile endeavours and the versatility of ship devices in the Shows more generally. In the case of the 1605 Show, the ship took as its namesake the Royal Exchange, built by Sir Thomas Gresham in 1566 to serve as the commercial centre for London. With this allusion, the pageant ship captures and uproots the static seat of commerce and makes it mobile, metaphorically extending the economic powers of the city beyond the urban setting in which Gresham's Royal Exchange stood. The ship thus acts as a material and imaginative bridge or intermediary step between the centre of commercial enterprise in London and the trade posts abroad that sustain the economic wellbeing of that domestic centre, holding the potential to not only move between continents itself, but be instrumental in moving capital and transforming goods into gold. It is perhaps little coincidence that a description of the ship device in the printed account follows the lengthy historiographical speech that opens Munday's account of the Show. Textually ordered like this, the *Royall Exchange* could thus also serve to signal a new identity for Britain, which James had resurrected from its pseudo-mythological past—an identity characterised by the commercial enterprise championed by the likes of the Merchant

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<sup>16</sup> See Martin Butler, 'Jonson's London and Its Theatres', in *The Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson* edited by Richard Harp and Stanley Stewart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 15-29 (pp. 17-18) and James Knowles, 'Merchant Taylors Entertainment: Textual Essay', *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson Online*.  
 <[http://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/essays/Merchant\\_Taylors\\_textual\\_essay/1/](http://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/essays/Merchant_Taylors_textual_essay/1/)> [accessed 18 March 2014].

Taylors, which would help to characterise Britain as a dominant sea-power and appeal James's own ambitions as a maritime monarch. Through this ship device, the marine is inextricably represented as being tied up with economic forces and civic and royal institutions: the intangible abstract principles and workings upon which commercial structures are founded are given a recognisable shape whose iconographical relevance is accessible to a wider London audience.

The potential to underline the physical presence and mobile potential of the ship and the more abstract worth and esteem of the profits generated by successful voyages does not escape Munday, as the Master of the ship exclaims 'Our Royal Exchange had made a rich return | Laden with spices, silks, and indico', equating the physical re-entry of the vessel with the profits to the City implied by the entry of their cargo into its markets.<sup>17</sup> In a matter of lines, these profits were then rather literally bestowed upon the city, when the ship's boy draws the Master's attention to the 'troupes [...] of citizens' who have turned out to celebrate their owner's appointment as Lord Mayor, and demands to know whether 'we do nothing, but be idle found | On such general mirthful holiday'. The Master's response to this is to join the festivities by instructing his crew to:

Take of our pepper, of our cloves and mace,  
And liberally bestow them round about,  
'Tis our ship's luggage, and in such a case,  
I know our owner means to bear us out.  
Then, in his honour: and that company,  
Whose love and bounty this day doth declare,  
Hurl boy, hurl mate. And gunner, see you ply  
Your ordnance, and of fireworks make no spare,  
To add the very uttermost we may,  
To make this up a cheerful Holi-day. (pp. 123-4)

Richard Dutton surmises that the spices may well have been distributed in 'small packages', pointing out that 'to throw loose spices would seem merely wasteful'.<sup>18</sup> In any case, the crew distribute the ship's 'wealth' by imparting their cargo directly to the

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<sup>17</sup> Anthony Munday, *The Triumphs of Reunited Britannia*, in *Jacobean Civic Pageants*, ed. by Dutton, p. 123.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124 (n. 3).

spectators when they ‘liberally bestow’ it in an act of civic beneficence. This symbolic gesture has the effect of blurring the boundaries between commerce and festivity, since the act takes the spices out of the realm of economic exchange and into that of gift-giving and civic good-will, while retaining the association between the ‘gift’ and its commercial point of origin. The practice of bestowing goods upon the crowds in this way is by no means unique; for example, the Grocers’ Shows typically featured a boy in Indian robes who would bestow spices, fruit and nuts to the onlookers, yet to have these good scattered directly from a waterborne ship conveys with more immediacy the importance of navigation, the river and the seas for mercantile enterprise.<sup>19</sup>

As well as the ‘luggage’ being distributed to the citizens, the cue for fireworks in the Master’s command further exploits the inherent potential of the ship device as a means of effectively negotiating boundaries between the material and the metaphorical. Fireworks and pyrotechnics played an important part in civic celebrations, and in this instance the fireworks can be read as a similar type of materialisation as when the metaphorical ‘rich return’ is distributed to the onlookers in the form of spices.<sup>20</sup> The fireworks here are secondary to the plying of the ordnance, suggesting that charges were to be set off following the dialogue in this show, which—as well as being a commonplace form of civic celebration—is a reminder that mercantile venture is fraught with dangers and threats that call for ordnance and gunpowder as a means of self-preservation. The pyrotechnics here are then at once a reminder and a material realisation of the power that the ship’s crew have at their disposal in order to protect their cargo, which embodies the ‘rich return’ for their nation and its citizens, feeding as it does into the economic networks within the Royal Exchange and the outstretched hands of the eager onlookers.

The exchange between the Master and the Boy, noting as it does the different capacities in which the crew functions, mirrors the communality and collaboration that underpin civic pageantry as a dramatic form. The successful navigation of company

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<sup>19</sup> Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p. 139.

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, Philip Butterworth’s *Theatre of Fire Theatre of Fire: Special Effects in Early English and Scottish Theatre* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1998), pp. 99-136.

funds, properties, costumes, and speeches by the poets, dramatists, company clerks, artificers, actors, and other participants hired for the Show comes together in a successful celebration of the mayoralty in much the same way that the ship's crew unite their efforts in bringing a mercantile endeavour to fruition. The ship, then, is a fitting device identifiable in this instance as a figurative rendition of communal effort and industry, and as such offers an alternative view of 'power' that the wide-reaching monarchical claims to maritime sovereignty make. The potential tension between the two calls to mind David Norbrook's discussion of the sea storm at the opening of *The Tempest*, which explicates the tensions inherent in a clash between these differing conceptions of power: one futilely relying on rights and legal claims, and the other on a more immediately practical knowledge of the ship in order to navigate the storm.<sup>21</sup>

The ship thus has potential to be used as an effective metaphor for a successful autonomous community; it is a type of self-sustaining entity, with each member working in their individual capacities (as master, boy, gunner, etc.) to guarantee the successful operation of the whole and a 'rich return' to the shareholders who remain in the City.<sup>22</sup> It is no wonder then that ships recur continuously throughout the civic pageant repertoire, given their versatility as symbols that embody an important set of concerns. Ships allude to the self-contained sense of community found in the livery companies of an insular nation (and in some cases, as with the Merchant Taylors and the Fishmongers, they form a very literal means of representing their enterprise). Likewise, ships were a necessary part of the Mayoral procession, given their importance as vehicles that often traced the movements of the boats that carried the Lord Mayor on the riverine portion of his procession. In the case of *Reunited Britannia*, Munday's incorporation of the *Royall Exchange* into the Show is especially

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<sup>21</sup> David Norbrook, "'What Care These Roarers for the Name of King?': Language and Utopia in *The Tempest*", in *The Politics of Tragicomedy*, ed. by Jonathan Hope and Gordon McMullan (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 21-54.

<sup>22</sup> The symbolism of the ship as an autonomous community is an inheritance from the ship of state, which Shakespeare invokes in the opening scene of *The Tempest*. See Fowler, 'The Ship Adrift', in *The Tempest and Its Travels*, pp. 37-40.

effective given that it celebrates the forging of a new ‘community’ in the reunion of Britain as much as it does the mercantile heritage of the Lord Mayor elect.<sup>23</sup>

Understandably, the mercantilist interests of the livery companies often inflect the ship with a trade agenda, mostly setting aside the elements of religious significance invested into the trope in other visual traditions. This religious dimension does, however fleetingly, surface in another of Munday’s shows, *Chrysanaleia* (1616), which honoured the election of Sir John Leman, Fishmonger, to the mayoralty. The show made use of a fishing buss called the *Fishmongers Esperanza*, built for use on land as well as on the water.<sup>24</sup> Munday relates how the ‘devices for that solemne and joviall day, were and are accordingly proportioned, by the discrete and well advised judgement of the Gentlemen, thereto chosen and deputed, in manner and forme as followeth’, which credits the selection of properties used in the pageant as a collective effort on the part of the Company.<sup>25</sup> He goes on to ascribe the design of the show’s properties to a consciously emblematic tradition, claiming that the pageants shall depart from the mundaneness of their commercial enterprise in order to bring forth animated tableaux and devices that embody the very essence of the company:

First therefore, because *Fishing* is the absolute Embleme of our present intendement, and *Fishmongers*, having beene such worthy Merchants in those reverend and authentique times: leaving their matter of Commerce and Merchandise, and ayming at their true Hieroglyphical impresses for the dayes intended honour, thus we marshall the order of the proceeding. (sig. B<sup>r</sup>)

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<sup>23</sup> For other readings of Munday’s show see Richard Dutton, ‘King Lear, The Triumph of Reunited Brittainia and The Matter of Britain’, *Literature & History*, 12: 2 (2003), 139-51; Tracey Hill, ‘Representing the Awefull Authoritie of Soueraigne Maiestie’: Monarchs and Mayors in Anthony Munday’s *The Triumphes of Reunited Brittainia*’, in *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences*, ed. by Glenn Burgess, Roland Wymer, and Jason Lawrence (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 15-33; and Tracey Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture: Theatre, History and Power in Early Modern London 1580-1633* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 149-51.

<sup>24</sup> ‘[B]eying asked what els they have to say Richard Bull & John Gave two of them | desired that where the company were in hand to Compound w[ith] Anthonye Monday fo[r] the making of a ffishing buse one p[ar]te of the shoves that they might prefer on Clay a Carver & a shipwright (who Monday must employ to make the same as they say) to do it fo[r] the Companye And Clay being called in is wished to drawe a plott of the same & bring it to m[r] warden Angell And then they will further confer w[ith] him’, Robinson and Gordon, eds, *A Calendar of Dramatic Records*, p. 90.

<sup>25</sup> Anthony Munday, *Chrysanaleia: The Golden Fishing: Or, Honour of Fishmongers* (London, 1616), sig. B<sup>r</sup>.

The first device, therefore, is the ‘very goodly and beautifull fishing Busse, called; the *Fishmongers Esperanza*, or Hope of *London*, in her true old shape, forme and proportion’ which Munday claims ‘may passe (by generall sufferance)’ for the boat in which St Peter mended his nets when Jesus made him ‘a Fisher of men’ (sig. B<sup>f</sup>-B<sup>v</sup>). Munday seeks to present the boat as an object standing in for the ‘true old shape’ but equally expressed the potential of the pageant device to embody a plurality of allegorical and emblematic meanings, rendering it as a material emblem. He leaves it up to the reader, presenting them an alternative, secular, interpretation: ‘If not so; take her for one of those fishing Busses, which not only enricheth our kingdome with all variety of fish the Sea can yeelde: but helpeth also (in that kind) all other lands’ (sig. B<sup>v</sup>). The fishing buss is thus simultaneously local and global, fulfilling both the function of serving the British nation in its procurement and bestowal of fish in its native shores and that of fishing as a wider, universal, industry.

The fishermen in the boat are depicted by Munday as ‘seriously at labour, drawing up their Nets, laden with living fish, and bestowing them bountifully among the people,’ which reflects with some immediacy the practicalities of the fishing industry and the biblical undertones of distributing fish to the masses. It is tempting to imagine that the ‘living fish’ here are in fact confections made from sugar paste, like those served from the spectacular ship that was wheeled into the banquet hall at the Scottish Baptismal Entertainment in 1594, but in any case, whether the distribution of fish was literal or not, the action depicted in the Show echoes the civic goodwill found in Munday’s earlier Show discussed above.<sup>26</sup>

Although the ephemeral nature of the performances and devices used in the Lord Mayors’ Shows makes it difficult to envisage and give shape to exactly how many of these pageants would have looked, a series of rather striking illustrations of

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<sup>26</sup> Hill seems to accept the possibility of fish being used literally here: ‘Munday suggests (as does the illustration of this pageant) that live fish were also ‘bestowe[d] bountifully among the people’ (*Pageantry and Power*, p. 139), although it is just as easy to imagine that Munday’s ‘living fish’ may have been edible objects crafted to a ‘living’ likeness or shape. In 1617 the Grocer’s accounts show they bought ‘nutmegges, Gynger, almonds in the shell, and sugar loves’ (Robinson and Gordon, eds, *A Calendar of Dramatic Records*, p. 92) for use in their show, and the latter—which is a form of hardened refined sugar—is certainly the kind of edible token that could be shaped into the likeness of fish.



the various devices used in *Chrysanaleia* are extant in John Gough Nichols's edition of the show, based on manuscript drawings by Henry Shaw in the possession of the Fishmongers Company.<sup>27</sup> The illustration of the *Esperanza* is a striking visual testimony to the fact that aside from the decorative carvings and emblematic crown on the prow of the ship, the device is a rather humbling re-enactment of the fishermen's daily labour. Whether real or mimetically represented by sugary confections, the fish bestowed to the audience in the act of civic beneficence in *Chrysanaleia* represent an idealised—and instantaneously gratifying—product of the fishermen's labours, presented here in a way that aestheticizes their maritime occupation by foregoing the dangers and perils that the fishermen often faced. The generous and plentiful distribution of the fish follows the formulaic conventions of beneficence in civic drama, further echoing in material terms the biblical allusion that Munday notes in relation to the fishing buss at the beginning of his textual account. The liberality with which the fish are bestowed in this pageant serves to highlight that the marine 'harvest' that they reap is necessarily accessible to all. In light of the fishery debates of the period, and the continual bolstering of the ailing domestic fisheries inherited from Elizabeth's reign, the picture of willing recipients likewise envisages a nation eager to consume (and therefore support) the domestic fish industry. This at once echoes the presentation of the draught of fish to Elizabeth I at Cowdray and the consumption of ornate sugary fish-shaped morsels at Stirling during the 1594 baptismal feast, gesturing both towards established and universal pastoral concerns and to the privileged theatrical banqueting practices of the landed classes and aristocracy.<sup>28</sup>

Much like the description of the *Esperanza*, the first half of Munday's account of the Fishmongers' Show gives an account of the various tableaux and pageants used in the festivities, many of which are also to be found in the illustrations based on Shaw's drawings. The dolphin, the leopard, and the lemon tree (by way of playing upon the surname of the Lord Mayor elect), among others, are clearly important

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<sup>27</sup> See John Gough Nichols, ed., *The Fishmonger's Pageant* (London, 1844).

<sup>28</sup> Several studies on banqueting and early modern culinary practices in drama are available: Jan Fitzpatrick, *Food in Shakespeare* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) and Chris Meads, *Banquets Set Forth: Banqueting in English Renaissance Drama* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001).

iconographical components of the Show, but they do not appear to be incorporated into any form of sustained dramatic performance. Thus, as with a great number of the Lord Mayors' Shows, the effect of the procession appears to be one akin to a material performance of an emblem book. The signifying potential of these moving images is rather self-consciously treated by Munday in the printed account of this Show.<sup>29</sup> To begin with, he directly challenges the reader to choose an interpretative framework within which to imagine the fishing buss, giving them scope to choose between identifying it as a representation of any kind of generic vessel, a biblical allusion, or a metonymic symbol of the fishing trade. In the concluding part of the account, we find out that an explanatory speech was delivered to the Lord Mayor following the gathering of all the pageant devices at Paul's Churchyard. Assembled statically for the Mayor's perusal, he narrates their intended meanings to both the incumbent and those immediately around him:

Now Worthy Lord, there is impos'd on me  
 A brief narration of each severall shew  
 Provided for this Triumph as you see,  
 In order to describe them as they goe.  
 The Fishing Busse instructs you first to know  
     The toylsome travell of poore Fisher-men,  
     Subjected to all weathers, where and when.  
 In stormy tempests they omit no paine,  
 To blesse all lands with the seas bounteous store:  
 Their labour doth returne rich golden gaine,  
 Whereof themselves taste least by Sea or shore,  
 But (like good soules) contentment evermore  
     With any benefit their toyle can bring;  
     The Fisher well is term'd Contents true King. (sig. C2<sup>v</sup>)

The principal interpretation of the fishing buss here is the 'toylsome travell of poore Fisher-men', which, together with the note on contentment, invites reflection on the noble humility of the new Mayor's civic heritage as a Fishmonger, likewise echoing the alternative set of power structures witnessed in the pragmatic knowledge of navigation of mariners and the more abstract claims to maritime control by sovereigns. The fisherman, in this respect, is commended for his perseverance and the usefulness

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<sup>29</sup> See Bergeron, *Civic Pageantry*, pp. 273-308 (especially p. 289; pp. 295-96).

of his occupation, particularly at a time when domestic fisheries were in decline. The popular conceit of travel and travail is aptly invoked here, since the nature of the fishermen's toilsome labour necessitates travel to distant places. Taking this deviation from the previous interpretative frameworks assigned to the buss, it is possible to appreciate the complexity of ensuring that the poetry of these striking material devices was properly understood, both on the day of the performance and in its post-performance textual record.

The textual account must necessarily stand in for the lack of illustrations within Munday's text; it points the reader in a number of directions for seeing in their mind's eye the kinds of material properties otherwise available during the Show. For this sort of 'textual' audience, the lack of the material property must be filled with suggestions of the interpretative frameworks the *Esperanza* might belong to, while audiences present at the show would have done without Munday's explicit signposting until the end of the pageant, when the meanings of the devices are summarised. There is a pervasive issue of temporality found in textual accounts of the Lord Mayors' shows, and it is especially interesting in *Chrysanaleia*, where the post-facto interpretative framework is offered at the beginning of the textual account rather than at the end, which changes the order of explicit expounding of the devices for the reader.

#### **IV. Materialising metaphors**

My discussion so far has concentrated on the ships as an important part of the pageant repertoire in two of Munday's Shows, where they are used as models of successful community and industry which the companies sought to espouse in their civic celebrations. An important part of this model is the potential (exploited to great effect in *Reunited Britannia* and *Chrysanaleia*) of using the ship as a platform from which to embody the process of giving material shape to metaphorical concepts through their shows of civic beneficence, not only through the loaded iconographical and emblematic significance of the ship as a visual object, but also through the bestowal of goods such as spices and fish from that object onto the surrounding audience. I would

now like to think further about the ways in which the marine characterises elements of the staging of the Lord Mayors' Shows and consider a number of pageants and devices that give physical shape to important marine tropes, which often highlight the malleability of riverine water as a stage for conceptually importing marine meanings through theatrical devices.

Marine iconography features heavily in the repertoire of material properties and pageant tableaux used on water and on land. In fact, the peripatetic nature of many water pageant devices meant that the decorative ships and the mythical marine personages and monsters could spill forth from the river and join the procession to Paul's Churchyard.<sup>30</sup> The versatility and material richness of the marine metaphor is so irresistible that a number of rather elaborate land pageants were decorated with objects and personages normally found in the water. In these cases, the marine is not simply a commonplace water device used in the river to spruce up the water show, which is then economically reused on land (as with the mermaid and tritons that pull the pageant chariot in the 1605 Show, or the floating islands that are then used to transport the Five Senses in the 1613 Show, discussed below). Rather, the incorporation of a marine-themed land pageant—particularly through the potential for more speeches than would potentially be more audible than those delivered on the river—allows the marine topoi to take a more pivotal part in the Show.

In some cases where marine iconography is used in land pageants, it is incorporated into devices that idealise the nation in terms of its lands and waters, as is the case with the decorative field and mount pageants in Munday's *Camp-Bell: or The Ironmongers Faire Field* (1609). The first pageant was 'a goodly Island styled *insula [beata]*', which is 'round [en]girt with rich Rockes of Gold Oare and Chrisolytes, the maine Ocean also running naturally about it, wherein Corral, Amber, Chrysitis and the other rich gemmes of the Sea do shew themselves, as glorious embellishments to the

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<sup>30</sup> For example, in *Chrysanaleia* Munday indicates that the *Esperanza* moved ashore from the river, later mentions that the merman and mermaid, which were also used in the water show, were used to pull the pageant chariot on land, fittingly because they are 'supporters to the Companies coat of arms' (sig. B3<sup>v</sup>). Munday also notes that 'the Fisshing-Busse, Dolphine, Mer-Man and Mer-Mayd [appeared] upon the water first, and [were] afterward marshalled in such forme as you have heard on land' (sig. B4<sup>r</sup>).

Rocke'.<sup>31</sup> The mount features a luxurious garden, styled with 'very artificiall' columns, arches, and friezes, which contain allegorical figures of Majesty, Religion, Policy, Memory, and other Virtues. The whole island and the 'Tower of soveraigne Majestie' is envisaged as floating 'upon the calme Sea of discret and loyall affections' (B2<sup>r</sup>). The preparations for the Show make note of the water of the Thames, 'wherein shall move Mermaides, Tritons &c playing on instrumentes and singing', these mythological figures implicitly envisaged as a realisation of the familiar visual framing devices found in marine spaces on maps that clearly carry those cartographical allusions into this performance.<sup>32</sup>

The *insula beata* is protected by the allegorical 'immovable Rocks' of Duty and Power, but Munday's description of the rock-mount also describes the realistic material make-up of the rusticated device, which is teeming with lizards. Munday indicates that this detailing arises from accounts of lizards found in Pliny and Gesner, where their propensity to be drawn to precious gems is explicated. The inclusion of these learned authorities in the printed text reminds the reader of the wealth of different sources of knowledge that congregate in the properties devised for the Shows. In this case, attention is drawn to the lizards because they are found on the Company's coat of arms, but their inclusion in the pageant device is further justified through the reference to Pliny and Gesner's comments on lizards issuing from and being attracted to gems. In this way, smaller components such as the heraldic lizards, glittering gems, and allegorical figures are incorporated into an elaborately decorated microcosmic vision of an idealised isle.

The land pageant in this Show offers a very different sense of self-sustaining insularity than those previously discussed in relation to the prosperous communities found in the water devices used in *Reunited Britannia* and *Chrysanaleia*. The pageant in *Camp-bell* relies on classical iconography in a way that echoes the Mannerist interests in such islands or 'mounts', which were especially popular in waterborne

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<sup>31</sup> Anthony Munday, *Camp-bell: or The Ironmongers Faire Field* (London, 1609), sig. B1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> Robinson and Gordon, eds, *A Calendar of Dramatic Records*, p. 73.

festivities and garden architecture on the Continent.<sup>33</sup> By the early seventeenth century, the fashion for decorative Mannerist ‘Mount Parnassus’ style devices was also being employed in Jacobean court masques and garden architecture too, which will be discussed in Chapter Five. In fact, less ornate island devices would be very ingeniously put to use in Middleton’s *The Triumphs of Truth* (1613), which made use of five floating islands in the river, and a ‘strange ship’ with ‘neither saylor nor pilot make towards these five islands’ (sig. B4<sup>v</sup>) to the great astonishment of the onlookers. Rather than being allusions to an idealised insularity set in the artificial waters of the pageant wagon, the islands here act as a foil for the pilotless ship and its successful navigation of the obstacles represented by the islands.<sup>34</sup> In the case of the 1613 Show, the islands are a secondary, prop-like part of the water show, which were later used as platforms to carry the Five Virtues as the procession moves into Paul’s Churchyard and onwards, thereby fulfilling a very different function to the allegorical island centre-pieces in Munday’s 1609 Show.

*Camp-bell* also featured a particularly elaborate series of water spectacles, descriptions of which do not survive in Munday’s text because the first sheets of the pamphlet are lost. The Ironmongers’ records, however, indicate that some twenty ‘waterwoorkes’ were prepared for the Show, including a whale ‘rounded close without sight of the boate and to row with ffins | open for ffireworkes at the mouth and water vented at the head’ and a ‘ffoist 60 ffoote longe well rigged and furnished with [...] powder and fireworks’.<sup>35</sup> The whale, rather than being a painted cloth representation or a carved wooden figure as was sometimes the case with many other animal devices used in the Show, is in this instance a sophisticated structure that cleverly employs stage mechanics to make the most of the pyrotechnical effects and the already

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<sup>33</sup> Several mount devices in European water pageants come to mind here, particularly the mountain built like a half-open rock containing sea monsters, sirens, and satyrs erected for the accession of Henri II at Reims (see Richard Cooper, ‘French Renaissance Waterborne Pageants in the Sixteenth Century’, in *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J.R. Mulryne* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 9-36 (p. 23).

<sup>34</sup> The pilotless ship is a popular romance trope whose relevance would not have been missed by the audience. Examples can be found in romances such as the fifteenth-century *Orlando Innamorato* and *Rinaldo*. See David Quint, ‘The Boat of Romance and Renaissance Epic’, in *Romance: Generic Transformations from Chrétien de Troyes to Cervantes*, ed. by Kevin Brownlee and Marina Scordilis Brownlee (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1985), pp. 178-202.

<sup>35</sup> Robinson and Gordon, eds, *A Calendar of Dramatic Records*, p. 73.

remarkable body of the monstrous fish. This method of using aqua vitae (which was, as Hill notes, probably controlled by an operator inside the whale), reflects a long-standing tradition of firework displays in continental water pageants, which likewise made much use of fire-breathing sea-creatures.<sup>36</sup>

Whereas the tritons and mermaids used in the *insula beata* pageant in *Campbell* serve as ornamental marine personages that form a part of a wider vision, a far more striking extension of marine iconography into land pageants can be found in ‘Neptune’s Throne’, designed for Dekker’s *Troia-Nova Triumphans* (1612). This pageant was created to greet the Lord Mayor when he landed on the shore, and the presentation of Neptune on land in this way made it possible to incorporate a speech, which would not otherwise have been practicable on the river, given the problems that the river poses for acoustics. Dekker recounts in minute detail the intricate decorations and costumes worn by those sitting within the device:

A Sea-Chariot artificially made, proper for a God of the sea to sit in; shippes dancing round about it, with Dolphins and other great Fishes playing or lying at the foot of the same, is drawne by two Sea-horses. In this Chariot sits Neptune, his head circled with a Coronet of silver, Scollup-shels, stucke with branches of Corral, and hung thicke with ropes of pearle; because such things as these are the treasures of the Deepe, and are found in the shels of fishes [...] His roabe and mantle with other ornaments are correspondent to the quality of his person; Buskins of pearle and cockle-shels being worne upon his legges. At the lower part of this Chariot sit Mer-maids, who for their excellency in beauty, above any other creatures belonging to the sea, are preferred to bee still in the eye of Neptune.<sup>37</sup>

The rich store of material properties here extends from the stock accoutrements such as shells, dolphins, and mermaids associated with the marine deity to the display of wealth evident in the presence of precious strings of pearl and branches of coral. The emphasis on the plenitude of pearls ‘hung thicke’ around Neptune’s neck showcases

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<sup>36</sup> Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p. 185. For a very useful discussion of the different ways that fireworks were incorporated and managed in a European water pageant context see Maria. R. Wade, ‘Waterfront Entertainments in Saxony and Denmark from 1548-1709, in *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J.R. Mulryne*, ed. by Margaret Shewring (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 329-58.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas Dekker, *Troia-Nova Triumphans: London Triumphant* (London, 1612), sig. A4<sup>r</sup>-A4<sup>v</sup>.

the exotic marine objects brought from the East Indies, especially fittingly here, given that this Show was devised for Sir John Swinnerton, who was a Merchant Taylor. The figure of Neptune in this device is clearly a very different type of visualisation of marine splendour than a water pageant like the *Royall Exchange*, used by the Company in 1605, but it similarly—if far more subtly—alludes to the kinds of ‘rich return’ to be made in trade. In this case, the device affords a mythological presentation of riches, embedded beautifully into an easily recognisable personage.

Another property that Dekker draws attention to is the silver trident in Neptune’s hand, of which, he claims, ‘some Writers will have signified the three Naturall qualities proper to Waters’ (sig. A4<sup>v</sup>): the clear, sweet-tasting water of fountains or springs, the salty water of the sea, and the ‘loathsome’ water found in lakes. It is fitting that this instrument of sovereignty should be described in this fashion given its allusion to the interlinked political issues of governing and ‘controlling’ domestic and international waters. The three separate types of water find unity within the trident, whose power is wielded by Neptune. The trident visually links the contemporary struggles for water-rights by London’s citizens and authorities (such as, for example, the lengthy project for the New River water supply, discussed below) and waters beyond the shores of the insular realm, over which James was attempting to assert his dominance.

While all of the different characters in Neptune’s pageant complement one another visually, the issue of water rights is perhaps again brought to bear in the presence of Luna, or the Moon, who sits at Neptune’s foot, implying his dominance over her powers to exert influence over the waves. Described as ‘gouvernesse of the sea, & all petty Flouds, as from whose influence they receive their ebbings and flowings’, she ‘challenges to herselfe this honour, to have rule and command of those Horses that draw the Chariot, and therefore she holds their reynes in her hands’ (sig. A4<sup>v</sup>). Although her reigning of the horses parallels her command of the tidal movements, the crowded figure of Neptune with the instrument of monarchical rule evident in his trident, is the greater power in this composition. The dichotomy between the different



forms of power and their accountability to one another proves an apt allusion to the dichotomy between the office of the Mayoralty and that of the Crown. As such, it stands as a reminder of the Crown's dependence on civic political and economic factions on which he relied for support. Melissa E. Sanchez notes that:

James I's portraits and coronation pageant engage in a more reluctant act of self-mythologizing [than those of Elizabeth I]. By participating in the City pageant, a spectacle which Orgel describes as 'less a celebration than a show of force', James I gained allegiance and support by acknowledging his dependence on England's commercial and financial powers.<sup>38</sup>

As well as inviting an acknowledgement of the different power structures at play within the City, this text is also useful for Dekker's reflection on the practicalities of staging the pageant devices. He makes his displeasure felt at the undesired consequences of transporting the cumbersome pageant devices on land, pausing to reflect on the tradition of having to employing porters to carry or otherwise navigate the devices through the city in the midst of his account. Recounting how four tritons sat upon 'four several fishes' (sig. B1<sup>v</sup>)—two dolphins and two 'Mer-maids', although it is unclear whether he uses the term here to describe a sea-horse rather than a woman-fish hybrid—Dekker notes that these creatures were:

Not (after the old procreation) begotten of painted cloath, and browne paper, but are living beasts, so quaintly disguised like the natural fishes, of purpose to avoyd the trouble and pestering of Porters, who with much noyse and little comlinesse are every yeare most unnecessarily imployed. (sig. B1<sup>v</sup>)

The problem of the noisy and uncouth porters is circumvented in this instance by the use of horses, which simultaneously function as a means of transporting the device and as suitable actors in this mode of performance. The overt artifice in previous uses of painted paper and cloth are offset by the 'living' beasts, whose naturally animated bodies are refashioned into marine creatures. The transformations of the previously lifeless painted cloth into the moving bodies of the horses play into a wider early modern concern with animating essentially inanimate matter; the horses' bodies

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<sup>38</sup> Melissa E. Sanchez, review of Stephen Orgel, *Spectacular Performances: Essays on Theatre, Imagery, Books and Selves in Early Modern England* (2011), *Renaissance Studies*, 27:3 (2013), 470-72.

metamorphose into those of fish in the process of re-articulated in a decorative marine idiom, which will be the focus of final chapter of this thesis.

Many of the pageant devices discussed thus far have, in one way or another, gestured towards issues associated with successful navigation of waters, whether through ships or the appearance of sea deities who command the waves. John Webster's late Jacobean show, *The Monuments of Honour* (1624) engages very explicitly with water and sovereignty through the marine-inflected decorative properties and costumes that implicitly gesture towards issues of controlling water, both visually within the Shows and politically without.<sup>39</sup> This show featured a decorative barge, containing Oceanus and Thetis, and the two great rivers Thamesis and Medway, personified. In addition, there was another water device: 'a faire Terrestrial Globe, circled about, in convenient seats, with seven of our most famous Navigators' (p. 176). These devices have the effect of offering two means of engaging with maritime space, through classical mythology and contemporary practical engagements, and both of these modes of expression make use of idea that the Thames is a crucial connecting point between Britain and the wider maritime world.

The first of the pageants presents personified rivers, who have come to pay tribute to the seas (i.e. Oceanus and Thetis), playing out an aqueous hierarchy in which the tidal rivers pay their respects to their salt-water parents. Thetis, taking stock of the surrounding riverine and urban environment, likens it to Venice, given the prominent role played by the river upon which they float, to which Oceanus replies:

That beauteous seat is London so much fam'd  
Where any navigable sea is nam'd;  
And in the bottom eminent merchants plac'd,  
As rich, and ventrous as ever grac'd  
Venice or Europe. (p. 177)

Once more, mercantile venture underscores the dealings of the nation with the outside world, in which the seas are navigable through commerce. There is a rather interesting

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<sup>39</sup> John Webster, *The Monuments of Honour*, in *Jacobean Civic Pageants*, ed. Dutton, pp. 169-89.

moment of double representation in the personified Thamesis paying tribute to Oceanus, since this act takes place upon the Thames, which in this instance is used as a liquid stage from which to pay homage to the City, or more accurately to the office of the Lord Mayor. The commercial links between the river and the wider maritime expanses is thus dramatized through personification and made palpable and explicit for the onlookers. This means of conceptually tying the local (and therefore controllable) national spaces to the essentially lawless global expanses is a popular strategy in the civic pageants discussed here and in the masques that will be the focus of Chapter Five.

Pleased at the sight of Thamesis and Medway, Oceanus proceeds to describe the pageant device:

These pay us tribute, we are pleas'd to select  
Seven worthy navigators out by name,  
Seated beneath this globe; whose ample fame  
In the remotest part o'the earth is found,  
And some of them have circled the globe round:  
These you observe are living in your eye,  
And so they out, for worthy men ne'er die:  
Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, Gilbert, brave knights,  
That brought home gold, and honour from sea fights,  
Candish, Carleill, and Davys, and to these,  
So many worthies I could add at seas,  
This bold nation, it would envy strike,  
I'the rest o'th'world, who cannot show the like. (p.177)

The presence of the great navigators in this device further unpacks the relationship between the local and the global, since through their efforts these famous English figures lay claim to the all-encompassing globe suspended above them. Following the water pageant, the Lord Mayor arrives at the Temple of Honour at Paul's Churchyard, where he is confronted with a similar sort of tableau that mixes geography and figures of national repute:

In the heighest seat a person representing Troynovant of the City, enthroned in rich habiliments, beneath her as admiring her peace and felicity, sit five eminent cities, as Antwerp, Paris, Rome, Venice and Constantinople: under these sit five famous scholars and poets of this our kingdom, as Sir Geoffrey Chaucer, the leaner Gower, the excellent John Lydgate, the sharp-witted Sir Thomas Moore, these being celebrators of honour, and the preservers both of the names of men, and memories of cities above, to posterity. (p. 178-9)

The arrangement of the personages is apt; the navigators rightly belong in the water pageant and the scholars and poets on land, since each inhabits and characterises the geographical spheres in which they carry out their endeavours. The navigators physically venture into the great unknowns of the world, while poets explore and make known those places through their imaginative license. The functional link established between the navigators on the one hand and the scholars and poets on the other is an interesting one, particularly given that it is set against the globe and the personified Troynovant. This visual arrangement draws links between practical experience and poetic envisaging, and how the two must necessarily coincide to make a true picture of the world. The fact that the globe is a staged property while Troynovant is personified similarly echoes this conceit, using two different means of realising geographical entities. In this respect, the globe is an acknowledgement that the practice of navigation helps to give physical shape to geographical knowledge in the form of cartographic materials. On the other hand, the imaginative personification of Troynovant embodies a poetic realisation that comes from the imagination, through the kind of engagement with literature and history that the scholar figures represent. In this way the globe and personified city are indicative of the visions that navigators and writers contribute to a unified vision of the world.

As evident from the selection of civic shows discussed in this chapter, the Thames played host to a diverse and spectacular array of performances on its waters, necessitated by the fact that the river was a part of the mayoral procession. It is no wonder, given the propensity of the city guilds to promote their multilateral mercantile activities, that marine imagery and topoi should figure so prominently in the repertoire of the Lord Mayors' Shows. The Thames was thus celebrated as the gateway to the outer waterways of the world, but the performance of the marine was, as my discussion

has shown, not necessarily confined to the river. Marine pageant devices were staged on land as well as on the water (as in *The Monuments of Honour*, for example) while others were designed to be used on both, thereby blurring the already fluctuating boundaries between them and unifying the city of London as a performative space.

## V.      **Hydraulics as civic entertainment**

As my discussion of the ways in which marine iconography and metaphor were used in Lord Mayors' Shows reveals, material properties were repeatedly used in conjunction with the watery stage of the Thames to great effect. They exploited the visual and aural dimensions of water in the pyrotechnics and music, which water would intensify, as well as the functionality of water as a stage for floating fire-breathing whales and mysteriously navigable ships and islands. Water itself thus becomes an actor, or at least collaborator in this form of civic entertainment, which grows from the practicality of carrying the Lord Mayor elect from Westminster, marrying purpose with festivity. I would like to end this chapter by considering a different type of functional watery celebration: the opening of the New River water supply in 1612, which celebrates the manipulation of water through practical urban hydraulic technologies. In this civic entertainment, hydraulics are both practical and decorative, and clearly identifiable as a focal point of communal enterprise and civic pride.

The second edition of Middleton's *The Triumphs of Truth* (1613) contains an account of the entertainment written to celebrate the opening of the New River water supply, which took place on the day of the mayoral elections, a month before the Lord Mayor's show of that year.<sup>40</sup> The entertainment marks the successful completion of the Running Stream cistern, which was designed and financed by Sir Hugh Middleton, brother to the new Lord Mayor for whom *The Triumphs of Truth* was performed. This celebration of the tremendous civic efforts and hydraulic labour reflects an engagement with water not as a facilitator for some form of dramatic performance crafted by the

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<sup>40</sup> Thomas Middleton, *The Triumphs of Truth, or The New River Entertainment (The Running Stream Entertainment)*, in *Jacobean Civic Pageants*, ed. Dutton, pp. 137-67.

dramatist and the pageant workmen, but as the material crafted by the engineer, which draws together multiple forms of labour from the City.<sup>41</sup>

The *New River Entertainment* makes no gesture towards celebration through classical iconography or overtly material devices; the pumps and hydraulic system themselves are the subject and object of the entertainment here, being made the focal point of the many forces responsible for their successful installation, including Sir Hugh, James I, numerous city officials, and a multitude workmen. The entertainment concentrates on highlighting the communal efforts behind the practicalities of engineering and hydraulics, being performed in front of various city officials and workmen who undertook the project. The account draws attention to the fact that the spectators included workmen involved in constructing the project: ‘a troop of labourers, to the number of three-score or upwards, all in green caps alike, bearing in their hands the symbol of their several employments to so great a business’ (p. 165). Imagery commonly associated with chivalric romance is alluded to in this entertainment, but it is re-purposed here for the services of civic celebration that colours Middleton’s articulation of both the labour described in the speech and the crowds to whom the speech is addressed. For example, when Sir Hugh makes his entrance, he is greeted by ‘the warlike music of drums and trumpets [that] liberally beats the air, sounds as proper as in battle, for there is no labour that a man undertakes but hath a war within itself, and perfection makes the conquest’ (p. 165). The efforts of both Sir Hugh and the troupe of workmen, brandishing the ‘symbols’ of their individual employments, is recounted in the style of a chivalric quest, in which they emerge as knights triumphant over the allegorical foes of malice, envy and false suggestion:

Long have we labour’d, long desir’d and pray’d  
For this great work’s perfection, and by th’aid  
Of Heaven and good men’s wishes, ’tis at length  
Happily conquer’d by cost, art and strength;  
And after five years’ dear expense in days,

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<sup>41</sup> Ceri Sullivan provides useful background on the individuals involved in the New River project in ‘Thomas Middleton’s View of Public Utility’, *Review of English Studies*, 58: 234 (2007), 162-74.

Travail and pains, besides the infinite ways  
Of malice, envy, false suggestions,  
Able to daunt the spirits of mighty ones  
In wealth and courage, this a Work so rare,  
Only by one man's industry, cost, and care  
Is brought to blest effect, so much withstood,  
His only aim, the City's general good;  
And the work's hindrance: favour now at large  
Spreads itself open to him, and commends  
To admiration both his pains and ends. (pp. 165-66)

Although Middleton is not named in the speeches, he is undoubtedly the man whose cost and industry the speaker references. Rather than singling out individuals, the speech commends the communal efforts of the labourers' physical exertions in their battles with obstacles are rightly celebrated in a speech that seeks to pay homage to a hydraulic device that services the city. The romance tropes that figure the labourers as knights errant who contend with foes sits alongside a distinctly epic narrative device that is also invoked in relation to the successful completion of the project, which echoes the successful homecoming of the heroes. The apparent perfection of the completed project lies in the unity of the conquering forces of 'cost, art and strength', explicated later in the speech when various types of labourers are credited and catalogued:

First there's the overseer, this tried man,  
An ancient soldier, and an artisan;  
The clerk, next him mathematician;  
The master of the timber-work takes place  
Next after these, the measurer in like case,  
Brick layer, and engineer, and after those  
The borer and the pavier it shows  
The labourers next, keeper of Amwell-head,  
The walkers last, so all their names are read,  
Yet these but parcels of six hundred more,  
That at one time have been employ'd before.  
Yet these in sight, and all the rest will say,  
That every week they had their royal pay. (pp. 166-67)

The project thus becomes a model in which good citizenship and good craftsmanship unite for the benefit of the city that they serve. The commendation here does not place emphasis on individual men, but on the offices that they fulfil in London's labour

networks, fittingly framed in a way that echoes classical epic devices such as the listing and categorising of cultural and racial groups in epic poetry, as seen within the *Iliad*'s 'Catalogue of Ships'.<sup>42</sup> Celebrations of London as the new Troy sought to present it as the final point in the *translation imeprii*. This imperative is evident in shows such as *Himatia-Poleos: The Triumphes of Old Draperie* (1614), where links are drawn between the company's trade and epic narratives like Jason and the Golden Fleece—a trope demonstrated in an even more explicit fashion in *The Triumphs of the Golden Fleece* (1623).<sup>43</sup>

The sustained collective deployment of their skills and knowledge culminate in the long-anticipated moment at which water is finally allowed to flow through the much-needed reservoir:

At which words the flood-gate opens, the stream let in into the cistern, drums and trumpets giving triumphant welcomes, and for the close of this honourable entertainment, a peal of chambers. (p. 167)

The water is welcomed in much the same way as Sir Hugh was upon his entry at the beginning of the entertainment, with the beating of drums and the sounding of trumpets that acknowledge it as an honoured participant in the show. Dutton describes this as 'not a very distinguished piece, but it is valuable in demonstrating how relatively commonplace it was for the Jacobean to employ theatricals at public events and in giving some idea of the relative scale of the larger civic pageants'.<sup>44</sup> The *New River Entertainment* certainly does not rival the opulence of the other entertainments and pageants discussed in this chapter, but it nevertheless offers an important insight

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<sup>42</sup> See, for example, Christos Tsagalis, 'The Dynamic Hypertext: Lists and Catalogues in the Homeric Epics', *Trends in Classics*, 2:2 (2010), 323-47. For the 'Catalogue of Ships' in the *Iliad* see Bruce Heiden, 'Common People and Leaders in *Iliad* Book 2: The Invocation of the Muses and the Catalogue of Ships', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 238 (2008), 127-54, and Benjamin Sammons, *The Art and Rhetoric of the Homeric Catalogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 135-96.

<sup>43</sup> Sara Trevisan usefully traces the use of the Golden Fleece and its related iconography and mythology in the Lord Mayors' Shows in 'The Iconography of the Golden Fleece in Early Modern Lord Mayor's Shows', in *The Iconography of Power: Ceremonial Entries in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by John Ronnie Mulryne, Margaret Shewring, and Anna Maria Testaverde (Farnham: Ashgate, in press).

<sup>44</sup> Dutton, ed., *Jacobean Civic Pageants*, p. 138.



into how the abstract concept of communal effort is made visible through the use of water and its links to the wider maritime world, the successful navigation of which relies precisely on communality and self-sufficiency. There is a certain mingling of the practical and the poetic here that will be revisited in a different dimension in Chapter Five, which will continue the line of enquiry in the aesthetic potential of running water and hydraulic expertise in relation to garden design and the court masques. Before turning to those issues, however, I would like to consider some popular depictions of maritime endeavour on the commercial stage, which often gives voice to the kinds of ambiguously illicit and predatory practices that are excluded from the civic celebration of honourable fishermen, merchantmen, and sailors in the Lord Mayors' Shows.

## CHAPTER THREE

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### *Seafaring and Maritime Endeavour*

#### I.

Henry Chettle's *The Tragedy of Hoffman* (1602) opens with the revenger dramatically unveiling the flayed skeletal remains of his father, which he has stolen from the gibbet and transported to the wilderness.<sup>1</sup> Ruminating on the violent course that his revenge will take, Clois Hoffman ponders the grim physical remains of the 'dead remembrance' of his father and claims that:

I'll execute justly and in such a cause.  
Where truth leadeth, what coward would not fight?  
Ill acts move some, but mine's a cause is right.<sup>2</sup>

Moments later, a shipwrecked character who stumbles into Hoffman's cave identifies the hanging remains as those of 'that vice-admiral that turned a terrible pirate' (I. 1. 122). The piratical status of the deceased undermines the legitimacy of Hoffman's

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<sup>1</sup> *Hoffman* is the only extant early modern play that explicitly calls for entire skeletons rather than skulls or other skeletal remains. Elisabeth Dutton's semi-staged production of the play at Magdalen College in September 2010 used an articulated skeleton from the University of Oxford's medical school to great effect (footage is available at <[http://media.podcasts.ox.ac.uk/engfac/hoffman/hoffman\\_act1.mp4](http://media.podcasts.ox.ac.uk/engfac/hoffman/hoffman_act1.mp4)> [accessed 20 Aug 2013]). It is tempting to suppose that the lack of real anatomical specimens in contemporary performances of the play could have been circumvented by 'skeleton suits', perhaps not unlike those required in the *Masque of Deaths* (1553). Such suits would facilitate interactions with the skeletons, such as the removal of the crown and Hoffman's implied gesture to walk to paradise 'hand in hand' (I. 1. 21) with his father. However, given the nature of the skeletons as stationary objects rather than dancing masquers in this case, it is more likely that they were represented by means of painted cloth which could be 'discovered' hanging onstage. Duke Pesta provides a rich reading of the play's skeletons in relation to early modern anatomy, which he links specifically with the growing popularity of anatomical treatises, where the cadavers and skeletons are, on numerous occasions, depicted on the gibbet (see Duke Pesta, 'Articulating Skeletons: *Hamlet*, *Hoffman*, and the Anatomical Graveyard', *Cahiers Élisabéthains*, 69 (2006), 21-39 (pp. 27-31)).

<sup>2</sup> Henry Chettle, *The Tragedy of Hoffman*, in *Five Revenge Tragedies*, ed. by Emma Smith (London: Penguin, 2012), pp. 243-324 (I. 1. 6; 8-10). Although scholarly criticism on *Hoffman* is rather sparse, there are several available pieces of scholarship on the play that effectively align it with practices of state punishment and other Elizabethan and Jacobean revenge drama: Richard Brucher, 'Piracy and Parody in Chettle's *Hoffman*', *Ben Jonson Journal*, 6 (1999), 209-22, and Duke Pesta, 'Articulating Skeletons', pp. 21-39. See also Michael Neill, *Issues of Death: Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 102-40.

revenge, since his father was apparently legitimately executed by the justices of Lunenburg by means of burning crown, his body then flayed and gibbeted to act as a deterrent to others.<sup>3</sup> Hoffman, however, contests the legitimacy of the state's punishment by providing an alternative interpretation of his maritime occupation:

After my father had in thirty fights  
Filled all their treasures with foemen's spoils,  
And paid poor soldiers from his treasury;  
What though for this his merits he was named  
A proscrip outlaw for a little debt,  
Compelled to fly into the Belgic sound  
And live a pirate? (I. 1. 151-7)

The ambiguity between Old Hoffman as on the one hand an instrument of the state that upholds maritime law and on the other as the perpetrator of the very crimes his office is supposed to punish highlights the fluid conceptions of maritime occupations and national loyalties. There is little to distinguish Old Hoffman's actions in acquiring the 'foemen's spoils' in his role as Vice Admiral and the subsequent depredations that follow his flight into the Belgic sound. The metamorphosis from Admiral into pirate is affected by the state's perception of Old Hoffman's actions, which essentially remain the same but channel the 'foemen's spoils' into his own private treasury as well as that of the state. The challenge that this degree of economic autonomy presents is put down and Hoffman punished by a burning crown that echoes continental practices of punishment for treason rather than piracy.<sup>4</sup> The personal 'treasury' from which to pay his poor soldiers presents a potential challenge to the state treasury, and with abject swiftness Old Hoffman's fortunes change as he is cast out of his legitimate state-sanctioned occupation at sea and forced into an illegitimate one that ultimately leads him to a painful and humiliating demise.

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<sup>3</sup> On the use of the burning crown as a form of punishment see Paul Brown, 'A Source for the 'Burning Crown' in Henry Chettle's *The Tragedy of Hoffman*', *N&Q*, 51:3 (2004), 297-99.

<sup>4</sup> Brown, 'A Source for the 'Burning Crown', pp. 297-98. Following Harold Jenkins and Richard Brucher, Brown acknowledges that the historical figure of Hans Hofeman was beheaded for violence and robbery in January 1580 in Gdansk, where Chettle's play is set. Brown's reading of the burning crown as an addition to the possible historical influence for the pirate in *Hoffman* points towards the execution of György Dózsa following the Hungarian Peasant Uprising of 1514 as the likely influence for the gruesome choice of punishment.

The hanging remains of the erstwhile vice-admiral-cum-pirate would no doubt have called to mind similar piratical remains hanging in the mudflats of the Thames at Wapping and Southwark. The economic circumstances that forced Old Hoffman into carrying out piratical acts anticipate a similar problem for English mariners, who, following the peace with Spain in 1604, likewise found that their former services to the state were no longer required and were made punishable by execution.<sup>5</sup> Under Elizabeth's reign depredations against the Spanish were encouraged, as candidates received letters of marque from the Crown and were commended for despoiling the shipping of the enemy state.<sup>6</sup> Similarly to the importance of spoils begotten by Hoffman for the success of Pomeranian naval endeavour, prominent English figures such as Walter Raleigh, Francis Drake, Martin Frobisher, and William Cavendish received favour for the services that their maritime exploits—the spoiling of foreign

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<sup>5</sup> James's 'Proclamation concerning Warlike ships at Sea' [Greenwich, 23 June 1603] acknowledges his predecessor's endorsement of privateering:

We are not ignorant, that our late deare sister the late Queen of England, had of long time warres with the King of Spaine, and during that time gave Licenses and Commissions, to divers of her, and our now Subjects to set out and furnish to Sea, at their charge, divers ships warlikly appointed, for the surprising and taking of the said Kings subjects and goods, and for enjoying of the same, being taken and brought home as lawful prize.

For an overview of the range of circumstances for piracy in the Mediterranean see Francesca Pellegrino, 'Historical and Legal Aspects of Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Shipping', *Journal of Maritime Law and Commerce*, 43:3 (2012), 429-46, Kenneth R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering during the Spanish War, 1585-1603* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1964), and Philip Gosse, *The History of Piracy* (London: Longmans Green, 1932; repr. Mineola, NY: Newton Abbot, 2007). Claire Jowitt's examination of Sir Francis Drake's career under endorsement from the Crown offers a useful account of how closely national maritime endeavour and privateering were tied up in Elizabethan maritime policy; 'The Uses of 'Piracy': Discourses of Mercantilism and Empire in Hakluyt's *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake*', in *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Chloë Houston (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 115-35. Francis Drake, Martin Frobisher, William Cavendish, and Walter Raleigh received encouragement for privateering. See, for example, Harry Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake: The Queen's Pirate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> For example, the ex-pirate Captain John Smith lamented that James I had:

[N]o imployment for those men of warre, so that those that were rich rested with what they had; those that were poor and had nothing but from hand to mouth, turnd Pirates; some because they became sleighted of those for whom they had got much wealth; some, for that they could not get their due; some, that had lived bravely would not abase themselves to poverty; some vainly, only to get a name; others for revenge, covetouness, or as ill; and as they found themselves more and more oppressed, their passions increasing their discontent, made them turne Pirats. (*The Complete Works of Capt. Smith*, ed. by Philip L. Barbour, 3 vols (London, 1986), quoted in Claire Jowitt, 'Piracy and politics in Heywood and Rowley's *Fortune by Land and Sea*', *Renaissance Studies*, 16:2 (2002), 217-34 (p. 220)).

Evelyn Berkman's study of the High Court of Admiralty records affords a view of how different types of piracy were tried and punished, *Victims of Piracy: The Admiralty Court 1575-1678* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979).

shipping among them—did for England. However, James's about-turn in maritime policy and his desire to rule as *rex pacificus* put an end to the kinds of opportunities that British mariners could find at sea.<sup>7</sup> The new monarch faced considerable difficulties in putting an end to what were now essentially illegitimate depredations against foreign shipping, since the continued piratical acts no longer reflected national policy and therefore undermined his authority as a maritime monarch.<sup>8</sup>

Maritime occupations were fraught with opportunity as well as danger, since the geographical liminality of mariners, fishermen, merchants, and seafarers in an arena whose legal control was highly debated perpetuated competing claims for navigation and trade. Under these circumstances, 'lawful' maritime personnel were subject not only to outright attack at the hands of pirates but also to shifts in their own allegiances brought on by the lucrative realities of maritime contest. As this chapter will make clear, seafaring and maritime endeavour bring the seafarer into danger by exposing them to potential destabilising influences on gender, as well as uncertain political and religious allegiances, while offering an exciting world of opportunity that is often difficult to resist. I will explicate the inherent complexities of these issues through a discussion of Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West, Part I* (1596-1603), Heywood and Rowley's *Fortune by Land and Sea* (1607-1609), and Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* (1609-1612). The commercial interests of the pirate figures and seafarers in these plays represent an important facet of the marine, which surrounds the kind of acceptable maritime trafficking discussed in the previous chapter in relation to civic drama. London as a city was deeply invested into maritime

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<sup>7</sup> In contrast to the active maritime policy of his predecessor, who largely followed a policy of *mare liberum* in regards to free fishing but actively sought the promotion of privateering for economic and political gains, James's maritime policy following the peace with Spain was more passive in terms of open contests, focusing rather on setting out his sovereign claims to *mare clausum* through political and legal negotiations. For example, on James's maritime policy in relation to territorial waters see Thomas Percy Fenn Jr, 'Origins of the Theory of Territorial Water', *The American Journal of International Law*, 20:3 (1926), 465-82, Philip C. Jessup, *The Law of Territorial Waters and Maritime Jurisdiction* (New York: Jennings, 1927), and H. S. K. Kent 'The Historical Origins of the Three-Mile Limit', *American Journal of International Law*, 48 (1954), 62-74.

<sup>8</sup> For example, see Calvin F. Senning's account of the *Pearl*'s politically problematic voyage to the East Indies in 1611-15, 'Piracy, Politics, and Plunder Under James I: The Voyage of the *Pearl* and Its Aftermath', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 46:3 (1983), 187-222. See also the editor's Introduction to *Pirates?: The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650*, ed. by Claire Jowitt (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 3-19.

enterprise in this period and these plays tap into the tensions and complexities that maritime traffic and adventure bring. In so doing, they offer a window into the difficulties of navigating maritime spaces in the face of the historical pirate figures that they depict and the fraught divide between simply seizing opportunity and becoming irrevocably bound to a life of depredation. The identities of the maritime figures that this chapter explores are marked by the fluidity of the spaces in which their maritime adventuring takes place. The sea marks them with a fluidity of national and individual identity that brings with it a certain conceptual flexibility of action and narrative that was often associated with seafarers.<sup>9</sup>

James's efforts to eradicate domestic pirates can be seen as part of a much larger effort of European powers to define and regulate the continued attacks that they were sustaining at one another's hands. Even if specific pirates claimed a severing of ties to their nations, their actions at sea nevertheless provided precedent for retribution which only perpetuated further attacks on shipping between competing countries like France, Spain, England, Netherlands, and others who had stakes in the Mediterranean and the Indian Oceans.<sup>10</sup> As outlined in the Introduction, the maritime situation at the beginning of the seventeenth century was characterised by increasingly higher commercial stakes at sea as joint stock companies ferried riches across the seas from the Old World and the New. The merchants and mariners involved in multilateral trade were subject to capture at the hands of Ottoman and Barbary pirates, but they were also themselves subject to the allure of piratical acts because of the opportunities made

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<sup>9</sup> This type of flexibility characterised the narrative uses of pirate figures (and indeed other maritime personnel of questionable legitimacy) in Hellenistic prose romances and—following their rediscovery in the sixteenth century—in Elizabethan and Jacobean prose romance narratives too. Claire Jowitt's recent monograph, *The Culture of Piracy, 1580-1630* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), has incisively and sensitively explored the function of pirates in these sources, placing their important narrative functions into a broader historical and cultural understanding of the pirate figure (see especially Chapter Three: "Et in Arcadia Ego": Piracy and Politics in Prose Romance, 1580-1603", pp. 77-109, and Chapter Five: "Jacobean Connections: Piracy and Politics in Seventeenth Century Drama and Romance", pp. 137-69).

<sup>10</sup> The European dimensions of early modern English piracy have been the topic of several important studies: John C. Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag: Pirates of the Tudor Age* (Stroud: The History Press, 2009); Joel H. Baer, *British Piracy in the Golden Age: History and Interpretation*, 4 vols (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007); David Cordingly, *Under the Black Flag: The Romance and the Reality of Life Among the Pirates* (London: Random House, 1995); Janice E. Thompson, *Mercenaries, Pirates and Sovereigns: State-Building and Extraterritorial Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Clive M. Senior, *A Nation of Pirates: English Piracy in its Heyday* (New York: Crane Russack, 1976).

possible by the marginal locations that formed the backdrop for their commerce. Piracy was, then, at once threatening and lucrative, repulsive and anti-national yet economically alluring. Due to the absence of a universally acknowledged set of maritime laws pertaining to the taking of prize and the waging of private assaults on shipping that took place between European nations competing for power in the East and West Indies, the label of ‘piracy’ could potentially have been applied to a whole host of occurrences and aggressive encounters.<sup>11</sup>

In fact, the problematic distinction between legitimate maritime contest arising from serving the state and illegitimate enterprise for private gain was largely the impetus for the wider legal debates pertaining to maritime rights and sovereignty. For example, the publication of Grotius’s *Mare Liberum*, which played a central role in these debates, arose from a chapter in a slightly earlier treatise, *De Iure Praedae*, which he wrote in 1604-1605. *De Iure* was written specifically as a response to the controversy instigated by the Dutch seizure of the Portuguese carrack *Santa Catarina* in 1603 in the Singapore Straits, which was adjudicated as lawful prize by the Amsterdam Admiralty Board in the following year.<sup>12</sup> Grotius claimed that this seizure was a justified act of private war, which sought to obtain private justice for a breach of the law of nations made by the Portuguese the previous year, since no public justice could be sought.<sup>13</sup> Grotius thus argues that natural law provides a precedent for conducting a private war in cases where the law of nations has been breached.

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<sup>11</sup> On the problematic designation of the modern term ‘pirate’ see, for example, Christopher Harding, ‘“Hostis Humani Generis”: The Pirate as Outlaw in the Early Modern Law of the Sea’, in *Pirates?: The Politics of Plunder*, pp. 20-38, and C. L’Estrange Ewen, ‘Organised Piracy Round England in the Sixteenth Century’, *The Mariner’s Mirror*, 35 (1949), 29-42.

<sup>12</sup> See Hans W. Blom, ed., *Property, Piracy, and Punishment: Hugo Grotius on War and Booty in De Iure Praedae: Concepts and Contexts* (Leiden: Brill, 2009) p. 35; for Grotius’s account see Chapter Ten in *De Iure Praedae*, trans. Glawdys L. Williams (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), pp. 130-67.

<sup>13</sup> Michael Kempe discusses the circumstances of the incident that led to Grotius’s composition of *De Iure*, in which he claimed that the Portuguese transgressed the principles of natural law in 1602 when they forcibly landed Admiral Jacob Corneliszoon van Neck’s crew on the coast of Canton, where their crew was executed. According to Grotius, this was grounds enough for the Dutch to exert private justice against the Spanish, since no formal justice could be sought. ‘Beyond the Law: The Image of Piracy in the Legal Writing of Hugo Grotius’, in *Property, Piracy, and Punishment*, pp. 379-95 (p. 379).

As well as defending the Dutch legal position as far as the taking of the *Santa Catarina* was concerned, *De Iure Praedae* also explores the more general problem of distinguishing between pirate and privateer, which, according to Michael Kempe ‘come to symbolise in an exemplary way the differentiation between the ‘right’ and ‘non right’ as the unity of law in the legal philosophy of Grotius’.<sup>14</sup> The jurist draws a distinction between public and private wars, and therefore between public and private acts of robbery, in order to present a more coherent distinction between illegal piracy and legal privateering. The former, he argues, ‘despoils others through privately exercised force and without urgent reasons to do it,’ whereas the latter acts more or less under the auspices of the state and exercise *iusta causa*.<sup>15</sup> The rationale behind Grotius’s categorisation of piracy grows largely out of the question of who has the legal right to wage war and why, which consequently reflects on the legal status of the property they seize, although the distinctions he draws are neither clear-cut nor entirely objective, since they arise out of a nationalistic Dutch interest in safeguarding their position in the East Indies against the Iberian powers.

*De Iure Praedae* is by no means a comprehensive or universally applicable model for understanding and labelling piracy, but it certainly brings to light the difficulty with which the early modern legal imagination was seeking to quantify and categorise maritime depredations. These difficulties lie largely in the fact that the early modern ocean was inherently a legally problematic space and no systematic approach to curbing and tackling piracy on an international level was possible. Of course, pirates were captured and punished on every continent, but, as Kempe points out, ‘from the right to punish pirates does not come the dominion of the seas—jurisdiction and sovereignty are two different things’.<sup>16</sup>

While pretensions to maritime sovereignty were largely negotiated through treatises and debates that achieved little by way of head-on engagement with maritime threats, the more pragmatic battle with domestic piracy was found in the jurisdictional

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Cited in Ibid., p. 380.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 387.



capacity of the High Court of Admiralty, which is no less complicated. Evelyn Berkman's extensive study of the Admiralty Court between 1575 and 1678 offers a useful synthesis of different piracy charges and facilitates a better understanding of how such cases were handled.<sup>17</sup> Even a brief perusal of the cases discussed by Berkman reveals a diverse range of ways in which pirates were caught, prosecuted, sentenced, and punished. While it is impossible to provide a complete analysis of every case tried due to the parts of the trial being logged in different court books, many of which are no longer extant (making it difficult to find both the hearing and the sentencing for a particular case), the study does offer an indication of the flexibility with which some defendants were tried.<sup>18</sup>

For example, even in the wake of James's staunch reprehension of piracy in all its forms, one Charles Kettely was, in 1606, described at length as being a pirate, yet on the reverse of his examination appears a note pointing to his 'sufficient services' to the state, followed by an indication of his pardon.<sup>19</sup> Others accused of piracy and seemingly facing certain execution, like one Robert Jones, were also released, while those such as John Jennings and William Curtis were released on bail and possibly set free.<sup>20</sup> It appears then, that the Admiralty's relationship with piracy was not quite as straightforward as the Crown's proclamations against piracy would lead us to imagine and there was still scope for 'piratical' acts to be recognised as being serviceable to the state. It is with the opportunities for these kinds of semi-legitimate services in mind that the discussion now turns to considering the cross-currents of seafaring and piracy on the Jacobean commercial stage. The plays discussed here focus on seafaring characters that are forced to grapple with the dangers of survival at sea as well as on self-proclaimed pirate figures. The former is found embodied in the heroes of Heywood's plays, who exemplify bravery, intuition, and opportunism, sporting *iusta causa* that largely overrides the sometimes questionable engagements they have at sea. The overtly piratical figures in *Fortune* and *A Christian Turned Turk* and the foreign

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<sup>17</sup> Evelyn Berkman, *Victims of Piracy: The Admiralty Court 1575-1678* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979).

<sup>18</sup> Berkman, *Victims of Piracy*, pp. 3-14.

<sup>19</sup> HCA 1-5-94, cited in *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>20</sup> HCA 1-5-101; HCA 1-5-98, cited in *Ibid.*, p. 42.

pirates in Heywood's plays depict piracy as being entirely without *iusta causa* and therefore dangerously at odds with all that is considered to be good for English nationhood and maritime welfare. Before focusing on these figures, the following section will consider the implications of female seafaring and engagements in pseudo-piratical acts in Heywood's *Fair Maid*.

## II. Successful seafaring in *The Fair Maid of the West, Part I*

The iconographical repertoire of marine myths and personages present in the Elizabethan entertainments and the Lord Mayors' Shows is quite generously marked by the feminine: reference to Thetis, Tethys, female personifications of Thamesis, sea-nymphs and mermaids abounds. Percy's *Aphrodysial* likewise envisions maritime spaces under the auspices of Cytheraea as the guest of honour at the sea-feast, where Thetis and her sea-nymphs receive much attention and pursue a variety of maritime pastimes, and in doing so anticipates their recurring appearance in the court masques which will be discussed in the final chapter. Water is commonly identified as a feminine element through its link to the moon in its guises as Cynthia and Diana, as well as the less flattering associations between women and liquids—they are 'leaky vessels' and 'unstanched wenches'.<sup>21</sup> Despite these associations between women and water, and the prevalence of female personages in the drama discussed thus far, the kinds of practical maritime endeavours and occupations celebrated in the Lord Mayors' Shows could hardly boast a practical female involvement rather than only metaphorical or mythological links.

Despite the prevalent identification of the sea with the feminine in metaphorical and mythological terms, there was a lack of legitimate maritime professions for women, meaning that the sea was, in practical terms, largely an arena

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<sup>21</sup> The storm-tossed ship in *The Tempest* is described as being 'as leaky as an unstanched wench' (I. 1. 145). On women as 'leaky vessels' see Russell West-Pavlov, *Bodies and Their Spaces: System, Crisis and Transformation in Early Modern Theatre* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006), pp. 145-92, and Will Fisher, *Materialising Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 59-82.

for masculine labour and adventuring. A ‘Proclamation touching Passengers’ issued in 1606 reveals the anxieties about regulating and restricting seafaring for the simple purpose of travel.<sup>22</sup> It states that ‘no woman nor any child under the age of one and twenty years (Except sailors or ship-boys or apprentice, or factor of some merchant in trade of merchandise) should be permitted to pass over the seas’ without obtaining a license. The proclamation concedes that ‘from time to time’ women and underage persons have ‘necessary causes and occasions to goe and passe over the Seas’ and that for their convenience commission has been granted to ‘persons of trust in certaine Ports of our Realme, lying most apt and convenient for passage’.<sup>23</sup> Thus, licences could be obtained at ports in London, the Cinque Ports, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull, and Waymouth, which granted permission to all candidates that ‘have just cause to passe out of our Realme, upon due examination had of them, to passe without perill to themselves, or the Officers of our said Ports’. While licenses could be obtained, the emphasis on the just cause and the examination of motives for travel expressed in the proclamation restrict the movement of women and underage men out to sea.

The proclamation makes clear that the regulations it sets forth were in fact set in place in the first year of James I’s reign, implying that sufficient numbers of women and underage men were in fact leaving London illegally to make the proclamation necessary. While the practical concerns with piracy—both male and female—were realistically the cause, there were other more superstitious reasons for keeping female presence on board ships to a minimum, such as those alluded to in Shakespeare’s *Pericles*, where feminine domesticity stands at odds with seafaring and results in Thaisa’s untimely ‘death’.<sup>24</sup> The sailors believe that the presence of her corpse further compromises their own safety and encourage Pericles to expel her from the ship. The

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<sup>22</sup> There are, of course, some exceptions relation to female sea-borne crime, which are discussed in John C. Appleby’s *Women and English Piracy, 1540-1720: Partners and Victims of Crime* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), Ulrike Klausmann, Marion Meinzerin and Gabriel Kuhn, *Women Pirates and the Politics of the Jolly Roger* (New York: Black Rose Books, 1997), and Jo Stanley, ed., *Bold in Her Breeches: Women Pirates Across the Ages* (London: Pandora, 1995).

<sup>23</sup> James I, King of England, ‘A Proclamation touching Passengers. [Farnham Castle 23 August 1606]’, in *Royal Stuart Proclamations*, ed. by James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), I: *Royal Proclamations of King James I, 1603-1625*, pp. 147-48 (p. 147).

<sup>24</sup> See William Shakespeare, *Pericles*, ed. by Suzanne Gossett (London: Arden, 2004), III. 1. 47-54.

dangers of female seafaring are expressed elsewhere in Shakespeare's plays, when Perdita is forced to 'disliken | The truth of your own seeming' when she prepares to voyage to the imaginary coasts of Bohemia.<sup>25</sup> Agreeing to don her lover's cap and muffle her face, Perdita acknowledges the need to make herself look male in order to successfully—and safely—traverse the sea: 'I see the play so lies | That I must bear a part' (IV. 4. 650-1). Seafaring is thus figured as a necessary, albeit rather passive, mode of theatrical performance, and while the sea voyage in *The Winter's Tale* is only a minor event in the larger narrative, Thomas Heywood's play, *Fair Maid of the West, Part I*, is constructed precisely around the premise of a brave female seafarer who dons a very active male disguise and takes to the high seas. In light of the condemnation of boys and women embarking on sea voyages, Bess's adoption of a male disguise becomes doubly transgressive in its metatheatrical implications, given that the body of the boy actor—regardless of whether it is costumed in male or female attire—would potentially be just as out of place on a sea voyage as Bess.<sup>26</sup>

*Fair Maid* follows the fortunes of Bess Bridges, a tavern maid who adopts the disguise of a male sea-captain and takes to the high seas in order to reach the island of Fayal in the Azores and bring home the body of her lover, Spenser, whom she believes to be dead and buried there.<sup>27</sup> Although Bess claims that she is 'bound upon a voyage' she takes on a very active role in steering the course of that voyage, which, because of her new-found maritime bravado, takes on the typical diversions associated with piracy.<sup>28</sup> Her reaction to the maritime circumstances in the Azores is certainly one

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<sup>25</sup> William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. by Stephen Orgel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996; reiss. 2008), IV. 4. 647-48.

<sup>26</sup> The implications that boy actors have on the performance of female characters in early modern drama has been explored in several studies, among them Phyllis Rackin, 'Androgyny, Mimesis, and the Marriage of the Boy Heroine on the English Renaissance Stage', *PMLA*, 102:1 (1987), 29-42; Stanley Wells, 'Boys Should be Girls: Shakespeare's Female Roles and the Boy Players', *New Theatre Quarterly*, 25:2 (2009), 172-77; and James L. Hill, 'What, Are They Children?': Shakespeare's Tragic Women and the Boy Actors', *SEL*, 26:2 (1986), 235-58.

<sup>27</sup> Warren E. Roberts examines several key recurring themes in popular ballad literature in relation to the play, particularly cross-dressing and piracy, in 'Ballad Themes in the *Fair Maid of the West*', *American Journal of Folklore*, 68:267 (1955), 19-23.

<sup>28</sup> Thomas Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West, Part I*, ed. by Robert K. Turner, Jr. (London: Arnold, 1968), IV. 2. 66. The narrative 'diversions' created by piracy are a common feature of Hellenistic romance (as noted in n. 9, above), appearing at various intervals in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe*, and Achilles Tatius's *Leucippe and Clitophon*. The uses of the pirate trope and

befitting a sea-captain. Following a skirmish with the Spanish, Bess relishes her crew's victory:

... Oh, this last sea fight  
Was gallantly perform'd! It did me good  
To see the Spanish carvel veil her top  
Unto my maiden flag.

(IV. 4. 1-4)

The overt theatricality of her disguise colours her response to the sea-fight, which she describes as 'perform'd'. As well as drawing a metatheatrical allusion to dramatic spectacle in terms of which the sea-fight is figured, the submission of the Spanish carvel unto her 'maiden' flag reiterates the female agency behind the defeat. As well as connoting her disguised feminine body, 'maiden' alludes to virginity, thereby implying that Bess's first victory is a kind of active awakening in which she dominates the Spanish ship. The male disguise enables Bess to conceal her sex and indulge not only in maritime voyaging but in combat, where she displaces her own femininity onto the apparently helpless Spanish ship. As soon as Bess's body becomes a 'marine' body, she begins exploring and adapting the different codes of conduct and practices that the new body affords.<sup>29</sup> Rather than simply being incidentally drawn into sea fights with the Spanish, Bess goes on to actively test her ship's strength by plundering the enemy maritime stronghold in the Azores, inviting the crew to 'make for shore. | Yours be the spoil, he mine; I crave no more' (IV. 4. 15-16). While Bess never loses sight of the reason for her voyage—the reclamation and repatriation of her lover's body—her approach to and understanding of seafaring is marked by the association of plunder (at

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flirtations with questionable and illicit maritime practices by the protagonist figures were likewise present in Elizabethan romance, such as Philip Sidney's *Old Arcadia* and, to a far greater degree, in the *Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, or The New Arcadia* (see Jowitt, *Culture of Piracy*, pp. 11-12; pp. 79-109; pp. 137-69). The use of pirates as a plot device has been discussed in relation to Shakespeare's play by Richard S. Ide, who proposes that they fulfil important narrative functions in plays such as *Hamlet*, *Pericles*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Twelfth Night*, and *Measure for Measure*; 'Shakespeare and the Pirates', *Iowa State Journal of Research*, 58:3 (1984), 311-18. More recently, Mary Floyd-Wilson has revisited what had commonly been considered a problematic piratical intrusion in, 'Hamlet the Pirate's Son', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, Special Issue 19 (2009), 12.1-11, <<http://purl.oclc.org/emls/si-19/floyhaml.html>> [accessed 2 Feb 2014]. See also Claire Jowitt, 'Shakespeare's Pirates: The Politics of Seaborne Crime', *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 148 (2012), 73-90.

<sup>29</sup> Claire Jowitt discusses the implications of Bess's sexuality in 'East Versus West: Seraglio Queens, Politics, and Sexuality in Thomas Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West, Parts I and II*', in *Roxolana in European Literature, History and Culture*, ed. by Galina I. Yarmolenko (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 57-70.

least in its capacity as a tool against the Spanish). This places her in a liminal position, since without letters of marque from Elizabeth, during whose reign the play takes place, there is nothing to safeguard Bess from charges of piracy.<sup>30</sup>

In her capacity as a good English citizen (as her progression through a very clear English geography at the beginning of the play makes clear) Bess demonstrates her understanding of a national duty for inflicting as much of a blow upon the Spanish as possible. Rather than attacking them outright as she suggests, Goodlack, who stands in as her captain in practical terms, reveals that he has sent out several of their crew to ‘See what straggling Spaniards they can take. | And see where Forest is return’d with prisoners’, whom they ‘surpris’d | As they were ready to take boat for fishing’ (IV. 4. 25-6; 27-8). Upon being asked whether the town is well fortified, the Spaniards tell them that:

Since English Raleigh won and spoil’d it first,  
The town’s re-edified and fort new built,  
And four field pieces in the blockhouse lie  
To keep the harbor’s mouth. (IV. 4. 31-4)

The reference to Raleigh’s exploits would still have been topical at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and here it serves to draw attention to the heritage of brave English adventurers whose plunder of Spanish strongholds earned them not only fame but also rewards from the Crown.<sup>31</sup> Bess comes to stand as an embodiment of the benevolent and kindly pillager; although she is enraged and saddened upon learning that Spenser’s body was ruthlessly disinterred by the Spanish and buried in a field from whence it was again removed and burnt, she proves merciful rather than vengeful to the fishermen:

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<sup>30</sup> On the contested date of the play see pp. xi-xiv of Robert K. Turner Jr.’s Introduction to his edition of the play.

<sup>31</sup> Nostalgic reference to the maritime heroes of the Elizabethan age during the period of *rex pacificus* policies of her successor are comprehensively explored in relation to another key maritime adventurer, Sir Francis Drake, by Mark Netzloff in ‘Sir Francis Drake’s Ghost: Piracy, Cultural Memory, and Spectral Nationhood’ in *Pirates?: The Politics of Plunder*, pp. 137-50.

'Las, these poor slaves! Besides their pardon'd lives,  
One give them money. – And, Spaniards, where you come,  
Pray for Bess Bridges, and speak well o'th' English. (IV. 4. 57-9)

Bess repeatedly makes mention of her desire to be revenged, but negates this each time when an opportunity for revenge arises. When Goodlack is wounded in their encounter with a Spanish ship on their approach to the Islands, she cries:

For every drop of blood that thou hast shed,  
I'll have a Spaniard's life. – Advance your targets,  
And now cry all, "Board, board! Amain for England!" (IV. 4. 103-5)

This attack implicitly reveals the positive relationship between pseudo-piratical acts and national interests. 'Amain for England!' invites the crew to engage in combat not only as a response to defending their own personal wellbeing aboard their ship but also as an active means of upholding national stakes in the skirmish. The distinctions here between individualism and national endeavour become seemingly conflated, since the crew can identify themselves as mobile representatives of their nation and defend themselves precisely by citing an active duty to England as they seek to triumph over the Spanish threats at sea. The potential illegality of engaging in combat in what may be seen as legally dubious circumstances is thus negated because it is of benefit to England. Bess clearly carries no letters of marque, yet because the Spanish ship which her crew attacks holds in tow a captive English barque, there would be, according to Grotius, a precedent for waging 'public war' in order to compensate for the loss of the barque in the first instance.<sup>32</sup>

When her crew eventually boards the ship and proves successful in the fight, Bess's desire for vengeance is replaced by a heroic benevolence, whereby she changes the conditions of her hypothetical revenge, and proves surprisingly merciful to the Spanish Captain:

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<sup>32</sup> See, for example, Kempe, 'Beyond the Law: The Image of Piracy in the Legal Writing of Hugo Grotius', in *Property, Piracy, and Punishment*, pp. 379-95.

BESS                    Had my captain died,  
                          Not one proud Spaniard had escap'd with life.  
                          Your ship is forfeit to us and your goods,  
                          So live. – Give him his long boat; him and his  
                          Set ashore. – And pray for English Bess.

SPANISH CAPTAIN

I know not whom you mean, but be't your queen,  
 Famous Elizabeth, I shall report  
 She and her subjects both are merciful.

(IV. 4 .116-23)

The Spanish Captain's likening of Bess Bridges to Queen Elizabeth herself exposes the relationship between agents of the state and the state they represent in the wider sense.<sup>33</sup> Through this connection, which is drawn several times throughout the play, Heywood constructs an 'excuse' for English piracy.<sup>34</sup> Bess's engagements with the Spanish, while filled with a nationalistic and at times seemingly bloodthirsty gusto, are ultimately a reaction to, rather than an instigation of, any acts of piracy for which she and her crew may be held accountable.

Bess's kindly treatment of her captives is far removed from the cruelty demonstrated by the Spanish in their capture of Spenser's ship earlier in the play. The Spanish captain attacks the English ship in vengeance, citing as precedent the damage inflicted onto the Spanish stronghold in the Azores by the likes of Raleigh:

For Fayal's loss, and spoil by th'English done,  
 We are in part reveng'd. There's not a vessel  
 That bears upon her top St. George's Cross,  
 But for that act shall suffer.

(IV. 1. 1-4)

Spenser rebukes the 'degenerate Spaniard', claiming that he has 'no noblenesse [...] To threaten men unarm'd and miserable' (IV. 4. 14-5), who, in keeping with Spenser's accusations, threatens him with torture:

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<sup>33</sup> Jowitt elucidates the implications of this allusion to Queen Elizabeth in 'Elizabeth Among the Pirates: Gender and the Politics of Piracy in Thomas Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West*, Part I', in *The Foreign Relations of Elizabeth I*, ed. by Charles Beem (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 125-44.

<sup>34</sup> Jesús López-Peláez Casellas's article offers an exploration of how English 'identity' is constructed in the play, 'Building An English (Early Modern) Identity: 'Race' and Capitalism in Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West*, or, *A Girl Worth Gold*', *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses*, 54 (2007) 55-68.



Wert thou not so [a gentleman], we have strappados, bolts,  
And engines to the mainmast fastened,  
Can make you gentle. (IV. 4. 22-24)

The threat of bodily harm here reiterates the dangers of sea-travel but, more importantly, the way in which the Spaniard incorporates the physical construction of the ship into the method of torture illustrates how maritime instruments (like the ship ‘furniture’ noted in James’s proclamation in the Introduction) have the potential to be transformed into enemies of the seafarer’s body. Heywood’s depiction of the Spaniards being so ready to employ torture resonates with much of the anti-Catholic polemic resulting from the horrors of the Inquisition on the continent, but it also serves to draw a stark contrast between the different uses that piracy has and the kinds of national and sovereign ideals that it reflects. For instance, the image of Bess in captain’s attire, valiantly refusing as she does to act the part of woman, is one reminiscent of Elizabeth leading the forces against the Armada, when she cries:

... I will face the fight,  
And where the bullets ring loud’st ’bout mine ears,  
There shall you find me cheering up my men. (IV. 4. 91-93)

In *Fair Maid* then, the contesting nations of England and Spain are represented by citizens who have taken to the seas and actively seek one another’s capture. In so far as she is useful for her nation’s political and economic interests, Bess seeks out only the enemies of the English state. She has:

Much prize ta’en.  
Of the French and Dutch she spares, only makes spoil  
Of the rich Spaniard and the barbarous Turk,  
And now her fame grows great in all these seas. (IV. 5. 6-9)

Thus, while engaging in quasi-piratical maritime contest with the Spanish, Bess remains within rather than outside of the legal code because she does not seek to do damage indiscriminately to all within her path. In focusing her maritime plundering specifically on her nation’s enemy, Bess establishes herself as a successful seafarer who performs an active national duty on her mission to repatriate her lover, with

whom she is ultimately reconciled. While Bess navigates both maritime space and gender at sea, overcoming obstacles presented by the limited capacity for travel presented her female body, as well as the unruliness of her crew and Spanish threats, her maritime identity becomes a site at which a number of forms of illegitimacies of action come together.

For Bess, successful seafaring necessitates a fluid performance of gender and legality. While her outward disguise performs her body as male to certain members of her crew and the foreign mariners she engages with, particular members of the crew have an awareness of her female identity (and therefore an awareness of—and an appreciation for—her performance of the male sea-captain disguise). The metatheatrical implications of her womanly kindness and her means of describing her victory over the Spanish with her ‘maiden’ flag invite reflection on the cultural and moral status of her cross-dressing and the problematic legal freedoms that it affords her as a pirate-cum-English-hero. Bess demonstrates, however, that these questionable practices that leave identity and legality in flux should be left at sea; following her reconciliation with Spencer at the close of the play, Bess discards her new-found liberties and returns to her former mode of being with clearly defined boundaries of gender and social role as Spencer’s lover. Yet even this return signals maritime success, since Bess does not allow the uprooted nature of her experiences on the seas to disturb or displace her ability to reintegrate herself back into land-based society at Mullisheg’s court at Mamorah where she and Spencer land for provisions on their homeward journey (which is delayed following the intrigues and machinations that their arrival sparks, which the second part of *Fair Maid*, explores).<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> On the thematic differences between the two parts of *Fair Maid* see Robert K. Turner, Jr.’s Introduction to his edition of the play, pp. xvii-iii.

### III. Maritime opportunism

Representations of maritime voyaging on the commercial stage often invoke or allude to the mercantile and commercial opportunities and threats that seafaring brings. Chapter Two has commented on the idealized and aestheticized mercantile tropes and devices employed in the Lord Mayors' Shows, where the communality and inherent nobleness of maritime occupations is celebrated. Conversely, this section will consider the depiction of a civically less ideal but theatrically sensational series of engagements with seafaring and questionable maritime practices, the realities of which sit somewhat uncomfortably alongside the visions of communal mercantile maritime occupations in civic drama.<sup>36</sup> The multiple mercantile and piratical practices that are found in Rowley and Heywood's *Fortune by Land and Sea* and Daborne's *The Christian Turned Turk* reveal that the practical distinctions between licit and illicit enterprise are far more fluid than the binary would suggest. In a similar way to *Fair Maid*, these plays usefully illustrate the kinds of dangers that seafaring is associated with, doing so through an invocation of historical pirate figures whose illicit bravado and endeavour are often figured precisely in terms of virtues often celebrated in civic drama, which in itself was designed to uphold national enterprise and law-abiding commercial practices, the questionable elements of which are ignored.

In *Fortune by Land and Sea*, the historical figures of the infamous English pirates Purser and Clinton are dramatized and resurrected onto the Jacobean stage.<sup>37</sup> The first part of the play deals with the inequalities and injustices suffered by the Forrest family and Philip Harding, who, by marrying Anne Forrest, has incurred the

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<sup>36</sup> Claire Jowitt suggests that in *Fortune by Land and Sea*, Purser and Clinton 'celebrate the merchant's intrepid qualities at sea', 'Piracy and politics in Heywood and Rowley's *Fortune by Land and Sea*', *Renaissance Studies*, 16:2 (2002), 217-34 (p. 255). The common concerns and language with which the mercantile and the piratical are figured in the play illustrate that the commercial stage offered opportunity to provide a wider, more inclusive view of maritime endeavour, which the form of civic drama (which was ethically, imaginatively, and physically invested into the legal structures of the City) by its very nature had to exclude or ignore.

<sup>37</sup> Their exploits were previously made popular in the pamphlet supposedly written by the pirates themselves, see Clinton Atkinson and Thomas Walton, *Clinton, Purser & Arnold, to Their Countreymen Wheresoever* (London, 1583). They once more made an appearance in print some decades after the play way composed, in *The Lives and Deaths of the Two Most Famous Pirats* (London, 1639).

wrath of his father and a withdrawal of his inheritance. An unyielding and oppressive sense of social hierarchy governs the fortunes of the Forrests, but the second half of the play sees the breaking of such hierarchies by way of adventuring on the high seas. Anne's brother, Forrest, flees England after committing unintentional manslaughter and falls in with pirates, earning himself promotion to the rank of captain following his bravery in combat and later seeking to aid in the capture of Purser and Clinton.

For both Forrest and the pirates, life as men of the sea is a means of breaking free from the confines of the domestic economic system.<sup>38</sup> The highly individualistic model of adventure and gain envisaged by the pirates stands in contrast to the emerging collective mercantile 'adventuring' in which profits are tied up in multiple exchanges and middlemen. The play introduces Purser and Clinton in the midst of their latest victory against the merchant who had helped convey Forrest out of England. Evidently, the pirates honour the principle of equality when it comes to sharing out their newly-acquired riches:

The spoyl of this rich ship we will divide  
In equal shares, and not the meanest of any,  
But by the custome of the sea may challenge  
According to his place, rights in the spoyl. (1581-84)<sup>39</sup>

The supposition that anyone is free to challenge for his share of the spoil is undercut by the ambiguity of the qualifying statement about accordance to 'place', which ambiguously signifies a pre-determined social hierarchy and alludes to political and national allegiances. Unlike the inequality that prevails over Anne, Philip, and Old Forrest in England, the lifestyle taken on by the pirates enables them to freely pursue their ambitions in such a way that every man has an equal stake in the benefits and potential for immediate profits. In this sense, their conception of piracy parallels rather than stands at odds with the acceptable models of maritime ventures that governed the joint-stock companies.

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<sup>38</sup> Jowitt elucidates the role played by piracy in the play in relation to emerging trends in Jacobean maritime policy in 'Piracy and politics in *Fortune by Land and Sea*', pp. 218-21.

<sup>39</sup> Thomas Heywood and William Rowley, *Fortune by Land and Sea*, ed. by Herman Doh (New York: Garland, 1980).

The pirates are volatile and make no distinction between the nationalities of those they pillage; unlike Bess, who seeks to do service to England through her maritime combat (and the resultant financial gains), Purser and Clinton attack anyone who comes in their path. When the merchant who has been safeguarding Forrest rebukes them for being so indiscriminate, Purser retorts ‘We left our consciences upon the land | When we began to rob upon the sea’ (1606-7), suggesting that maritime codes of conduct can be severed from land-based legal practices. Because they now live at sea, they exist outside nationhood:

Nay, since our country have proclaim’d us pyrats,  
And cut us off from any claim in *England*,  
We’ll be no longer now call’d English men. (1618-21)

The ‘claim’, or rights to hold property, that they have been denied in England not only echoes the concerns with primogeniture and loss of inheritance elsewhere in the play, it implies that without a right to property they are unfixed. In effect, their existence outside of the legal boundaries of England and their identification as *hostis humani generi*, evident in the state’s proclamation of their piracy, implies that Purser and Clinton’s attack on the merchant’s ship is an act of war with England. Their means of inviting their crew to take their share says as much, since they ‘Divide in peace what we *by war have won*’ (1661, my italics). The merchant claims to have had dealings with Clinton before his exclusion from England:

I know thee, and have us’d thy skill,  
Ere now in a good vessel of my own,  
Before thou tookest this desperate course of life. (1622-24)

The fact that Clinton chose to take leave of working for the likes of merchants seems to suggest that such a model of maritime labour was unaccommodating and unable to contain the individualistic aspirations of the would-be pirate, who instead chooses to pursue a different means of social and economic navigation.

Rather than operating within law-abiding social and economic networks and being ill-rewarded for their labours like Anne and Philip are, Clinton and Purser have

broken away, and now succeed in accruing capital at sea. They invite the crew to partake in dividing ‘such rich fares as this our prize affords’ (1635), among them a choice of wines, ‘As freely come brought by th’ auspicious winds, | To unlade themselves and seek for stowage here (1636-7). Whereas in *Fair Maid Bess*’s involvement in sea fights is informed not only by a preservation of her nation’s honour but also by a recognition of the prisoners she takes as fellow human beings, the piratical duo in *Fortune* envisage their prize specifically in terms of goods and commodities wafted to them by the winds. In the process, Purser and Clinton’s human captives take on non-human characteristics, highlighting on an imaginative level the dangers that seafarers’ bodies face when they enter the seas and become prone to being identifiable as kinds of *res marinis* by malevolent maritime predators.

While Purser and Clinton’s infamy is firmly established at the outset both dramatically and historically, Young Forrest’s exposure to piracy is charted from its beginnings, commencing with combat against a pirate attack on the ship aboard which he is a passenger. Following his valiant defence of the ship after its captain’s death, Forrest is instated in his place, having taken their attackers as prize. This encounter offers an alternative scenario, where a potentially successful attack by pirates is reversed so that the victims become the victors, who then proceed to take their attackers as prize and continue to hunt for more prey on the high seas. One of the mariners boasts that:

We have took many a rich prize for *Spain*,  
 And got a gallant vessel stoutly man’d,  
 And well provided of Ordnance and small shot,  
 Men and ammunition, that we now dare coap  
 With any Carract that do’s trade for *Spain*. (1685-89)

Unsurprisingly, waging war against the Spanish through maritime depredation is a high priority, but, more importantly, the capture of the English pirates Purser and Clinton is valued just as highly in the services that it would do for England. The exchange between Forrest and the mariner envisages the pirates as enemies of the state and aligns them with the foreignness of the Spanish:

YOUNG FORREST

We dare do any thing that stands with justice,  
Our countries honour, and the reputation  
Of our own names; but amongst all our spoils  
I wonder we have scap'd the valiant Pirats  
That are so much renowned upon the sea,  
That were a conquest worth the hazarding,  
Besides a thousand pounds reward proposed  
To that adventurer that can bring them in,  
My peace and pardon though a man condemned,  
Is by the proclamation ratified.

1 MARINER

The ocean can scarce bear their outrages,  
They are so violent, confounding all,  
And sparing none, not their own coutrimen,  
We could not do our country greater service  
Then in their pursuit to engage our lives. (1690-1704)

The ocean is here seen as both the victim as well as the propagator of piracy—it is not only nations and their human subjects that feel the malignant power of the pirates, but the very waters themselves.<sup>40</sup> This underscores the uprooted nature of the pirate body, which has relinquished ties to its erstwhile nation and displays no care for treating its new abode with any sense of loyalty either. Ironically, Forrest takes it upon himself to act as an agent of his ‘countries honour’ despite himself being wanted for murder, envisaging the possibility for redemption and lawful reintegration into England through the successful capture of the pirates.

Through its depiction and problemisation of claims to *iusta causa* by the dishonourable piratical duo and the dutiful Forrest, the play draws a series of rough distinctions between permissible and condemnable depredations at sea. The pirates

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<sup>40</sup> The identification of the ocean’s plight at having to bear the violent outrages of the pirates calls to mind the opening of Philip Sidney’s *New Arcadia*:

[A] number of dead bodies which likewise did not only testify both elements’ violence, but the chief violence was grown of human inhumanity, for their bodies were full of grisly wounds, and their blood had, as it were, filled the wrinkles of the sea’s visage, which, it seemed the sea would not wash away, that it might witness it is not always his fault when we condemn his cruelty: in sum, a defeat where the conquered kept both field and spoil, a shipwreck without storm or ill-footing, and a waste of fire in the midst of water. (Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke’s Arcadia (The New Arcadia)*, ed. by Victor Skretowicz (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 7).

have sought taking to the seas as a resort for escaping punishment for manslaughter in England, but rather than purposely waging war on England, he strives to uphold the practice of punishment of criminals as an agent of that system and redeem himself through being made serviceable to it.<sup>41</sup> Forrest actually goes so far as to think that he can legally be redeemed without pausing to consider the similarities between himself and the pirates. After all, Forrest's involvement in the pillaging of Spanish ships makes him as much a pirate as the duo, which underscores the slipperiness of *iusta causa* and the often uncertain difference between legal and illegal maritime adventure, depending on the ideological vantage point of the perpetrator. Forrest's reasoning in the play shows sensitivity (likewise evident in *Fair Maid*) of the commercial stage to offering a condemnatory view of pirates while sensationalising maritime depredations by more moral and acceptable characters like Forrest, who identifies himself as a 'dutiful Englishman' even at sea:

We seek for purchase, but we tak't from foes,  
And such is held amongst us lawful spoyl;  
But such as are our friends and countrymen  
We succour with the best supply we have  
Of victuals or munition being distrest. (1715-9)

Forrest employs terms heavily loaded with mercantile meanings: 'purchase', 'lawful', and 'supply' construct an alternative type of economic framework in which goods are set into circulation. This economic framework is seen as operating on a communal interpretation of maritime depredation, but 'such is *held amongst us* as lawful spoyl' problematizes the faithful links to England that Forrest purports to embody. The inclusive 'us' is both the English nation and the ship's crew, and the sense of a mutual understanding implied in 'held amongst us' does not necessarily embody a universal interpretation of permissible seizure of goods at sea.<sup>42</sup> Forrest's speech aligns his view

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<sup>41</sup> Jowitt notes Forrest's use of the captured pirates as a means of securing his pardon for his killing of Rainsford at the beginning of the play in 'Piracy and Politics in *Fortune by Land and Sea*', p. 222.

<sup>42</sup> Jowitt points out that Forrest's articulation of his endeavours at sea form a part of the ambivalence with which the text represents piracy, proposing that he 'might behave as a privateer acting in the service of the Elizabethan state attacking the nation's enemy Spain, but is in not in the state's employ', and that his reservation of the spoils for his crew rather than for the Crown 'mark him a pirate, not a privateer' ('Piracy and Politics in *Fortune by Land and Sea*', p. 228).



of the ‘lawful spoyl’ with Purser and Clinton’s reminiscences about their power at sea when they await their punishment at the scaffold:

... We raign’d as Lords,  
Nay Kings at Sea, the Ocean was our realm,  
And the light billows in the which we sayl’d  
Our hundreds, nay our shires, and provinces,  
That brought us annual profit, those were daies. (2157-61)

The concept of being ‘Kings at Sea’ and claiming a conquered ocean as their realm echoes the sentiments of James’s maritime policy and the claims of sovereignty that he extended onto the seas surrounding Britain. His often unpopular position as *rex pacificus*, especially in the wake of his predecessor’s assertive clashes with Spain, made him seem weak and unwilling to actively protect British interests. It would seem that even despite his condemnation of attacks on Spanish shipping, and the proclamations against piracy, they, rather than he, were the true monarchs of the sea, and as such, could only (at least in Heywood and Rowley’s play) be brought to justice by similar ‘piratical’ figures like Forrest. However, the pirates’ reminiscences on the scaffold conjure an idealised image of a by-gone Golden Age of maritime supremacy, implying that neither side emerges fully triumphant in the struggle for maritime control.

The execution of Purser and Clinton on the stage re-enacts the common sight of executions along at the Thames, which reintegrate the illicit pirate body into a legal system, placing it into the peripheral space along the shore and allowing the tide to wash over them.<sup>43</sup> In this sense the pirate bodies are reclaimed by both the state that they had offended and by the waters that were their stronghold. And yet, they are executed and displayed in a peripheral space, which perpetuates the suggestion pirates truly are ‘men of the sea’ even as they dissolve into it. This scene is aptly illustrated by the woodcut from *A True Relation* (London, 1639) (Fig. 3), where the two rather disproportionately large bodies of Purser and Clinton hang from posts erected in the shallow waters of the Thames, and seem to dwarf the tiny ships in the background,

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<sup>43</sup> See Jowitt, *Culture of Piracy*, pp. 21-22.

while crowds of amazed onlookers populate the foreground. As Jowitt proposes, the composition of the scene in the woodcut is such that it calls to mind the Pillars of Hercules and perhaps reinforces the role played by piracy in presiding over the humble sailor's fortunes on the open waters.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, the image can be read as subtly denoting the clash between the two spheres of power; the pirates as forming the powerful metaphoric pillars through which men must pass en route to the riches of the new world, and also the Admiralty, whose powers to punish pirates are exercised in the image. Either way, the image doubly portrays death as display, first by drawing attention to the theatricality of public hangings and the kinds of attention that the condemned body receives, and secondly by encapsulating and sensationalising this image in the form of the woodcut itself, to continue this sense of theatricality *post facto*.<sup>45</sup>

#### IV. The dangers of piratical liminality

The nature of piracy brings its perpetrators to dangerous fluid positions, legally, geographically, and even spiritually and anatomically, as Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* (1609-1612) makes clear. In moving away from the largely domestic focus on piracy found in *Fair Maid* and *Fortune*, Daborne dramatizes two contemporary pirate figures: the Dutch Siemen Danseker and the English John Ward, who was infamous for his collaboration with foreign pirates in the Mediterranean and his conversion to Islam.<sup>46</sup> The sensational and outrageous nature of the ignoble enterprise championed by the pirates is extended into the outrages that Ward commits against Christianity by 'turning Turk' and undergoing a circumcision that symbolically severs what fraught links he may have had with his erstwhile nation. Barbara Fuchs

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<sup>44</sup> Claire Jowitt, 'Scaffold Performances: The Politics of Pirate Death', in *Pirates?: The Politics of Plunder*, pp. 151-68.

<sup>45</sup> The image of the hanging bodies in the woodcut performs a similar albeit far more aestheticized form of warning than the gibbeted skeletal remains of Old Hoffman with which this chapter began.

<sup>46</sup> The exploits of the notorious pirates were retold in pamphlets several years prior to the play's composition: *Ward and Danseker Two Notorious Pyrates*, *Ward an Englishman*, and *Danseker a Dutchman* (London, 1609) and *A True and Certain Report of [...] Cap-taine Ward and Danseker* (London, 1609).

proposes that piracy can be seen as a dangerous stepping-stone to a radical (and irrevocable) break with English nationhood, as the perpetrator progresses from state-sanctioned privateering to 'the murky lawlessness of piracy to, finally, the absolute break of the renegadoes'.<sup>47</sup> *A Christian Turned Turk* uses Danseker's eventual renouncement of his piracy as a foil to Ward's conversion, showing that piracy can be recuperated through noble and heroic deeds for the nation, echoing, perhaps, cases like those of Charles Kettely who was tried for piracy and pardoned on account of the unsolicited 'usefulness' of his deeds at sea to the Crown. While Ward embodies the dangers of indulging in piracy he also encapsulates the dangers of straying too far from home and losing sight of his identity as a Christian Englishman.

Throughout the play, Ward, his followers, and the Dutch pirate Dansiker highlight the allure of the social, economic, and geographic mobility that piracy affords; they are subject to no sovereign and are no longer hampered by the lack of social mobility inherent in legitimate forms of maritime labour. The pirates undergo a self-proclaimed social conversion in their decision to pillage their own countrymen and disregard allegiance to their erstwhile nations. In the process of uprooting himself from England and Christianity, Ward's conversion makes clear the importance for maritime bodies to not lose sight of home. Ultimately, the physical consequences of his conversion disallow any possibility of Ward's reintegration back into England, while at the same time potentially rendering him an outcast among the Turks, like Benwash the converted Jew.<sup>48</sup>

When Ward is introduced by his fellow, Gismud, to the bewildered crew of Ferdinand's ship which they have just boarded, it is clear that he has established a name for himself as an autonomous figure:

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<sup>47</sup> Barbara Fuchs, 'Faithless Empires: Pirates, Renegadoes and the English Nation', *ELH*, 67 (2000), 45-69 (p. 51).

<sup>48</sup> For an incisive account of contemporary attitudes to conversion to Islam see Chapter Two in Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; repr. 1999), pp. 30-72. See also Lois Potter, 'Pirates and "turning Turk" in Renaissance Drama', in *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michele Willems (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 124-40.

Do you know this honourable shape? Heroic Captain Ward, lord of the ocean, terror of kings, landlord to merchants, rewarder of manhood, conqueror of the Western world, to whose followers the lands and seas pay tribute; and they to none but one in their lives to the manor of Wapping and then free ever after. This is he, my noble mummers.<sup>49</sup>

Ward is proclaimed as a subjugator of both land and sea, both of which now pay tribute to him. However, Gismund's introduction of his pirate captain also highlights that association with Ward is a profitable fellowship, since he is a 'rewarder of manhood'. Evidently, Ward offers his followers a certain measure of security under his command, yet Gismund does not neglect to mention that these followers potentially must pay 'tribute' at Wapping when they are apprehended, sentenced, and punished. The mention of Wapping here suggests that although Gismund takes delight in showcasing the pirates' autonomy on the high seas, he nevertheless does not lose complete sight of a grim return homeward to hang and rot with other captured pirates on the Thames. Gismund's introduction of Ward foregrounds several important oppositions, namely the difference between autonomy on the one hand and isolation on the other, as well as the opposition between the 'rewarder of manhood' and Ward's emasculation, which, as a form of grotesque anatomical change echoes the pirates' anatomical maiming during their punishment at Wapping.

It is notable that Gismund should envisage Wapping as a transitory stepping-stone to 'freedom'. Rather than identifying it as a site of permanency that will claim his corpse, it is envisaged by Gismund as a fleeting tribute which releases pirates, since it captures their bodies but not their spirits, which again foreshadows Ward's bodily and spiritual expulsion from both nation and Christendom. The pirate body, in the very act of being branded a 'pirate', holds an inherent performative function which has the potential to be realised when the pirate body is captured and showcased at execution sites along Wapping and Southwark. The execution itself is a spectacle, but the function of the chain-clad pirate corpse hung out at sea as a warning to others makes use of the anatomical sea-change of decomposition and decay to create a further

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<sup>49</sup> Robert Daborne, *A Christian Turned Turk*, in *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*, ed. by Daniel J. Vitkus (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 149-240, (1. 22-27).

performance even after the act of punishment has been carried out. The purpose of the executions is to make visible the capture of the offending body, but the use of that body post mortem as a lingering token of warning is undermined by the continued instability of that body as it decays and changes shape, serving only as a temporary token before dissolving and falling apart.

The importance of aligning body and home is highlighted in Ferdinand's response to the pirate intrusion onto his ship: 'If't be our moneys that you covet, willingly we give it up. Only deprive us not of our fair home, our country: do but land us' (1. 29-30). The powerful opportunities and freedoms offered by a career at sea are offset by Ferdinand's concern to be landed. Although Ferdinand, being a merchant, is a marine body not entirely unlike Ward in that both their fortunes lie at sea, he places emphasis on the importance of home and national identity, since a return home is the natural culmination of a successful sea venture. Although a severing of ties with one's home nation is inherent in piracy of Ward's calibre, Dansiker, the other great pirate figure in the play, shares in Ferdinand's preoccupation with a return homeward.

Ferdinand identifies Ward as an agent of a malignant force—'its theft most hateful' (1. 58)—which destroys the livelihoods of the widows and orphans it creates, and shames the dishonour inherent in his anti-social occupation that stands at odds with state-sanctioned modes of mercantilism and commerce:

You rob the venting merchants, whose manly breast  
(Scorning base gain at home) puts to the main  
With hazard of his life and state, from other lands  
To enrich his own, whilst with ungrateful hands  
He thus is overwhelmed.<sup>50</sup> (1. 62-66)

The distinction between base pirates and honourable merchants drawn by Ferdinand here seems to be overly stark, since in reality the gulf between their conducts is often not altogether so diametrically and simply opposed. The key difference lies mainly in

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<sup>50</sup> Roslyn L. Knutson discusses some of the historical dimensions of Ward's misdemeanours at sea, particularly his seizure and trade in mariners, 'Elizabethan Documents, Captivity Narratives, and the Market for Foreign History Plays', *English Literary Renaissance*, 26:1 (1996), 75-100.

the fact that the merchant seeks ‘from other lands | To enrich his own’, engaging in conflicts with the merchant-fleets of foreign powers, often employing the aggressive tactics for which pirates like Ward are being chastised. The comparison of piratical enterprise to the moral worth inherent in noble mercantile practices carried out by those with a ‘manly breast’ (the likes of which were celebrated in the Lord Mayors’ Shows) implies an absence of both moral compass and manhood in pirates, which only serves to anticipate the spiritual losses through physical ‘maiming’ that Ward undergoes later in the play.<sup>51</sup> That Ward makes his fortune from robbing his fellow countrymen is reiterated at several junctures in the play, setting up a point of contrast between him and the more affable Dansiker, who spares his countrymen and retains some measure of national allegiance.

When Ward’s crew encounters the sight of another contest—Francisco’s pirate ship pursuing the merchant ship of Monsieur Davy—Ferdinand laments the captives’ situation in being caught between two dangerous maritime forces who are content to feed on one another:

O that our better part should thus be captive  
By sense and will! Who, like a ship unmanned,  
That’s borne by motion of the violent waves  
And giddy winds, doth seem to make a course

Direct and punctive, till we see it dash  
Against some prouder Scylla, and display  
How much she inward wanted to her sway. (1. 97-103)

He shows his disgust at ever allowing base appetites and desires to govern maritime agents thus, likening the yet unidentified pirate ship with Charybdis, called to mind by the ‘motion of the violent waves’, and Ward’s ship to a ‘prouder Scylla’. Here, the pirates are likened to the infamous monsters of antiquity that plagued legendary travellers, becoming identified with the monstrousness and violence of the natural element which has now become their realm. The piratical threat thus grows to

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<sup>51</sup> For an exploration of the morally-questionable piratical practices that have a destabilising effect on their identities see Hans Turley, *Rum, Sodomy, and the Lash: Piracy, Sexuality, and Masculine Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

mythological proportions, since they are devourers of men as well as cargo. The pirates are dehumanised and identified as liminal monstrous forces that wreak havoc and impede safe passage to foreign lands, and this metaphor serves to echo the commendations of mercantile endeavour so heavily present in the Lord Mayors' Shows, where they are seen as triumphing over maritime adversities, pirates among them.

The monstrousness of the pirate body is manifested in another capacity in Daborne's play, namely in Ward's conversion to Islam, which is indicative of the prevalent relationship between piracy and conversion in this period.<sup>52</sup> Ward's piracy is in many ways, the catalyst for his conversion. Illicit maritime adventuring sets him at odds with English authorities and brings him to the Islamic pirate strong-hold, where the ritual practice offers him a way of safeguarding his position and securing Vooda's hand in marriage. Given the tendency of the marine to go hand in hand with fluidity and metamorphosis across categories, borders, and boundaries, it is ironic that in the process of attempting to become a more successful maritime body, Ward invites a certain kind of anatomical metamorphosis that ultimately maroons him in the position of a renegade which is even more peripheral than the initial transgressions of his piratical career. Whereas previously he was shunned by both his nation and other European powers on account of his depredations at sea, after his conversion he literally becomes marked as an enemy of not only the English nation, but of Christendom. Although the conversion affords him protection from the Turks as it did for many other renegades, it pushes Ward into an ever more precarious position of liminality, essentially forcing him into a mode of existence on the periphery of both religions.<sup>53</sup>

Having excluded himself from English nationhood, Ward fails to realise the implications of his conversion:

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<sup>52</sup> See the Introduction in Vitkus, ed., *Three Turk Plays*.

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, Joshua Mabie, 'The Problem of the Prodigal in *The Fair Maid of the West*, *A Christian Turned Turk*, and *The Renegado*', *Renascence*, 64:4 (2012), 298-319.

What is't I lose by this my change? My country?  
 Already 'tis to me impossible.  
 My name is scandalled? What is one island  
 Compared to the Eastern monarchy? This large,  
 Unbounded station shall speak my future fame;  
 Besides, they are slaves stand subject unto shame.<sup>54</sup> (7. 179-84)

The peripheral existence that Ward identifies in his piracy only serves to encourage the conversion, through which he can gain access to an entire 'Eastern monarchy'. When Voada, his Islamic bride-to-be goads him about converting to attain her hand in marriage, Ward agrees with her persuasions,

Thou tellest me true: with what brain can I think  
 Heaven would be glad of such a friend as I am?  
 A pirate? Murderer? Let those can hope a pardon care  
 To atone with heaven. I cannot; I despair. (7. 274-77)

Ward's despair at ever being accepted into heaven on account of his piratical crimes implicitly disallows pardon at the hands of his erstwhile nation as well, which stands in contrast to Dansiker's approach to a possible reversal of his piratical deeds. The Dutchman, while addressing his crew, acknowledges the extent of his crimes and the possibility of redirecting those energies in an attempt to serve their nation and make a case for pardon:

My valiant friends, this four years Dansiker  
 Hath led you proudly through a sea of terror,  
 Through deeds so full of prowess they might have graced  
 The brow of worthiness, had justice to our cause  
 Given life and action. But since the breach of laws,  
 Of nations, civil society, justly entitles us  
 With the hateful style of robbers, let's redeem our honour  
 And not return into our country with the names  
 Of pardoned thieves but by some worthy deed,  
 Daring attempt, make good unto the world.  
 Want of employment, not virtue, forced  
 Our former act of spoil and rapine. (5. 6-18)

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<sup>54</sup> The piratical dimensions of the conversion are addressed in Gerald MacLean, 'On Turning Turk, or Trying to: National Identity in Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turn'd Turk*', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 29:2 (2003), 225-52, and Jesús López-Peláez Casellas, 'What Good Newes from Barbary?': Nascent Capitalism, North-Africans and the Constructions of English Identity in Thomas Heywood's *Drama*', *Atlantis*, 29:1 (2007), 123-40.



He recognises the fact that he has done wrong and is now an enemy of his state. While he also recognises that his former depredations may be pardoned, this would be an undesirable course of action since a pardon would reaffirm the transgressions of the pirates.

Dansiker's reflections on the reasons for his turning to piracy in the first place and the ease with which his aggressive maritime energies can be channelled away from piracy and into service for the state underlines the unpredictable nature and consequences opportunism, in which allegiances can be easily switched. In this sense, by not losing sight of home Dansiker can cling onto the possibility of redemption, but Ward's resignation to despair and permanent change reveals a grounding of the marine body which precludes the possibility of traversing allegiances in the future. Although both Dansiker and Ward perish by the close of the play, the Dutchman recognises his foreseeable death as the just conclusion of a piratical career, and offers up his soul:

Let my example move all pirates, robbers,  
To think how heavy thy revenging hand  
Will sit upon them. I feel thy justice now.  
Receive my soul; accept my intended vow. (*Dies*) (16. 233-35)

Although there is no piratical execution at the close of the play, the audience would not have missed the relevance of these instructive words in a city where pirate hangings were common. Instead of the message being conveyed through a cadaverous medium like the gibbeted 'anatomy' in *The Tragedy of Hoffman* with which this chapter began, the commercial stage has pirates speak this message in a play where an infamous pirate perishes as a renegade and faces eternal damnation. Of course, the gravity of the lessons that the stage pirates in this play teach to the would-be pirates and abettors in the audience is undercut by the fact that in 1612 Ward was in fact very much alive in Algiers. Thus, as well having the potential to resurrect pirate figures, as is the case with *Fortune*, the commercial stage can be a space where contemporary piratical forces can be imaginatively put down. In this theatrical space, the kind of didactic function

that the gibbeted corpses perform on the river Thames becomes echoed in the performance of Ward's physical mutilation arising from the conversion ritual.

Piratical sea-changes often bring with them alterations of dress and attitude, but, as illustrated by *Fortune by Land and Sea* and *Fair Maid* earlier in this chapter, these alterations need not necessarily be permanent, but can be opportunistically be adapted and cast aside. Both Forrest and Bess use their flirtations with piracy as a means to an end, without losing sight of the need to revert back into ordered land-based norms. Much as in Hellenistic and Elizabethan romances—where piracy is exploited as a plot device to afford their protagonists unexpected advantage—Rowley and Heywood's treatment of their respective protagonists' abilities to adapt and employ piratical disguise and practice do not threaten them with permanent change. The temporary marine qualities of fluidity that Forrest and Bess adopt in their conduct at sea highlight that maritime adventuring should be finite, which is demonstrated in their successful return to England. Bess is easily able to negotiate the temporary bodily changes she undergoes in the process of taking to the sea in disguise, adopting at once the outward guise of a sea captain and the mentality of a pseudo-piratical agent. Both Forrest and Bess temporarily indulge in piratical enterprise solely because of need, and they do not lose sight of their English nationhood, which even through their piratical acts they serve. Even Purser and Clinton—through their execution—are reintegrated into a national framework, ultimately being made to serve the state, both through the distribution of their possessions to the crowd and through their own punished bodies then being used as warnings to others who might be tempted to engage in piratical endeavours.

## **V. Fantasies of naval supremacy**

This chapter has largely dealt with the regulation of illicit seafaring practices that threatened the kinds of legitimate commercial practices discussed in Chapter Two. The pirate figures in the plays discussed here tap into the popular anxiety relating to the safeguarding of mercantile fortunes of London stakeholders but also to other concerns

with regulating who goes out to sea and when, as James's 'Proclamation touching Passengers' illustrates. The commercial stage finds in piracy an exciting means of tapping into wider cultural interests in maritime opportunism, identifying the sea as a place in which to play out personal ambitions and fantasies of economic and perhaps even political self-sufficiency. The dangers presented by this kind of alternative political power was seen as an affront to both maritime jurisdiction and sovereignty, as James's repeated efforts to curb domestic maritime predators illustrate. But despite the general absence of piracy as a means of representing the marine in the court entertainments discussed in Chapter Five, the pirate trope was several times used as means of enacting Jacobean fantasies of triumph at sea, namely at two *naumachia*-style water shows staged on the Thames as part of the celebrations for Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales in 1610 and for Princess Elizabeth's marriage festivities 1613. While Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* depicts the demise of its piratical protagonist in terms of his individual identity, these royal festivities make use of the Thames' potential as a performance space in which to stage a sea-fight where the piratical threat is figured in collective terms. Such a performance of piracy allows for a more wide-ranging imagined triumph of a maritime force and goes some way towards compensating in dramatic terms for James's lack of willingness to engage his nation in violent maritime contests.

Both of these shows made use of the specifically foreign threat of Ottoman pirates, clearly linking the practice with alien infidels rather than Englishmen. The first water-show, as Marie-Claude Canova-Green points out, specifically staged an act of piracy rather than a large-scale sea-fight commonly found in *naumachiae*.<sup>55</sup> The Turkish piratical threat was overcome by mock men-of-war and merchant ships, playing out a fantasy of national maritime triumph in the face of a much bleaker reality. The mock-battle in the 1613 entertainment similarly made use of the Turkish threat, albeit on a much grander scale, with seventeen Turkish galleys attacking two Venetian ships and a Spanish galley and carrying them off to a fort that represented a

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<sup>55</sup> Marie-Claude Canova-Green, 'Lepanto Revisited: Water-fights and the Turkish Threat', in Margaret Shewring, ed., *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 177-98 (p. 188).

pirate stronghold in Algiers.<sup>56</sup> The ‘English Admirall’ who leads the domestic forces, however, succeeds in the attack on the fort and takes the infidels prisoner, once more playing out a powerful fantasy of British naval supremacy in the face of foreign threats. As with the connections established between the Thames and the wider maritime world in the Lord Mayors’ Shows, these sea-fights use the river as a means of representing dangerous littoral locations in the Mediterranean that were a constant threat to mercantile interests and seafarers at risk of capture and enslavement.

The malleability of marine tropes thus clearly extends itself to the uses of piracy, at once depicted as threatening and excluded from dramatic invocations of the marine in civic celebrations relating to mercantile venture but used in other capacities as a foil for the kinds of maritime aspirations championed by James I. The dangerous and unwanted maritime agents can become sensationalised, useful tools with which to entertain and imaginatively articulate fantasies of naval prowess. Thinking further about this type of duplicity, the following chapter considers the ways in which non-human marine beings are similarly presented as being dangerous, aberrant, figurative, and alluring in a variety of printed and material discourses and in drama.

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<sup>56</sup> See Anon., *The Magnificent Marriage of the Two Great Princes Frederick Count Palatine, &c. and the Lady Elizabeth*, in John Nichols, ed., *The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First*, 4 vols (London, 1828), II, pp. 540-41.

## CHAPTER FOUR

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### *Strange Fish*

#### I.

Representations of the marine are fraught with a multitude of dangers that place the seafarer beyond the relative safety of their homelands and leaves them open to sea-fights. Aside from the dangers posed by distinctly human marine agents, the sea had long been identified with other forms of specifically non-human dangers. Ferdinand's likening of the pirates to the famous marine monsters of antiquity, Scylla and Charybdis, in *A Christian Turned Turk* is a fitting means of likening the bloodthirsty pirates with the monstrous mythical identities and creatures that had haunted the sea since antiquity. The sea is host to a wide array of monstrous creatures, some natural, some more outlandishly aberrant in appearance, often talked about but seldom seen. In Book II of *The Faerie Queene*, the sea is spectacularly described as teeming with monstrous marine creatures and voracious fish. On its approach to the Bower of Bliss, Guyon's ship is confronted by 'an hideous hoast arrayd, | Of huge Sea monsters, such as liuing sence dismayd'.<sup>1</sup> Spenser provides an extensive array of the 'dreadfull pourtraicts of deformitee' found in the seas, many of which are specifically identified as portentous indicators of calamity:

The Dreadfull Fish, that hath deseru'd the name  
Of *Death*, and like him looks in dreadfull hew,  
The griesly *Wasserman*, that makes his game  
The flying ships with swiftnes to pursew,  
The horrible *Sea-satyre*, that doth shew  
His fearfull face in time of greatest storme,  
Huge *Ziffius*, whom Mariners eschew  
No lesse, then rockes, (as trauellers informe,)  
And greedy *Rosmarines* with visages deforme. (II. xii. 24)

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<sup>1</sup> Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. by A.C. Hamilton, 2nd rev. edn, ed. by Hiroshi Yamashita and Toshiyuki Suzuki (London: Pearson Longman, 2007), II. xxi. 23.

This list catalogues a variety of monsters, the portentous associations of which are presented as apparently singular, their terrifying bodies seldom seen but commonly heard of in mariners' tales. However, this calls to mind popular *tableaux vivants* such as those found in Sebastian Munster's *Cosmographia* and later Olaus Magnus' *Carta Marina* (Figs. 4 and 5).<sup>2</sup> The creatures in these images and in Spenser's poem are simultaneously commonplace and terrifying representatives of their watery element that are here presented as being inherently abominable even to the waters that sustain them:

All these, and thousand thousands many more,  
And more deformed Monsters thousand fold,  
With dreadfull noise, and hollow rombling rore,  
Came rushing in the fomy waues enrold,  
Which seem'd to fly for feare, them to behold. (II. xii. 25: 1-5)

The tempestuous rolling of the waves highlights the waters' aversion to the voracious, repulsive, and 'unnatural' bodies of the creatures that cavort along its surface. Despite their threatening appearance, the hideous creatures turn out to be nothing more than an illusion:

Feare nought, then saide the Palmer well auiz'd;  
For these same Monsters are not these in deed,  
But are into these fearfull shapes disguiz'd  
By that same wicked witch, to worke vs dreed,  
And draw from on this iourney to proceed. (II. xii. 26: 1-5)

The Palmer's dismissal of the mysterious creatures explains nothing about whether these monsters are a supernatural apparition, optical illusion, or a fleet of automata

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<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of Spenser's use of monsters and monster myths in *The Faerie Queene* see George F. Butler, 'Spenser, Milton, and the Renaissance Campe: Monsters and Myths in the *Faerie Queene* and *Paradise Lost*', *Milton Studies*, 40 (2001), 19-37. For a facsimile reprint of the *Carta Marina* see Edward Lynam, *The Carta Marina of Olaus Magnus, Venice 1539 & Rome 1572* (Jenkintown, PA: Tall Tree Library, 1949). On Munster's *Cosmographia* see Matthew McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Munster: Describing the World in the Reformation* (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2007).

which are ‘disguiz’d’ into the terrifying shapes.<sup>3</sup> However, the earlier identification of the monsters as ‘portraits’ draws attention to their possible artificiality (whether through supernatural conjuring or other forms of illusion), while also serving to drawing attention to the prevalence of pictorial representations of sea creatures. Thus, as well as demonstrating the powerful ways in which marine monstrosity characterises maritime spaces, these cantos likewise allude to popular practices of ‘envisaging’ sea creatures in painting and print, by extension echoing the pervasive lack of distinction between mimetic representation and more sensational fanciful imaginings at play within these imaginative and material means of giving shapes and faces to marine creatures. This portion of the thesis investigates the fluid and uncertain bodies of marine creatures in order to illustrate the dramatic potential of the challenges involved in visualising something and the problematic achievement of actually ‘knowing’ it. In the Renaissance, sea creatures are paradoxically something to be observed, known, and catalogued, but also an aesthetic placeholder for the uncertain, unstable, and unknown elements of the marine.

The above episode from *The Faerie Queene* is a useful starting-point for this chapter since the uncertainty surrounding the authenticity of the sea monsters is in many ways my focus here—are they, in fact, fish, artificial monstrous illusions, neither or both? As well providing the necessary terror at this point in *The Faerie Queene*, the impulse to list and catalogue the sheer number and variety of commonplace and pseudo-mythical creatures is indicative of wider epistemological shifts in the study and presentation of animal life—marine monsters and fish among it—that would characterise the study of natural history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The material explored here follows on from the staged marine monsters and creatures in the pre-Jacobean court entertainments and Lord Mayors’ Shows in order to provide a clearer sense of how these creatures were being ‘performed’ in other forms of cultural

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<sup>3</sup> In a recent article Nick Davis has suggested that the sea monsters in this episode can be read in the context of the artificial wonders found in the Bower of Bliss, where ‘*techne* has taken control of natural process and modified or re-created natural form in such a way as to proffer a certain representation of nature: nature is that which unfailingly answers to the requirements of fantasy and pleasure’ (‘Desire, Nature, and Automata in the Bower of Bliss’, in *The Automaton in English Renaissance Literature*, ed. by Wendy Hyman (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 164-79 (p. 165)).

production that similarly gave them a recognisable visage. To that end, this chapter begins with a consideration of natural history and the growing interest in ichthyological enquiry on the continent in the sixteenth century and its place in a selection of Jacobean literary material in order to illustrate the uncertain divide between fish and 'sea monster'. The possibilities for pictorial representation rendered by the production and circulation of woodcuts, many of which were produced from living, freshly expired, or dried specimens, are likewise explored in relation to the natural histories, cartography, and popular pamphlets. Images and descriptions of sea monsters between these different discourses, appealing as they do to different cultural registers, allows for different forms of narrative and performative possibilities which I also link back to drama.

This means of approaching dramatic representations of the marine in terms of creatures and monsters elucidates the complexity that characterises these representations. For example, tritons and water-nymphs discussed in relation to civic drama on the Thames, the progress entertainment at Elvetham, and the baptismal entertainment at Stirling, all reveal that these commonplace marine personages constitute a poetically and culturally standard way of representing the sea through reference to a mythological framework of water deities. However, these very same marine personages were also current in ichthyological compendia and natural histories, as well as in popular print, where they are variously categorized as being a species of marine life but also as aberrant monstrosities. Civic drama and court entertainments materialise these marine creatures for the delectation of the spectators, transforming the Thames into a conduit for the types of creatures that are found strewn across cartographical marine spaces and the pages of natural histories. However, as my discussion will show, the appearance of many of these creatures—whether in drama or elsewhere—exists in a plurality that arises from the difficulty to reconcile cultural expectations with much older authoritative accounts of these creatures' appearances.

The taxonomic difference between imagined or mythical marine creatures, monstrous natural specimens, and commonplace fish is unclear in this period, since



both ‘monster’ and ‘fish’ commonly appear interchangeably in texts when describing these entities. Even more specific terms for mythological marine creatures such as tritons and mermaids are often bracketed by references to them being on the one hand monsters and on the other fish. In the Renaissance, fish was simultaneously commonplace and wondrous. It was a marker of everyday enterprise that also had the potential to be figured as a source of enchantment, sport, and civic pride (as demonstrated by celebrations of the piscatory occupation by the underwater deities in *The Aphrodysial* in Chapter One and the in the Fishmonger’s pageant in Chapter Two). Taxonomically, fish in this period is characterised by a pervasive slipperiness that facilitates movement between natural creature, mythological creature, and aberrant monster. Different modes of representation and categorization reveal the fluctuating boundaries between fish and monster, as this chapter will reveal. There are some shared strategies of representation between different forms of drama and marine creatures in print that this chapter will make clear, however, by discussing the convergence and interrelated concerns with visualising on the page and performing on the stage. Likewise, taking the difference between seeming and being in Guyon’s adventures with sea monsters in *The Faerie Queene*, I will revisit the physical and verbal construction of marine creatures in civic drama and Percy’s underwater play with an off-stage whale in order to probe the significance of Caliban being branded a ‘strange fish’ in *The Tempest*. In mapping out the printed and material artefacts that influences representations of ambiguous marine creatures in early modern culture, I shall elucidate the interrelated strategies of giving shape and meaning to uncertain bodies that are found at the water’s edge. The abundance of printed composite marine creatures in the different forms of discourse that this chapter explores highlights how unsteady the visual distinction between animal and human becomes when bodies are sighted in or near the sea. This cultural predisposition for inscribing monstrosity and uncertainty onto aqueous or otherwise liminal bodies embodies a crucial element of the fluidity that characterises representations of the marine in early modern culture.

## II. Strange fish and narrative spaces

The early modern seas can be said to exist as a series of ‘missing’ objects, rarely seen but frequently imagined by cooperative spectators. They are ‘empty’ spaces devoid of any physical inscription of mankind’s history or ownership, fleshed out and envisaged by collective anxieties about the monstrous otherness that lurks beneath the blank expanses of water. Empty as they are, marine spaces repeatedly give rise to different types of cultural narratives in the Renaissance, characterised by interconnected strands of classical authorities on monsters, popular folk legends about marine oddities, and pamphlets about sightings of portentous marine-life.<sup>4</sup> Thinking about these narratives alongside spatial representations of the sea at its most basic level in terms of its depiction on cartographic images, it is possible to look beyond the assumption that sea monsters are simply a way of livening up the empty spaces on maps. The *horror vacui* of empty marine space provides an incentive for populating the periphery of maps with some form of decoration, in which case the panoply of early modern marine monsters becomes identifiable as a form of decoration.

However, a reconsideration of creatures found on the marine spaces of many early modern maps can often reveal a far more complex strategy for constructing a sense of place, given that those images recur in treatises of natural history, where their existence is figured and corroborated precisely through human contact and encounter. Therefore, the smattering of voracious fish and marine creatures is not simply generic surface decoration, but rather a surfacing of intersections between humankind and the rarities and wonders that marine spaces harbour in their depths. Images of marine creatures on cartographic spaces fulfil a slightly different function to visual figurations of terrestrial spaces on maps, where national ambition and power could be enacted visually within set socio-political limits and borders. Terrestrial spaces on maps are

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<sup>4</sup> Marine monstrosity and oddity are part of a much wider set of cultural and imaginative concerns with the monstrous and physically aberrant. A useful range of essays on the subject are available in *Marvels, Monsters and Miracles: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Imaginations*, ed. by Timothy R. Jones and David A. Sprunger (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002). Mark Thornton Burnett’s *Constructing ‘Monsters’ in Shakespearean Drama and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) likewise provides useful contextual material on the meaning and allure of monstrosity in the Renaissance.

frequently filled with images that characterise the ethnic and national specificity of those geographical spaces—such as exotic animals, palaces, and costumed inhabitants—which were also magnified in vignettes that frame the maps and instil some form of knowledge and narrative onto the spaces they contained. The political agency and national ambition represented by ships or fleet images can likewise be said to mark similar concerns with visually projecting human endeavour and claims to navigation or sovereignty. Even though both fleets and marine creatures are mobile, ships use the seas for navigation, not residence, and can never be at home in the marine environment in the same way as fish and sea monsters are. The mobility and fluid nature of marine creatures does not root them to particular locales in quite the same way as people and other animals. The presence of sea monsters on maps, therefore, typically invests the places they occupy with many of those same characteristics, marking those places out as dangerous, fluid, wondrous, and uncontrollable.<sup>5</sup> The shape given to marine creatures on maps reveals that epistemologically, the seas are a multi-national space, since the standardisation of sea monster images came about precisely through the free circulation of various European printed works and visual materials from France, Switzerland, Italy, the Netherlands, Germany, and England.

In their introduction to *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape* (1992), Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan acknowledge what anthropologists have termed ‘a general crisis of representation’ for landscape in literature. They propose that:

Pieces of the world [...] do not come with their own labels, and thus representing ‘out there’ to an audience must involve more than just lining up pieces of language in the right order. Instead it is humans that decide how to represent things, and not the things themselves.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> On sea monsters in cartography see Chet van Duzer, *Sea Monsters on Medieval and Renaissance Maps* (London: British Library, 2013) and ‘Hic sunt dracones: The Geography and Cartography of Monsters’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, edited by Asa Mittman and Peter Dendle (Farnham, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2012), pp. 387-435.

<sup>6</sup> Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan, eds, *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 2.

This observation is important, since it highlights the human intervention in reporting the natural world even when it is done through empirical observation—marine bodies are thus necessarily figured through an oral, textual, and visual rhetoric inflected with wonder. The general line of argument in the volume is that intertextual strategies are employed in the making and understanding of space and landscape, which is seen as being produced from text to text rather than between text and world. This concept is particularly useful for thinking about representations of the marine via figurations of its monstrous and fishy denizens, which are essentially projections of invented pictorial forms that represent popular cultural attitudes that move across a variety of visual and textual discourses.

The types of marine monster woodcuts discussed below are useful for understanding the ways in which different kinds of knowledge could be read into specific images and how the mingling of image and knowledge were seeking to establish a sense of history and tangible presence on the seas. This concept has received critical attention in Sachiko Kusakawa and Ian Maclean's edited volume, *Transmitting Knowledge: Words, Images, and Instruments in Early Modern Europe* (2006), in which the authors identify that the relationship between the contents of early modern knowledge and its contexts and transmission is key to understanding the types of knowledge available in the period, demonstrating the value of an approach that focuses on the principal 'vehicles'—words, images, and instruments—through which knowledge is transmitted in the period.<sup>7</sup> This chapter likewise attends to the ways in which marine space was mapped by means of 'vehicles' which circulated in different epistemological frameworks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Focusing particularly on how these vehicles were read and understood in the process of showcasing knowledge about and performing the sea, I would like to suggest that the epistemological issues at stake are a useful way of understanding the complex classification of marine bodies and their performance in print, text, and drama.

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<sup>7</sup> Richard Scholar, 'Introduction', in *Transmitting Knowledge: Words, Images, and Instruments in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Sachiko Kusakawa and Ian Maclean (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 1-10.

There are some narratives, both cartographical and textual, in which the sea is inscribed with a multitude of stories about human encounter and history. One such text, which bears heavily on the subsequent works discussed in this chapter, is Olaus Magnus's *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (Rome, 1555) which supplemented his tremendously popular cartographic masterpiece, the *Carta Marina* (Venice, 1539).<sup>8</sup> Representations and accounts of maritime spaces and occupations in these related works constantly populate the sea with a fantastic range of sea creatures, from the monstrously large porcine-faced whale to the ever less threatening varieties of fish. The striking images propagated in the map are linked to specific narratives in the textual history of the Scandinavian people, where these seemingly commonplace markers of marine space are tied to specific points of history and narrative despite the difficulty of achieving this elsewhere.

The dense array of strange fish found on the map marks the Northern Sea out as a place of danger, but aside from the marine creatures that crowd the peripheral spaces of the map, there is an overt human presence across both land and sea as well which draws attention to the Scandinavian peoples' reliance upon and interaction with marine spaces. Whether caught and about to be devoured or depicted simply on board ships, seafarers are present on the map, revealing various levels of interaction with the sea through fishing and contest with aggressive marine denizens.<sup>9</sup> The presence of humans on the map also serves to authenticate the outlandish and monstrous creatures, since they are potentially credible witnesses from whose accounts the appearance of many of these creatures has been reconstructed. The topicality of some episodes depicted in the map are elaborated on in greater detail in Magnus's spectacular

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<sup>8</sup> Olaus Magnus, *Description of the Northern Peoples*, trans. by Peter Fisher and Humphrey Higgens, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., 187-88 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1998). See also Barbara Sjoholm, "Things to Be Marveled at Rather Than Examined" and *A Description of the Northern Peoples*, *Antioch Review*, 62:2 (2004), 245-54. For the relationship between the *Carta Marina* and *De Gentibus* see John Granlund and G. R. Crone, 'The "Carta Marina" of Olaus Magnus', *Imago Mundi*, 8 (1951), pp. 35-43; Leena Miekavaara, 'Unknown Europe: The Mapping of the Northern Countries by Olaus Magnus in 1539', *Belgeo*, 3-4 (2008), 307-24; Edward Lynam, *The Carta Marina of Olaus Magnus, Venice 1539 & Rome 1572* (Jenkintown, PA: Tall Tree Library, 1949).

<sup>9</sup> Margaret Small similarly identifies the 'plethora of monsters and strange people' as 'clearly more than a motif filling up blank spaces on the map', proposing that 'they are integral to the way in which Olaus thought about his own region' ('From Jellied Seas to Open Waterways: Redefining the Northern Limit of the Knowable World', *Renaissance Studies*, 21:3 (2007), 315-39, (p. 326)).

historiography *De Gentibus*, in which the narratives and histories of the Scandinavian peoples are laid out in episodic format, each segment preceded by a woodcut.<sup>10</sup> The map therefore visualises not only generic conceptions of marine space but also particular histories, which are conflated in both space and time on the cartographic image and then spread out and itemised accordingly in the legends on the map (which are then greatly expanded in *De Gentibus*). Thus, Magnus makes available a projection of history into a space that is essentially extra-temporal, dredging up creatures from the deep and interactions from the past, in which fish is commodity, sustenance, wonder, monstrosity, and even location, as is evident from the picture of sailors setting up camp on the back of a whale.<sup>11</sup>

While often drawing on former visual precedents, the creatures found on Magnus' *Carta Marina* did much to standardise the set of monstrous visages associated with marine creatures. The map was popular enough to receive a second edition (Rome, 1572) and the images on it were repeatedly copied by the likes of Gesner, Rondelet, and Belon, taking on afterlives quite removed from their original context.<sup>12</sup> The map (Fig. 5) is teeming with commonplace marine specimens but also with more unusual creatures and anecdotal images, such as those of the giant lobster who has snatched a sailor in his pincer, the sea-swine with numerous eyes on its back, and the wonderful image of the whale that has become lodged in the ice surrounding

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<sup>10</sup> For example, sea monsters such as the sea-swine are recounted in an episodic format in *De Gentibus*, where Magnus describes the circumstances under which these creatures were discovered. See *Description of the Northern Peoples*, trans. by Fisher and Higgins, p. 1110.

<sup>11</sup> Vicki Ellen Szabo links Magnus's depiction of the sailors camped on the back of a whale in the *Carta Marina* to the aspiochelone described in the *Physiologus*, where a giant turtle or whale-like creature with a back encrusted with flora was mistaken for an island by passing mariners. Magnus describes precisely such an incident in Chapter 25 of *De Gentibus*, and provides an account of St Brendan's whale, upon whose back the priest was sometimes thought to have given mass, in the following chapter. See *Monstrous Fishes and the Mead-Dark Sea: Whaling in the Medieval North Atlantic* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 47-50; 197-200. Magnus's also map includes a magnetic island the likes of which was traditionally located in the Indian Ocean but had become common enough in cartographic images of the Northern Seas by the sixteenth century. See Margaret Small, 'From Jellied Seas' (p. 335) and K. A. Seaver, 'Olaus Magnus and the 'Compass' on Hvitsark, *Journal of Navigation*, 54:2 (2001), 235-54.

<sup>12</sup> Walter Nellen and Jakov Dulčić, 'Evolutionary Steps in Ichthyology and New Challenges', *Acta Adriatica*, 49:3 (2008), 201-32 (p. 209).

an island.<sup>13</sup> These creatures would go on to receive a pseudo-scientific treatment in the natural history compendia of subsequent writers, where they are catalogued as specimens rather than as anecdotal encounters. The snarling visages of the voracious orca and the distinctly porcine appearance of the baleen became quite forcefully engrained in subsequent depictions of these creatures, copied among writers and cartographers, and then propagated throughout different editions of their works.

Thus, the signifiers of marine monstrosity commonly found in cartographic discourse were current in other types of intellectual projections that sought to catalogue or showcase the creatures that the seas contained, using those images to serve different epistemological functions that necessitate a ‘specific analytical treatment’.<sup>14</sup> The circulation of standard monster images across different discourses meant that during the process of being copied and reprinted, the image of a particular marine entity underwent changes that aligned it with the particular historical, scientific, and religious frameworks in relation to which it was invoked. This process reveals the richness and the tantalising fluidity that characterise receptions of sea creatures—monstrous, aberrant, providential, sensational, or simply commonplace—in early modern culture. While a particular monster might be recognised as a clear portent from God, the very same monster can appear again in a discourse that simply locates it as a commonplace denizen of the sea. Thinking further about the kinds of conceptual and visual expressions in the *Carta Marina*, the next parts of this chapter will consider the two elements that create the striking visuals on the image: an impulse to showcase and catalogue, and the role that anecdotal sightings have in the authentication of monsters. My ensuing discussion of the natural historical writings and popular pamphlets that depict monstrous marine creatures seeks to reveal the symbiotic

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<sup>13</sup> There is evidence to suppose that the giant lobster brandishing a man in its pincer on the *Carta Marina* is in fact an octopus, since in *De Gentibus* Book 21, Chapter 34 is entitled ‘On the Octopus’ but is headed with a woodcut that depicts several creatures that look suspiciously like lobsters. This discrepancy is perhaps due to the description calling for a monster with ‘eight feet’ who ‘splays itself over rocks, and sticks to firmly to them that, unless you hold some stinking object near, it is difficult to prize it off’ (*Description of the Northern Peoples*, trans. by Fisher and Higgins, p. 1118).

<sup>14</sup> Laurent Pinon, ‘Gessner and the Historical Depth of Renaissance Natural History’, in *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2005), pp. 241–67 (p. 243).

relationship between the two, particularly the instability regarding sightlines and the uses of previous texts for the purposes of authenticating the creatures these forms of writing depict. As well as the fluid boundaries between fish and monster, the discussion will also reveal the symbolic and iconographical versatility of marine bodies shaped by the different texts. Whether beached or in close enough proximity to land to be sighted, the appearance and signification of marine bodies becomes unstable and fraught with uncertainty, which often leads to approximation of the creatures into different frameworks, leading the writer to invoke natural historical treatises as an authority with which to contextualize the creatures, or lend a religious perspective and read portentous messages into their bodies. This fluid set of cultural functions that the sea monster performs a complicated task, at once signifying a material object to be caught and displayed and a metaphor that plays out the anxieties associated with the marine. The flexibility of the sea monster as a concept and an imaginative trope allows it to move between textual and visual presences, revealing the common practise of adapting and approximating marine bodies through a shifting set of imaginative categories. This pervasive set of functions is crucial for thinking about the marine transformations and figurations that were proving themselves so alluring for the dramaturgical imagination.

### **III. Marine monsters and ichthyological classification**

Fish, in its various guises had long made an appearance in discourses of natural history. For instance, much of the information on the marine specimens contained in Magnus's map and textual history was gleaned from much older sources and authorities on the subject as well as from more recent accounts gathered from mariners. From common varieties of salt-water fish to whales and more outlandish underwater denizens, the marine in natural history was overwhelmingly characterised by fish. From Aristotle's writings in the *Libri Naturales* to Pliny the Elder's first-century monolithic *Historia Naturalis*, fish played an important part in a much wider and more expansive study of natural history than that commonly associated with the



discipline in the present day.<sup>15</sup> The writings of Aristotle and Pliny were reproduced and consolidated alongside other ancient and classical authorities in the medieval encyclopaedic writings of Isidore of Seville (*De Natura Rerum*, c.612-613 and *Etymologiae*, c.630), Alexander Neckam (*De Naturis Rerum*, c.1190–c.1217), Thomas of Cantimpré (*Liber de Natura Rerum*, c.1244), Vincent of Beauvais (*Speculum Naturale*, 1264), and Albertus Magnus (reworking of Aristotle’s *Libri Naturales*, including *De Animalibus*, c.1280), to name a few.<sup>16</sup> As Richard Jones points out, images and descriptions of animals and fish found in these encyclopaedic texts were often used as the basis for:

A new type of manuscript which emerged in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the bestiary or Book of Beasts [...] [c]ontaining descriptions of exotic and domestic mammals, birds, fish, amphibians, reptiles and insects, these were not zoological treatises but allegorical and moralising texts designed to remind readers of the divine origins of nature of the theological guidance it offered to the Christian observer’.<sup>17</sup>

These bestiaries were largely based on the Bible, Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiae*, Pliny the Elder’s *Historia Naturalis* and the works of Physiologus, the anonymous Greek naturalist.<sup>18</sup> Fish and sea creatures commonly made an appearance on the pages of these illustrated bestiaries, where they were frequently presented in biblical and providential frameworks.

While many of these medieval encyclopaedic texts and accounts were later circulated in printed editions that perpetuated their currency and made them more

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<sup>15</sup> On Aristotle, see Watatru Asanuma, ‘Aristotle’s Natural Philosophy: A Contrast with Early Green and Modern Science’, *International Journal of Science in Society*, 2:2 (2011), 237-45, and John G. T. Anderson, ‘A Wonderful Man: Aristotle and Green Natural History’, in *Deep Things Out of Darkness: A History of Natural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), pp. 14-21. On Pliny, see Sarah Blake McHam, *Pliny and the Artistic Culture of the Italian Renaissance: The Legacy of the Natural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); Sorchá Carey, *Pliny’s Catalogue of Culture: Art and Empire in the Natural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Trevor Murphy, *Pliny the Elder’s Natural History: The Empire in the Encyclopaedia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

<sup>16</sup> Richard Jones provides a more extensive overview of the key figures in natural historical writing in the middle ages as well as an account of animals in medieval natural history in *The Medieval Natural World* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013), pp. 24-39; pp. 172-91.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>18</sup> See *Ibid.*, pp. 177-78.

accessible, the sixteenth century bore witness to advancements in the study of natural history and particularly of ichthyology as an important new branch of the discipline.<sup>19</sup> While many Renaissance naturalists still consolidated Plinian and medieval knowledge of fish and sea monsters, as is the case with Magnus's *Carta Marina* and *De Gentibus*, new methods of empirical enquiry and production of woodcuts directly from sketches of live or dried specimens offered new ways of adding contemporary knowledge about terrestrial and waterborne creatures. The great Swiss naturalist, Conrad Gesner, propagated new knowledge about specimens which was translated into a multitude of woodcut illustrations that appeared in monumental five-volume *Historiae Animalium* (Zurich, 1551-1557). The work that Gesner carried out on marine life formed a basis for much of Pierre Belon's, *De Aquatilibus* (Paris, 1553) and Guillaume Rondelet's *Libri des Piscibus Marinis* (Lyon, 1554-1555), which are effectively two of the earliest compendia devoted entirely to ichthyology.<sup>20</sup> Likewise, the printed works of Ulisse Aldrovandi and Carolus Clusius in the seventeenth century continued to build on the knowledge and illustrations made available by the likes of Gesner, Belon, and Rondelet.<sup>21</sup>

However, not all ichthyological knowledge was produced by learned natural historians nor was it solely produced in the form of printed illustrated compendia; the concern with the natural world and marine life found expression in much more popular expressions than the encyclopaedic compendia. For instance Adriaen Coenen, an early modern Dutch 'beachcomber', produced several rather striking colourful manuscript

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<sup>19</sup> On the rise of ichthyology as a line of natural historical enquiry see Walter Nellen and Jakov Dulčić, 'Evolutionary Steps in Ichthyology and New Challenges', *Acta Adriatica*, 49:3 (2008), 201-32.

<sup>20</sup> E. W. Gudger provides a succinct overview of the achievements and relationships between these individuals and their place in the field of early modern natural history in 'The Five Great Naturalists of the Sixteenth Century: Belon, Salviani, Gesner, and Aldrovandi: A Chapter in the History of Ichthyology', *Isis*, 22:1 (1934), 21-40. A modern edition of Belon's work has recently been edited by Philippe Glardon: *L'Histoire naturelle au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: introduction, étude et édition critique de 'La Nature et diversité des poissons' (1555) de Pierre Belon* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2011).

<sup>21</sup> On Aldrovandi's contributions to the body of printed work on natural history see Fabian Kraemer and Helmut Zedelmaier, 'Instruments of Invention in Renaissance Europe: The Case of Conrad Gesner and Ulisse Aldrovandi', *Intellectual History Review*, 24:3 (2014), 321-41, and Fabian Kraemer, 'Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Pandechion Epistemonicon* and the Use of Paper Technology in Renaissance Natural History', *Early Science and Medicine*, 19:5 (2014) 398-423. Florike Egmond provides a wide-ranging account of Clusius's life and work in *The World of Carolus Clusius: Natural History in the Making 1550-1610* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2010).

works, the *Visboeck* (1577-1581) and the *Walvisboek* (1584-1586), which similarly depict knowledge of marine life garnered from other natural historical writings but also from local knowledge and empirical study of specimens and their uses in Dutch culture.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, the French naturalist, potter, architectural designer, and hydraulic engineer, Bernard Palissy, championed a rather novel means of capturing and preserving knowledge about the natural world by taking life-casts of fish, small reptiles, amphibians, and plants in clay and incorporating them into playful pottery ware and grotto design, beautifully coloured in glazes that were the achievement of his life's work.<sup>23</sup> While Palissy's pottery and grotto design will be discussed in the following chapter amid a wider consideration of the influence of natural history on early modern ornament and design, the concern with mimetic representation of specimens and the innovative means of giving shape to the previously 'unknown' warrants his mention here. These endeavours, in an even more pointed way than the woodcuts in the printed compendia produced at the time, convey an inherent sense of wonder at nature which is here approximated into different mimetic forms, through ink, clay, and glaze.

While Palissy's experiments in rendering specimens in colourfully-glazed clay were largely confined to flora and fauna of a manageable size, many of the creatures represented in the printed compendia cast a far wider imaginative net, not being

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<sup>22</sup> Piet Swanepoel describes Coenen as 'autodidact, clerk of the auction of the Scheveningen fish market, wholesaler in dried and fresh fish, official beachcomber, and supplier of marine curiosities,' in an article that uses Coenen as a test-case for exploring the 'pathology' that characterises the engagement of individuals with their environments ('Engaging with Nature', *Journal of Literary Studies*, 23:3 (2007), 228-51. For a useful summary of the *Visboeck* see Leo M. Akveld, review of Florike Egmond, ed., *Het Visboeck. De wereld volgens Adriaen Coenen 1514-1587* (2005), *International Journal of Maritime History*, 18:1 (2006), 465-66. See also Florike Egmond, 'Skeletons on Show: Learned Entertainment and Popular Knowledge', *History Workshop Journal*, 41 (1996), 92-116, and Florike Egmond and Peter Mason, "'These Are People Who Eat Raw Fish': Contours of the Ethnographic Imagination in the Sixteenth Century", *Viator*, 31 (2000), 311-60.

<sup>23</sup> On Palissy as naturalist see Martin Kemp, "'Wrought by No Artist's Hand": The Natural, the Artificial, the Exotic, and the Scientific in Some Artifacts from the Renaissance', in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, ed. by Claire Farago (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp.177-196 (p. 193), and Hanna Rose Shell, 'Casting Life, Recasting Experience: Bernard Palissy's Occupation between Maker and Nature' *Configurations*, 12:1 (2004), 1-40. For Palissy's use of ceramic figurines in his grottoes see Peter Ward-Jackson, 'Some Main Streams and Tributaries in European Ornament from 1500-1750, Part III', *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin*, 3:4 (1967), 121-54 (pp. 122-24).

constrained by the limitations of direct mimesis. Aside from the commonplace and exotic fish varieties of a recognisably piscine shape, some distinctly more human-shaped and animal-shaped specimens are likewise found on their pages, illustrating Pliny's proposition that marine life is so diverse as to resemble all the creatures and plants on the earth.<sup>24</sup> Many of these creatures are specifically identified as sea monsters and catalogued in tandem with other inhabitants of their natural environments, often supplemented with etymological histories and citations of cultural documents (such as pamphlets and histories) that detail their existence. Thinking further about the documentation of marine creatures and monsters and the circulation of images between different forms of printed material makes for a clearer exposition of how they become shaped through different concerns regarding sightlines and the importance of monstrosity as a crucial element in representations of the marine, which is consistently showcased through its monstrous qualities.

In her rich and wide-ranging chapter on fish and identity in early modern England, Elspeth Graham notes that while mainland ichthyological writing goes back to the sixteenth century, 'explicit attention to fish in seventeenth-century English records is less sustained than it is to other animals, and is consequently less apparent in thinking of the period,' and points out that there is a distinct absence of fish from 'encyclopaedic and influential compilations such as Edward Topsell's, *The History of Foure-footed Beastes and Serpents* (London, 1607-8), or even its later more comprehensive edition, *The History of Four-footed Beasts and Serpents [and] Insects* (London, 1658)'.<sup>25</sup> Although popular compendia such as Topsell's does not boast the extensive marine specimens found in Gesner's *Historiae Animalium* on which it was modelled, I largely disagree with Graham's assertion that 'attention to fish is [...] less

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<sup>24</sup> Pliny writes that the generative principles in the sea ratify 'the common opinion that everything born in any department of nature exists also in the sea, as well as a number of things never found elsewhere' (*Natural History*, trans. by H. Rackham, 10 vols (London: Heinemann, 1938-1962), III (1940), Book IX, i (p. 165).

<sup>25</sup> Elspeth Graham, 'Ways of Being; Ways of Knowing: Fish, Fishing and Forms of Identity in Seventeenth-Century English Culture', in *Animals and Early Modern Identity*, ed. by Pia F. Cuneo (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 351-73 (p. 352).

apparent in thinking of the period,' for a number of reasons.<sup>26</sup> First, because, as Graham herself goes on to point out, fish and fishing do manifest themselves in other forms of 'thinking' in the period (evidenced in her eloquent discussion and persuasive readings of Gervase Markham's husbandry manual and Izaak Walton's *The Compleate Angler*, for example). Secondly, ichthyological knowledge circulated in textual form in English editions of Pliny and in pictorial forms (which were often lifted from continental works on natural history) on maps, and in the copies of continental material that was brought into England from the continent.<sup>27</sup>

While enquiry into and production of images and natural historical texts relating to marine life was largely a continental interest to being with, circulation and consumption were certainly current in England as well, particularly in the Jacobean period. Pliny was available in England in John Alday's *A Summarie of the Antiquities, and Wonders of the Worlde, Abstracted out of the Sixtene First Bookes of the Excellente Historiographer Plinie* (London, 1566) (translated from Pierre de Changy's French abstract of Pliny's text) and the later translation by Philemon Holland in 1601.<sup>28</sup> Popularity and cultural awareness of Pliny's text is undoubted, given that references to it appear even in the texts of the Lord Mayors' Shows such as Munday's *Camp-Bell: or The Ironmongers Faire Field* (1609).<sup>29</sup> Just as mermaid and triton devices and personages were used repeatedly in these shows, these creatures also frequently characterised accounts of marine monstrosity and made visual appearances in works of natural history and ichthyology. The prevalence of these creatures in early modern culture is obvious but the treatment that their collectively imagined bodies receive in being given physical shape (whether in image, pageant device, or personage played by an actor) is rooted in a different set of imaginative concerns and projections.

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<sup>26</sup> On Topsell see Virgil B. Heltzel, 'Some New Light on Edward Topsell', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 1:2 (1938), 199-202. On the relationship between Gesner and Topsell's translation see Jerry Stannard, review of T. Muffet, ed., *History of Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents and Insects by Edward Topsell* (1967), *Isis*, 59: 3 (1968), 334-35.

<sup>27</sup> On the role of exchange through translation more specifically see S. K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington, eds, *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473-1640* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

<sup>28</sup> Philemon Holland, trans, *The Historie of the World Commonly Called, the Naturall Historie of C. Plinius Secundus*, 2 vols (London, 1601).

<sup>29</sup> See pp. 85-86, above.

The aberrant nature of their bodies, repeatedly highlighted in both pamphlets and compendia standardises and lessens their potentially transgressive anatomies, particularly given the appearance of such creatures in civic and court performances. Similarly, the cultural significance of whales, which are variously portentous, voracious, monstrous, or indicative of God's divine glory in creating creatures to be marvelled at, often operates in a similarly complex way. They were regularly to be found as a popular feature of the water processions in civic drama and their presence often receives little by way of description in printed accounts of the Shows because their appearance in them was so regular and commonplace. The kinds of cultural fluidity that tritons, mermaids, and whales undergo within civic drama are indicative of similar ways of identifying and 'performing' their bodies in other textual forms. The documentation that marine 'monsters' such as tritons, mermaids, and monstrous fish receive in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century natural history rests on authenticating accounts that encompass different kinds of ocular practices. Allusions to records of sightings, echoes of images of the given specimen seen elsewhere and empirical observation comes to play an important role in the textual descriptions and the accompanying woodcut images found in these works.<sup>30</sup> In some cases, rather than simply relying on former scholastic knowledge of the natural world or direct contemporary empirical study of nature, information taken from popular printed accounts of sea monsters is cited.

Given the prevalence of their appearance in drama, I shall take mermaids and tritons as a starting point. The singular and plural forms of 'triton' found in descriptions of water shows and court entertainments, together with the interchangeable use of 'sirens', 'Nereids', and 'mermaids' used to designate distinctly human-looking marine beings reveal that these creatures are the result of a dense interweaving of cultural myths. While the Nereids and mermaids that appear in civic and court entertainments are frequently presented as distinctly human-shaped deities or

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<sup>30</sup> For a discussion of the increasing importance of images in natural history see Pamela O. Long, 'Objects of Art/ Objects of Nature: Visual Representation and the Investigation of Nature', and Claudia Swan, 'From Blowfish to Flower Still Life Paintings: Classification and Its Images, circa 1600', in *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 63-82; pp. 109-36.

nymphs, when these very terms are repeated throughout works of natural history and ichthyology they clearly designate a creature with a fish tail. The conflation and interchangeability of these terms problematizes pseudo-scientific classification due to the interdependence of multiple cultural expressions and myths being brought to bear on the creatures' bodies. The multiplicity and interchangeability of these terms reflects the rich and complex cultural and literary history that fabled composite marine creatures and water deities had undergone. For instance, Triton, the Greek messenger-god of the sea, had by the sixteenth century become a more general term for a male composite marine creature. The specificity of Triton thus became approximated to describe any fish graced with an overtly human male upper body. Thus, a singular mythological figure becomes diluted into a generic plurality, and the interchangeable terms for female composites illustrates the convergence of multiple cultural associations and myths that allow them to be categorised as mermaids, monsters, Nereids, and sirens. The original appearance of sirens incorporated a composite avian physiology in classical poetry, but given the proximity of the sirens to the sea, where they would lure sailors into navigating their ships into jagged rocks beneath their nests, it is little wonder that they became conflated with waterborne beings.<sup>31</sup>

The term 'Nereids', the fifty daughters of Nereus, who were believed to live with him in his underwater dwelling in the Aegean Sea, were commonly envisaged as beautiful young women who variously represented different qualities of the sea. While the identification of the marine actors in entertainments specifically as Nereids or water nymphs may have been suitable for the human actors representing them, the interchangeability of the terms in natural history reveals that 'Nereid' could also be used to designate a composite creature with a fish tail and a female upper body. Similarly, 'mermaid' is used repeatedly to designate a human-looking nymph and a fish-tailed creature. This plurality of terms highlights the concurrent circulations of

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<sup>31</sup> Alison Luchs provides a useful account of the heritage of mermaids in *The Mermaids of Venice: Fantastic Sea Creatures in Venetian Renaissance Art* (London and Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 7-36. See also Eric Nicholson's 'Sing Again, Sirena: Translating the Theatrical Virtuosa from Venice to London', in *Waterborne Pageants and Festivals in the Renaissance*, ed. by Margaret Shewring (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 373-89 (pp. 373-75 on the 'ambivalence and mutability of this hybrid figure').

various forms of cultural myth and observation; a mermaid—a maid of the sea—is not simply a female-seeming creature, but one that also encompasses a variety of benevolent, benign, and dangerous poetic connotations. This imbues the creatures with a sense of historical origin and production, tapping into cultural memory to place the seemingly aberrant creature into an already established epistemological framework.

The pictorial representation of mermaids in compendia is in many as problematic as the complexity that characterises the jumble of interchangeable terms appended to their bodies both within those texts and in early modern culture more generally. Their descriptions by Gesner, Belon, and Rondelet typically rely on Pliny's account, although the woodcut images copied from Gesner by his successors do not authenticate the description in accurate or mimetic terms. The discrepancy between the bodies in the woodcuts and the description in the text embodies the difficulty of presenting an authoritative textual description that is at odds with what had already become a culturally-standardised image of the mer-people. The legitimating relationship between image and text is thus undermined. The woodcut of the mermaid and triton in Fig. 9 clearly depicts distinctly human torsos and heads, with small webbed forefeet and long curved fish tails, yet Pliny's description, in fact, provides a far less aestheticized account:

The description of the Nereids also is not incorrect, except that their body is bristling with hair even in the parts where they have a human shape; for a Nereid has been seen on the same coast, whose mournful song when dying has been heard a long way off by the coast-dwellers.<sup>32</sup>

Pliny appeals to the collective cultural imaginary in suggesting that the descriptions of Nereids are 'not incorrect' but this apparent confirmation of popular belief is destabilised by what follows: the report that the human parts of these female composite creatures in fact have bodies that are not just covered but 'bristling' with hair. Alday's 1566 English translation of Pliny's text presents this passage rather briefly: 'in the Sea Meermaydes that have bene sene, and some that have the shape of men, and their

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<sup>32</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. by H. Rackham, 10 vols (London: Heinemann, 1938-1962), III (1940), Book IX. iv (p. 170).



voyce like unto mens voice, having the body of mans shape, and the lower parts scaled like fishes, with a tayle', the brevity of which is unsurprising given that it was translated from a French abstract of the *Historia Nauralis*.<sup>33</sup> Holland's translation, on the other hand, includes a somewhat lengthier treatment of this material:

In the time that Tiberius was Emperour, there came unto him an Embassador from Lisbon sent of purpose to make relation, That upon their sea coast there was discovered within a certain hole, a certain sea-goblin, called Triton, sounding a shell like a Trumpet or Coronet: & that *he was in forme and shape like that are commonly painted for Tritons*. And as for the Mermaids called Nereides, it is no fabulous tale that goeth of them, *for looke how painters draw them, so they are indeed*: only their bodie is rough and skaled all over, even in those parts wherein they resemble a human. (X4<sup>v</sup>, my italics)

Rather than retaining Pliny's allusion to the common 'descriptions'—which can take many different forms—Holland's translation presents the creatures specifically in terms of contemporary visual representation. This translation forgoes the multiple possibilities of first-hand reports (as well as other sources that Pliny's text encompasses) by focusing solely on representation that is both mimetic and overtly artificial. The tritons, apparently, are exactly as 'commonly painted', while the mermaids 'looke how the painters draw them'; in both cases Holland privileges a visual reading of these bodies, inviting his readers to draw on painted and printed images of the creatures in order to supplement the lack of pictorial examples in his own text. He does this through an intertextual gesture towards the myriad painted and printed mermaid and triton images that would have been familiar to an early modern readership. Holland's translation of classical authority and knowledge thus invokes an anachronistic allusion to contemporary paratexts, thereby tailoring the authoritative text to fit with more historically and culturally immediate ways of seeing and giving shape to these creatures. This means of authenticating the creatures' purported appearance draws on contemporary pictorial representation to further credit the authority of Pliny's text undermines the stability it purports to uphold and illustrates

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<sup>33</sup> Pliny the Elder, *A Summarie of the Antiquities, and Wonders of the Worlde, Abstracted out of the Sixtene First Bookes of the Excellente Historiographer Plinie*, trans. by John Alday (London, 1566), sig. E2<sup>v</sup>.

the complexity inherent in making sense and reconciling the idealised appearance of composite marine bodies propagated in visual and material culture of the time with the learned descriptions that offer a somewhat different account.

Directing the reader towards the idealised and aestheticized bodies in painting places the translation somewhat at odds with Plinian ‘reality’, given that these ‘common’ artistic representations are in fact quite distant from the bristled hairy upper bodies originally described. Indeed, Holland’s decision to replace the bristling hairs with the supposition that the human part of the mermaids is ‘rough and skaled’ most likely reflects the aestheticizing impulse also evident in his decision to append a statement on the truth-value of painter’s representations to Pliny’s account. The scales are a more flattering alternative to the excessive body hair originally mentioned by Pliny, which reinforces the attempt to reconcile the standardised early modern image of the mermaid with that being described in the text. The different layers of textual, cultural, and pictorial representations at play in Holland’s translation of Pliny’s account where the convergence of multiple experiences that create the ‘well-known shape’ are translated into artists’ knowledge (or at least fanciful imaginings) of those bodies.<sup>34</sup> This is remarkable not only for its emphasis on the mingling of artistic representations and natural history but also for reiterating the multiple converging ways of making knowledge by giving textual and visual shape to the unknown which does not necessarily correlate.

#### **IV. Marine monsters and their cultural uses**

Aside from works of natural history and ichthyology, textual accounts of mermaids and tritons could be found in other types of compendious texts, such as, for example, Stephen Batman’s translation of Konrad Lykothsenes’s *The Doome Warning All Men*

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<sup>34</sup> Katharina Kolb documents the visual dimensions of ichthyological representation and the relationship between engravers, artists, and natural historians in her monograph, *Graveurs, artistes et hommes de sciences: Essai sur les traités de poissons de la Renaissance* (Paris: Editions des Cendres, 1996). See also Philippe Glardon’s critical review of Kolb’s book in *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, 59:2 (1997), 466-68.

to the Judgement (London, 1581). *The Doome* is a compendious narrative of strange occurrences and prodigies that are presented in a providential framework that warns its readers of divine wrath. The text includes a brief acknowledgement of marine wonders which concludes the section of the text that details marine life: ‘Trytons, Syrenæ and other divers kindes of monsters doe abide everye where, as wel on land as on the Sea, in great abundance’. Interestingly, the entry on sea monsters here is lacking illustrations (which are used elsewhere throughout the text) but it is supplemented with a suggestion that the reader shall find sufficient examples ‘by reading Plinie in his 9. booke, and in Opianus’ (sig. B7<sup>v</sup>).<sup>35</sup> Whereas Batman’s translation refrains from projecting contemporary visual renderings of these creatures, it does, perhaps in a similar way to Holland’s description of Pliny, draw attention to imaginative renderings of sea creatures in Oppian’s verses, which also include a catalogue of marine life.<sup>36</sup>

That tritons and mermaids are a culturally prevalent means of representing marine alterity and allure is evident from the frequency with which their bodies pepper cartographical images, metal-ware, pottery-ware, decoration, painting, print, and dramatic performance in the Renaissance. Despite their apparent rarity and singularity as piscine specimens, their ubiquitous poetic and material iterations across different modes of cultural production, together with the richness of their cultural heritage, reveal their usefulness as symbols that mark marine spaces. The generic and standardised appearance of these creatures did not, however, preclude challenges to their idealised aesthetic attributes, as the following early seventeenth-century pamphlet about a rather peculiar mermaid reveals. *A Most Strange and True Report of a Monsterous Fish, that Appeared in the Forme of a Woman, from Her Waist Upwardes* (London, 1603) takes the form of a letter, written by ‘P.G.’ to his cousin ‘H. P.’, in which the sighting of the mermaid is placed into an established theoretical ‘framework’ of the monstrous: ‘many have published, as monsterous Birthes, strange

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<sup>35</sup> Conrad Lykosthenes, *The Doome Warning All Men to the Judgement*, trans. by Stephen Batman (London, 1581).

<sup>36</sup> See William Diaper, trans., *Oppian’s Halieuticks of Fishes and Fishing of the Ancients in V Books. Translated from the Greek, with an Account of Oppian’s Life and Writings, and a Catalogue of his Fishes* (Oxford, 1722).

Beastes, taking of Whales and other strange fishes, fierie Dragons, & strange sightes in the Ayre, some by nature, (others, as tokens of Gods powerfull Majestie' (sig. A2<sup>v</sup>).

The initial description of the mermaid, this most 'strange and wonderfull thing' (sig. A3<sup>r</sup>), initially follows the standard protocol:

The shape of a very lively Woman, from her wast upwardes, which was all above the water: her cullour browne: a very large and faire haire: over which [...] was a thing like a Hood, about her necke in maner of a white Band, her Breastes round and very white, with two fayre handes, everie thing formally as a Woman. (sig. A3<sup>r</sup>)

The narrator claims that the sight was 'A most dreadful wonder to many of those beholders, which diversly censured thereof: some being afrayde, least it might be otherwise then it shewed' (sig. A3<sup>v</sup>), suggesting that their own sighting might be compromised. Indeed, the mermaid does prove contrary to the expected appearance:

It appeared in colour gray, with eares like a Hound, but somewhat greater and shorter: her back like unto a Cock-boate, a full yard or more in breadth: her tayle to their seeming, two fothomes [*sic*] in length. (sig. A3<sup>v</sup>)

The discrepancy between expectation and reality inherent in the mermaid's presentation of a clearer view of itself mirrors the tensions located in Philemon Holland's affirmation of the truth-value of artists' interpretations of mermaids. The mermaid at Pendine provides a qualification about those bodies actually being somewhat different in appearance. Sightlines are important and while an obscured view perpetuates the commonplace idealised picture of the mermaid, when she presents herself in full view, the illusion is broken. The woodcut illustration of the mermaid (Fig. 6) is quite unlike the standard mermaid images and is rather reminiscent of the dog-faced 'sea-devil' in Fig. 7, which appears both in Gesner and Paré, and was most likely a seal, as is the case with the mermaid at Pendine.

Although no explicit portentous judgment is made about the creature's strange physiognomy or unexpected appearance, the account nevertheless strives to give credibility to its content by repeatedly stressing the trustworthiness of Reynolds as a

witness, and the investigations of William Sandars, from the same parish, who examines a list of witnesses, the names of whom appear on sig. A4<sup>v</sup>. The concern with establishing the credibility of the account has clearly led the author to invoke the natural history model and attempt to offer the kind of authoritative attribution that was so common in encyclopaedic writing.

While mermaids and tritons were long-standing and culturally prevalent mythological sea creatures within whose bodies elements of the human and the piscine mingle, the early modern imaginary gave rise to more topical sea monsters that manifest distinctly human anatomical traits. Other, more singular marine creatures that bear an uncanny resemblance to the human can be found in learned and popular texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where these monsters are sometimes constructed from various elements of earlier monster descriptions. The projection of human visages and elements of the human anatomy onto the marine, of course, could be found in much earlier texts, such as the medieval illuminated manuscript versions of the *Alexander Romance*. The episode in which Alexander the Great descends into the sea in his diving-bell is typically rendered into a pictorial representation teeming with a variety of monsters and fish that are often remarkably human-looking.<sup>37</sup> In Ulrich von Etzenbach's late fourteenth-century illustration of this episode, the sea creatures that surround the diving-bell have wonderfully and uncannily articulate human faces that invite speculation on the true nature of marine wonder: are the most wondrous bodies that the sea yields the ones that bear the most resemblance to the human form, given that humans are hopelessly incompatible with life underwater?<sup>38</sup>

There are several non-Plinian specimens that bear a human resemblance documented in sixteenth-century writing on marine life. For example, the 'sea-monk' is one such specimen, first identified in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century and documented by the likes of Alexander Neckam, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas of

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<sup>37</sup> For this, and other manuscript illustrations of Alexander's sub-aquatic voyage see the plates in David John Althole Ross, *Studies in the Alexander Romance* (London: Pindar Press, 1985).

<sup>38</sup> Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1.2.5, fol. 1285<sup>r</sup>, reproduced in Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), p. 96.

Cantimpré, later appearing in a series of pamphlets following a sighting of the creature in 1546.<sup>39</sup> The remarkable appearance of the creature, which bears a striking resemblance to a tonsured monk, received attention in woodcut illustrations (copied from the pamphlets) that appear in Belon, Gesner, Rondelet, and subsequent writers (Fig. 8).<sup>40</sup> In *De Piscibus Marinis*, Rondelet goes to some length to give the provenance of the image in the broadsheet which was given to him by the Queen of Navarre, having received it from the ambassador of Charles V, who in turn had seen the monster himself.<sup>41</sup> Rondelet's use and careful tracing of the etymology of the broadsheet image reveals the close links between popular accounts and learned discourse. The authority of these different ways of recording knowledge about the natural world was not mutually exclusive since they rely on one another to uphold the credibility of the specimen being presented. A similar case of a remarkably ecclesiastically-shaped marine creature is the 'sea bishop', which commonly appears alongside the sea monk in the natural histories and ichthyological compendia.<sup>42</sup> The relationship between popular accounts and encyclopaedic discourse will be discussed further below, in relation to a rather singular broadsheet monster account.

Sea creatures such as these were commonly described as monstrous and appeared in sections of compendia that dealt specifically with marine monstrosity. But rather than simply being accepted as a commonplace feature of marine life or portentous signs from God—as is the case with monstrous bodies that are catalogued in Lykothesenes's compendia—it is possible to find some pseudo-scientific enquiry

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<sup>39</sup> See Charles G.M. Paxton and R. Holland, 'Was Steenstrup Right? A New Interpretation of the 16th Century Sea Monk of the Øresund', *Steenstrupia*, 29: 1 (2005), 39-47 (pp. 39-42). For facsimile reprints of the different iterations of the pamphlets and illustrations detailing the creature, see Ingrid Faust's *Zoologische Einblattdrucke und Flugschriften vor 1800*, 6 vols (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1998-2003), IV: *Wale, Sirenen, Elefanten* (2002), pp. 214-21.

<sup>40</sup> Paxton and Holland provide a useful comparison of how the creature was depicted by these naturalists ('Was Steenstrup Right?', p. 41; p. 44).

<sup>41</sup> Sachiko Kusakawa, 'The Role of Images in the Development of Renaissance Natural History', *Archives of Natural History*, 38:2 (2011), 189-213 (p. 199). See also Philippe Glardon, 'Engravers, Artists and Men of Science: An Essay on Renaissance Treatises on Ichthyology', *Bibliothèque D'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 59:2 (1997), 466-68.

<sup>42</sup> See C. Jac Conardie, 'From Icon to Index and Back: A 16th Century Description of a "Sea-Bishop"', in *Signergy*, ed. by C. Jac Conardie, Ronèl Johl, Marthinus Beukes and others (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2010), pp. 211-24, and W. M. S. Russell and F. S. Russell, 'The Origin of the Sea Bishop', *Folklore*, 86:2 (1975), 94-98.

into the causes of marine monstrosity. For example, the French court physician Ambroise Paré's *Des Monstres et Prodiges* (published in his collected works in Paris, 1575) located sea monsters in a much wider framework on monstrous births, creatures, and physical deformities.<sup>43</sup> The collected works consist mainly of Paré's tracts on surgery and physic, many of which had been previously published separately, but it is the twenty-fifth book, 'Of Monsters and Marvels', that is of particular interest here. The surgeon's medical background frames his approach to considering the causes of the monstrous bodies outlined in this book. He outlines several reasons for the existence of monsters in nature, citing the glory or wrath of God, too great or too little a quantity of sperm, the power of the imagination, narrowness of the womb, the indecent posture of the mother, hereditary or accidental illness, damaged or diseased sperm, mixture or mingling of sperm, the artifice of wicked spiteful beggars, and finally through demons and devils.<sup>44</sup> Most of these reasons do, in some limited sense, explain monsters as arising from malformed foetuses (as in the case of a narrow womb constricting the successful development of a foetus's limbs or head, or too great a quantity of sperm resulting in superfluous limbs being formed). The suggestion that composite monsters containing elements of human and animal anatomies arise from intraspecies breeding was a popular belief commonly found in pamphlets that detailed such monsters.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Paré's collected works were originally published in two French editions in Paris in 1575 and 1578, and again posthumously in a Latin translation by Jacques Guillemeau in 1582. Guillemeaus's translation was in many ways imperfect, containing numerous significant lacunae and variants, and inevitably lacking features of the 1575 edition. This Latin version 'omits anything that posed problems in comprehension, which can occur rather frequently, for Paré's style can be elliptical and even incoherent at times' (Ambroise Paré, *On Monsters and Marvels*, trans. by Janis L. Pallister (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. xxviii). This imperfect Latin translation was used by Thomas Johnson for the preparations of *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey Translated out of Latine and Compared with the French* (London, 1634). Although this English translation did not appear until almost fifty years after Paré's original publication, the immense popularity (and controversy) that Paré's work enjoyed on the continent provides a basis from which can be inferred the probable circulation of his works in England, either in the original French, or the later Latin.

<sup>44</sup> Cited in Alan W. Bates 'Good, Common, Regular, and Orderly: Early Modern Classification of the Monstrous', *Social History Medicine*, 18:2 (2005), 141-58, (p. 141).

<sup>45</sup> See Alan W. Bates's discussion of Renaissance beliefs on the causes of monstrous births in *Emblematic Monsters: Unnatural Conceptions and Deformed Births in Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2005), pp. 118-38.

However, later in the treatise, Paré devotes a chapter to marine marvels, tritons, Nereids, and the ‘ecclesiastical’ fish among them, he unsurprisingly draws on Pliny’s accounts as well as those of the sixteenth-century naturalists previously mentioned. He asserts that the sea monsters and prodigies are ‘wondrous to us, or rather monstrous, for that they are not very familiar to us. For the rarity and vastnesse of bodies, is in some sort monstrous’.<sup>46</sup> The trajectory between rarity, size, and monstrosity is important here, given that it is largely the overwhelming size of marine specimens such as cetaceans inspires awe and wonder when they become visible to large audiences upon becoming beached. The rarity and lack of familiarity of marine monsters arises from the fundamental divisions between land and sea that make it impossible to frequently or consistently see into the depths that harbour these enormous creatures. The lack of familiarity stressed here is also important for drawing anatomical distinctions between the bodies of humans and those of marine denizens, since it complicates the identification of marine composites as monstrous, as the very fact of their monstrous appearance arises specifically from the uncanny familiarity of their human upper halves. Despite the previous attempts to rationalise monstrous bodies at the beginning of the treatise, the pseudo-scientific theories fall short in explaining the existence of composite sea monsters:

Tritons, which from the middle upwards are reported to have the shape of men. And the *Sirens*, *Nerēides* or Mere-maides, who (according to *Pliny*) have the shape of man: neither yet can the forementioned condition and conjunction of seede take any place here, for, as we lately said they consist of their owne proper nature. (sig. Pppp3<sup>r</sup>)

By locating their composite monstrous bodies in ‘their owne proper nature’ rather than any irregularity at conception or birth, Paré places the mer-people into their own distinct category of existence. Thus, just as the marine monsters are identified as inexplicable or anomalous creatures in the natural history compendia, they occupy a similarly problematic place in a treatise that deals exclusively with monstrosity.

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<sup>46</sup> Paré, *The Workes*, trans. by Johnson, Pppp2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>r</sup>.



The illustration that accompanies Paré's entry on the mermaid and triton implicitly presents the creatures as the male and female of the same species (Fig. 9). By way of historical precedent and authority, Paré chooses to append an account of Pharaoh Mena's encounter with a triton and mermaid on the banks of the Nile in the paragraph following the quotation, which supports a unified existence of the male and female composites. The description of these creatures again commonly fits with popular conceptions of mer-people: 'shape was just like a man even to the middle, with his countenance composed to gravity, his haire yellow, intermixed with some grey, his stomach bony, his arms orderly made and jointed', his female companion 'with the shape and countenance of a woman, as appeared by her face, her long haire, and swollen breasts' (sig. Pppp3<sup>r</sup>). In light of his earlier assertion that composite marine monsters are not the result of the mingling of seed between man and fish, the arrangement of Paré's entry on the triton and mermaid implicitly suggests the possibility of procreation if they are indeed considered as a species in their own right (as this depiction of them implies) rather than as aberrant singular specimens like the sea-monk and sea-bishop. In this sense, the triton and mermaid can be made to represent a grotesque alternative order of being in which parts of the human physiognomy are projected onto marine bodies. Thinking back to Paré's hypothesis on monstrosity being a result of a lack of familiarity and his suggestion that such monsters are abundant 'especially in the Sea, whose secret corners and receptacles are not pervious to men' (sig. Pppp2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>r</sup>), implies that underwater spaces are devoid of human presence. And yet, the most commonplace yet remarkable marine monsters of the deep offer glimpses of themselves in which they display distinctly human physical and even behavioural attributes.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> One such attribute is discussed in Karl Steel and Peggy McCracken's article on the *Perceforest* romance, where the authors explore the chivalric codes that are central to both the human protagonist and the order of fish-knights with whom he tours, 'The Animal Turn: Into the Sea with the Fish-Knights of *Perceforest*', *Postmedieval*, 2:1 (2011), 88-100.

#### IV. Creating marine monstrosity

As demonstrated by the dog-faced mermaid at Pendine, even the most culturally standardised of the sea ‘monsters’ sometimes deviates from their common appearance elsewhere and flouts the expectations of both the narrator and the reader by revealing unexpected elements of their appearance. There are a number of other seventeenth-century marine monsters, however, that are reported on quite contrary terms, where, rather than deviating from standard descriptions, they conflate and piece together various elements of marine monsters described elsewhere in order to present a creature that is seemingly ‘new’ and original. These constructions of marine monstrosity highlight the reciprocal relationship between reportage of sea monsters in popular print and in compendia of natural history or ichthyology, which relied on one another for authentication. While natural histories would cite pamphlets and broadsides, popular accounts of marine monstrosity would in turn draw attention to the presence of sea monsters in natural histories by way of imbuing themselves with a level of credibility.

A lively French broadsheet account of a marine monster in the British Library’s collections illuminates how natural history texts could be put to use in creating a legitimate and unique marine monster that quite clearly draws on typical episodes and descriptions commonly found in the compendia. The broadsheet is entitled *Histoire tragique, & espouvantable, arrivée en l’année 1615. en Frise, en la ville d’Emden, d’un monstre marin, representant la forme humaine* (Paris, 1616). The exact provenance of the *Histoire tragique* is unclear; the text asserts that the events described in the narrative transpired in Emden, Friesland, and that the present copy was translated from the account written at Viterbo, Italy. This is supported by the colophon, which states that the text was taken from an imprint at Viterbo and published in Paris.<sup>48</sup> While a full transcription and translation of the broadsheet is provided in the Appendix, I would like to draw attention to several features of the broadsheet here to show that the narrative is an amalgamation of different sea monster descriptions.

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<sup>48</sup> Dennis Rhodes, a leading authority on the printing history at Viterbo, claims that any connection between the broadside and Viterbo can be ruled out [private email correspondence, 19 November 2012].

The account begins by establishing an authenticating framework for the creature's existence, invoking many of the authorities on marine monsters by way of making the appearance of the creature seem plausible:

What has been related about sea monsters is not to be ignored, if we hold faith with the sailors, and have trust in antiquity. Because how could one not recall Pliny's ninth book of his history, concerning the Triton seen in the times of the Emperor Tiberius. Does not Pausanias say that he saw one come out of the sea in Boeotia, causing a thousand harms? Alexander, known as The Alexander, thirteenth book, chapter eight, writes a similar thing of one that was in Albania. Olaus Magnus in his Septentrional histories astonishes the world by speaking of the monk of the sea.<sup>49</sup>

Immediately, the existence of this unusual monster is legitimated by being placed into two epistemological frameworks: that of natural historians and that of sailors, placing equal weight on pragmatic and scholastic knowledge. The narrative that follows this introduction, however, is quite unlike the accounts in the authorities it mentions in that rather than being confined the sea, the 'monstre marin' actively traverses both land and sea, and unlike the frail and delicate body of the bishop-fish whose body cannot withstand removal from water, the creature proves strong and powerful as it wreaks havoc on the shore.<sup>50</sup>

While the monster has a 'forme humaine', it is quite unlike the tritons previously discussed and certainly unlike the benign and somewhat bloated body of the sea-monk that the broadsheet references. The central image in the illustration (Fig. 10) is entirely unlike any of the ones found in the extant sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century popular pamphlets or natural histories and the physical description in the narrative is very detailed:

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<sup>49</sup> Anon., *Histoire Tragique, & Espouvantable, Arrivée en l'Annee 1615. en Frise, en la Ville d'Emden, d'un Monstre Marin, Representant la Forme Humaine* (Paris, 1616). The quotations provided are from my translation of the original, which is given in full alongside a transcription of the French text in the Appendix.

<sup>50</sup> Rondelet's entry on the bishop-fish states that upon being captured and taken to the King of Poland, the creature made signs to indicate that it wanted to be returned to the sea, whereupon it was taken back to the water (Russell and Russell, 'Origin of the Sea Bishop', p. 95).

This monster resembles a man of twelve palms in height, on his head he has hair that stands up like the bristles of a boar, hard and prickly as the needles of a hedgehog: his colour is green like the sea: his ears are like ours, but with some spikes on the inside; his face is flat and very broad, with yellowish eyes; savage teeth; the mouth very large, the nostrils quite wide. Under the chin he has a bit of very prickly hair; the hands with their fingers; the fingernails resemble daggers, and his whole body is covered in scales. He has the tail of a dolphin, and his appearance has terrified the world.

The actions of the monstrous creature bear uncanny resemblance to Pliny's description of a 'man of the sea', described in Holland's 1601 translation:

[I]n the coast of the Spanish Ocean neere unto Gades, they have seene a mere-man resembling a man so perfectly in all parts of the bodie as might be. And they report, moreover, that in the night season he would come out of the sea about [sic] their ships: but look upon what part he settled, he waied the same down, and if he rested and continued there any long time he would sinke it cleare. (X4<sup>v</sup>)<sup>51</sup>

The author of *Histoire tragique* uses elements of this episode in section 'B' of the narrative, where the 'Poisson d'une estrange forme' attempts to make its way onto the frigate in which the sailors keep the wine casks, illustrated in the accompanying woodcut. The terms appended to the creature throughout the narrative pose a series of interesting questions about category boundaries and proximity to the land. While the creature is in the water, it is mostly referred to as a 'poisson', and yet, once it comes onto the land it becomes a 'monstre', with the epithets 'd'une estrange forme' and 'la forme humaine', serving to further complicate matters, calling to mind Paré's earlier mentions of familiarity.

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<sup>51</sup> Rackham's translation of this passage runs 'a man of the sea had been seen by them [the Order of Knighthood] in the Gulf of Cadiz, with complete resemblance to a human being in every part of his body, and that he climbs on board ships during the hours of the night and the side of the vessel that he sits on is at once weighted down, and if he stays there longer actually goes below the water' (*Natural History*, p. 169-71). A merman of this sort is documented in an undated German broadsheet from 1620, currently in the Royal Danish Library, entitled *Beschreibung eines unerhörten Meerwunders, deszgleichen niemals gesehen worden, so sich zwischen Denmarck und Nortwegen hat sehen lassen von einer hochansehnlichen Stands Person beschrieben* (Frankfurt, 1620). The accompanying woodcut depicts the *Meerwunder* as a naked bearded man with no piscine anatomical features, taking some wine from a boat of fishermen. The account later appeared in an unillustrated pamphlet translated into Italian as *Vero ritratto et historia di un prodigioso pesce marino di forma humana, preso poco fa tra i Regni di Dannemarca, e Noruegia publicata da un notabil personaggio Consigliere del Re di Dannemarca, il qual su presented alla pesca di detto pesce* (Florence, 1630). A facsimile of the German account appears in Eugen Holländer, *Wunder, Wundergeburt und Wundergestalt in Einblattgedrucken des Fünfzehnten bis Achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1921), p. 207.

The creature's physical description very much calls to mind Paré's previously cited account of Mena's encounter with the triton, who has 'his hair yellowe' (*The Works*, sig. Pppp3<sup>f</sup>), which could be an implicit inspiration for the yellowishness of the marine monster's eyes.<sup>52</sup> Likewise, the images of the 'Sea-monster with a man's face' (sig. Pppp4<sup>v</sup>) taken by Paré from Gesner (Fig. 7), which has 'the head [that] looks very ghastly, having two hornes, pricke ears, and armes not much unlike a man', resonates with the creature's 'visage enfoncé & fort large', and the 'pricke ears' are incorporated into the marine monster's appearance in the *Histoire tragique* as 'ses oreilles comme les nostres, mais avec quelques pointes à l'entour'. While the 'monstre marin' may not quite be a composite in the sense of being half-man half-fish, the creation of this monster in print brilliantly illustrates a different type of 'composite' creature, one that is pieced together from other monster narratives.

Gesner's account of the circumstances of the human-faced monster's demise also figures in the *Histoire tragique*. He writes that 'It was taken in the Illyrian sea, as it came ashore out of the water to catch a little child: for being hurt by the stones cast by a fisherman who saw it, it returned a while after to the shore from whence it fled, and there died (sig. Pppp4<sup>v</sup>). This compares directly with the episode 'D' of the broadsheet, in which the monster similarly snatches a child, but rather than being driven away, the monster succeeds:

This terrible monster, finding a boy of thirteen washing himself in the waters in the height of summer at the foot of a rock, took him suddenly and held him in his arms. A villager who was on a hill near the sea saw him, and called for help; but since people were distant and no one was responding he started to throw stones at the monster, hitting him once, upon feeling which the fish took the boy by the midriff and shook the boy violently of which the poor child died.

While the reasons for the monster's attempted abduction of the boy are unclear, it nevertheless calls to mind a passage from the *Historia Naturalis*, where Pliny recounts how a dolphin that had strayed into the Lucrine lake and fell in love with a young

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<sup>52</sup> There is indeed a strong likelihood of Paré's text having an influence on the *Histoire Tragique*, given that both were printed in Paris.

boy.<sup>53</sup> The monster's implicit sexual interest in humans is perhaps more clearly articulated in Episode 'C', in which the creature abducts a woman:

When a woman was walking on the seashore, gathering wood borne to land by the ocean tide, this monster approached her with great speed, seized her, carried her into the sea, and has never surrendered her since.

This rather sinister encounter hints towards a monstrous breach of boundaries, perhaps leading the reader to wonder of the likelihood of a monstrous hybrid progeny resulting from intraspecies breeding discussed by Paré in relation to terrestrial forms of composite monstrosity.

When the 'monstre marin' first makes an appearance in the Norwegian seas, the sailors tell their captain that they were not able to capture it and it had escaped after taking a little bit of wine (implying that barrels of it must have been stored in the skiff trailing behind the ship, which the monster can be seen attempting to board in section 'B' of the woodcut in Fig. 10). When the angry townspeople decide to take revenge on the monster, they lure him with a small container of strong and powerful wine, the smell of which draws the creature near and leads it to drink 'knowingly'.

As such, the *Historie Tragique* illustrates the ways in which well-known authoritative quasi-scientific accounts of sea monsters, themselves often reworking the older material from Pliny, were continually making themselves felt in the popular imagination. Yet the narrative also offers an insight into the problematic status of marine bodies and the possibility that they can actively traverse the boundaries of the spaces and elements which necessarily divide their order from mankind. In its natural habitat or context, the creature is a strange fish, but out of water it becomes a monster, and it is precisely the changing signification undergone by the marine body that clouds any straightforward distinctions between monster, fish, and human form.

Whales on the Thames were a commonplace occurrence, whether artificially constructed from wood, plaster, or painted cloth for use in water shows and civic

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<sup>53</sup> *Natural History*, trans. by Rackham, III, Book IX, viii.

drama or even the occasional live specimens stranded in the river. Their presence pervaded the cultural imagination and they were used as a standard pageant device that afforded an ideological link to the providential and sensationalised accounts of monstrous bodies, but at the same time contained within themselves other means of performing spectacle through concealed fireworks and water jets. Artificial waterborne and peripatetic whale devices thus became sites for performance. Thinking back to the imposing but physically absent baleen whale in Percy's *The Aphrodysial* discussed in Chapter One, it is possible to reconsider the creature in light of the mingling of fish and human in composite monstrosity discussed above. As I have already proposed, the fishermen's description of the creature very clearly alludes to a pageant device but Coüs's presence inside the whale and the temporary mingling of their anatomies invites further consideration of the composite nature of the prodigious baleen. Reading the baleen as a type of composite marine creatures makes it possible to arrive at a richer appreciation of how Percy's whale is made to perform in a range of ways that speak to popular attitudes towards sea monsters and their theatrical potential (in much the same way as Shakespeare does in *The Tempest*, as section V of this chapter will discuss).

Once the wily apprentice boy and the magic ceston are discovered inside the creature the authenticity of the baleen's prodigality is undermined. However, the not-so-prodigious baleen still remains monstrous, because the remarkable vastness of its body, which is commented on by the water deities, remains unchanged. Rather, it is the empirical enquiry into the origins of the whale's human voice and ability to speak in tongues and pronounce oracles that undoes much of what made it a 'monstrum horrendum'. Coüs's temporary sojourn inside the whale alters its physiology into a different (and parodic) form of 'composite' monstrosity. In this case, composite monstrosity is characterised by the inclusion of human attributes in the form of sentience rather than physical appendages found in more commonplace marine composites such as mermaids and tritons discussed above. The singular and aberrant nature of the whale echoes Paré's suggestion that such marine monsters 'consist of their owne proper nature' and cannot be explained by intraspecies breeding or other

natural reasons, although in this case the ‘monstrum horrendum’ is revealed to be an elaborate hoax.<sup>54</sup> While Coüs’s presence inside the whale calls to mind the mechanical artificiality of the pageant devices on the Thames used in civic festivities, the result of his sojourn inside the creature also echoes a specifically non-mechanical, organic means of counterfeiting monstrosity. The coming together of the whale’s body and with that of Coüs implicitly gestures towards the practice of joining different dried and manipulated carcasses into natural-seeming ‘monsters’, or ‘Jenny Hanivers’, such as the dragon-like counterfeit bodies assembled from the contorted bodies of rays (Fig. 11).<sup>55</sup> These counterfeit creatures, like the Coüs-baleen, are both natural and artificial, created to capitalise on the early modern cultural fascination with curios and wonders, propagated and consolidated across Europe in *Wunderkammern* and cabinets of curiosity as well as printed texts.<sup>56</sup> Percy’s baleen similarly taps into the fascination with obtaining wonders and offering them as prized gifts, which calls to mind the fortunes undergone by the sea-bishop and the decapitated monster in the *Histoire tragique* when they are presented as gifts to sovereigns in the commonplace ritual of presenting *exotica* and *naturalia* at court.

Percy’s baleen, however, also carries clear biblical allusions in echoing the story of Jonah and the Whale, which aligns the creature with a providential purpose whereby its vast body can be ventriloquized and made to perform an instructive function. Rather than simply presenting the whale as a providential sign in its own right, however, Percy critiques the authenticity of providential signs by questioning the

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<sup>54</sup> Ambroise Paré, *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey Translated Out of Latine and Compared with the French*, trans. by Thomas Johnson (London, 1634), Pppp3<sup>r</sup>. Translated by Janis L. Pallister in *On Monsters and Marvels* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982) as ‘there are many sorts [of monsters] in the sea [...] without, none the less, the reasons which we have brought to bear before, regarding the fusing and mixing of seed, being able to apply in the birth of such monsters’ (p. 107).

<sup>55</sup> See E. W. Gudger, ‘Jenny Hanivers, Dragons, and Basilisks in the Old Natural History Books and in Modern Times’, *The Scientific Monthly*, 38:6 (1934), 511-23.

<sup>56</sup> For the history and cultural significance of *Wunderkammern* and the display of curiosities see: Ken Arnold, *Cabinets for the Curious: Looking Back at Early English Museums* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Patrick Mauries, *Cabinets of Curiosities* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2011); Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Paul Grinke, *From Wunderkammer to Museum* (London: Quaritch, 2006); and Neil Kenney ‘The Metaphorical Collecting of Curiosities in Early Modern France and Germany’, in *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. by R. J. W. Evans and Alexander Marr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).



validity of a seemingly portentous creature that is quite comically used as a puppet in this case. Whales are commonly found ventriloquized in popular pamphlet accounts of beached whales, which ‘ventriloquize’ the creatures’ bodies by placing them into interpretative frameworks that make them ‘speak’ as signs, warnings, or omens of possible events circulating in the cultural consciousness.<sup>57</sup> Coüs’s incongruous intrusion into—and very literal ventriloquization of—such a body comments more widely on the monster-as-oracle, overtly casting doubt onto the apparently mystic or divine origins of the monster’s body as a vehicle for messages. For example, the account of a beached whale in *A True Report and Exact Description of a Mighty Sea-Monster, or Whale* (London, 1617) similarly approaches the portentousness of the creature it describes on cautious terms, although the form and content of the account invites such readings. The rather short physical description of the whale provided in the pamphlet is prefaced by a lengthy nine-page preamble concerning the author’s lamentations on humankind’s moral failings and outrages.<sup>58</sup> These lamentations likewise provide an account of natural disasters that the writer claims should be interpreted as a sign of divine wrath, and only then follows a brief description of the whale sensationally depicted on the first page of the pamphlet. Despite the explicit moralising, the writer concludes, ‘whether this Monster of the Sea bee ominous or not, I had rather leave to the wise and learned more than my selfe determine’ (sig. A1<sup>r</sup>), cautiously—if somewhat superficially—distancing the body of the creature as a divine sign from any straightforward reading as an extension of the long account of misgivings and retribution presented in the account. This account of the beached whale at Harwich reveals how versatile the figure of the whale is as a portent or sign, given

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<sup>57</sup> Vicki Ellen Szabo’s article on medieval whales very usefully illustrates the different uses and functions that the bodies of these monstrous creatures served, ‘“Bad to the Bone”? The Unnatural History of Monstrous Medieval Whales’, *Heroic Age*, 8 (2005), 30 paragraphs.

<sup>58</sup> The writer claims that ‘we live in Atheisme, Papisme, and Epicurisme, and so many sundry sorts of Hydra-headed Schismes, that, for the most part, wee spend our times in this wicked World little better then in bruit-Barbarisme’ (A3<sup>v</sup>). He goes on to lament the ‘millions of varieties of transgressions wee seeme to batter the glorious frame of Heaven with thundering shot of our abominable Hell-hatched impieties’ (A4<sup>v</sup>). Then follows a list of examples illustrating God’s displeasures, incurred by the ways of mankind: the plague of 1603, the gunpowder plot of 1605, the great fires ‘in divers parts of the land, which have burned down whole Townes of no small repute’ (A4<sup>v</sup>), the deluges and floods, the droughts of 1608, and the great tempests on both land and sea that have caused havoc with livelihoods. The list ends with the proposition that the disasters are to be taken as a result of God being ‘highly offended’ (A4<sup>v</sup>), implying that they are therefore to be interpreted as signs of divine wrath.

that it is at once natural (since it is commonly described as one of God's glorious creations) but also linked to aberrant monstrous beings whose existence comes dangerously close to breaching the natural order entirely, in terms of physical as well as ideological sightlines. Percy's prodigious baleen anticipates this indeterminacy, but where the Harwich whale's signification is left to the reader's judgement, the baleen in *The Aphrodysial* undergoes a physical deconstruction in which the authority of the speaking 'oracle' is revealed to be inauthentic.

## V. Shakespeare's 'strange fish'

In light of the material discussed above, I would like to end this chapter by considering a 'strange fish' that has received much attention in critical discourse: Shakespeare's Caliban. Although it is not strictly his 'fishiness' that has garnered the most attention, Caliban's physical appearance has been the source of much debate in scholarly criticism and has invited various treatments in performance.<sup>59</sup> Caliban's uncertain physical appearance and function in the play has led post-colonial critics to undertake 'what Prospero could not: the rehabilitation of Caliban from a comic grotesque into a noble savage of almost tragic stature,' locating the play against a background of New World colonialism.<sup>60</sup> Other critics have avoided indulging in anachronistic or presentist approaches to the narrative that unfolds on Prospero's island, suggesting instead that the play should be located in a Mediterranean *mise-en-scène*.<sup>61</sup> Todd Andrew Borlik has recently advocated an even closer geographical shift towards a reading of the play in a strictly domestic English tradition of Lincolnshire folklore, identifying Caliban as a quasi-demonic figure modelled on the fen demon, the likes of

<sup>59</sup> See Virginia Mason Vaughan, "'Something Rich and Strange': Caliban's Theatrical Metamorphoses', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 36:4 (1985), 390-405.

<sup>60</sup> Todd Andrew Borlik, 'Caliban and the Fen Demons of Lincolnshire: The Englishness of Shakespeare's *Tempest*', *Shakespeare*, 9:1 (2013), 21-51 (p. 22). See also John Gillies, 'Shakespeare's Virginian Masque', *ELH*, 53 (1986), 673-707, and 'The Figure of the New World in the New Word', in *The Tempest and Its Travels*, ed. by Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion, 2000), pp. 180-200, and John Wylie, 'New and Old Worlds: *The Tempest* and Early Modern Colonial Discourse', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 1:1 (2000), 45-63.

<sup>61</sup> See Andrew C. Hess, 'The Mediterranean and Shakespeare's Geopolitical Imagination', and Jerry Brotton, 'Carthage and Tunis, *The Tempest* and Tapestries', in *The Tempest and Its Travels*, pp. 121-30; 131-37.

which were dramatized in a lost play based on the life of St Guthlac, the Anglo-Saxon hermit fen-dweller.<sup>62</sup> I would like to use the preceding discussion about European and English interest in the sighting and reporting of marine creatures and monstrosities as a way of considering one element of Caliban's problematic and elusive appearance and designation in the play: what does it mean for him to be a 'strange fish'?

The term 'strange fish' is culturally loaded with allusions to monstrous beached bodies, mysterious waterborne composite creatures that bear some physical resemblance to humans but are in fact nothing of the sort, and aberrant marine abominations that have the potential to wreak havoc upon seafarers. Strange fish, despite their indeterminate origins and potentially threatening tendencies, are desirable specimens both for categorising and adding to existing knowledge of the natural world and for presentation as gifts to sovereigns. They have economic and cultural value, since their unnatural appearance and rarity makes them attractive as curious and oddities to be lauded in print. These concerns, which have been the focus of this chapter, are a useful way with which think about the anatomical indeterminacy of Shakespeare's 'strange fish'.

Caliban's body and being is continually identified as a site of contradiction throughout the play. He is educated and articulate but base and animalistic, recognisably human but shrouded in different degrees of deformity. He is variously described as 'monster', 'slave', 'devil', 'thing', 'earth', among others, but these terms are themselves unstable and inadequate for containing his essence and function on the island.<sup>63</sup> To be identified as a 'strange fish' points precisely towards the king of indeterminacy that governed the reception of marine specimens in early modern culture generally and in natural history more specifically. As the works of Pliny,

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., pp. 33-44.

<sup>63</sup> Andreas Höfele has recently explored the significance of the animal and the human in *The Tempest* in the final chapter of *Stage, Stake, and Scaffold: Humans and Animal in Shakespeare's Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). Höfele proposes that 'Caliban embodies the fluid threshold of human-animal distinction and poses a constant challenge to Prospero's god-like mastery. This ensures the plot's successful dynastic conclusion but fails to keep the common animality of all the island's creatures at bay' ('Abstract' to Chapter Six, DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199567645.003.0007 [accessed 10 Nov 2014]).

Gesner, Rondelet, Belon, and other naturalists and ichthyologists clearly reveals, marine life resists any straightforward categorisation and identification because marine monstrosity complicates this process. Strange ‘fish’ such as tritons, mermaids, and ecclesiastically-shaped specimens such as the monk- and bishop-fish are both accepted as being a part of and apart from the natural world; their presence is noted but their existence cannot be explained or reconciled with emerging pseudo-scientific enquiry into taxonomy and causes of physical deformities in other species. This complex mode of existence, which is both natural and at odds with nature, likewise characterises Caliban—he is both a human but also distinct from ‘true’ humanity, as Prospero’s lamentations about his inability to reconcile himself to a ‘civilised’ form of conduct illustrate.<sup>64</sup> The presumed littoral location further distorts Caliban’s already fraught appearance, calling to mind Erica Fudge’s suggestion that even the most recognisable of human forms is still subject to slipperiness:

The humanness of the human body itself was also problematic: theology taught that human form was no guarantee of humanity when angels or devils might take that shape. Possession of a human shape did not ensure full access to the privileges of humanity, and deviation from that category was figured in terms of monstrosity.<sup>65</sup>

When Trinculo stumbles onto Caliban’s body as he lies sheltering from the oncoming storm under his cloak, the drunken jester attempts to approximate the thing that he finds himself confronted with into a series of categories, each of them inflected with a clear commercial concern:

What have we here – a man or a fish? – dead or alive? A fish, he smells like a fish; a very ancient and fishlike smell; a kind of not-of-the-newest poor-John. A strange fish! Were I in England now, as once I was, and had but this fish

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<sup>64</sup> For example, Prospero’s account of Caliban’s attempted rape of Miranda notes the futile ‘human care’ with which he approached Caliban (I. 2. 346). The consequences of Caliban’s desire to have ‘peopled else | this isle with Calibans’ (I. 2. 350-1) would have propagated iterations of his image and standardised his monstrous or otherwise savage appearance, but Prospero’s thwarting of the attempt leaves Caliban as a single, aberrant specimen.

<sup>65</sup> Erica Fudge, Ruth Gilbert, Susan Wiseman, eds, *At the Borders of the Human: Beasts, Bodies and Natural Philosophy in the Early Modern Period* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), p. 3.

painted, not a holiday-fool there but would give a piece of silver. There would this monster make a man. Any strange beast there makes a man. When they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian. (II. 2. 24-32)

Finding Caliban in proximity to the sea on a mysterious island pre-disposes Trinculo to identify him as a strange beached fish. The appearance of otherwise recognisable objects and bodies thus becomes more complicated in littoral locations, given that they are breeding-grounds for discovering things that are not quite as they seem, as the previously discussed case of the mermaid at Pendine revealed when the onlookers discovered her dog-like face instead of the expected human visage.

As a series of anatomical possibilities materialise in his mind, Trinculo is quick to realise the lucrative potential that each of them holds. These identifications are hierarchical, beginning with the more mundane markers of a piscatory trade and moving up towards something that can potentially be turned into a portable sideshow. To begin with, Caliban is ‘a fish’ whose pungent odour qualifies him not simply to as a fish, but a ‘poor-John’: a fish that has been salted and made ready to enter the market upon being exported.<sup>66</sup> He then becomes a ‘strange fish’, thus opening up an imaginative dialogue with the ‘strange’ marine bodies of tritons, mermaids, sea-devils, and the kinds of strange fish or ‘poisson d’une estrange forme’ that would later be recounted in the *Historie tragique*. In this way, the uncertain littoral body that Trinculo happens upon takes shape as a kind of marvel or monster which can be exploited for commercial gain through showcasing in print. Trinculo’s desire to get ‘this fish painted’ echoes the prevalence and popularity of visual traditions that showcase and propagate monstrosity. Finally, in the comparison to the ‘dead Indian’, the showcasing of whose body generates revenue, Caliban is envisaged as a physical commodity to be exported wholesale, no longer a relatively simple beached fish, but a sensational foreign body to be paraded and displayed.

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<sup>66</sup> On the topicality of cod fishing as a socio-political concern see Thomas Wemyss Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea*, pp. 76-79.

Even as he sets about making plans for the strange fish that he has found, Trinculo participates in the making of a 'composite' monster, when he climbs underneath Caliban's cloak to seek shelter from the rain he adds his own body to the strange arrangements of limbs already in place. When Stephano discovers this strange many-limbed 'creature' he, like Trinculo, immediately begins to articulate commercial plans that rest on the popular practice of showcasing and selling monstrosity:

This is some monster of the isle with four legs, who hath got, as I take it, an ague. Where the devil should he learn our language? I will give him some relief if it be but for that. If I can recover him, and keep him tame, and get to Naples with him, he's a present for any emperor that ever trod on neat's-leather. (II. 2. 63-68)

He goes on to reiterate, several lines later, that if he can keep the monster tame he 'will not take too much for him; he shall pay for him that hath him, and that soundly' (74-5). Rather than simply being painted or paraded, Stephano identifies Caliban's monetary potential in terms of selling directly to willing customers looking for marvels or presenting as gift to a sovereign. Just like the presentation of the sea-monk painting to Catherine of Navarre and the presentation of the monster's head to the King of Denmark in the *Histoire tragique*, Caliban's monstrous body, whether dead or alive, is identified as a site of commercial possibility that rests heavily on the popularity of marine monsters as tradable commodities that satisfy popular desires to see the aberrant and the wondrous put on display.

Stephano's misidentification of Caliban as a great many-limbed monster illustrates the problem with authenticity and fantasy with which this chapter began. Just as the fabulous sea monsters in the *Faerie Queene* were 'not these indeed' (II. xii. 26: 2), Caliban's monstrously unnatural body is similarly an illusion, since what Stephano identifies as a strange fish or a fishy monster is in fact an imagined monstrosity. The unnatural anatomical composition is nothing more than a series of separate bodies sheltering under the cloak, which is reminiscent of the Coüs-baleen in the *The Aphrodysial*, where the joining of two largely commonplace bodies results in a 'monstrum horrendum'. Since the audience are complicit in seeing the process of

Caliban lying on the ground and shrouding himself in his cloak, they are privy to the artifice that surrounds this particular misidentification, which holds metatheatrical allusions to the frequent gulling of audiences with feigned ‘monsters’ and sideshows. The audience see how this ‘strange fish’ takes shape and metamorphoses into something even stranger through the addition of Trinculo’s body. Stephano’s reaction to the unidentified ‘body’ in front of him destabilises the practice of reading what is shown, since the reaction of the drunken butler is entirely justifiable but altogether undermined by the metatheatrical knowledge of what the body really is. This metatheatrical interplay of sightlines and identification calls to mind the ways in which monsters are ‘constructed’ offstage, in the practice of stitching together different animal parts to create Jenny Hanivers in the form of dragons and mermaids, some of which made their way into Ulisse Aldrovandi’s monolithic collection of curios, and later into his printed work.<sup>67</sup>

The piscatory significance of Caliban being branded a fish has been discussed by Edward M. Test, whose uses the mention of ‘not-of-the-newest poor-John’ as way of linking the island to the salt-dried cod trade and its economic significance.<sup>68</sup> Specifically, Test focuses on the Newfoundland cod fisheries, suggesting that they represented a new kind of global trade that was reliant on a mobile workforce which operated in the New World and traded its products the Old. In this sense, Test argues, the enchanted isle represents ‘the new economics of a global exchange, stressing the importance of (and dependence upon) uncolonised foreign spaces for the growth of the early modern nation state’.<sup>69</sup> Thus, fish—even when it is as quotidian as salt-dried cod—is an important commodity that has the potential to designate new avenues of economic exchange and possibility. Such allusions to wider maritime ventures are again echoed when the jumble of arms and legs under the cloak has been disentangled and Stephano tells Trinculo that, ‘I escaped upon a butt of sack, which the sailors

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<sup>67</sup> See E.W. Gudger, ‘Jenny Hanivers, Dragons, and Basilisks in the Old Natural History Books and in Modern Times’, *The Scientific Monthly*, 38:6 (1934), 511-23.

<sup>68</sup> Edward M. Test, ‘*The Tempest* and the Newfoundland Cod Fishery’, in *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700*, ed. by Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 201-20.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, (p. 202).

heaved o'erboard—by this bottle, which I made of the bark of a tree with my own hands since I was cast ashore' (II. 2. 115-18), emphasising not only his own preoccupation with sack, but mercantile practices of shipping goods like fragrant sweet wines across the seas. In a comical inversion, Stephano's body becomes the cargo that sails onto the island on an object that was once cargo itself but has become a mode of transport.

Upon being identified as a 'strange fish', Caliban's body undergoes a series of fantasies in which it is made to perform its own monstrosity for commercial profit, which are metatheatrically played out when the theatre audience who watch and marvel as Stephano and Trinculo seize upon the commercial potential of exploiting the monstrous body. The potential for spectacle afforded by marine monstrosities and strange fish can be found in the fleets of marine personages and devices in the Lord Mayors' Shows, the popularity and allure of which were simply one expression of a much wider early modern preoccupation with marine life and myth. Having examined some of the avenues of expression and transmission of knowledge about marine specimens and the consequent standardisation of their appearance, the material discussed here has demonstrated the fraught divide between monster and fish in this period. In the case of tritons and mermaids, the marine body is suspended between the animal and the human—precisely the realm where monstrosity resides—and complicates the familiar bodies that were so current in drama at this time. The following chapter will think further about the role played by sea creatures and other objects and bodies associated with the sea in the representations of the marine in the Jacobean court masques.



## CHAPTER FIVE

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### *Representations of the Marine in the Jacobean Court Masque*

#### I.

The different types of fluidity and instability inherent in representations of the marine discussed thus far have highlighted how maritime enterprise and ambition was figured in material and metaphorical terms in a range of entertainments, cultural artefacts, and visual expressions. The drama and pieces of visual and material culture considered in the preceding chapters have demonstrated how human bodies metamorphose at sea and explicated the ideological and pictorial instability that governs the figuration of strange fish and monstrous sea creatures. Likewise, the preceding chapters have visited different types of affective triggers for wonder that representations of the marine embody, among them kinetic spectacles, material devices, and cultural practices of viewing different kinds of marine bodies, whether in pirate executions, on maps, in pamphlets, or in the midst of real and imagined waters. The current chapter consolidates the interdependent and related strategies of representing the marine in civic and commercial drama, retaining the interest in wonder but thinking further about physical realisations of the wondrous marine bodies found in early seventeenth-century court masques, in order to elucidate the competing poetic and material strategies for performing the sea in a specifically Jacobean form of entertainment.

Jacobean court masques and their related festivities are heavily marked by representations of the marine in terms of iconography, metaphor, and—perhaps most crucially—the material properties of their scenography. These properties very often echo marine devices and personages found in other modes of performance. The devices and personages found in the masques were concurrently prevalent in civic entertainments, in gardens, and on decorative objects, and found expression in the masques through scenographic designs created by prominent court architects and craftsmen who were invested into and responsible for the creation of such devices

around London. These designs, much as the masque form itself, were modelled on and influenced by European theatre and architectural trends that shaped the appearance of the marine on the continent and became increasingly prevalent in Jacobean England as well. It is precisely here that the intersections between drama and material culture are at their most viable in terms of understanding the reciprocal influence between the two. Water in the masque is often expressed in what I have termed a ‘decorative marine idiom,’ which manifests itself materially and conceptually in European grotto, silverware, earthenware, and ornamental designs that in turn influenced continental stage design, the fashion for which was brought to the Stuart court by the likes of stage designers such as Inigo Jones and craftsmen such as Salomon and Isaac de Caus, Christiaen van Vianen, and Constantino de’ Servi, among others.<sup>1</sup> The impulse to perform marine space and spectacle is thus shown as being realised through a series of objects which find roots in emerging trends in garden design and ornament. The traditional classical iconography of these masques is therefore expressed in a specifically early modern idiom heavily influenced by developments in hydraulics, garden architecture, ceramics, metalwork, and ornamentation that responds to the increasing prevalence of water and the sea in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Europe.

Masques and entertainments such as Samuel Daniel’s *Tethys’ Festival* (1610), Anthony Munday’s *London’s Love, to the Royal Prince Henrie* (1610), Francis Beaumont’s *The Masque of the Inner Temple* (1612), Thomas Campion’s *Somerset Masque* (1614), and the anonymous *Masque of Flowers* (1614), reveal the marine as an important form of expression in Jacobean festivities, where the material dimensions of performance reveal a tendency to aestheticize the marine through multiple levels of idealisation. The inception of this tendency is evident in the baptismal entertainment at Stirling in 1594, discussed in Chapter One, where the lavish marine spectacle was executed directly upon James’s behest. While elements of the marine were likewise

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<sup>1</sup> On the European dimensions of the Jacobean court see Linda Levy Peck, ed., *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), particularly Malcolm R. Smuts’s chapter on ‘Cultural Diversity and Cultural Change at the Court of James I’, pp. 99-112, and Leeds Barroll ‘The Court of the First Stuart Queen’, pp. 191-208.

used in the entertainments of his predecessor in England, it is specifically following James's accession to the throne in 1603 that the marine takes a powerful hold of the cultural imagination and finds a specifically seventeenth-century expression in court performances that make use of new staging practices and designs. The sophistication of the stage machinery designs imported from continental Europe allowed for spectacular staged metamorphoses to draw attention to the artificial nature of the performance and echo an architectural concern in their construction and effect. The importance of sightlines and spectacle in the masques on a fundamental level echoes some of the problems arising from unstable sightlines and the fluid and unfixed physical shape of marine bodies explored in the previous chapter, where changing perspectives often transform the observed bodies. The types of metamorphoses and shifting sightlines in the masque implicitly interrogate the nature of the boundaries between different modes of organic and inorganic beings and objects, especially through the dramatic potential of animate and inanimate matter.

The masques thus operate on multiple levels of representation simultaneously, relying on decorative marine objects (whether painted or sculpted) and the human agency of the courtier-actors whose bodies are rearticulated to reflect a marine aesthetic. The marine, therefore, is represented by several means simultaneously, indicated by the presence of commonplace marine personages and creatures (themselves enacted in different material means; through actors, painted scenery, and constructed devices made of wood or plaster). Water as an actor in the masques receives a similar treatment, appearing in multiple artificial forms (through costumes that turn the bodies of actors into aqueous space, but also through painted scenery and the presence of grotto and fountain spaces that enable other types of artificial water to be present in the performance). The dramatic potential of water as an actor itself is a conceit that is implicit in many of these masques, which I address by looking to the performance of water—both real and artificial—in decorative objects and spaces, since the affective triggers that the masques create call to mind the types of wonder associated with these spaces. The forms that marine idealisation takes in the masques echoes trends in design propagated from often traditional classical forms marked by

successful marine endeavour. For instance, Dutch supremacy at sea explains much about the importance of marine motifs in silverware and other extravagant objects begotten from riches successfully generated by commerce.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the implications and aspirations of England's burgeoning trade with the Old World and expeditions to the New, together with James's maritime policy that sought to establish his sovereignty of the sea, were all flattered with idealised and favourable expressions of the marine in court entertainments performed for the King. Thus, while the dissemination of continental fashions was taking place, recent developments in the maritime world also implicitly shape the popularity and the means of expression that design and ornament take in the period. For instance, the Thames is often physically and symbolically important as a space in which to perform and with which to think about nationhood in terms of its commercial mercantile dimensions and its monarchical mythology. Marine aesthetics in design can thus be identified as a product of the topicality of maritime commercial enterprise and as an exponent of an iconographical tradition that offers a legitimating tool for expressions of maritime sovereignty. On a more abstract level, representations of the marine in early modern culture reveal a preoccupation with controlling and manipulating water—whether through policy and sovereign claims or directly through hydraulics, scenery, and poetic engagement.

## **II. Masque as dramatic form**

The court masque as a dramatic form has received attention in a number of monographs and edited collections which have explored the political, dramatic, and cultural dimensions of a form of entertainment that took such a central position at the

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<sup>2</sup> See Simon Schama, *An Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Random House, 1997).

Jacobean court.<sup>3</sup> While several studies highlight the importance of Queen Anne of Denmark and her awareness and emulation of her native European theatrical fashions as the driving force behind the popularity of the masque form at the Stuart court, others consider the masque in the larger project of the Stuart myth and the unification of Britain.<sup>4</sup> Martin Butler's essay on 'The Invention of Britain and the Early Stuart Masque' makes these European fashions implicit in the workings of the masque as a tool with which to legitimate and celebrate Britain and Stuart kingship, which would:

Necessitate the creation of a political culture which could focus or mediate meaningfully between the often contradictory aspirations of the constituent kingdoms, and objective which is particularly to be seen in Whitehall's attempt to create a public symbolism of Britishness.<sup>5</sup>

Butler proposes that the court masques 'were a crucial site of image-making' in which a 'new iconography had to be speedily invented that would articulate the new identity and aspirations of the realm, investing James in prestigious images of a specifically British kingship'.<sup>6</sup> I would like to suggest that the numerous representations of the marine in the court masques strive towards one such prestigious image, which conceptually presented James as a maritime sovereign. The idea of James as 'Neptune' echoes the ideological control and aesthetic taming of the sea at play in the depiction of water and the marine in the masques and water entertainments discussed in this chapter. As the discussion below will show, different types of water converge within these spectacles and their inflection with specifically marine elements are indicative of

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<sup>3</sup> In particular, see David Lindley, *The Court Masque* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), David Bevington and Peter Holbrook, *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Stephen Orgel's *Spectacular Performances: Essays on Theatre, Imagery, Books, and Selves in Early Modern England* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2011) and *The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1975).

<sup>4</sup> For Anna's involvement in the masques at court see Melissa D. Aaron, 'Tethys Takes Charge: Queen Anne as Theatrical Producer', in *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*, 41 (2002), 62-74, and Leeds Barroll, 'Inventing the Stuart Masque', in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. by David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 121-43, where Barroll proposes that Anna used the masque to 'generate not only entertainment or art but the idea of herself and her new court' (p. 121).

<sup>5</sup> Martin Butler, 'The Invention of Britain and the Early Stuart Masque', in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. by R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 65-85 (p. 69).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

material fashions inherited from European garden design, decorative ware, and scenography.

Marine spectacle was created in a number of ways for the delectation of the court and the City at large. The water progress for Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales in 1610 and the *naumachia* festivities at the marriage celebrations of Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine in 1613 used the Thames as a stage and conjured powerful and idealised shows of military strength, complete with imposing visual and aural effects achieved by the use of fireworks and cannon. The masques performed for both of these occasions typically adopted a more aestheticized expression of the marine, figured not in terms of explosions and sea-fights, but in terms of decorative objects and fashions which the first part of this chapter will explicate. By looking to the conceptual handling of water in material fashions and conventions for negotiating the marine in stage design, my discussion will foreground the relevance and meaning of the material elements of the masque designs in expressing visions of the marine that make up an important part of the Jacobean court and James's aspirations to maritime sovereignty. As Tom Bishop proposes, 'our analysis of the positions announced in the texts or in iconic images conceived as texts can be usefully complemented by consideration of the masque as a formal and kinetic event whose politics are not simply uttered, but enacted'.<sup>7</sup> The cultural material that informs much of this chapter offers a window into how the marine was enacted across different media and how they converged in masque scenography. In doing so, we can also begin to investigate its roots in aesthetic practices whose appeal centres on the manipulation of water—a conceit central to the larger project of James's desire to control maritime space and Henry's interests in maritime matters. While the water progresses and pageants typically employed *naumachia*-style water-fights for the realisation of monarchical

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<sup>7</sup> Tom Bishop, 'The Gingerbread Host: Tradition and Novelty in the Jacobean Masque', in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. by David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 67-97 (p. 89).

power through mock naval supremacy in the face of pirates, as discussed in the conclusion of Chapter Three, this type of conflict was not invited into the banqueting halls where the masques were staged, where aestheticized ambitions are realised in a variety of other ways.

The Stuart masque offered an innovative means of performance for the marine (and indeed water more generally). While Elizabethan court entertainments also made use of scenery, costume, and even aqueous stages (such as that used at Elvetham), it was the Stuart masque specifically that inaugurated the use of elaborate stage machinery and perspective scenery, first used by Jones in his design for Jonson's *Masque of Blackness* (1605), that made new means of expression possible.<sup>8</sup> Jones's contribution to the physical shape that the masques took cannot be overstated; his vision and emulation of continental fashions brought the Jacobean court into dialogue with European dramatic tradition, popularised by the water festivities, *intermezzi*, and *ballets de coeur* of the Valois and the Medici in France and Italy, the scenography of which was itself heavily influenced by Italianate architectural design and other related aesthetic cultures.<sup>9</sup> Scenographic manuals such as those of Sebastiano Serlio and Niccolò Sabbattini provided instructions for how to stage water decoratively in dry performance spaces, which were commonly used on the continent by the scenographer, garden architect, engineer, and artist Bernardo Buontalenti, and in England by the likes of Jones and European craftsmen involved in the staging of the masques, such as Constantino de' Servi.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> On Jonson's collaboration with Jones in this masque see Amy Rogers, 'The Language of Looking: Making the Senses Speak in Jonsonian Masque', *Renaissance Drama*, 42:1 (2014), 29-55. See also Lesley Mickel, 'Glorious Spangs and Rich Embroidery: Costume in the *Masque of Blackness* and *Hymenaei*', *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 36:2 (2003), 41-59.

<sup>9</sup> See John Harris, Stephen Orgel, and Roy Strong, *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court: A Quartercentenary Exhibition Held at the Banqueting House, Whitehall from July 12th to September 2nd 1973* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1973), which contains an account of Italian style (pp. 100-11), sources for Jones's masque designs (pp. 68-81), and contextual background on the mechanical development of Jones's stage (pp. 83-93).

<sup>10</sup> These scenographic manuals are reprinted in Barnard Hewitt, ed., *The Renaissance Stage: Documents of Serlio, Sabbattini and Furttenbach*, trans. Allardyce Nicoll, John H. McDowell, George R. Kernodle (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1958). On de' Servi's contribution to Thomas Campion's masque for the Somerset wedding in 1612—and his failure to adequately operate and manage the scenography—see Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), p. 98.

The centrality of elaborate stage machinery and its spectacular emulation of cultural aesthetic fashions, which will be the focus of the next section of this chapter, were such that they often eclipsed the poetic contributions to the masques by the likes of Jonson, Daniel, and Campion. The tension within the Jacobean masque between the material and poetic dimensions of the entertainment manifests itself in the masque texts and reflects similar tensions such as those previously noted in relation to the Lord Mayors' Shows, particularly of Thomas Dekker in *Troia-Nova Triumphans* (1612):

The title-page of this *Booke* makes promise of all the Shewes by water, as of these on the Land; but Apollo having no hand in them, I suffer them to dye by that which fed them; that is to say, Powder and Smoake. Their thunder (according to the old gally-foist-fashion) was too lowd for any of the Nine Muses to be bidden to it.<sup>11</sup>

Smoke and fire were an important element of the royal entries and water festivities on the Thames, but even inside the banqueting hall, away from the explosions of fireworks and the grimy smoke 'too lowd' for the muses, there were tensions between the impositions of physical aspects of the masques, the centrality and visual immediacy of which were also treated with some measure of anxiety and disdain by composers of masques such as Jonson. Jonson's reluctance to share the textual platform of the masque with the materiality of the stage apparatus in the textual account echoes a similar disdain voiced by Dekker with regards to the smoke and fire in the Lord Mayors' water show. Whether or not the intricacy and the richness of the visual symbolism that characterised much of the scenographic apparatus devised by the likes of Jones for Jonson's masques was worthy of the muses or not is irrelevant, the textual account by nature of its form could never hope to recreate the full scale and effect of the scenery in performance. Thus, Jonson, 'objecting to the predominance of the physical show, insufficiently outlined the nature of the spectacle,' used the textual account as a means of quelling the emphasis on the material dimensions of the masque.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Quoted in Sydney Anglo, 'The Thames en Fête', in *Waterborne Pageants and Festivals in the Renaissance*, ed. by Margaret Shewring (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 265-73.

<sup>12</sup> Allardyce Nicoll, *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage* (London: Harrap, 1937), p. 25.



Not all dramatists and poets shared this disdain. Daniel's account of *Tethys' Festival* (1610), which is discussed below, includes detailed accounts of Inigo Jones's description of his stage machinery and scenography, in which Daniel acknowledges the mutual dependence of the material and the poetic and the inevitable fact that in performance material components of the masque supersede the poetic elements, which can be elucidated in print:

But in these things wherein the onely life consists in shew: the arte and invention of the Architect gives the greatest grace, and is of most importance: ours, the least part and of least note in the time of the performance thereof, and therefore have I inserted the discription of the artificiall part which only speakes M. *Inago Iones*. (sig. E2<sup>r</sup>)

Despite the implicit distinction between the masque-in-performance as the domain of the scenographer and the textual account as that of the poet, in his account Daniel provides a platform on which to textually reconstruct devices that realised his poetic vision in material terms at the time of the performance. The generous proportion of the text that Daniel dedicates to the stage devices 'in the language of the Architector' (sig. F<sup>r</sup>) is somewhat atypical of masque texts and contrasts to the likes of Jonson's sparse descriptions of the scenery and stage machinery in his masque texts. In spite of whatever objections Jonson may have had in toning down the presence of stage machinery in his accounts, even the more expansive accounts like Daniel's could not hope to adequately recreate the effect of the material elements of the masque, since, as Nicoll observes, 'words, however brilliantly manipulated and penned with no matter what technical assurance, could never hope to express fully things conceived of in terms of another art', which is certainly applicable even to the generous detail with which the scenography in *Tethys' Festival* is recounted.<sup>13</sup> Despite Jonson's disdain for the possible overshadowing of his poetic creativity by the impositions of the stage machinery, it remains clear that the contributions of the poet were indivisible from

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

those of the scenographer. It is with the idea of the scenographer in mind that the next section of this chapter considers the key influences and aesthetic exchanges that shaped the kinds of European stage-practices that the Jacobean masques sought to emulate.

### III. The decorative marine idiom and scenography

As evidenced by the wealth and range of contributions to Margaret Shewring's recent edited volume, *Water Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance*, since the sixteenth century, courts and civic spaces across Europe had made use of remarkable material extensions of the sea's aesthetic, dramatic, and theatrical appeal though the use of perspective scenery, machinery, and lavish costume. These material elements were heavily influenced and shaped by other prevalent cultural trends, such as the rusticated grotto architecture and fountain design of the gardens in Florence and Paris, and the iconography and mythography that was given physical shape in sculpture, painting, and the fine arts. The architectural influence in spectacular material realisations of the marine aesthetic can be discerned in Buontalenti's scenographic contributions to the interludes on illusionistic indoor stages used for Giovanni Bardi's *L'Amico fido* (Florence, 1586) and *La Pellegrina* (Florence, 1589).<sup>14</sup> The 1586 entertainment specifically used Buontalenti's sea-scape as a means of providing comment on harmony and unity in a progress of sea deities, where Thetis invokes Neptune, 'at which the sea gets rough, the ships seem to dance on the waves, sea-monsters appear and Neptune himself, attended by Naiads, come up in a great shell-chariot drawn by four curvetting sea-horses'.<sup>15</sup> Neptune proceeds to calm the artificial tempestuous waves, and once the danger has been quelled, the Naiads descend and gather flowers

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<sup>14</sup> For an overview of Buontalenti's contributions to these performances see Roger Savage, 'Sea Spectacles on Dry Land: The 1580s to the 1690s', in *Water Pageants*, ed. by Shewring, pp. 359-71.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 360. For an account of Buontalenti's use of marine personages and monsters, see Jean Rousset, 'L'eau et les tritons dans les fetes et ballets de cour (1580-1604)', in *Les Fetes de la Renaissance*, ed. by J. Jacquot, 2 vols (Paris: CNRS, 1956), I. On sea-monsters in Florentine entertainments at the turn of the century see Massimo Ossi, "'Dalle Machine...la Maraviglia': Bernardo Buontalenti's *Il Rapiemento di Ceflo* at the Medici Theater in 1600', in *Opera in Context*, ed. by Mark Radice (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1998), pp. 29-30.

before returning to the sea. As Roger Savage points out, the mechanical components here, such as the use of machinery prescribed by Serlio and popularised at the Medici court, was not in itself remarkable, but rather than it was Buontalenti's use of revolving painted *periaktoi* that made possible changeable perspectives. In *La Pellegrina*, devised for the Medici-Valois wedding festivities in 1589 the marine was once more expressed in heavily material means; the interludes included a scenic sea-change featuring Amphitrite and mermaid girls with silk blue tails, as well Arion appearing on a ship travelling mechanically on grooves across the stage and then casting himself into the sea following an attack by pirates, being carried off-stage on 'a *papier-mâché* dolphin covered in silver paper'.<sup>16</sup> 'Between them,' writes Savage, 'these *Pellegrina* and *Amico fido* interludes of Arion, Neptune, and the crossing of the Styx pretty well established the hardware of aquatic scenes in proscenial spaces for the next hundred years or so'.<sup>17</sup> The emphasis on sea-changes and spectacular effects of Buontalenti's means of staging the marine in these entertainments clearly echoes the inherent theatricality of his garden architecture designs, such as the spectacular grotto at Boboli, which remains extant to this day, as well as the lost grottoes at Pratolino that he most likely also designed.

In a recent conference paper, Wendy Heller has offered a persuasive analysis of the extension of garden architecture's inherent theatricality into scenery designs for the indoor stage of sixteenth century Italian opera.<sup>18</sup> Heller identifies the presence and animating principle behind the host of mythological figures and devices that populated Renaissance gardens in Italy (Galatea and Mount Parnassus among them) as visual and aural inspirations for scenographic designs. Her discussion investigates the host of aesthetic, theatrical and political occupations that frame both the entertainments and the architectural elements, which, she stresses, were created with 'the stuff of nature'

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<sup>16</sup> Savage, 'Sea Spectacles on Dry Land', p. 361. Also see Aloise Maria Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici* (New York: De Capo, 1976). The wave machines were likely based on the designs of Sabbattini and Furttenbach in *The Renaissance Stage*, ed. by Hewitt, pp. 130-46; 239-45.

<sup>17</sup> Savage, 'Sea Spectacles', p. 361.

<sup>18</sup> Plenary session entitled 'Sylvan Song: The *Locus Amoenus* in Seicento Opera' presented at the Society for Renaissance Studies Biennial Conference, 13-15 July 2014, University of Southampton. See also Heller's article 'Dancing Statues and the Myth of Venice: Ancient Sculpture and the Opera Stage', *Art History*, 33:2 (2010), 304-19.

and broke down the dividing line between architecture and nature. Given its Italianate focus, Heller's paper necessarily makes mention of Buontalenti's works at Boboli and Pratolino in Florence, but I would like to consider the significance of these spaces not only for their general impact on set design, but also specifically in terms of how water and marine conceits feature here in relation to other cultural concerns that mark the different material means of representing water.

Under the craftsmanship of Giovanni da Udine, Giulio Romano, and Francesco Primaticcio in the first half of the sixteenth century, and Buontalenti, and Palissy in the second, grottoes began to spread through stately gardens and palaces in Europe. Typically, the fashion for garden grottoes spread following the discovery of recently-excavated Roman grottoes in the fifteenth century.<sup>19</sup> Techniques for construction and emulation of their artificially rusticated interiors were published in the mid-fifteenth century by Leon Baptista Alberti in *De Re Aedificatoria*.<sup>20</sup> The practical advice contained therein sometimes stemmed from first-hand observation, such as his account of an ancient grotto in which the walls were decorated with elaborate shell-marquetry, which together with the rest of his descriptions would be adopted by subsequent artists in their grotto designs.<sup>21</sup>

Buontalenti's grottoes were Mannerist masterpieces, appearing as natural-seeming highly rusticated caverns adorned with dripping stalactites, niches displaying statues, prospective frescoes and fountains that made spectacular use of local Florentine water alongside mythical marine personages and sea creatures. The

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<sup>19</sup> Although the rediscovery of ancient grottoes as well the works of Vitruvius did much to popularise their spread across Renaissance gardens in Italy and elsewhere, Paige Johnson argues that the nature of waterworks and hydraulics in the sixteenth century was already prolific. She cites, as an example, their practical uses in watermills: 'a gentleman might already routinely observe the lumbering force of water engines', pointing out that 'observational reality, like that expressed by Boccaccio, likely played a primary role in the transfer of hydraulic technology to the pleasure garden' ('Producing Pleasantness: The Waterworks of Isaac de Caus, Outlandish Engineer', in *Studies in the History of Designed Landscapes*, 29:3 (2009), 169-91 (p. 171)).

<sup>20</sup> On Alberti's contribution to shaping the course of Renaissance architectural design see Christine Smith, 'Leon Battista Alberti: Theories on Art and Civil Commitment in "De Re Aedificatoria"', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 61:4 (2008), 1254-57, and Carroll William Westfall, 'Society, Beauty, and the Humanist Architect in Alberti's *De Re Aedificatoria*', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 16 (1969), 61-79.

<sup>21</sup> See Peter Ward-Jackson, 'Some Main Streams and Tributaries in European Ornament from 1500-1750, Part III', *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin*, 3:4 (1967), 121-54 (p. 121)

Mediterranean climate and topography was particularly welcoming to the construction of grottoes as the rolling hillsides provided natural elevation for water, and temperatures did put the hydraulics at risk of damage caused by frozen pipes. *Giochi d'aqua*, or water-games, abounded in Renaissance gardens on the continent, where they often played practical as well as aesthetic ends in refreshing and cooling the visitors to the gardens on hot days, and gained currency in England too.<sup>22</sup> Water-tricks and hydraulic engineering played an important part in Buontalenti's grotto designs, particularly in those attributed to him at Franco de' Medici's Villa Pratolino, which was built between 1561 and 1581.<sup>23</sup> These grottoes were filled with remarkable *giochi d'aqua*, such as a trick bench that would activate jets which would soak the visitor who had sat on it. Such devices form an important part of the grotto's appeal, since the reflective type of wonder solicited by the artwork and sculpture in the garden and grotto is contrasted to the sudden shock of unexpected physical confrontation with and immersion in water. The natural quality and effect of flowing water was thus manipulated to elicit a startling physical interaction between water and visitor, but other affective exploitations of water's inherent qualities abounded in the grotto. On his visit to Pratolio, Montaigne remarked on the automata and water organ that he saw in the grotto, noting the array of visual, aural and kinetic dimensions of the performance that took place in the Grotto of Galatea.<sup>24</sup> Francesco de' Vieri's description of the grotto also reflects upon the kinetic nature of the space:

[...] all of mother-of-pearl, with a sea of water with various reefs covered with corals and sea shells. Among the said reefs appears a Triton sounding a marine snail shell, and at this moment a reef is opened, from which issues Galatea herself on a golden shell drawn by two dolphins that spout water through their mouths; she is accompanied on the shore of the sea by two other nymphs who emerge from two other places [...] and throw out water from some coral branches they hold in their hands.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See Anatole Tchikine, 'Giochi D'acqua: Water Effects in Renaissance and Baroque Italy', *Studies in the History of Garden and Designed Landscapes*, 30:1 (2010), 57-76.

<sup>23</sup> See Gordon Campbell, *Renaissance Art and Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 214.

<sup>24</sup> Michel de Montaigne, *Journal de voyage en Italie par la Suisse et l'Allemagne en 1580 et 1581*, ed. by Charles Dedeyan (Paris, 1946), pp. 185-86.

<sup>25</sup> Francesco de' Vieri's description from his *Delle marauigliose opere di Pratolino* (Florence, 1586), quoted in Webster Smith, 'Pratolino', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 20:4 (1961), 155-68 (p. 158).

This lavish *tableau vivant* is marked specifically by maritime invention, drawing on a host of coveted precious objects such as mother-of-pearl and coral, as well as the more commonplace and ‘local’ shells no doubt sourced from near-by ponds and rivers. The presence of Galatea alongside the other automata in the grotto marries the myth of the sentient statue popularised by Ovid with the animating force of hydraulic automata, which similarly give life to water. Nature and artifice converge very powerfully in this image, where domestic water is framed and transformed into an idealised and aestheticized vision of marine myth and splendour.

The surviving grotto at the Boboli gardens, even in its diminished states, gives an indication of the spectacular effects created by Buontalenti, in which the preoccupation with metamorphosis characterises the theatrical nature of the mechanical and elemental devices found therein. The *grotta grande* (Fig. 14) houses numerous polished Mannerist marble sculptures, set among dramatic artificial stalactites and rusticated renderings. The walls of the grotto, heavily laden with artificial roughness act as a backdrop against which to appreciate the sculptures (a number of which were executed by Giambologna), inviting meditation upon the sustained contrast between rough and crafted material that is emphasised elsewhere within the grotto interior. The walls of the grotto interior are littered with protruding figures executed in the rustic style (Fig. 15), being an intermediate state of organic nature between the marble sculptures and the terracotta and stucco stalactites. The presentation of the rustic figures highlights the interdependence between different states of natural materials; the figures chart the progression of the untouched natural material through a process of artisanal crafting in which the statue metamorphoses from the seemingly unhewn rock. Their encrusted appearance implies that their bodies rise out and take shape from the apparently natural ruggedness of the interior walls, or, perhaps, are being drawn back into the rocky element from whence they came. Generation and reclamation characterise much of what Buontalenti created in his grotto; the mechanical artificiality of the water-effects and hydraulics, the sculptures, and other devices that conjure and create through the artisan’s labour and design work

to create a space designed to appear as being governed by untamed nature, as Detlef D. Heikamp's description of the *grotta grande* at Boboli, reiterates:

Even the central skylight of the cupola was transformed into an aquarium with fish, through which the dim light would have filtered into the Grotto. Nowadays a dry and dusty place, the Grotto, once with fish slowly circling the aquarium of the dome, surrounded by Poccetti's frescoes of birds flying, the rich vegetation of 'Venus' Hair' [a type of fern growing from stalactites], together with the humidity and the sound of dripping water, must have been a mysterious place, inviting the visitor to meditate on the secrets of nature.<sup>26</sup>

The meditations on the natural world are here provoked specifically through the artifice of the artisan's designs, prompted by the mixture of fish and ferns with glass, rock, and painted fresco. The boundaries between the natural and the artificial are blurred, but the effects that they have are defined in terms of one another, as the water in the cupola transforms the perception of the grottos into an 'underwater' space. The richness of the iconography and mechanical effects found in Buontalenti's grottoes was echoed in his scenographic designs, which similarly conjured powerful scenes and animated figures that relied on different kinds of mechanical water.

The kind of rustication typically found in grottoes was commonly echoed more widely throughout the grounds of the Italian gardens. For instance, the rustic interiors of the grottoes at Pratolino were echoed in Giambologna's still extant colossal Fountain of Apennine, or Apennino (Fig. 12 and 13).<sup>27</sup> This impressive embodiment of the Italian mountain range, his beard and body dripping with chiselled rocks and stalactites sits with his hand pressed down upon the head of what appears to be a large fish or sea monster, from whose mouth water once flowed.<sup>28</sup> The figure sits on a bed of rocks, masterfully assembled to support the structure's massive weight, which gives the illusion that it has risen out of the ground, still covered in mud and gravel, bringing

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<sup>26</sup> Detlef D. Heikamp, 'The 'Grotta Grande' in the Boboli Garden, Florence', *The Connoisseur*, 199:799 (1978), 38-43.

<sup>27</sup> See Michael Cole, 'Giambologna and the Sculpture with No Name', *Oxford Art Journal*, 31:3 (2008), 337-60.

<sup>28</sup> Claudia Lazaro provides an extensive account of personified river gods in the Renaissance Italian garden, among which the impressive body of the Apennino statue and his symbolic control of Alpine spring water can be considered, 'River Gods: Personifying Nature in Sixteenth-Century Italy', *Renaissance Studies*, 25:1 (2011), pp. 82-106.

with it a spring straight from the depths of the earth. The colossus housed an inner chamber in which an impressive array of gems and minerals were put on display, creating a contrast between the ordered, crafted precious gems within the statue against its heavily rusticated outward form. While the ruggedness of the exterior recreates an unpolished and uncontrolled raw material, it nevertheless embodies a different type of craftsmanship than that found in the collection of gems, which are the product of skilled artisanal labour. This plural perspective on the treatment and articulation of elemental materials recurs throughout the Renaissance garden designs on the continent and later in England, where the natural and the artificial are integrated into a complementary image in which sculpted nature and naturalistic artifice exist side-by-side. This type of perspective is, as the latter part of this chapter will demonstrate, a recurrent trope in the masques of the Jacobean court, where elemental materials such as rock, air, and water are presented concurrently in a plurality of ways, drawing attention to their overt artificiality and echoing conceits that were popularised in decorative aesthetic cultures of the early seventeenth century.

The grotto-like rustication was likewise present beyond the confines of the grotto at Boboli. As with the rusticated setting of the Apennino, Stoldo Lorenzi's Neptune fountain at Boboli (Fig. 16) also combines the aesthetics of the artificial and the natural to great effect. Rather than emerging dramatically from the landscape like Giambologna's statue, this fountain setting resembles an island, which works effectively in its current position in the Forscone basin. A finely-cast bronze figure of Neptune stands atop a large mound of rocks dripping with stalactites, crouching tritons and a large scallop shell. The contrast between the smoothness of the bronze statue and the highly rustic setting on which it stands works to intensify the *trompe l'oeil* effect of the base, made to resemble the craggy of a natural rock-face. The spray of water generated by the fountain from the opening directly behind Neptune would spray the impressive composition, imitating the onslaught of the waves that would naturally wash over sea rocks. The presence of Neptune with his trident invokes his power to control water, expressed here simultaneously through mythology and the engineer's hydraulic skill. Neptune's presence at Boboli places marine iconography firmly into



the midst of a land-locked garden, potentially transforming the still-standing waters of the pools and the flowing waters of springs and rivers into a stage upon which to enact a specifically marine vision. As with the rusticated statues emerging from the walls inside the *grotto grande*, there is a sense of interdependence between the components of Lorenzi's fountain statue, which reflects various types of mimesis and abstraction in the highly realistic bodies of the statues and rock-work, and the stylised decorative shell appended to the fountain.

The meditations upon nature provoked by grotto is on some level ideologically linked to the early modern preoccupations with the study and representation of the natural world, as the life's work of the French potter and naturalist, Bernard de Palissy reveals. Palissy's keen interest in *naturalia* shaped the design of his grottoes and his striking pottery-ware designs. Hannah Rose Shell discusses Palissy's practice of casting live specimens in order to make moulds which would then be used to produce the lifelike figures of eels, fish, frogs, snakes and lizards found in his decorative basins.<sup>29</sup> Palissy was interested in the natural and mechanical workings of water as well as his empirical study of the natural world, and wrote a treatise about the construction of natural fountains and springs and their benefits for agriculture and horticulture.<sup>30</sup> He likewise published a detailed treatise on grotto design and construction, having been invited to participate in the construction of grottoes at Saintes for the Duc de Montmorency and in the Tuileries for Catherine de' Medici.<sup>31</sup> Although no longer extant, his grottoes were filled with the colourful and realistic figures commonly found on his pottery-ware (Fig. 17).<sup>32</sup> Palissy's arduous quest to

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<sup>29</sup> Hanna Rose Shell, 'Casting Life, Recasting Experience: Bernard Palissy's Occupation between Maker and Nature' *Configurations*, 12:1 (2004), 1-40.

<sup>30</sup> See Hester Lees-Jeffries, 'An Elizabethan translation of Bernard Palissy's 'On Waters and Fountains'', *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 30:1 (2001), 1-56.

<sup>31</sup> Bernard de Palissy, *Architecture et ordonnance de la grotte rustique de Monseigneur le du de Montomency connestable de France* (Paris, 1563).

<sup>32</sup> For discussion of Palissy's life and career see Leonard M. Amico, *Bernard de Palissy: In Pursuit of Earthly Paradise* (London: Flammarion, 1996) and Henry Morley, *Palissy the Potter: The Life of Bernard Palissy, of Saintes* (London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, 1869). For his interest in natural history see Martin Kemp, "'Wrought by No Artist's Hand": The Natural, the Artificial, the Exotic, and the Scientific in Some Artifacts from the Renaissance', in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, ed. by Claire Farago (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 177-96 (p. 193).

perfecting his vitreous glazes (which took many decades and kept him in poverty for much of his life) enabled him to capture the vivid colours that so entranced him on his naturalistic expeditions to the French countryside. His casts, as well as producing rather whimsical pieces of pottery-ware, embody a mimetic and realistic way of capturing knowledge about the natural world, in which the specimen, instead of being reproduced visually in a woodcut illustration that potentially threatens a distortion or inaccurate rendering of its anatomy, is accurately captured in material terms and made permanent in clay and glaze. In this sense, preoccupations with knowledge are married with ornamentation in decorative art, echoed elsewhere by life-casting in metalwork, particularly in Wenzel Jamnitzer's gold life-casts.<sup>33</sup>

When the creatures found sporting in Palissy's basins are transported to the ceramic grottoes designed by the potter, they gain a different aesthetic currency, set in a much larger decorative environment made up of living and imitated nature.<sup>34</sup> The grotto is a space where water is manipulated by hydraulics but also painted on friezes, stalactites are made of clay and stucco as well as real rock, moss on the walls is created by dabbing coloured wax but also grows in the damp parts of the caverns, and the object-bodies of clay specimens sit in close proximity to the living lizards, beetles, worms, and fish that typically also occupied the space. The different organic and inorganic elements complement one another in this case, but in the case of the pottery basins, the artificial bodies necessitate artificial water, which is evoked by the positioning of the specimens in high relief and the high gloss of the glazes that imitates the sparkling of water.

Palissy's pottery-ware presents vivid and rather theatricalised views of the natural world in the *trompe l'oeil* quality of the specimens that sport on its surfaces, responding to the grotto aesthetic popular in France at the time. This kind of aesthetic appeal has been identified as the driving force behind other fashions in the fine arts, among them the 'Auricular' style of metalwork and ornament, championed by Adam

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<sup>33</sup> Martin Kemp, "Wrought by No Man's Hand", p. 181.

<sup>34</sup> For Palissy's use of ceramic figurines in his grottoes see Peter Ward-Jackson, 'Main Streams in Ornament', pp. 122-24.

van Vianen (and further popularised by his brother, Paul, as well as his son, Christiaen, both of whom were later employed at the Stuart court) at Utrecht, and also found in the sketches of Nikolas Rossman and Stefano della Bella.<sup>35</sup> Following on from the popularity of his father's designs, Christiaen published a collection of Adam's engravings and sketches in 1650, which was tremendously popular in its day, appearing in several different translations on the continent.<sup>36</sup> In *Shakespeare and Material Culture*, Catherine Richardson acknowledges the importance of silver at the Stuart court and specifically discusses a marine-themed ewer and basin dated c.1611 by way of illustrating that the:

Silver mermaid ewer and scallop shell basin, together with their allusions to administration of dominion over the waters and colonization of the new world [...] might suggest that the old connections between ritual washing and sea themes which such pieces reflected took on a new twist in an age of voyaging and exploration.<sup>37</sup>

The Auricular silverware that was being produced at approximately the same time as this ewer and basin was also articulated in an idiom that reflects the contemporary preoccupations with the maritime world, albeit in a strikingly different way. Van Vianen's ewers and basins (Figs 18 and 19) typically featured smooth, flowing lines evocative of water, together with abstract shapes inspired by marine creatures and *naturalia* found in Palissy's pottery. Peter Ward-Jackson's description of the style's influences credits the grotto and the fountain as precedents for what he identifies as its 'fleshy forms'.<sup>38</sup> Peter Thornton likewise credits the somewhat 'unruly' style as one that found its inception:

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<sup>35</sup> Several of Rossman's designs are reproduced in *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts ca. 1400–1700* (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision, 1954–2010), vol. 36: Ronzonius—Sachse (1994), pp. 99–106. For a selection of della Bella's engravings see Thomas Dodd, *A Collection of Etchings, by that Inimitable Artist, Stefanino della Bella, Comprising in Number One Hundred and Eighty Pieces... To which is Prefixed a Biographical Memoir of the Artist* (London: Young, 1818). The term 'Auricular' was appended to the style much later, referring to the smooth flowing lines which resemble the curving cartilage of the ear. Judith Banister offers an analysis of the Van Vianen's impact on the Auricular style in 'Authors of the Auricular Style: The Van Vianens, Goldsmiths of Europe', *Country Life*, 24:85 (1985), 204–6. For the dissemination of the Auricular style at the Stuart court see R. W. Lightbown, 'Christian Van Vianen at the Court of Charles I', *Apollo*, 87:68 (1968), 426–39.

<sup>36</sup> The accompanying text to the engravings was available in Dutch, French and Italian.

<sup>37</sup> Richardson, *Shakespeare and Material Culture*, p. 132.

<sup>38</sup> Peter Ward-Jackson, 'Main Streams in Ornament', p. 130.

At the bottom of the sea among strange monsters, crabs and conger eels, or in dripping caves, in the slime of estuaries, in crypts, butcher's shops, anatomy theatres and other eerie and discomfoting places. It was anti-conventional and appealed particularly to the essentially middle-class people of Holland, who had triumphed against heavy odds at sea, and in the banking-houses where they so adroitly handled the finances of much of Europe.<sup>39</sup>

Thornton acknowledges that the style was rather peculiar to the period in which it blossomed, reaching its zenith in the early-to-mid seventeenth century and receding by the 1660s.<sup>40</sup> The peculiar deconstruction of form typical of the style is illustrated in Fig. 18, which is one of Adam van Vianen's ewers, presented to the Amsterdam goldsmiths' guild in 1614, currently at the Rijksmuseum. The ewer fuses the abstracted shapes of shells at the base and body and the fluid movement of splashing water at the top, and is crafted in such a way as to structurally and conceptually loosen the familiar shape and size of a typical marine object such as a shell, incorporating the form and essence of water in a radically different way to the kind of decorative 'water' found in Palissy's pottery. In many ways, the playful shapes found in Auricular designs can be read as part of a wider early modern debate about how nature sometimes performs tricks by writing recognisable anatomical features into its creations. One such natural object, which playfully extends the Doctrine of Correspondence, is the shell *Aura Marina*, which, as an early modern collector of scientific jokes reported, 'is formed in the likeness of an ear'.<sup>41</sup> As Paula Findlen comments, the same collector, when explaining the nomenclature of articulated coral recognises that its joints seem to imitate animal bone, embodying a 'recognition and concomitant naming of parallel structures in diverse organisms'.<sup>42</sup> This kind of cross-recognition destabilises clear dividing lines between natural and unnatural 'artifice', since it makes objects recognisable, but in doing so it makes them all the more unfamiliar.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Peter Thornton, *Form and Decoration: Innovation in the Decorative Arts, 1470-1870* (New York: Abrams, 1998), p. 97

<sup>40</sup> He writes, 'the Auricular idiom, along with the sentiments that lay behind it, retreated to the grottoes whence it had come, and remained there as sub-culture, awaiting the time, almost a century hence, when it would inspire artists who were working in what was to become the Rococo style' (Ibid., p. 98).

<sup>41</sup> Paula Findlen, 'Jokes of Nature and Jokes of Knowledge: The Playfulness of Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43:2 (1990), 292-331 (p. 306).

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> This reflects Pliny's suggestions that nature replicates the forms of flora and fauna (see p. 149, n. 24, above).

Christiaen van Vianen's dolphin basin (Fig. 19) similarly plays out this conceit, as the heads of the two dolphins seen in profile at the top of the dish play tricks on the eye and are easily mistaken for a monstrous fish. The decorative Auricular border appears alongside a more conventional representation of water in Christiaen's basin, in which water is literally hammered into the silver and can be seen gushing forth from the mouths of the two dolphin heads, seen in profile at the top of the dish. These typical Auricular 'capricious designs' often boasted such decorative features and borders, in which could be found 'heads of monsters [...] hideous masks, shapeless ornament, indefinable forms where every projection became a grotesque mask, and all sense of stability seemed to be lost sight of'.<sup>44</sup> Distorted sightlines and perspective are crucial to these Auricular designs, which offer a different iteration of the water-trick found in grottoes; here, the form of water and its denizens is conceptually loosened and rendered through the expert craftsmanship of the silversmiths and exploited through the gleaming material from which it is made.<sup>45</sup>

The trends in garden architecture and the fine arts discussed were ideologically shaped by—even as they gave material shape to—Renaissance interest in the marine on the continent. This aesthetic interest was brought to London through a variety of channels, among continental craftsmen that visited the Jacobean court, bringing with them aesthetic fashions that find their roots in the works of figures like Palissy, Buontalenti, and Giambologna. For example, Salomon de Caus, the polymath garden designer, architect, hydraulic engineer and mathematician was brought to court by James to tutor Prince Henry and to work on a number of garden projects.<sup>46</sup> De Caus remained in England until 1613, when he accompanied Princess Elizabeth and her

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<sup>44</sup> W.W. Watts, 'Recent Acquisitions for Public Collections: I-II', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 32:183 (1918), 209-12 (p. 209).

<sup>45</sup> The process involved in the execution of these pieces of silverware involved great skill in manipulating the shape of the metal; most of the pieces made by the Van Vianens were crafted from one single piece of metal, hammered into a perfectly fluid shape. As Watts rightly points out, 'from a technical point of view the execution of these pieces is astonishingly clever, and suggests that the efforts of the craftsman were concentrated in producing an object not so much a thing of beauty as an exhibition of his manipulative ability' (Ibid.).

<sup>46</sup> For an extensive account of de Caus's career and sojourn in England see Luke Morgan, *Nature as Model: Salomon de Caus and Early Seventeenth-Century Landscape Design* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). On his involvement with Prince Henry see Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), pp. 106-10.

husband, Prince Frederick, the Elector Palatine, to Heidelberg, where he designed and constructed the *Hortus Palatinus*.<sup>47</sup> He was responsible for the construction of a number of grottoes in England, including those for Prince Henry at Richmond Palace, for Queen Anne's gardens at Greenwich and Somerset and for Robert Cecil's gardens at Hatfield House, the designs for which were heavily influenced by his observation of Florentine gardens, among them Boboli and Pratolino.<sup>48</sup>

For instance, the Apennino made an impression on de Caus, who notes in his treatise on hydraulics, *Les raisons des forces mouvantes* (Frankfurt, 1615), that while passing through Pratolino 'among other grotto works with which the said house is richly ornamented, I saw a figure of a great Cyclops, in the body of which are some grottoes very artificially made'.<sup>49</sup> As Luke Morgan points out, this description most likely refers to Giambologna's colossus, clearly misidentified by de Caus (the figure of which can be recognised in the accompanying engraving to Problem 14 and 16 in Book II of *Les Raisons*, in which a similarly colossal male figure sits upon a fountain setting). While there is no direct evidence for a visit to Boboli, de Caus was certainly an ardent admirer of Buontalenti's work at Pratolino, in which he found a 'paradigmatic source for his later activities as a fountain, grotto, and automaton designer, and in its architect – Buontalenti – a professional model to emulate. The importance of this precedent for de Caus' subsequent oeuvre cannot be overstated'.<sup>50</sup> The kinds of linkages of recreational water with specifically marine personages is

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<sup>47</sup> De Caus's designs for the *Hortus Palatinus* are reproduced by R. Patterson in 'The "Hortus Palatinus" at Heidelberg and the Reformation of the World, I: The Iconography of the Garden', *Journal of Garden History*, 1:1 (1981), 67-104, and "The "Hortus Palatinus" at Heidelberg and the Reformation of the World, II: Culture as Science', *Journal of Garden History*, 1:2 (1981), 179-202.

<sup>48</sup> Paige Johnson points out that Henry wanted a specifically Italianate craftsmanship for the cistern house at Richmond Palace, noting that instead of employing from the abundance of domestic workmen, he 'requested the service of an Italian expert and waited for the better part of a year on his arrival, engaging in the meantime the services of Salomon de Caus, who would be joined a short time later by his brother, Isaac' ('Producing Pleasantness', pp. 171-72). For an account of de Caus's important contribution to grotto and garden constructions in England see Luke Morgan, 'Landscape Design in England circa 1610: The Contribution of Salomon de Caus', *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 23:1 (2003), 1-21, in which he points out that the Italian expert sent to Henry was Constantino de' Servi (p. 2). On the tense relationship between Servi and de Caus see Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales*, pp. 91-92.

<sup>49</sup> Cited in Luke Morgan, *Nature as Model: Salomon de Caus and Early Seventeenth-Century Landscape Design* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 43.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

evident in de Caus's hydraulic grotto and fountain designs, which he published in *La Perspective, avec les raisons des ombres et miroirs* (London, 1612) and *Les Raisons*. These works are important not only as reflections of his expertise in hydraulics and engineering, but also because the likely designs for his waterworks survive only in these treatises, which contain a large number of exquisitely detailed engravings. For example, his engraving of the 'Mount Parnassus' fountain in Fig. 20 is incredibly similar to that which he executed at Somerset House, described by J. W. Neumeyr upon his visit there:

The mountain or rock is made of sea-stones, all sorts of mussels, snails, and other curious plants put together: all kinds of herbs and flowers grow out of the rock which are a great pleasure to behold. On the side facing the palace it is made like a cavern. Inside it sit the Muses [...] Uppermost stands Pegasus... On the mountain are built four small arches, in each rests a naked statue of marble. They have cornucopiae in [their] hands and under their arms jugs from which water flows into the basin about four good paces wide, and is all around the mountain. They are supposed to represent four rivers. Among others there stands above such a female figure in black marble in gold letters *Tamesis*. It is the river on which London lies, and [which] flows next to this garden [...] It is thus a beautiful work and far surpasses the Mount Parnassus at Pratolino.<sup>51</sup>

It is interesting that Neumayr should explicitly compare the Somerset Parnassus to that at Pratolino, which formed an important part of de Caus's travels around Italy during 1585-1598, when he had the opportunity to study the spectacular grottoes and garden architecture of the Italian masters, Buontalenti and Giambologna among them. The beautifully detailed grotto and fountain designs in de Caus's *Les Raisons* emulate Italian Mannerism, which had established itself as a dominant style on the continent, which he had actively transported into England and into the Jacobean court.<sup>52</sup> The currency of the iconographical repertoire found in the grottoes was one which could be emulated repeatedly in similar combinations, as illustrated by the popularity of the Mount Parnassus design, which was a common garden motif (de Caus executed it at least twice himself; once at Somerset, and several years previously at the Coudenberg

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<sup>51</sup> J. W. Neumayr, translated and cited in Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), pp. 90-91.

<sup>52</sup> On the development of Italian Mannerism see Giuliano Briganti, *Italian Mannerism*, trans. by M. Kunzle (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962) and Liana de Girolami Cheney, ed., *Readings in Italian Mannerism* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997).

Palace in Brussels). In fact, de Caus played an important part in helping to disseminate the Florentine style not only through his constructed works, but also through the many elaborate engravings in *Les Raisons*.

Salomon's brother, Isaac, was likewise involved in hydraulic design at court, with his commissioned design for a 'Rocke or Grotto' within the undercroft of Whitehall Palace in 1623-4, where James I 'regale[d] himself privately'.<sup>53</sup> Isaac later designed grottoes at Wilton House for the Earl of Pembroke and Woburn Abbey for the Earl of Bedford. Simon Thurley posits, in light of the designs for these grottoes, it is likely that the one at Whitehall Palace would have contained fountains as well as shell work, implying that the court grotto followed the typical inclusion of hydraulic devices against the backdrop of rusticated architectural decoration.<sup>54</sup> The limited documentation of his employment in England reveals that Isaac was also carried out work at Covent Garden for the Earl of Bedford and at Skipton Castle for Lady Anne Clifford.<sup>55</sup> At Wilton House, as at Whitehall Palace, Isaac's grotto was completed alongside of Inigo Jones' Palladian architectural designs, and undoubtedly the place that grottoes had in these architectural feats left an impression on Jones's scenographic designs, in which formal harmony is likewise marked with playfully rusticated elements.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartment, 1240-1698* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), p. 88.

<sup>54</sup> Thurley mentions that the shell-work was in fact a later addition to the grotto, carried out by Isaac after it was completed (*Whitehall Palace*, p.88). For an account of the work carried out on the grotto see Luke Morgan, 'Isaac de Caus, Invenit', *Studies in the History of Designed Landscapes*, 29:3 (2009), 141-51 (p. 142).

<sup>55</sup> For Isaac's grotto at Woburn Abbey see Dianne Duggan, 'Isaac de Caus, Nicholas Stone, and the Woburn Abbey Grotto', *Apollo*, (2003), 50-58. For Covent Garden see Dianne Duggan, 'The Fourth Side of Covent Garden Piazza: New Light on the History and Significance of Bedford House', *British Art Journal*, 3:3 (2002), 53-65. For a broader discussion of his movements in England see Paige Johnson, 'Producing Pleasantness: The Waterworks of Isaac de Caus, Outlandish Engineer', in *Studies in the History of Designed Landscapes*, 29:3 (2009), 169-91.

<sup>56</sup> On Jones's architectural style see Christy Anderson, *Inigo Jones and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), and Giles Worsley, *Inigo Jones and the European Classical Tradition* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2007). On Jones's stage designs see John Peacock's eloquent and extensive monograph, *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).



#### IV. Verbal objects and representations of the marine

It is unsurprising that the prevalence of the decorative marine idiom in garden design and the decorative arts should find expression in the court masques and their store of mechanical and material properties that made possible the kinds of aural and visual aesthetic effects that characterise the expressions of that idiom. As my discussion of the pageant devices in the Lord Mayors' Shows in Chapter Two has shown, decorative marine aesthetics could be found on the Thames and the urban routes used for the procession, which unsurprisingly share some characteristics with the masques discussed below, given that the dramatists who devised them were active at court and in the City. These decorative elements, however, also manifest themselves in performance spaces that do not necessarily rely on overtly material means of staging them. In her contribution to *The Tempest and Its Travels* (2000), entitled 'Wild Waters: Hydraulics and the Forces of Nature', Christy Anderson persuasively reads the play against an emerging tradition of taming 'the raw materials of nature into pleasurable matter', identifying the enchanted island's landscapes and peculiarities among contemporary English gardens, which were 'self-conscious places of display where the forces of nature were harnessed for marvellous effects'.<sup>57</sup>

Keeping sight of the overtly artificial and controlled constructions of English gardens modelled on continental examples enables Anderson to pursue a line of enquiry in which treatises on hydraulic engineering are generally related to the operation and revelation of Prospero's art. This consideration draws similarities between Prospero's presentation and explanation of wonder that found in popular works on hydraulics, where, as in the case of de Caus 'he splits the image, pulling up the curtain aside to show the viewer how something operates and what is the result'.<sup>58</sup> While Anderson's suggestion about the importance of garden hydraulics to the Renaissance stage (both commercially and at court) is persuasive, she does not explore the implications of this with any specificity, neglecting the other elements of grotto

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<sup>57</sup> Christy Anderson, 'Wild Waters: Hydraulics and the Forces of Nature', in *The Tempest and Its Travels*, ed. by Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion, 2000), pp. 41-47 (p.41).

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

design and recreational water that we find in Ariel's song to Ferdinand. I would like to suggest that this episode in particular shows an awareness of fashions for hydraulic designs in garden architecture through an allusion to the kinds of transformations found in the court masque, which I will explore in the following section.

*The Tempest* is a useful means of thinking about the interplay of different kinds of water, which is realised on the stage materially when the mariners '*Enter wet*' and later in a series of verbal objects that present a more aestheticized form of imagined water. The saturated mariners call attention to the riverine as well as the maritime occupations central to London as a city on the Thames, directing the audience beyond the theatre and into their immediate urban surroundings and towards quotidian labour as much as to perilous voyages to far-away continents.<sup>59</sup> The practicality and bodily interaction that characterise the mariner figures in *The Tempest* appear at a far remove from the idealized series of watery interactions imagined by Ferdinand as Ariel sings his ditty on Alonso's supposed drowning. The vision of water spectacles and effects transports the audience from the water of labour to the water of leisure, which was springing up in the early seventeenth century. In *The Tempest*, the marine, as represented by the water in which the mariners toil, is a practical and insurmountable natural force, but as Prospero's mastery over the elements reveals in his allaying of the storm he has previously conjured and in Ariel's song, it is also highly malleable through artifice. The play explicitly invokes the masque form through its staging of the marriage masque for Ferdinand and Miranda, and I would like to suggest that the depiction of water in Ariel's song anticipates the masque-like elements that are found repeatedly in the play.<sup>60</sup> The following episode offers a range of sensory suggestions resonate with hydraulic designs and conceits popular in garden architecture and in masque designs:

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<sup>59</sup> Paige Johnson suggests that 'No one, whether of lowly or noble estate, was far from the sight of harnessed water power, and its rushing was a 'keynote' acoustic of early modern London' ('Producing Pleasantness', pp. 169-70).

<sup>60</sup> See David Lindley, 'Music, Masque, and Meaning in *The Tempest*', in *The Court Masque*, ed. by David Lindley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), pp. 47-59, and David Bevington, '*The Tempest* and the Jacobean Court Masque', in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. by David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 218-43.

FERDINAND

Where should this music be? – i'th' air, or th'earth?  
It sounds no more; and sure it waits upon  
Some god o'th' island. Sitting on a bank,  
Weeping again the King my father's wreck,  
This music crept by me upon the waters,  
Allaying both their fury and my passion  
With its sweet air. Thence I have followed it,  
Or it hath drawn me rather; but 'tis gone.  
No, it begins again.

ARIEL (*sings*)

Full fathom five thy father lies,  
Of his bones are coral made;  
Those are pearls that were his eyes;  
Nothing of him that doth fade,  
But doth suffer a sea-change  
Into something rich and strange.  
Sea nymphs hourly ring his knell.  
Hark! I hear them. Ding-dong-dell. (I. 2. 389-404)

Water is here imagined as a powerful conductor of mysterious melodies and immersive transformations. The transformations found in Ferdinand's encounter with the island's waters allude powerfully to material realisations of marine wonder in early modern material culture. The sea that Ferdinand believes to have claimed his father is performed by means of verbal objects conjured by the transformative potential of water implied in Ariel's song. Alonso's body is re-written in a decorative idiom whereby his human anatomy metamorphoses into coral and shells—presumably 'live' coral and pearls rather than the 'dead' ones found in cabinets of curiosity, jewellery, costume, and the grotto.<sup>61</sup> Marine materials like these are important for thinking about the boundaries between life and death, animate and inanimate objects, and art and artifice. Their repeated use in grotto design, jewellery and costume design in royal festivities both on the continent and in England at this time is also a telling indicator of the self-reflective as well as decorative and aesthetic functions of the marine in ornamentation.

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<sup>61</sup> Shannon Kelley's recently-published article provides an astute and well-informed reading of early modern coral in early modern culture and its presence in Shakespeare's play: 'The King's Coral Body: A Natural-History of Coral and the Post-Tragic Ecology of *The Tempest*', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 14:1 (2014), 115-42.

As a space that invites reflection on nature and artifice, the grotto is dominated by devices whose aesthetic appeal rests precisely on the kinds of metamorphoses undergone by Alonso's imagined effigy. The transformation of his once-human body into decorative marine components reflects not only the rusticated forms popular in grotto architecture, but also conceits on the animation of otherwise inanimate matter explored in the court masques, where the organic bodies of actors are seemingly metamorphosed into artificial versions of themselves when they become statues or take on elemental guises of water, fire, air, and earth. Ferdinand's amazement at the music that drifts along the water and the image conjured by Ariel's mention of sea-nymphs ringing the knell form part of the larger picture of Prospero's island as a space haunted with strange sounds. Likewise, these images draw attention to the aural dimensions of hydraulic design and mechanical innovation, which also formed an important part of the grotto's appeal. Representations of this aural appeal figure heavily in the court masques, not only through their pervasive tendency to exploit the theatrical potential of music as an animating principle (as my discussion of *The Masque of Flowers* will illustrate), but also through designs painted on the stage machinery, where the familiar tinkling and bubbling water is so often implied through its artificial figurations. The mysterious music that Ferdinand chases along the water's edge calls to mind the impressive array of water organs and water tricks (*giochi d'acqua*) commonly found in Renaissance gardens, which often exploited the potential of water in multi-sensory ways; the former manipulate water to produce 'artificial' sounds, while the latter emphasise a more natural sprinkling or flow of water, which was often used to shroud visitors in a fine mist or drench them suddenly from squirting jets.

This moment in the *The Tempest*, then, is a useful means of thinking about the inherent theatricality of water-effects commonly found in garden architecture being re-absorbed into dramatic performance, calling to mind as it does the playful uses of water and the aesthetic and iconographical meanings of marine materials such as coral and pearl. In the absence of hydraulics on the early modern commercial stage, these effects are brought about through a verbal means of constructing allusions to the auditory, visual, and bodily interactions with grotto-like spaces where meditation,

wonder, amazement, and transformation converge. As Anderson posits, Prospero's enchanted island is much like a grotto in itself, given the sustained references of the shows and spectacles that take place therein both in terms of their 'mechanical' constructions and the affective responses that they elicit in their intended recipients in the play. It continually plays tricks on those than set foot ashore, and even leaves the clownish characters drenched after a kind of *giochi d'aqua* during the course of which Ariel leads Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban into a mire. Even the role of the artist is evident in Ariel's construction of Alonso's body, which becomes translated into new media harvested directly from the sea, through an overt artificiality that exploits the affective and aesthetic qualities of the materials it emulates.

Catherine Richardson very eloquently relates the spectacle embodied in the masque and banquet to the play's wider concerns with materiality and performance, suggesting that:

It is through the performance of banquet and masque that Prospero intends to effect his return. Their politics of display are partly a feature of his control over the spirits and the shows they put on, and partly an element of his ability to wield aesthetic authority – to reproduce the dominant cultural forms of the courts of Europe.<sup>62</sup>

It is little wonder that in the context of these 'dominant cultural forms' we should find a moment in the play that is deeply invested in popular forms of garden architecture and a preoccupation with marine treasures. In fact, the impulse to expand the dramatic potential of this element of the play was realised in a semi-operatic expansion of Davenant and Dryden's post-proscenial reworking of the play subtitled *The Enchanted Isle* (1674). In this version, Prospero is restored to his ducal position and calls up a vision to ensure smooth sailing, which takes the form of a theatre-masque featuring Oceanus and Tethys with Neptune and Amphitrite in a chariot drawn by sea-horses. A

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<sup>62</sup> Catherine Richardson, *Shakespeare and Material Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 156.

group of tritons then proceed to ‘sound a calm’ on their conch-shells resulting in a halcyon sea, crowned with a final theatrical coup of Ariel flying out of the rising sun.<sup>63</sup>

## V. Visions of the marine in the Jacobean court masque

In light of the material discussed thus far, this section considers the representations of the marine in a number of masques and water shows, beginning with the entertainments performed for Prince Henry’s investiture in 1610. While *Tethys’ Festival*, the masque that Queen Anne devised for the event, typically draws on a range of European fashions and popular tropes in its exclusive court performance space, the water progress, by virtue of its performance on the Thames, is far more reminiscent of the Lord Mayors’ Shows discussed in Chapter One. The Shows, while themselves also marked to some degree by European fashions, identified themselves as a domestic form of civic celebration and employed the river as a symbolic stage on which to enact visions of commercial and mercantile excellence. The investiture water progress and entertainments demonstrate that the symbolic potential of the river could be pushed still further beyond its utility as a venue and as personified character central to the avenues of monarchical, aristocratic, and commercial channels that ran through the city.<sup>64</sup> As Nancy E. Wright suggests, ‘The court and the City [...] required ceremonial forms of expression through which to negotiate differences and mutual dependencies,’ and Henry’s water progress is just such a negotiation, in which the hope of a new heir is staged on the same riverine stage that begins the Lord Mayors’ Shows in which commercial enterprise and economic importance of the mayoralty and companies are

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<sup>63</sup> Roger Savage, ‘Sea-Spectacles on Dry Land’, in *Water Pageants*, ed. Shewring, pp. 367-68. For a description of this production see Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production* (London: Routledge, 1984), pp. 65-7; pp. 78-82.

<sup>64</sup> The Thames as a personification was present in a number of Lord Mayor’s Shows, including *The Device of the Pageant Borne before Wolstan Dixie* (1585), *The Triumphs of Reunited Britannia* (1605), *Troia-Nova Triumphans, or London Triumphing* (1612), and *Metropolis Coronata* (1615). Thames was likewise frequently presented in court masques, including the *Masque of Beauty* (1608), as well as those mentioned in this chapter.

celebrated'.<sup>65</sup> Henry's progress on the Thames was an intersection of the civic and the royal, where the City greets and bestows well-wishes onto the Prince. Henry's progress by water is documented in Samuel Daniel's *Tethys' Festival* (1610) and Anthony Munday's *London's Love, to the Royal Prince Henrie* (1610), which provide accounts of how the Prince was greeted by the Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Livery Companies as he made his way down the Thames.<sup>66</sup>

Samuel Daniel's account describes in some detail the material and dramatic devices of the entertainment on the water. Henry was met near Chelsea by:

Two artificiall Sea-monsters, one in fashion of a Whale, the other like a Dolphin, with persons richly apparrelled, sitting upon them, who at the meeting and parting of the Lord Mayor and his company, with the Prince, were to deliver certaine speeches unto him. (*Tethys' Festival*, A4<sup>v</sup>)<sup>67</sup>

More specifically, the extended use of the marine idiom which characterises the celebrations of Henry's appointment as Prince of Wales fits into a wider literary appropriation of the prince into narratives of water, such as Michael Drayton's *Poly Olbion* (1612), which is dedicated to the Prince and makes much of the conceit of personifying Britain's rivers to represent members of the Jacobean royal family and court elite.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Nancy E. Wright, 'Rival Traditions: Civic and Courtly Ceremonies in Jacobean London', in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 197-217 (p. 197).

<sup>66</sup> Although the text of Daniel's masque is commonly referred to simply as *Tethys' Festival*, which privileges the masque text, it in fact gives a lengthy account of the other events and celebrations performed on the day of the investiture, reflected in its full title: *The Order and Solemnitie of the Creation of the High and Mightie Prince Henrie, Eldest Sonne to Our Sacred Sovereigne, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewall, Earle of Chester, &c As It was Celebrated in the Parliament House, on Monday the Fourth of Junne Last Past. Together with the Ceremonies of the Knights of the Bath, and other Matters of Speciall Regard, Incident to the Same. Whereunto is Annexed the Royall Maske, Presented by the Queene and her Ladies, on Wednesday at Night following.*

<sup>67</sup> For an idea of the likely design of such water pageant marine monsters see Aloise Maria Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici* (New York: De Capo, 1976).

<sup>68</sup> See, for example, Erin Murphy, 'Sabrina and the Making of English History in Poly-Olbion and A Masque Presented at Ludlow Castle', *SEL*, 51:1 (2011), 87-110; John E. Curran, 'The History Never Written: Bards, Druids, and the Problem of Antiquarianism in Poly-Olbion', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 51:2 (1998), 498-525; Raphael Falco, 'Women, Genealogy, and Composite Monarchy in Michael Drayton's Poly-Olbion', *English Literary Renaissance*, 40:2 (2010), 238-71; Barbara C. Ewell, 'Drayton's "Poly-Olbion": England's Body Immortalized', *Studies in Philology*, 75:3 (1978), 297-315; Stella P. Revard, 'The Design of Nature in Drayton's Poly-Olbion', *SEL*, 17:1 (1977), 105-17.

Anthony Munday's account of Henry's progress in *London's Love* offers a much lengthier and detailed record of the event, which is prefixed by several pages in which the mythological genealogy of Britain is retold in a specifically maritime tradition. The text provides a description of Neptune's bestowal of the island to his best-affected son, Albion, and reiterates that the very festivities that took place on the Thames did so under the auspices of Neptune's affection for the island:

To beautifie so sumptuous a shewe, and to grace the day with more matter of Triumphe, it seemd that *Neptune* smyled theron auspiciouslie, and would not suffer so famous a Citties affection, to goe unfurnished of some favour from him: especially, because it is the Metropolis and cheife honor of the Island, whereunto him selfe ever bare such endeared affection. (*London's Love*, sig. B3<sup>r</sup>)

Munday similarly explicates the dominant role played by Neptune in the spectacle, emphasising that the sea monsters come, apparently, at his behest:

Wherefore let us thus thinke of *Neptune*, that out of his spacious watrie wildernes, he then suddenly sent a huge Whale and a Dolphin, and by the power of his commanding Trident, had seated two of his choycest Trytons on them, altring their deformed Sea-shapes, bestowing on them the borrowed bodies of two absolute Actors, even the verie best our instant time can yeeld; & personating in them, the severall *Genii* of *Corinea*, the beautifull Queene of *Cornewall*, and *Amphion* the Father of hermonie or Musick. (A4<sup>r</sup>)

The convenient metamorphosis of the tritons' grotesque bodies into the likeness of human actors is explicitly identified as a part of Neptune's ability to manifest his powers over the mythological denizens of the underwater world. Munday's choice of language in describing the tripartite metamorphosis undergone by the tritons in their transformation into actors who impersonate Amphion and Corinea foreshadows the complex signification of mythology and mimetic representation which I will discuss further below. The attention that Munday draws here to the problem of correctly identifying what is being represented is a specifically textual peculiarity that would not have been possible in performance. The textual account provides an added level of fantasy in stating that the actor who played Amphion (i.e. Richard Burbage) and the boy actor who played Corinea are not only performers, but performers who have



borrowed the semblance of human bodies in order to couch their original triton anatomies and make their disguises as these personages all the more convincing.

Despite the obvious limitations of the text as a means of adequately capturing the spectacle of the water progress this moment in the textual account nevertheless remedies this shortcoming by exploiting its inherent ability to comment and report, thereby offering a level of fantasy and transformative potentiality that would have unnecessary and perhaps impossible as the Amphion and Corinea pageant unfolded on the Thames. Even as the text draws attention to the pageant's overt artificiality, it legitimates the presence of their overtly human bodies rather than the tailed ones of tritons that onlookers and readers might expect to see. It has been suggested that the costumes worn by Amphion and Corinea in this pageant came into the possession of the King's Men while Shakespeare was writing *The Tempest*.<sup>69</sup> Gabriel Egan proposes that their presence in the company's wardrobe played an important part in shaping the appearance of Caliban and Ariel that 'the obvious assignment is that the adult-size Amphion costume became Caliban and the boy-sized Corinea costume became Ariel-as-sea-nymph'.<sup>70</sup> The costumes worn by the 'tritons' on the Thames thus took on an afterlife on the commercial stage, opening a window onto both the marine aesthetics of the water progress and the kinds of royal entertainments that the play emulates in its presentation of spectacles as meaning is circulated through objects and adapted.

That Neptune should be credited with the power to transform his tritons into actors resembling mythological personages is unsurprising, given that the invocation of Neptune as a favourable maritime mentor is desirable for his commonplace appearance in shows dealing with the marine, but also necessary perhaps, as a legitimating tool for both Henry's investiture and the place of the resurrected British kingdom under its Stuart monarchy. Munday's account of the progress recounts the

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<sup>69</sup> For a discussion of the costumes from the water-pageant and their use by Shakespeare see Lisa Hopkins, *Drama and the Succession to the Crown, 1561-1633* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 108-09, and Richard Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare: Studies in Theatre, Religion and Resistance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 21-23.

<sup>70</sup> Gabriel Egan, *Green Shakespeare: From Ecopolitics to Ecocriticism* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 152-55, and Michael Baird Saenger, 'The Costumes of Caliban and Ariel qua Sea-Nymph', *N&Q* (1995), 334-36.

creation myth of Britain, recounting its bestowal onto Albion by his father, Neptune (calling to mind, perhaps, the lengthy account of the Brutus myth in the Lord Mayor's Show account of 1604). Likewise, James's identification as Neptune in Daniel's masque and his role as King and father to Henry at this critical moment in his investiture as Prince of Wales and status as James's heir are a fitting, if unconscious, way of negotiating myth and political vision. The transformation of the Thames into Neptune's 'watric wilderness' here reconfigures the river into a mythological maritime space, aligning the power of the mythological god with the sovereignty of the present monarch. This figuring of the river into 'a watric wilderness' anticipates the specifically maritime nature of the *naumachia*-style entertainment that should have taken place later that day, but was deferred until the following week.<sup>71</sup>

The dramatic transformation and use of ornamental machinery in Henry's investiture water show acts as a prelude to the marine spectacle created by Jones for Daniel's *Tethys' Festival*, which was performed following the progress.<sup>72</sup> Both the water festivities and the masque hold an explicit interest in maritime matters and marine aesthetics, which are framed specifically by an awareness of Henry's interests in maritime projects and hydraulics. Of course, as the preceding chapters have established, watery iconography and spectacle were likewise found in Elizabethan courtly entertainments and in Jacobean civic drama, but the sustained attention to the marine in the 1610 entertainments is a telling example of how current the preoccupation was at James's court. In the case of Henry's entertainments, water spectacle is used both within and outside of the court; the physical waters of the Thames on which the progress is staged are extended into the dry, artificial waters of Daniel and Jones's material and poetic designs in the masque that followed.

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<sup>71</sup> 'In the evening of the same day, it was expected that the water Fight & Fire workes should have bin performed, no meane multitude of people attending to see it. But whether by the violent storme of rayne, or other appointment of his majestie, I knowe not (albeit *Protheus* mounted on a Sea Monster, had delivered the intent of the devise to his Highnesse) yet was it deferred till the Wednesday following', Anthony Munday, *London's Love, to the Royal Prince Henry* (London, 1610), sig. D2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> Cecil Sarosy provides a comprehensive account of Daniel's career as a dramatist in *Samuel Daniel* (New York: Twayne, 1967).

*Tethys' Festival* relies heavily on stage devices that give shape to the vision of marine splendour that it sets out to embody; indeed, the Banqueting Hall is transformed into an underwater space filled with material realisations of sea creatures, deities, and imitations of decorative objects associated with the marine, such as grotto niches, fountains, and piscatory silverware. In the masque text, however, Daniel eloquently draws attention to the tensions between the ephemeral nature of the spectacle, both in terms of the immateriality of words and the fleeting presence of the physical properties:

Are they shadowes that we see?  
And can shadowes pleasure give?  
Pleasures onely shadowes bee  
Cast by bodies we conceive,  
    And are made the things we deeme,  
    In those figures which they seeme.  
But these pleasures vanish fast,  
Which by shadows are exprest:  
    Pleasures are not, if they last,  
    In their passing is their best.  
    Glory is more bright and gay  
    In a flash, and so away. (sig. F3<sup>v</sup>)

This song invites the audience to contemplate the transitory nature of the artifice they behold, drawing attention to their collective efforts of imaginatively investing into the illusionary realities of the costumed actors and lavish scenography, which become nothing more than shadows. Reading this in the textual account post-performance has an even more immediate effect of underscoring the fact that the masque had long passed and its effect cannot be recreated in anything by the remaining text. However, the concluding part of the song implies that witnessing performances such as these adds to an imaginative repository, which can be drawn on by the viewer in their mind's eye:

Feed apace then greedy eyes  
On the wonder you behold.  
    Take it sodaine as it flies  
    Though you take it not to hold:  
    When your eyes have done their part,  
    Thought must length it in the hart. (sig. F3<sup>v</sup>)

The absorption of the rich visual elements of the masque occurs through the eyes, which hungrily devour the material meaning and deposit it within the viewer's mind. Fleeting as it is, the visual dimensions of the masque have the potential of being 'lengthened' in the heart and potentially resurrected in the future by similar theatrical or poetic affective triggers.<sup>73</sup>

The poetic dimensions of the masque employ maritime iconography, mythology, and metaphor, often drawing attention to the ephemeral nature of the images they create. The material dimensions employ painted decorative objects and staged spaces that echo those discussed in the first part of this chapter, doing so as a means of making more visually immediate and striking the allegory and instructive meanings of Daniel's masque text. Given the fact that Henry had an active interest in hydraulics and waterworks at this time (indeed, he would request an Italian hydraulic engineer for his project at Richmond only a few months after the investiture), it is fitting that Queen Anne would wish to transform the court into an intimate decorative marine space following the specifically public and martially-oriented water show on the Thames. The opening scene of the masque gives not only a summary of the devices that were present but also an indication of their iconographical meanings, which may not have been immediately apparent at the time of the performance, given the density of the decorative devices that confronted the audience:

First on eyther side stood a great statue of twelve foot high, representing *Neptune* and *Nereus*. *Neptune* holding a Trident, with an Anchor made to it, and this Mot. *His artibus*: that is, *Regendo*, & *retinendo*, alluding to this verse of *Virgill*, *H[...]**je tibi erunt artes*, &c. *Nereus* holding out a golden fish in a net, with this word *Industria*: the reason whereof is delivered after, in the speech uttered by *Triton*. These Sea-gods stood on pedestals and were al of gold. (sig. E2<sup>v</sup>-E3<sup>r</sup>)

The larger-than-life golden sea-god serves to decoratively reflect an idealised realisation of James's maritime ambition as well as an instructive gesture to Prince Henry. The material stage design informs the textual meaning and relevance of the

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<sup>73</sup> For an account of Daniel's masques and other dramatic and literary endeavours see Joan Rees, *Samuel Daniel: A Critical and Biographical Study* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1964).

instructive speech later delivered by the triton, which underscores the indivisibility of poetry and scenography; Nereus's instructive motto in the stage device therefore anticipates the verbal realisation of these sentiments later in the performance. In fact, the statue of Nereus is but one of many instances in which the same mythical marine component is being bodied forth through different means (in this case via the painted statue and the later speech). This duplicity is also manifested in the painted nymphs on the frieze another iteration of which is actualised on the masque stage by the ladies of the court, as well as the 'real' and the painted tritons and sea monsters used for the scenery. These important marine motifs are performed concurrently in a range of ways, both decoratively and dramatically, where artifice and mimesis are brought into dialogue across the painted surfaces of the frieze, the plaster and woodwork devices, and the costumed or otherwise transformed bodies of actors.

Similarly, the integration of Nereus and his fish into the performance offers instruction about the importance of maritime economy and wise government to Henry, while also serving to potentially echo the topical importance of Britain's place in the fishing debates following James's 'Proclamation touching Fishing' of the previous year.<sup>74</sup> The motto inscriptions described in Daniel's masque text are not only a means of enabling the reader to understand the allegorical meaning of the figures in the masque which may be missed from an initial reading of the stage design, but also work, as Jerzy Limon notes, to intervene in the 'process of perception' by drawing attention to a principal theme in the masque.<sup>75</sup> Thus, the printed text gives stability to the ephemeral nature of the court masque, attempting to recreate and leave a record of the key ideological as well as decorative elements of the stage machinery. The simultaneous presence of multiple ways of actualizing marine personages and conceits runs throughout the masque, and the range of means that it employs to express the marine dimensions of its setting and meaning share common ground with the strategies for decorative and theatrical water discussed in relation to garden architecture above.

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<sup>74</sup> See above, pp. 30-32.

<sup>75</sup> Jerzy Limon, *The Masque of Stuart Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990), p. 38.

There are several visual effects at play in the initial scenery of *Tethys' Festival*; Daniel's description draws attention to the *trompe l'oeil* in the gold and silver border around an inscription in the centre of the 'frame' which was 'supported with two winged boyes, and all the worke was done with that force and boldnesse on the gold and silver, as the figures seemed round and not painted' (sig. E3<sup>r</sup>). Another novelty offered by the design was the painted scene itself, which made use of perspective:

A Port or Haven with Bulworkes at the entrance, and the figure of a Castle commaunding a fortified towne: within this Port were many Ships, small and great, seeming to lie at Anchor, some neerer, and some further off, according to perspective: beyond all appeared the Horison or termination of the Sea, which seemed to moove with a gentle gale, and many Sayles, lying some to come into the Port, and others passing out. (sig. E3<sup>r</sup>)<sup>76</sup>

This rather standard animated scene makes use of kinetic devices, presenting the sea as both stationary and animated at once through the use of the ships. The description of Nereus in the opening scene explicates the instructive meanings that he has within the masque, while this perspectival scene similarly alludes to the importance of maritime matters, echoing as it does the importance of political investments into the naval forces that was expressed in a very different way in the preceding water show. In their different ways, the figure of Nereus and the sea-scape represent the importance of viewpoints, materially as well as poetically. Just as the text seeks to stabilise the meaning of the statue, the description of the scene offers it from an advantageous viewpoint, which would have been crucial in appreciating the machinery to its full effect. Both the poetic and the material components of the masque needed to be correctly understood, lest the audience fall prey to an unflattering view of the artificiality upon which the masque is built, as in 1605 when Jones first used perspective in the *Masque of Blackness*, 'all one courtier saw was a pageant car with a bevy of sea-monsters standing at one end of the hall, all fish and no sea, as he tartly remarked'.<sup>77</sup> Citing this anecdote, Roy Strong reiterates the ways in which the masque devices continually—and necessarily—draw attention to their own artifice, since the

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<sup>76</sup> For an account of Sabbattini and Furttenbach's instructions for creating these wave machines see Hewitt, ed., *The Renaissance Stage*, pp. 130-46; pp. 239-45.

<sup>77</sup> Strong, *Splendour at Court*, p. 218.

masque was an opportunity for the participants and spectators to contemplate the wonders of mechanical invention. However, certain levels of awareness brought about by unintended vantage points that reveal the artifice of the mechanical invention make the spectacle less appealing, in this case on very contrary terms to those in the theatrical pulling back of the curtain in de Caus's grotto and fountain engravings, which reveal their mechanic elements precisely by way of eliciting admiration for the workings of their mechanical complexity. In the case of the kinetic seas in Daniel's masque, the properties of water are harvested to great effect, which would no doubt appeal to Prince Henry (whose interest in waterworks and mechanical devices has already been noted) and act as a wider comment on James's interest in maritime matters with which he was concerned.

The description of the material components of *Tethys' Festival* presents a rich vision of court splendour inflected with a specifically marine idiom. Under Queen Anne's direction, Jones transformed the court into an underwater fantasy constructed from elements of culturally prevalent aesthetic practices that engage with water and marine decoration in a range of media. For instance, the account of Jones's scenography in this masque reflects the currency of decorative silverware: 'two Dolphins of silver, with their tails wreathed together, which supported ovall vases of gold' and two huge 'Whales of silver' (sig. E3<sup>v</sup>) recall the recurring fish designs so popular in contemporary silverware and fountain design.<sup>78</sup> The masque in fact makes use of a fountain device, the presence of which playfully visualises water and renders the masque stage into a grotto-like space that typically follows the architectural and hydraulic trends in an overtly artificial way. In this sense, water itself is made a player in the masque, being invoked through garden architecture trends and framed specifically by a marine dramatic setting. Jones designed a consciously stylised and ornate backdrop and devices, in which water and metalware overlap:

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<sup>78</sup> Philippa Glanville's monolithic catalogue of Stuart silverware reveals the frequency of marine personages and designs on ewers, basins, goblets, and salt cellars, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England: A Social History and Catalogue of the National Collections 1480-1660* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1990).

On [a] circle were 4 great Chartuses of gold, which bore up a round bowle of silver, in mannner of a fountaine, with mask-heads of gold, out of which ran an artificiall water. On the middest of this was a triangular basement formed of scrowles & leaves, and then a rich Vayle adorned with flutings, and inched worke with a freeze of fishes, and a battale of Tritons, out of whose mouthes, sprang water into the Bowle underneathe. On the top of this was a round globe of gold full of holes, out of which issued aboundance of water, some falling into the receipt below, some into the Ovall vase, borne up by the Dolphines, and indeed there was no place in this great Aquatick throne, that was not filled with the sprinckling of these two naturall seeming waters. (F1<sup>v</sup>-F2<sup>r</sup>)

As well as the elaborate intermingling of commonplace Mannerist sea motifs such as fish and tritons, the fountain device employs an element of *giochi d'aqua*, through the aural and visual affective triggers alluded to in the 'sprinckling' rain effect generated by the colander-like golden globe. Daniel's description of the 'naturall seeming' quality of the water in the fountain highlights the post-performance need to emphasise and reiterate the effects against which the poetic components of the marine masque took place. However, the choice of phrasing here also invites speculation on the levels of mimesis that these 'naturall seeming' but overtly artificial waters seek to create. As Allardyce Nicoll, observing the use of Sabbatini's manual for stage decoration in the Stuart masques points out, the flowing water in the fountain device was most likely made of a fabric 'painted blue in semblance of water', manipulated by a series of rods pushed up through the tube by one stage hand, and fanned out 'from above' by another, so as to give the appearance of flowing water.<sup>79</sup> Nicoll fails to elaborate on the mechanics involved in the operation of the colander-globe device which apparently issues water not only into the bowl below it, but also into the vase being held up by the two dolphins above Tethys' throne. It is doubtful that Sabbatini's designs for an artificial fountain could have been incorporated into a machine that featured so many openings for the water to pour out of. However, it remains unclear from the description whether the globe was in fact a physical ornament rather than one of the painted decorations on the 'vayle' which featured the fish and tritons, out of whose mouths presumably painted water would be seen seemingly issuing into the vicinity of the fountain bowl.

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<sup>79</sup> Nicoll, *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage*, p. 71.



In any case, the performative function of the fountain device works alongside other means of staging water used in the masque design, which are found on the frieze paintings, stage ornaments, and the lavish costumes worn by the masquers. The fountain device itself works to recreate similar effects found in grotto interiors, particularly the use of wall decoration on the four niches ‘wherein the Ladies sate’ either side of Tethys’s throne, which featured ‘Pillasters of gold, mingled with rustick stones shewing like a minerall to make it more rocke, and Cavern-like, varying from that of *Tethys* throne’ (sig. F2<sup>r</sup>). The effect of the ‘rustic stones’ painted on the *perikatoi* used to construct the scene articulates the kind of natural-seeming roughness of the rusticated grotto interiors (and in some cases elements of the exteriors, as in the case of the stalactite rustication on the outside of Buontalenti’s grotto in the Boboli gardens and on Isaac de Caus’s grotto at Wilton House). The distinction between different types of craftsmanship is explicitly commented on in the observation that these grotto-like niches varied from the structured and clearly polished apparatus surrounding Tethys’ throne. In the material setting of the court masque this distinction between different types of craftsmanship is undermined by the fact that both of these are representations—although the *trompe l’oeil* implies a difference in texture between the polished metal and the rusticated rockwork, both of them are in fact smooth painted surfaces.

The action of the masque centres on a series of speeches by Zephyrus (played by Prince Charles), interspersed with several dances. Zephyrus comes at Tethys’ behest in order to bestow gifts: a trident for James and a scarf for Prince Henry.<sup>80</sup> He introduces the Naiads—a group of eight young female courtiers who represent the rivers of Britain (among them Princess Elizabeth, who represented the Thames)—who descend from their rusticated caverns and dance. The initial description of the Naiads depicts them as being ‘attired in light robes adorned with flowers, their haire hanging

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<sup>80</sup> Lewis Barroll cites the absence of an explicit acknowledgement that Zephyrus was played by Charles by way of drawing attention to the nuances of meaning lost in textual accounts of ephemeral spectacles: ‘The thrust of this spectacle, however, has been somewhat dulled by the misleading emphases inherent in the scripted words of a printed text’. Barroll then proceeds to quote from a letter written by one of the audience members that talks about Charles and Elizabeth’s roles within the masque (Leeds J. Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 123).

downe, and waving with Garlands of water ornaments on their heads' (sig. E3<sup>v</sup>), but Daniel later elaborates on the intricacies of their marine costumes:

Their head-tire was composed of shels and corall, and from a great *Muriake shell* in forme of the crest of an helme, hung a thin waving vaile. Their upper garments had the boddies of sky-colored taffataes for lightnes, all embrodered with *maritime invention*: then had they a kinde of halfe skirts of cloth of silver imbrodered with golde, all the groued work cut out for lightnes which hung down ful, & cut in points: underneath that, came bases (of the same as was their bodies) beneath their knee. The long skirt was wrought with lace, *waved round about like a River*, and on the *bankes sedge and Sea-weedes*, all of gold. (sig. F2<sup>v</sup>, my italics)<sup>81</sup>

Despite being representative of Britain's rivers, the sumptuously-costumed bodies of the young lady courtiers are articulated in a marine idiom as their appearance is deeply invested into objects symbolic of the sea. The coral and shells are a central element of the costumes, the fabric of which is literally inscribed with a 'maritime invention' or visual language of the sea. The elaborate marine costumes not only contain the commonplace components of the decorative marine idiom but also perform water, as the description of the skirts and waving veils makes clear. The river-like quality of their dress is further supplement with their meandering movement as they descended from their niches and 'marche[d] up with winding meanders like a River, till they came to the Tree of victory' (sig. F2<sup>v</sup>). The Naiads are thus another decorative and poetic means of representing the marine in the masque, since water is given human shape here through the embodiment of the nymphs but also through their dress, which presents a repertoire or repository of marine symbology and practical materials commonly invoked as building-blocks or aesthetic inspiration in constructions of marine-inspired objects and spaces.

In her article the investiture celebrations, Sara Trevisan contextualizes the instructive gift-giving and the marine theme that appealed to Henry within the larger struggle between Anne and James for the Prince's education, drawing attention to the

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<sup>81</sup> For a series of sketches and descriptions of Italianate theatrical costume designs of the period see Stella Mary Newton, *Renaissance Theatre Costume* (London: Rapp and Whiting, 1975), pp. 195-216. Newton notes that Inigo Jones's designs for scenery 'were based on those of the Italian theatre and [his] costume designs were nearer in spirit to those of Vasari and to the instructions of de' Sommi' (p. 270).

importance of the presentations of her gifts as an affirmation of her influence.<sup>82</sup> Following the Naiads' descent, Zephyrus proceeds to bestow Tethys' gifts: a trident for James, which is an 'ensigne of the love and of your right' (sig. E4<sup>v</sup>), and for Henry:

This skarffe, the zone of love and Amitie,  
 Tingird the same; wherein he may survay,  
 Infigur'd all the spacious Emperie  
 That he is borne unto another day.  
 Which, tell him, will be world enough to yeeld  
 All workes of glory ever can be wrought.  
 Let him not passe the circle of that field,  
 But thinke Alcides pillars are the knot  
 For there will be within the large extent  
 Of these my waves, and watry Governement  
 More treasure, and more certaine riches got  
 Then all the Indies to Iberus brought,  
 For Nereus will by industry unfold  
 A Chimicke secret, and turne fish to gold. (sig. E4<sup>v</sup>-F<sup>f</sup>)

The gifts bestowed to Henry by Queen Anne in her symbolic guise of Tethys embody a legitimization of Henry as the heir apparent to the kingdom of Elizabeth I. This passing down of the sword bridges the gap between the still topical cult of Astrea with the new Stuart regime, which had not brought with it a competing mythology.<sup>83</sup> Henry, as the heir apparent, is thus inaugurated into a new order of Stuart myth-making. The embroidered scarf depicts the 'spacious Emperie' to which Henry can lay claim, in which he can presumably make full use of the possession of Astrea's sword. The scarf itself can be read as an extension of the decorative elements of the masque—it is, after all, a decorative material object in which craftsmanship and myth of political power are inscribed. The cartographic image on the embroidered scarf by implication also works to decoratively perform water, being contained in the boundaries of the fabric. Thus, the articulation of geographic space in a tangible decorative object feeds into a

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<sup>82</sup> Sara Trevisan, 'Lady of the Lake or Queen of the Ocean? The Representation of Female Power in Prince Henry's Barriers and *Tethys' Festival*', in *Representations of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Alessandra Petrina, Laura Tosi, and Stephen Orgel (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 158-71.

<sup>83</sup> See John Pitcher, 'In Those Figures Which They Seeme': Samuel Daniel's *Tethys Festival*', in *The Court Masque*, ed. by David Lindley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), pp. 33-46 (p. 34).

wider geopolitical concern with establishing rights to sovereignty in Britain, evidenced in this masque as pertaining to the sea as well as the land.

The significance of Tethys' presentation of the trident to James has been discussed by Su Fang Ng, who identifies it as a marker of the ways in which 'martial imagery is coupled with a maritime theme to highlight Anne's sovereign power'.<sup>84</sup> Ng writes:

Because the trident is a substitute – given the nautical conceit of the masque – for a sceptre, Anna can be seen as submitting to the king. Yet, it must pass from hands from Anna to James (strictly speaking, the trident is presented by Tethys's representative, Triton). With the trident bearing a double meaning, Anna's submission comes out of choice (her "love") rather than solely compulsion (his "right"). Moreover, as a symbol of rule the trident is part of the constellation of images associated with Anna in the overall design of the masque. Above each side of Tethys' throne is a "great trident," whose presence in the course of the masque continues to assert Anna's sovereignty (195, line 183). Finally, the action puts Anna in a position mirroring the king's. Her throne, the focal point of the masque, mimics the king's centrality as prime spectator. While Anna dances in the masque, at various points she also sits on her throne as spectator. [...] Although the masque is generally understood to have one perspective and structured for the benefit of the king as primary spectator in the audience, in this case the queen is another primary spectator. By thus positioning the queen, the masque makes clear the doubled nature of the audience, usually idealized as one, and therefore the duality of monarchy.<sup>85</sup>

The emphasis on the trident here reflects the images of control and dominance enacted by its symbolic meanings in *London's Love*, where Munday acknowledges it as Neptune's instrument of power. The handing over of the trident to James in this masque, then, forms a wider projection of James's claims to maritime ambition, but given the centrality of Anne in the masque, her position as the giver of that idealised image is highlighted, since the theatrical fantasy is created at her behest.

In a similar way to the mixture of water processions and court celebrations at Prince Henry's investiture, the marriage festivities of Princess Elizabeth and Frederick,

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<sup>84</sup> Su Fang Ng, *Literature and Politics of Family in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 37.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

Count Palatine in 1612 were shaped by public processing and watershows on the Thames and a series of masque entertainments, among them Francis Beaumont's *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Grayes Inne* (1612). This masque wonderfully extends the preoccupation with metamorphosis specifically linked with water, particularly in regards to Elizabeth's previous participation as a river nymph. The initial transformations in which the human body becomes a site at which the natural and the artificial intersect takes place against a backdrop that typically features a seascape that includes watery elements and devices. The general conceit of the masque centres on a dialogue between Mercury and Iris; the former raises Naiads and Hyades, who are then joined by cupids and animated statues in an antimasque. The second antimasque features a country dance, following the arrival of Olympian knights who partake in a match pertaining to Celebrity, Victory, and Felicity. The stage design for this masque featured a backdrop depicting a mountain scene and some riverine decoration:

The first *Travers* was drawne, and the lower descent of the *Mountaine* discovered, which was the *Pendant* of a hill to life, with divers boscages and *Grouets* upon the steepe or hanging grounds thereof; and at the foote of the *Hill*, foure delicate *Fountaines* running with water and bordered with sedges and water flowers. (sig. B3<sup>v</sup>)

This description recounts a typically Vitruvian design that follows the advice set out by Serlio in its inclusion of a perspectival view of mountainous woody terrain and riverine imagery. However, the choice of wording here when referring to the 'delicate Fountaines running with water' is somewhat problematic, as it potentially refers to both natural and artificial sources of water.<sup>86</sup> The additional detail about the fountains being 'bordered with sedges and water flowers' is equally ambiguous because it remains unclear whether the rushes and grasses surround the natural springs or are, in fact, artificial decorations engraved or painted onto a fountain pedestal and basin. This piece of scenography clearly presents a naturalistic backdrop for the Naiads and necessitates the presence of natural springs, but the means by which the textual

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<sup>86</sup> *OED* 1a. A spring or source of water issuing from the earth and collecting in a basin, natural or artificial; also, the head-spring or source of a stream or river. Now *arch.* or *poet. exc. fig.*

account presents the scene, together with the immense popularity of fountain devices in masque scenography potentially—if only momentarily—blurs an immediate distinction between art and nature in the textual account.

After the scene is discovered, Mercury invites the Naiads to descend with a speech that clearly explicates their maternal care for the two rivers, Thamesis and Rhone, represented by Elizabeth and Frederick in the masque:

The *Nymphes* of fountains, from whose watry locks  
Hung with the dew of blessing and encrease,  
The greedie *Rivers* take their nourishment.  
You *Nymphes*, who bathing in your loved springs,  
Beheld these *Rivers* in their infancie,  
And joy'd to see them, when their circled heads  
Refresht' the aire, and spread the ground with flowers:  
Rise from your *Wells*, and with your nimble feete  
Performe that office to this happie paire;  
Which in these plaines, you to Alpheus did;  
When passing hence through many seas unmixt,  
He gain'd the favour of his *Arethuse*. (sig. C1<sup>r</sup>)

Taking direction from Mercury, the Naiads descend:

Immediatlie upon which speech, foure *Naiades* arise gentlie out of their severall Fountaines, and present themselves upon the Stage, attired in long habits of sea-greene Taffita, with bubbles of Christall intermixt with powdering of silver resembling drops of water [...] blewish Tresses on their heads, garlands of Water-Lillies. (sig. B4<sup>v</sup>-C1<sup>r</sup>)

Although the exact mechanics of this scene are uncertain in regards to how the Naiads are concealed in the landscape from which they 'arise', the description of their costumes is figured in a way that conflates multiple types of water, reaching out beyond the confines of land-locked riverine water to a wider marine world.<sup>87</sup> The figuration of their taffeta dresses as 'sea-greene', the dewy droplets of sparkling water rendered by the silvered crystal beads, and the presence of water lilies are all symbolic

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<sup>87</sup> The description of the Naiads' blue tresses is reminiscent of Thetis and her troupe of blue-haired, fish-tailed sea-girls in the Florence water festival of 1586 (see Savage, 'Sea Spectacles on Dry Land', pp. 361).

of marine, riverine, and still-standing water, and given Mercury's stressing of their being the life-giving founts that nurture the tidal river Thames and the Rhone, the mouth of which lies on the Mediterranean coast. The versatility of the costumes is striking, since the dresses themselves, so beautifully representative of the qualities of water, can very easily be manipulated to represent specifically marine water with the addition of coral or shells rather than the water-lilies that suggest terrestrial waters to which the Naiads are tied. The descriptions of the Naiads in this account, as in the masques discussed above, points to a concurrent material embodiment of water; the strategy of representation extends the initial painted scenographic presence of the 'fountains' into the appearance of the Naiads as animated riverine representatives but the figuration of this in the material terms of their costumes simultaneously transforms them into artificial water.

This contrast between artifice and nature is even more pointedly expressed in this masque through Beaumont's use of the statues in the antimasque, which Iris introduces:

[...] wise *Vulcan* plac'd  
Under the *Altar* of *Olympian* Jove,  
Shall daunce for joy of these great Nuptialls:  
And gave to them an *Artificiall* life,  
See how they move, drawne by this heavenly joy,  
Like the wilde trees, which follow'd Orpheus Harpe. (sig. C2<sup>f</sup>-C2<sup>v</sup>)

The animating principle here extends the descent of the watery Naiads from their springs, but the animation of the statues calls to mind a mechanical feat, despite their comparison to the organic 'living' trees enchanted by Orpheus's harp. The distinction between artificiality and natural anatomy here is interesting, given that the nature of the overtly artificial mimetic representation of the human body found in statues is here represented by the living bodies of the masquers. Unlike the natural materialisation of the elemental nymphs earlier in the masque, the metamorphosis of Vulcan's metal statues into artificially-animated automata draws attention to the delight commonly triggered by the mechanic and hydraulic animating principles in grottoes. The imitation of human movement undertaken by the stiff metal bodies of the remarkable

statues here is captured in Beaumont's description of their disjointed and unnatural movement in dance:

[T]he *Statuaes* hauing but halfe life put into them, and retaining still somewhat of their old nature, giveth fit occasion to new and strange varieties both in the Musick and paces. (sig. B2<sup>v</sup>)

The presentation of the dancers as statues necessitates the viewer's acceptance of them as metallic representations of human bodies even as their human bodies strive to imitate the mechanical disjointedness of automata. The unclear distinction between animate and inanimate matter works against itself, in the form of a double mimesis whereby the human bodies enact metal through what would be an unnatural style of movement arising from mechanics but what is in fact natural human movement. Like the automata commonly found in grottoes, the actors move as if they have 'but halfe life put into them', imitating the mechanical motion of the artisans' creations.<sup>88</sup> The striking appearance of the statues similarly reveals the potential to make a human body resemble material commonly used to imitate living bodies:

These *Statuaes* were attired in cases of gold and silver close to their bodie, faces, hands and feete, nothing seene but gold and silver, as if they had been solid Images of mettall, Tresses of haire as they had been of mettall imbossed, girdles and small aprons of oaken leaves, as if they likewise had been carved or molded out of the mettall. (sig. C2<sup>v</sup>)

Thus, the human attributes of the masquers' bodies are cloaked in *trompe l'oeil* and re-articulated in a decorative way that very usefully exploits the awkward and disjointed nature of their artificial animation in the masque, in contrast to the naturalistic 'animation' of the water nymphs who arise from their element and meander onstage.

This kind of anatomical transformation is also featured in Thomas Campion's *Somerset Masque* (1613), performed to celebrate the marriage of the Earl of Somerset

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<sup>88</sup> Paige Johnson points out that 'Descartes famously compared the workings of garden fountains and automata to the human body in his 1630 *Treatise on Man*, which was likely inspired by the garden constructions of Salomon de Caus' ('Producing Pleasantness', p. 182). This conceit certainly marks the presentation of the artificiality of the human bodies in this masque, which draws attention to the mechanical quality of the 'artificial' life infused into the statues that the courtiers represent.



and Lady Frances Howard, where, instead of being artificially animated, knights are metamorphosed into metal through enchantment.<sup>89</sup> In the preface, Campion states that he has grounded his ‘whole Invention upon Inchauntments and severall transformations’ (A2<sup>r</sup>), which does not align metamorphosis with mechanics as do Beaumont’s human automata but rather invokes the kind of supernatural conjuring at sea that James had suspected as the cause of the inauspicious sea storm during his return to Scotland with Anne following their marriage. At the opening of the masque, four squires address the king, telling him about a tempest caused by enchanter who had beset the twelve knights travelling to court to celebrate the nuptials. Having watched the knights from the land, the third squire relates the strange metamorphosis:

At Sea, their mischiefs grewe, but ours at Land,  
 For being by chance arriv’d, while our Knights stand  
 To view their storme-tost friends on two Cliffes neere,  
 Thence loe they vanish’d, and sixe Pillars were  
 Fixt in their footsteps, Pillars all of golde  
 Faire to our eyes, but woefull to beholde. (sig. A4<sup>r</sup>)

The astonishing transformation of the knights into solid pillars of gold inspires a peculiar mixture of wonder and woe in the beholders of the spectacle, since not only life, but all vestiges of human anatomy are lost as the human bodies metamorphosed into the architectural devices now present on the stage. The *periaktoi* are put to effective use in the ensuing transformation of the golden pillars on the stage into humans, since the description of the stage machinery incorporates them in its design:

On either side of the Sceane belowe was set a high Promontory, and on either of them stood three large pillars of golde: the one Promontory was bounded with a Rocke standing in the Sea, the other with a Wood; In the midst betwene them appeared a Sea in perspective with ships, some cunningly painted, some arteficially sayling. On the front of the Sceane, on either side was a beautifull garden, with sixe seates a peece to receive the Maskers: behinde them the mayne Land, and in the middest a paire of stayres made exceeding curiously in the forme of a Schalop shell. (sig. A2<sup>v</sup>)

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<sup>89</sup> For an account of Campion’s masques see Edward Lowbury, Timothy Salter, and Alison Young, *Thomas Campion: Poet, Composer, Physician* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1970), pp. 90-110.

As with the scenic backdrop in Beaumont's masque, this design largely adheres to Serlio's examples, but the presence of the marine is expressed here in much more certain terms. The design anticipates the contrasts between nature and architecture in the presence of rock and wood being mirrored by the 'beautiful garden', which is a constructed and ordered space accessible by a marine-inspired set of stairs that conjoin wild nature and tamed landscape. The transformative potential of water frames this scene, in which water is both painted and constructed into the types of artificial grooved devices prescribed by Serlio for creating moving ships. When the squires are presented with a magical bow from the golden tree later in the masque, the pillars are transformed back into their human shapes:

Out of the aire a cloude descends, discovering six of the Knights alike, in strange and sumptuous attires, and withal on either side of the Cloud, on the two Promontries, the other six Maskers are sodainly transformed out of the pillars of golde (sig. B2<sup>v</sup>).

The performance of spectacular anatomical transformations made possible by the use of *periaktoi* and discovery devices were used elsewhere in the Somerset wedding celebrations, namely in the anonymous *Masque of Flowers* (1614), in which men who have been turned to flowers in antiquity are to be transformed back into themselves.<sup>90</sup> The stage design uses an elaborate garden scene that Christine Adams credits as 'the single most compelling reflection of a real garden to appear in the Jacobean court masques, and [...] an illuminating example of garden design and symbolism, and of the delight inspired by flowers in the early seventeenth century. The garden featured commonplace horticultural arrangements, amongst which the author figures the complexity of stage-managing the mechanics of transformation:

Stately long Arbour and Bower arched upon Pillars, wherein the *Maskers* are placed, but are not discovered at the first, but there are onely certaine great tufts of flowers betwixt the Collumnes. Those flowers upon a *Charme* doe vanish, and so the *Maskers* appeare every one in the spece of inter-columne of this arch. (sig. A4<sup>v</sup>)

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<sup>90</sup> Christine Adams presents evidence that expands previous scholarly speculation on the extent of Sir Francis Bacon's involvement in the devising of the masque, which he presented as a wedding gift, in 'Francis Bacon's Wedding Gift of 'A Garden of a Glorious and Strange Beauty' for the Earl and Countess of Somerset', *Garden History*, 36:1 (2008), 36-58.

The juxtaposition between body and plant here once more invites reflection on the aesthetic and mimetic potential of organic and inorganic material, since in these two masques devised for the Somerset wedding, they become interchangeable; the men *are* the pillars and flowers, and their bodies mediate the boundaries between wild nature and ordered architecture. The centrality of this conceit to garden architecture of the time cannot be overstated, as the Palladian and structured external designs executed by Jones at Whitehall, Wilton House, and elsewhere, often contained capricious grotesqueries and rusticated Mannerist spaces, such as the grottoes designed by Salomon and Isaac de Caus.<sup>91</sup> However, the floral anatomies of the masquers here call to mind the previously-discussed *Aura Marinis*, since *exotica* such as anthropomorphic flowers were a popular interest in natural history and *Wunderkammern*, such as the orchid at the Roman College that led Gaspar Schott to comment:

Whoever examines the figure or rather the signatures of this plant, impressed in many flowers, frequently is rightfully amazed at the power of rather zealousness of nature in her productions. Thus nature has joked (*lusit*), imprinting a human figure in some of them.<sup>92</sup>

The human visages found in flowers calls to mind Pliny's writing on nature's capacity to produce likenesses in unlikely places, as with the seas being a repository not only of fish but of copies of all other animals and plants found in the natural world.<sup>93</sup> Likewise, the capacity to see the image of the human in animal and plant-life calls to mind the popularity for anamorphic designs and arcimboldesques, in which flowers, plants, and fish are variously arranged into portraits.<sup>94</sup> Thus, the human flowers in this

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<sup>91</sup> On trends in English Renaissance horticulture see Alexander Samson, 'Introduction: *Locus Amoenus*: Gardens and Horticulture in Renaissance England', *Renaissance Studies*, 25:1 (2011), 13-23, where the author proposes that the structured Italianate designs were giving way to a wilder nature. However, Paige Johnson, considering the garden specifically from the view-point of hydraulic designs and garden architecture, offers a suggestion to the contrary, observing that 'in a garden organized by technical control, a natural body of water has no place'. Citing the 'masking' of the river Nadder that flowed through the gardens at Wilton House with heavily-set decoration along both sides of the bridge built to cross it, she implies that crafted spaces, despite their often rusticated settings were designed in such a way as to supersede the presences of naturally flowing waters ('Producing Playfulness', p. 182).

<sup>92</sup> Paula Findlen, 'Jokes of Nature and Jokes of Knowledge: The Playfulness of Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43:2 (1990), 292-331 (p. 313).

<sup>93</sup> See p. 149, n. 24, above.

<sup>94</sup> For examples, see the coloured plate in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Arcimboldo: Visual Jokes, Natural History, and Still-Life Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), and Kemp, "'Wrought by No Artist's Hand'".

masque invoke popular artistic practices, in which the artisan's skill crafts inanimate matter such as metal and rock into the impressive mimetic objects such as the Mannerist statues discussed previously, and on the other, arranges components from the natural world into a unified likeness of human form.<sup>95</sup> These types of mimetic and playful representations of form are conceptually related to representations of the marine, as my discussion has demonstrated. In the case of the flower-men in the *Masque of Flowers*, the transformation from flora to human echoes the kinds of affective triggers popularised in the archimboldesques, which themselves call to mind the delightful transformations present in the natural world that were replicated in architectural ornamentation and painting. Paula Findlen's comment on 'the obsession with nature's propensity to imitate' is useful here, since 'In the study of the human body, the body itself became a repository of all the images of the natural – and frequently the unnatural – worlds, as Pliny has initially suggested', leading to a distinct blurring between what constitutes a living body and a decorative object.<sup>96</sup> In regard to the marine, the kinds of affective triggers that the stage machinery and iconographical devices invite often allude to the mechanics of the grotto and the fountain, where water is figured in mechanical means that elicit wonder and surprise.

The material discussed in this chapter has demonstrated how deeply invested into the marine various forms of cultural production were in the early modern period. The importance of marine imagery and metaphor at the Jacobean court echoes the trends in design that characterise continental aesthetic fashions and stage design, where the sea and its rich repertoire of objects and bodies was exploited theatrically to such great effect by scenographers, whose stage designs made possible intricate spectacles that echoed the performance of marine-themed magnificences on water outside the theatres and courts. Just as the continental stages were influenced by the mechanics and aesthetics of grotto and garden spaces, sculpture, and the fine arts—often devised by the same craftsmen and engineers, such as Buontalenti and Servi—the Jacobean masque is shaped by continental fashions of performance as well as the decorative

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<sup>95</sup> See Ibid, pp. 314-18.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 313.

spaces and objects that were springing up in England at the time. While Jones's emulation of prominent Italianate styles shaped his architectural and scenographic designs, other figures, such as the de Caus brothers, Servi, and later the Van Vianens were also disseminating their specifically European designs in the architectural and decorative objects they executed during their careers at the Stuart court. Jacobean court masques, then, ideologically and aesthetically establish the Jacobean court at London as being well versed in European fashions. The tendency to express the marine in the court masque, whether in a specifically marine masque like *Tethys' Festival* or a masque that simply invokes elements of the marine in its stage design through allusions to other types of water, tends to be marked with a focus on the local waters of rivers and the Thames as much as it is with the all-encompassing waters of the seas.

The material terms in which the marine is represented occurs within the larger conceptual handling of nature, artifice, and mythology within the masque, where multiple levels of representation are made possible through costume, painted scenery, and stage machinery that embody particular entities in multiple concurrent ways. It is unsurprising that the masque as a mode of performance should be so receptive of the marine, being so readily equipped to perform the kinds of fantastic sea-changes envisaged in plays such as *The Tempest*, creating in visual and material terms the swelling seas, the tinkling waters, the rustic caverns, and dramatic transformations that occur in within the blink of an eye. Within the framework of mechanical devices and painted scenery, the marine is figured in a heavily aestheticized mode of expression that echoes multiple early modern concerns with controlling water and engaging with the sea. In Jacobean masques such as *Tethys' Festival* the marine offers a means of expressing hopes for the heir apparent in an effort to create a new myth for the Stuart dynasty, characterised with favourable and auspicious relationships with the sea that created Albion and remained pivotal for the commercial and political ambitions of Britain.

## CONCLUSION

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This thesis has traced representations of the marine through different forms of Jacobean drama and its predecessors, pausing to consider important forms of visual and cultural production that informed its poetic and material conceptions. Tracing the marine through a variety of commercial, civic, and courtly manifestations, the preceding chapters have illustrated the aptness of the marine metaphor for a host of cultural negotiations arising from the change in monarchy in 1603. In thinking about representations of the marine from a range of vantage-points, my work has explicated how the figuration of the marine metaphor adapted not only to different societal and cultural concerns with the sea, but also to the wet and dry environments of performance. From the relative dryness of the commercial stage, to the riverine environs of the Thames that played host to civic processions and royal water-shows, to the royal banquet hall, Jacobean drama and its engagement with different cultural registers has revealed that the identity of the marine as an alluring dramatic device and an important element of wider Jacobean culture offered a fluid means of negotiating numerous types of sea-changes.

The opening decades of the seventeenth century in England saw a number of important political changes, among them the union of the English and Scottish Crowns under James as sovereign of the British kingdom, and the shifts in policy and court culture that occurred at the English court following James's ascension. These changes necessitated a celebration of Britain as an insular nation resurrected from a pseudo-mythological past, but the outward-looking, European dimensions of James's court likewise positioned Britain as a key maritime power on the global scene that looked outwards onto the world stage. This dichotomy is central to the uses of the river Thames as venue for performance, character, and metaphor as it appears in the entertainments discussed above, given their tendency to transform and adapt the river into a vision of maritime space. The outward-looking Jacobean court gave rise to its

own iconography and means of dramatic expression found in the court masque, facilitating new means of physically staging water and the marine in view of the continental fashions of the Medici and the Valois.

As my discussion of such plays as *The Tempest*, *Fair Maid*, *Fortune by Land and Sea*, and others has demonstrated, there is a pervasive anxiety and attraction towards the kinds of destabilising effects and crossing of boundaries that is associated with immersion in water or going out to sea. In their exploration of the “ecological” nature of early modern conceptions of embodiment’, Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan explore the ‘porousness of an early modern body,’ and consider a range of ways in which that body ‘takes the environment into itself or spills out of its own bounds (or both)’.<sup>1</sup> When placed in marine environments, as my study has shown, early modern bodies of animals as well as humans become particularly prone to this kind of porousness, taking on as they do the fluid categories associated with the marine. The kinds of changes that the marine affects range from economic and political freedoms, destabilised boundaries of gender and nationhood, unstable taxonomic categories, and a fluid conception of the dichotomy between organic and inorganic. Privileging the excavation and the interweaving of the material and the cultural in the pursuit of exploring these concepts in Jacobean drama has enabled me to elucidate the importance of the marine at a critical juncture in English maritime history.

By way of concluding the thesis, I would like to return to the image with which it opened: Pericles contending with the raging seas that threaten his frail humanity and challenge his sovereignty. The marine is a crucial element of Shakespeare and Wilkins’s romance play; it is largely set at sea, and the mass bodies of swelling water continually invite reflection on the metamorphoses that the marine is associated with, both in terms of reassessing impotence of sovereign power in the face of inherently ungovernable forces and witnessing the swiftness with which the signification and

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<sup>1</sup> Mary Floyd-Wilson and Sullivan, Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., eds, *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 2.

meaning of bodies and objects changes when they are set adrift.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the fate of Thaisa's 'corpse' following her supposed death during childbirth at sea embodies the processes of spectacular marine transformation in a way that articulates her body precisely along the lines of precious maritime cargo; her apparently 'porous body', to use Floyd-Wilson and Sullivan's term, absorbs the markers of mercantile economy with which it is surrounded before being set adrift. Pericles reluctantly casts the body into the sea in a make-shift 'coffin', or rather a chest—part of the ship's furniture—designed to preserve goods. The silk-lined coffer, laden as it is with spices, jewels, and Thaisa's precious corpse, proves not to be her untimely tomb, but rather a mode of transportation which takes her across the seas to Ephesus. Having been transformed into a type of cargo, Thaisa loses her autonomy as an individual and takes on the characteristics of the tradable goods that surround her as she lies unconscious. This lack of distinction between her human body and the tradable objects that surround her and await entry into the 'new economies' in foreign markets is further reiterated by the language used by Cerimon when he opens the coffer after it is beached. Thaisa is 'Shrouded in cloth of state, | Balmed and entreasured with full bags of spices' (III. 2. 63-4) and, as the shroud is cast aside:

Her eyelids, cases to those heavenly jewels  
Which Pericles hath lost, begin to part  
Their fringes of bright gold. The diamonds  
Of a most praised water doth appear,  
To make the world twice rich. (III. 2. 9. 7-101)

The fact that blazon here turns into a catalogue of treasures is telling—the 'heavenly jewels', the 'bright gold', the 'diamonds' that 'make the word twice rich' constitute Thaisa's body in terms of the precious objects commonly found in coffers. The blazon invoked works to blur the distinction between body and commodity by reading the former through the latter—the 'heavenly jewels' are as much Thaisa's eyes as they are

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<sup>2</sup> On the authorship of *Pericles* see Sina Spiker, 'George Wilkins and the Authorship of *Pericles*, *Studies in Philology*, 30:4 (1933), 551-70; MacDonald P. Jackson, 'Rhymes and Authors: Shakespeare, Wilkins, and *Pericles*', *N&Q*, 58:2 (2011), 260-66; MacDonald P. Jackson, 'Reasoning About Rhyme: George Wilkins and *Pericles*, *N&Q*, 258:2 (2013), 434-38; John Clause, 'A Controversy over Rhyme and Authorship in *Pericles*, *N&Q*, 59:4 (2012), 538-44; Brian Vickers, *Shakespeare, Co-Author: A Historical Study of Five Collaborative Plays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 291-332.



the literal treasures that surround her body, calling to mind the lists of goods used by trading companies and implicitly locating this part of the play's romance adventure as a mercantile venture.

While suspended in an inanimate state in a maritime environment, Thaisa becomes indistinguishable from the other cargo in the coffer, the contents of which effectively become *res nullius* as they are detached from Pericles's ship and set adrift. The economic worth inherent in the coffer's cargo is likewise suspended until it is recognised upon Cerimon's opening of it on ashore. It is perhaps significant that the blazoning is invoked here in place of what transpires in the original story of Apollonius of Tyre, which devotes a lengthy and rather detailed passage to the processes that Cerimon employs when trying to reanimate the body.<sup>3</sup> The verisimilitude that the classical romance narrative proffers is therefore replaced with a more concise and mysterious reanimation, which engages with issues of the awakening of economic value as much as human life. Moreover, in Shakespeare's reimagining of the tale, Thaisa's body, previously figured in way clearly aligned with a romance literary environment, is thrown overboard into what is clearly identifiable as a distinctly post-joint-stock company maritime environment that destabilises her bodily habitus, which becomes itemised into tradable commodities. Upon opening the coffer on the shore, these commodities are reconstituted into a body once more by Cerimon, where those precious goods are linguistically 'traded' for Thaisa's awakening.

In the Introduction, I noted the importance that categorising marine commodities into various categories of ownership and non-ownership played in the early modern maritime legal debates. Thinking back to the division of salvaged property into classes such as *res nullius* (property of no-one), *res communis* (communal or public property) and *res publicae* (property that likewise cannot be owned but the rights to which are lodged with the state), it becomes possible to further elucidate the commercial interests that underpin much of Shakespeare and Wilkins's

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<sup>3</sup> See Anon, *The Story of Apollonius King Of Tyre*, trans. by Gerald N. Sandy, in *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, ed. by Bryan P. Reardon (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 736-22 (pp. 753-54).

retelling of the Apollonius story.<sup>4</sup> Rather than being governed by verisimilitude or the supernatural, the stage adaptation continually returns to metaphors of trade and economy. While Cerimon's description of Thaisa in the coffer merely reads her body in terms of other objects that carry high monetary value before distinguishing between the two, elsewhere in the play we find an entirely different approach to dealing with human *res marinis*. Marina, 'one who was born of the sea' (VI. 1. 147), is claimed by pirates who seize her in the capacity of an object with a definite monetary value which can be realised by selling her to a brothel in Mytilene. Having been born into this maritime setting, Marina's very name implies that her identity shall inevitably share traits with the sea, as she partially embodies a type of *res communis* or *res publica*. Her status as an aquatic *res nullius* in the maritime economy of *Pericles* is made evident when she is reclaimed by the sea, or rather by the pirates (who embody an alternative maritime economy parallel to that of the fishermen), and sold to the brothel-owner in Mytilene whereby she temporarily becomes 'common property', in the vulgar sense of the phrase. She is seemingly 'caught' and sold much like the fish that make up the livelihood of the Pentapolean fishermen, taking on the resistant and fluid characteristics of the sea in evading her fate at Mytilene. Marina is essentially a problematic *res nullius*; while she displays a resistance to integration into the land-based economy of the brothel, she is nevertheless unable to, and not particularly concerned with, pursuing a life at sea either. Thus, although she acknowledges herself to be *res nullius*, she makes no mention of a desire to return to the sea whilst resisting circulation in non-maritime economies, remaining an intermediate body, caught between land and sea.

The problems inherent in locating identity and establishing selfhood at sea is further embodied in Pericles's attempts to reclaim the rusty armour that the fishermen dredge up on the shores of Pentapolis, where he finds himself cast out of the sea, naked and alone. The unexpectedness of finding armour in their nets leads the fishermen to remark that it is a 'fish [that] hangs like a poor man's right hand in the law' (II. 1. 106), echoing the kinds of problematic readings of taxonomically-difficult marine

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<sup>4</sup> For the classifications of *res* see above, pp. 22-24.

bodies discussed in Chapter Four. While the fishermen are bemused to find a rusted suit of armour in place of their usual takings, Pericles quickly identifies the armour as his father's.<sup>5</sup> The value inherent in the armour is evident only to Pericles, for whom it represents a filial inheritance of the chivalric code—as he tells his new acquaintances, it is:

[...] part of my heritage,  
Which my dead father did bequeath to me  
With this strict charge, even as he left his life:  
'Keep it, my Pericles, it hath been a shield  
'Twixt me and death', and pointed to this brace,  
'For that it saved me, keep it; in like necessity,  
The which the gods protect thee from, may't defend  
thee'.(II. 1. 119-25)

The unexpected intrusion of the armour into the fishermen's efforts is misplaced, since in their particular economy it is without value. Nevertheless, for Pericles, who reads the armour as an important symbolic token from his father, the armour is priceless. Earlier in the scene, the fishermen tell Pericles that they rely on harvesting fish as a form of economic and culinary sustenance, and that he must learn to do the same in he hopes to survive, 'for here's nothing to be got nowadays unless thou canst fish for it' (67-8). The uselessness of the armour as a sentimental commodity is emphasised by the practicalities of trading living products of the sea. In fact, the fishermen lament the very fears echoed in James's 'Proclamation touching Fishing' (1609), in which the decay of coastal towns is blamed on the decay of the fishing trade. The proverbial musings of the First Fisherman about how the fish live in the sea 'as men do a-land; the great ones eat up the little ones,' (II. 1. 28-9) reflect the dangers that the fishermen themselves implicitly face from the land-based 'whale', who 'driv[es] the poor fry before him, and at last devours them all at a mouthful' (31-3). The precarious situation of the fishermen's survival in an economy where great fish (or rather land-lords) emerge from the waves and devour their livelihood suggests a lack of balance between the small fry of the former failing to contend with the land-based powers of the latter. In some respects, the plight of the fishermen in seeking to preserve their trade forms an

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<sup>5</sup> For a detailed discussion of Pericles's armour see Susan Harlan, "Certain condolences, certain vails": Staging Rusty Armour in Shakespeare's *Pericles*, *Early Theatre*, 11:2 (2008), 129-40.

important part of James's case for the cessation of free fishing and an introduction of exclusive rights of *mare clausum* in Britain's territorial waters.<sup>6</sup>

In many ways, the rusty armour—much like the play itself—embodies a key set of cultural tensions pertaining to the control of maritime space and the appropriateness of the metaphors and topoi for expressing those rights and issues. *Pericles* is a play riddled with moments in which objects and people alike are reclaimed by the sea and whose modes and categories of being are disrupted, destabilised, and interrogated by water. The travels of Pericles, his armour, Thaisa, and Marina reveal an anxiety about locating objects in a competing set of ideologies; they are both people and objects, they are tradable goods and economic cargo, repeatedly traded and passed through competing classes of public and private (self)ownership. *Pericles* blurs the distinctions between types of *res marinis*, thereby posing broader questions about how maritime space and object are controlled and appropriated.

These issues, concerned with identity and materiality, have been the focus of this study, in which representations of the marine are identified as embodying important cultural negotiations and ambitions pertaining to a new monarchical iconography, maritime sovereignty, civic beneficence, commercial enterprise, and emerging trends in visual and material culture. Because of these cultural impulses, water is often imbued with a marine meaning, characterised by opportunity, resistance, and malleability. The dramatic and cultural manifestations of the marine that I have explored in this study are similarly characterised by the wider epistemological grouping of entities that are both resistant to confinement and yet open to manipulation. For instance, the seafaring and mercantile body discussed in the first part of the thesis is a recognisably resistant and opportunistic one but it is also one that mediates encounters with marine spaces, often indicative of the fact that the body itself is a mediating form of social existence. The fluidity of marine creatures and material realisations of the marine in print, garden architecture, scenography and the poetry of

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<sup>6</sup> See Monica Brito Vieira, 'Mare Liberum vs. Mare Clausum: Grotius, Frietas, and Selden's debate on dominion over the seas', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64:3 (2003), 361-77.

the court masques reveals a similar pliability. This study, therefore, while offering new connections between trade and epistemology, water and aesthetics, and maritime law and literature, invites further questions on the ways in which critical engagement with early modern culture can continue to yield new and previously unexplored insights.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

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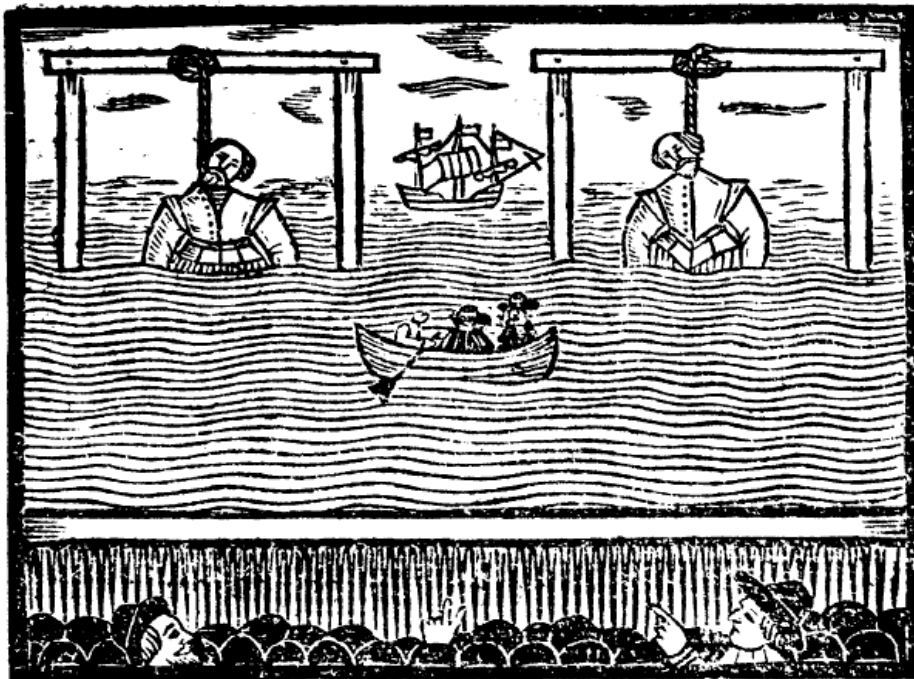
**Fig. 1.** Detail from a hand-coloured woodcut depicting the Elvetham Entertainment (1591) as it appears in the revised second quarto of the printed account. Reproduced in Margaret Shewring, ed., *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J. R. Mulryne* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), plate 3.



**Fig. 2.** Plate from John Gough Nichols, ed., *The Fishmongers' Pageant on Lord Mayor's Day, 1616. Chrysanaleia, or the Golden Fishing, Devised by Anthony Munday, [...] Represented in Twelve Plates by Henry Shaw, [...] from Contemporary Drawings in the Possession of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers* (London, 1898), facing p. 40.

*the two Pirats Purser and Clinton.*

so together that they could not bee sundred,  
he suddenly discovered an hundred men well  
armed, who violently entred the Swallow,  
(they being scarce halfe that number) and so  
surprised them, and brought both their ship  
and men to London, where they were presently  
sent to the Marshallees, and there lay for some  
weekes in prison.



**They were Arraigned at Saint Margerets  
in South-warke, convicted, and condemned;  
and two dayes after brought by the Officers  
out**

Fig. 3. Woodcut from *A True Relation, of the Lives and Deaths of two Most Famous English Pyrats, Purser, and Clinton Who Lived in the Reigne of Queene Elizabeth* (London, 1639), sig. C5<sup>r</sup>.





**Fig. 4.** Sea monster *tableau vivant* from Sebastian Münster's *Comographia Universalis* (Basel, 1559).



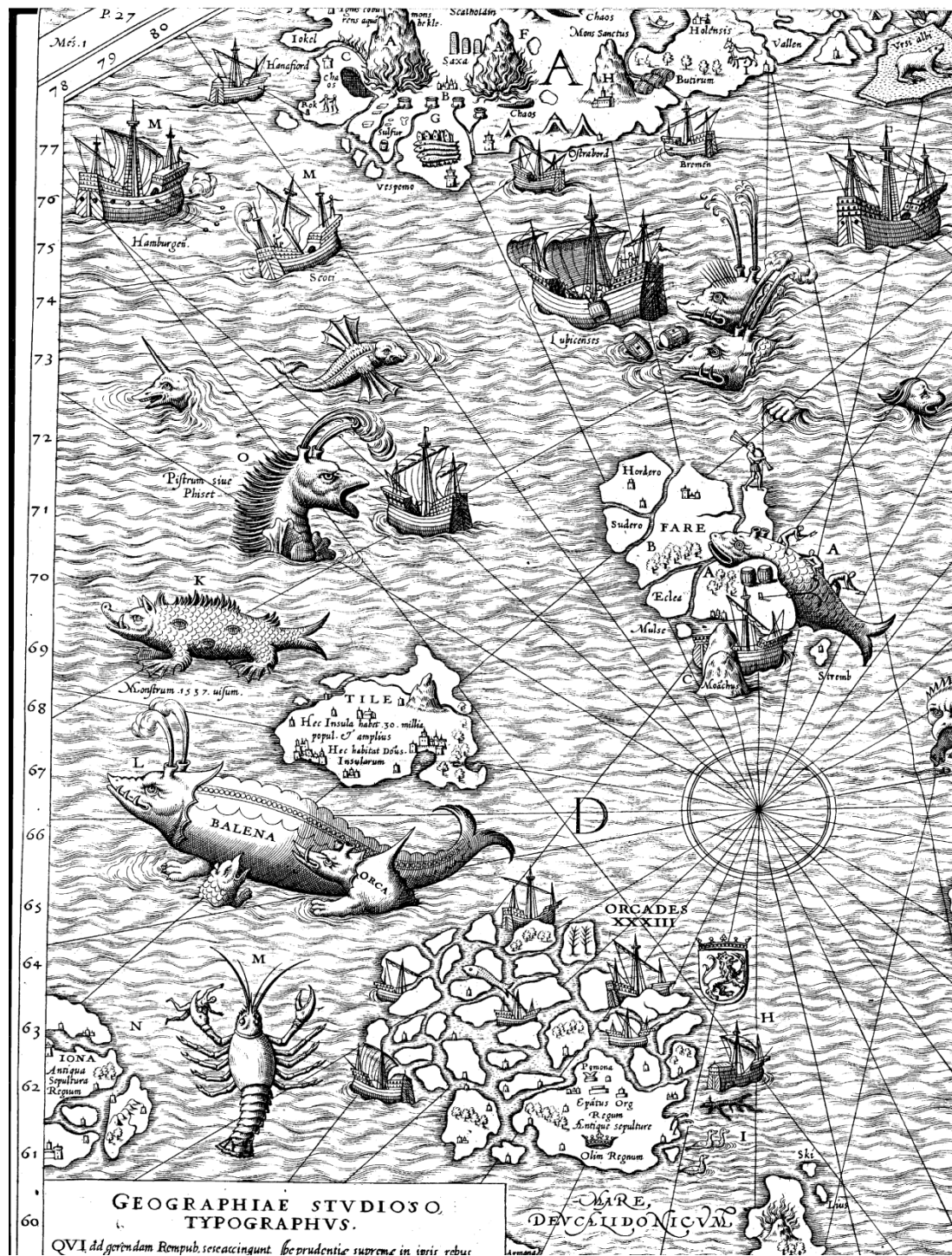


Fig. 5. Detail from Olaus Magnus, *Carta Marina* (Rome, 1572)

A most strange and true report of a monstherous Fish, who  
appeared in the forme of a W oman, from her waste vpwards.



Imprinted at London for W.B.

**Fig. 6.** Title-page of *A Most Strange and True Report of a Monstherous Fish, that Appeared in the Forme of a Woman, from Her Waist Upwardes* (London, 1603).



**M**ONSTRUM marinum ex tabula quadam excusa in Germania olim. Visum hoc aiunt fuisse Romæ in Ripa maiore, tertio die Nouembris, anni Salutis M. D. XXIII. magnitudine pueri quinquennis, ea omnino specie qualis hic exprimitur.

GERMAN. Ein Meerwunder zu Rom gesehen / im jar M. D. XXIII.



**M**ONSTRUM marinum quod hic pingimus, sicubi extat, Pan uel Satyrus marinus, aut Ichthyocentaurus, aut Dæmon marinus appelletur. Iconem à pictore quodam olim accepi: qui talis monstri sceleton Antuerpiæ depictum se accepisse aiebat. Alius etiam retulit simile monstrum aridum è Noruegia in Germaniam inferiorem aduectum, marem & foeminam. Fidem ei facere possunt similium monstrorum effigies, proximè à nobis exhibitæ. Hoc quoniam humana specie supra lumbos & cornutum est, Pâna marinum, aut Satyrum marinum, quoniam simum quoque est, appellabimus. Pâna piscem quendam cetaceum uocari, in eoque asteritem lapidem inueniri, qui à Sole accendatur, & utilis sit ad philtrea, Aesopus Mithridatis anagnosta tradit, Suidas in *ix* dōs. In mari circa Taprobanen insulam cetæ quedam Satyrorum speciem similitudinemque præ se ferre tradunt, Aelianus. Eugenio quarto Pontifice apud urbem Sibiricum in Illyrico captus est marinus homo, qui ad mare puerum trahebat. Is à currentibus, qui rem aspexerant, lapidibus fustibusque uulneratus, in siccum retractus est. Huius effigies penè humana, nisi quod cutis Anguillæ similis erat, & in capite duo parua habebat cornua. Manus quoque duorum tantum digitorum formam exprimebant. Pedes autem in duas ueluti caudas finiebantur: à quibus ad brachia alæ, ut in Vespertilionem, extendebantur, Baptista Fulgosus, Plura leges in Historia Aquatiliū nostra in Tritone.

GERMAN. F. Ein Meerweisfel.

P 4

**Fig. 7.** From Conrad Gessner, *Conradi Gesneri Medici Tigurini Historiae Animalium*, 5 vols (Zurich, 1551-87), IV (1558), sig. P4<sup>r</sup>.



*The figure of a fish resembling a Monke.***Fig. 8.** From Thomas Johnson's *The Workes*, sig. Pppp 3<sup>v</sup>.

like a man even to the middle, with his countenance composed to gravity, his haire yellow, yet intermixed with some gray, his stomack bony, his armes orderly, made and jointed, his other parts ended in a fish. Three daies after in the morning there was scene another Sea-monster, but with the shape or countenance of a woman, as appeared by her face, her long haire, and swollen breasts: both these monsters continued so long above water that any one might view them very well.

*The effigies of the Triton and Siren of Nilus.*

In our times, saith *Rondeletius*, in *Norway* was a monster taken in a tempestuous sea, the which as many as saw it, presently termed a Monk, by reason of the shape which you may see here set forth.

**Fig. 9.** From Thomas Johnson's *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey Translated out of Latine and Compared with the French* (London, 1634), sig. Pppp3<sup>r</sup>.

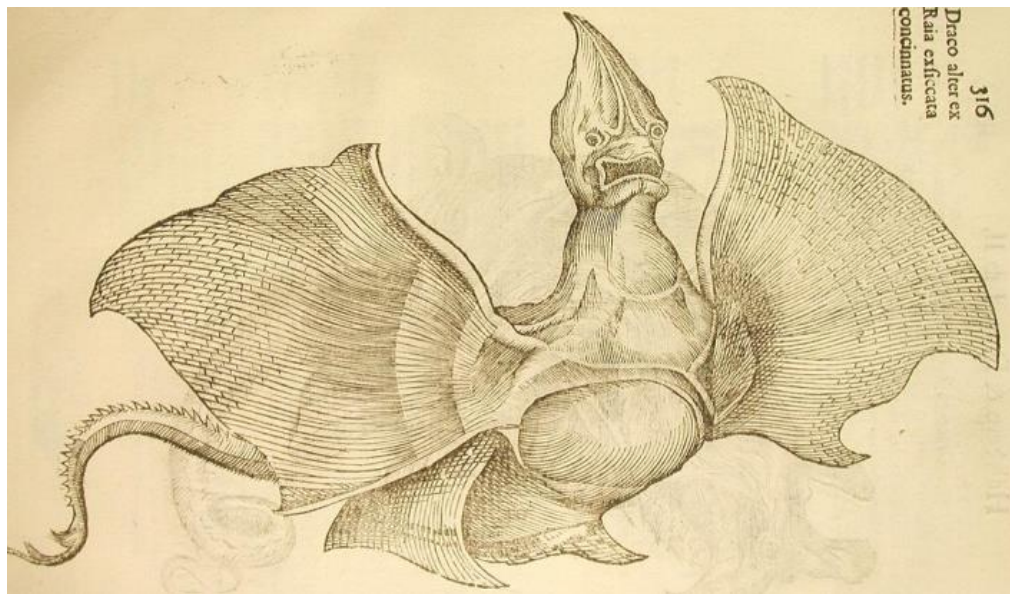
Histoire tragique, & espouuantable, arriüée en l'année 1615. en Frise, en la ville  
d'Emden, d'un monstre marin, representant la forme humaine.



E que l'on dit des monstres de la mer, n'est pas fable, si nous adjou-  
rons foy aux Nautonniers, & si nous croyons à l'antiquité. Car que

G. La nuit cependant que la Lune luisoit, ce monstre marin s'en alla en vne bour-  
gade de Pêcheurs & Mariniers, esloignée six milles de la ville, & commença à briser  
tout ce qui lui venoit au devant : plusieurs s'esueillèrent au bruit : mais le malchanceux

**Fig. 10.** Woodcut illustration from Anon, *Histoire tragique, & espouuantable, arrivée en l'année 1615. en Frise, en la ville d'Emden, d'un monstre marin, representant la forme humaine* (Paris, 1616).



**Fig. 11.** A 'Jenny Haniver' or artificial composite monster from Book II of Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Serpentum et Draconum Historiae* (Bologna, 1640).



**Fig. 12.** Current view of Giambologna's Apennino. (Boboli, Florence).  
 <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Villa\\_di\\_Pratolino](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Villa_di_Pratolino)> [accessed 14 September 2013]



**Fig. 13.** View of the Apennino by Stefano della Bella. Image taken from Webster Smith, 'Pratolino', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 20:4 (1961), 155-168 (p. 162).





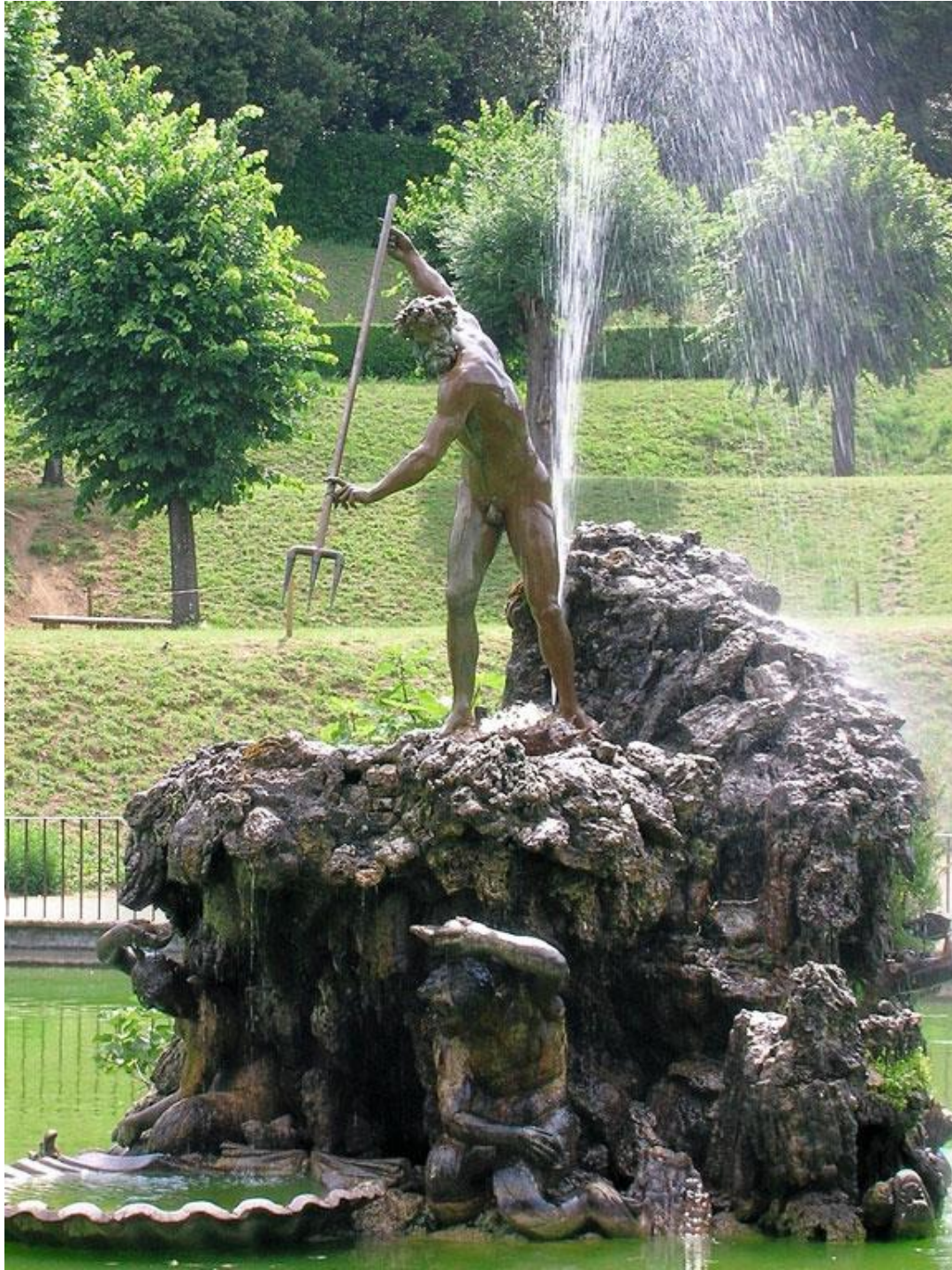
**Fig. 14.** Buontalenti, Grotta Grande. (Boboli, Florence).  
<[http://www.museumsinflorence.com/musei/boboli\\_garden.html](http://www.museumsinflorence.com/musei/boboli_garden.html)> [accessed 14 September 2013]





**Fig. 15.** Detail of stalactite wall decorations in the Grotto Grande (Boboli, Florence)  
<<http://www.walksofitaly.com/blog/florence/best-city-parks-in-italy-florence-milan-rome>> [accessed 14 September 2013]





**Fig. 16.** Soldo Lorenzi, Neptune Fountain (Boboli, Florence).  
<[http://www.museumsinflorence.com/musei/boboli\\_garden.html](http://www.museumsinflorence.com/musei/boboli_garden.html)> [accessed 14 September 2013]





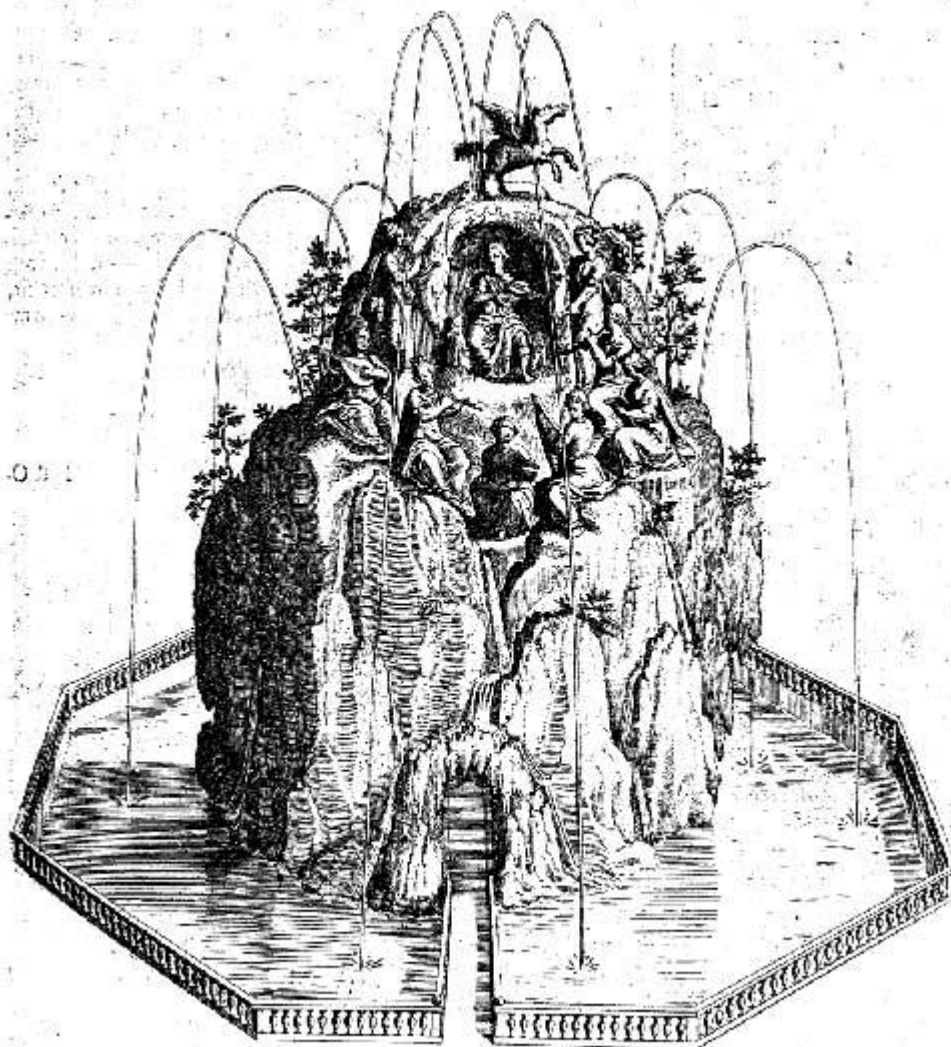
**Fig. 17.** Examples of Bernard de Palissy's pottery-ware (Victoria and Albert Museum).  
<http://www.vam.ac.uk/contentapi/search/?q=palissy> [accessed 14 September 2013]



**Fig. 18.** Ewer by Adam van Vianen, 1614 (Rijksmuseum).  
 <<http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.17215>> [accessed 14 September 2013]



**Fig. 19.** Dolphin basin by Christiaan van Vianen, 1635 (Victoria and Albert Museum).  
 <<http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/s/dolphin-basin-by-christiaan-van-vianen/>> [accessed 14 September 2013]



**Fig. 20.** 'Parnassus Fountain' from Salomon de Caus, *La Raison des forces mouvantes* (Paris, 1624) <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b2100042f/f62.item>> [accessed 14 September 2013]

## APPENDIX

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### *Histoire tragique, & espouvantable, arrivée en l'année 1615. en Frise, en la ville d'Emden, d'un monstre marin, représentant la forme humaine.*

Ce que l'on dit des monstres de la mer, n'est pas fable, si nous ajustons foy aux Nautonniers, & si nous croyons à l'antiquité. Car que ne raconte Plin livre neuvième de son histoire, touchant le Triton que l'on voit du temps de l'Emperour Tibere. Pausanias ne dit-il pas qu'il un voit en la Boece venu de la mere, faisant mille maux? Alexandre surnommé l'Alexandre livre troisieme, chapitre huit, escrit chose semblable d'un qui estoit en Albanie. Olaus Magnus en ses histoires Septentrionales estonne le monde parlant du Moine marin.

Depuis quelque temps s'est monstré un monstre marin, qui a faict choses pleines d'effroy en la Frise, laquelle regarde l'Orient au dessous de la ville d'Emden, assise à l'emboucheure du fleuve que Tacite appelle Amasias: ceux du pays le nomment aujourd'huy Eenis: Or qui revoquera cecy en doute, contredira à tous ceux d'Emden.

A. Un vaisseau venoit des quartiers de Norvege, & comme il avoit presque passé tout le Dannemarc, un grand calme survint sur la marine, & le vent cessa, qui fut cause que le vaisseau voguoit fort lentement quand les Mariniers appercvrent un B. Poisson d'une estrange forme, lequel suivoit l'esquif de la navire. Iceux craignans quelque malencontre lui tirerent un coup de mousquet, duquel il ne fut touché, se retirat dedans son element. De fois à autres il levoit la teste, & suivoit la fregate; La nauire estant arrivée au port, le Capitaine du vaisseau s'enquit des Mariniers de ce qui estoit en la poupe de l'esquif: pouravant qu'il avoit veu plusieurs fois ce poisson le vouloir prendre; ils respondirent que c'estoit un peu de vin. De la à six jours on eut nouvelles de la ville d'Emden, qu'il y avoit un monstre marin qui causoit grands dommages sur terre aux troupeaux, aux haras, & aux hommes. Je raconteray les actes principaux de ceste tragedie.

C. Une femme alloit sur le rivage de la marine, cueillant du bois jetté en terre par les flots de l'Océan, ce monstre vint vers elle avec une grande vitesse, la saisit, l'emporta dedans la mer, & oncques depuis n'a comparuë.

D. Ce monstre espouventable trouva un garçonnet aagé de treize ans, qui se lavoit dedans l'eau au fort de l'Esté aupres le pied d'un rocher, il le prit à l'improviste, & le meit dessous son bras. Un villagois l'apperceut, qui estoit dessus une colline de proche l'Océan, & commonça à crier, à l'ayde, à l'ayde, mais estant un peu esloigné du monde, personne ne comparoissant, se prit à jeter des pierres vers le monstre, & le toucha d'un coup; ce poisson se sentant frappé prit l'enfant par le col, & le froissa aupres d'un escueil avec furie, dont le pauvre enfant mourut.

E. Huict pescheurs de compagnie estoient dedans l'eau jusques aux souris des cuisses, pour prendre leurs rets, lesques à ceste fin s'estoient eslargis. Voicy le monstre qui arrive, lequel commence à faire la chasse apres ces gens, le faisant mourir cruellement, arrachant la teste à l'un, à celui-ci les entrailles, lesquels pour estre dedans l'eau ne peurent se sauver à la fuite: Le jour suivant on trouva quelques reste de leurs corps mis en pieces, & espars deçà delà sur le bord de la marine.

F. Un autre jour le mesme monstre veit en une petite barque deux personnes dedans, qui peschoient avec la seinne; le calme estant venu ces deux hommes commencerent à boire & manger, l'animal s'approche, & touchant un costé de la fregate pour entrer, la renversa dedans l'eau par la pesanteur de son poids: ces pauvres gens tout espouvantéz se jetterent à la nage, mais en vain, car il se meit apres un d'iceux, & le deschira en deux: l'autre cherchant à se sauver fut pris & submergé. Quelque peu de temps apres vous evssiez veu ceste beste se joüer dessus l'eau de ces miserables trespassez, tantost les jettant en haut, tantost les virant & tournant deçà & delà, & sembloit en prendre son jouet & esbat: en fin la mer les jetta au rivage; & on recogneut que c'estoit le pere & le fils.

G. La nuict cependant que la Lune luisoit, ce monstre marin s'en alla en une bourgade de Pescheurs & Mariniers, esloignée six milles la ville, & commença à briser tout ce qui lui venoit au devant; plusieurs s'esveillerent au bruit, mais le meschant animal se



jetta sur eux, & en défit quelques-uns, les deschirant avec les dents; d'autres esmeus du cris, & voulans secourir leurs compagnons, estoient mal-heureusement tuez: les autres s'enfuirent, tellement qu'en moins de deux heures la terre fut deserte, & on en trouva bien trente de morts. La ville d'Emden eut nouvelle de ce desastre, & on se meit apres à penser comment on prendroit ce poisson portant si grande nuisance au pays circonvoisin.

H. La façon de laquelle l'on servit pour prendre ce monstre fut telle: Comme les Mariniers venans de Noruege recogneurent la premiere fois que ceste beste estoit tousjours apres un petit barril de vin, on trouva expedient de la prendre par le moyen du vin. L'on meit donc quelque petit vaisseau de vin fort & puissant en une tour voisine de la mer, qui est une des tours de la garde de nuit, & on jetta quelque quantité d'icelui en terre depuis la porte de la tour jusques à la marine, à fin que l'odeur attirast l'animal. Dedans la tour il y avoit du monde jour & nuit pour surprendre le monstre; au haut de la porte estoit suspenduë une chausse-trappe à fin de la laisser tomber, l'animal estant dedans la tour. Le monstre ne manqua pas à venir attiré par l'odeur du vin, duquel il beaut à bon escient, tellement qu'il l'estourdit, & le fit cheoir en terre. L'un de ceux qui estoient au haut de la tour ayant lasché la chausse-trappe vint en bas comme le plus courageux de les compagnons, armé d'une hache bien trenchante, de laquelle il lui donna un grand coup sur l'espaule, I. & lui separa le teste du reste du corps, les autres d'en-haut commencerent à crier Victoire, Victoire: puis levans la chausse-trappe K. porterent la teste dehors: comme ils s'approchoient de la ville d'Emden, un chacun y couroit pour voir la teste du monstre leur grand ennemy: on escorcha le corps, & la peau fut remplie de paille pour la conserver. Le Roi de Dannemarc beau frere du Roi d'Angleterre receut la teste en present, laquelle il conserve comme chose rare.

Le pourtrait de ce monstre a esté tiré en plusieurs lieux, & envoyé deçà & delà. Le nostre que nous avons eu pour le faire tirer, vient d'Italie, imprimé à Viterbe.

L. Ce monstre representoit un homme haut de douze palmes, il avoit en la teste comme des cheveux tous dressez comme de soye de Sanglier, durs & picquants comme les pointes d'un Herisson: sa couleur estoit un vent [i.e. vert] de mer; ses aureilles comme



les nostres, mais avec quelques pointes à l'entour; son visage estoit enfoncé & fort large, avec des yeux jaunastres; les dents sauvages; la bouche fort grande, les narines assez larges. Sous le menton il avoit un petit de poil tout herissonné, les mains avec leurs doigts; les ongles sembloient aux alesnes, & tout le corps estoit couvert d'escailles, ayant une queuë de Daufin, son regard effrayoit le monde.

*[J]ouxte la coppie imppimée à Viterbe, envoyée à Paris.*

M. DC. XVI

\* \* \*

***The tragical and dreadful history, which occurred in 1615, in Frisia, in the town of Emden, of a sea monster with a human form.***

What has been related about sea monsters is no mere fable, if we hold faith with the navigators (sailors), and have trust in antiquity. Because how could one not recall what Pliny says in the ninth book of his history, concerning the Triton seen in the times of the Emperor Tiberius? Doesn't Pausanias say that he saw one come out of the sea in Boeotia, causing a thousand harms? Alexander, known as The Alexander, in his thirteenth book, chapter eight, writes a similar thing of one that was in Albania. Olaus Magnus in his Septentrional histories astonishes the world by speaking of the monk of the sea.

Some time ago a sea monster appeared who did terrible things in Frisia, which faces east below the town of Emden, located at the mouth of a river which Tacitus calls Amasias: which the locals presently call Eenis: Indeed, to call this into doubt would be to contradict everyone from Emden.

A. A vessel came from the regions of Norway and, before it had gone completely past Denmark, a great calm came over the sea, and the wind ceased, for which reason the

vessel was sailing very slowly when the sailors saw a B. Fish of a strange form, which followed the tender attached to the ship. Fearing some misfortune, they fired a volley at it with their muskets; unaffected by that, it withdrew into the water. Rearing its head from time to time, it followed the frigate. When the vessel reached port, its Captain asked the sailors what had been in the stern of the tender, since he had seen that this fish had several times wanted to take it; they replied that there had been a little wine. Six days later news was heard from the town of Emden: there, a sea monster was causing great harm on land to the flocks and herds, to the studs [i.e. male breeding horses] and to the people. I will recount the principal acts of this tragedy.

C. When a woman was walking on the seashore, gathering wood borne to land by the tides, this monster approached her with great speed, seized her, carried her into the sea, and she was never seen never appeared again.

D. This terrible monster, finding a boy of thirteen washing himself in the waters in the height of summer at the foot of a rock, took him suddenly and held him in his arms. A villager who was on a hill near the sea saw him, and called for help; but since people were distant and no one was responding he started to throw stones at the monster, and hit it; the fish, feeling itself hit, took the child by the neck and violently dashed him against a reef, of which the poor child died.

E. A company of eight fishermen were in the water up to their thighs in order to pull in their nets, which they had cast for just this reason [i.e. to catch the monster]. Now arrives the monster, which begins to hunt these people and put them to cruel deaths, tearing the head from one, the entrails from another, of those who could not save themselves by fleeing because they were in the water. The day after there were found remains of their bodies torn to pieces, and scattered here and there on the seashore.

F. On another day the same monster saw a small boat with two people in it, who were fishing with a net. The tide being slack, the two men were beginning to drink and eat; on which the animal approached and, grabbing one side of the boat in order to get aboard, capsized it by its weight. These poor people, terrified, started to swim, but to no avail, because it moved in on one of them and tore him in two; the other, seeking to

save himself, was taken and drowned. A little after, you could have seen this beast disporting himself above the water with these miserable victims, sometimes throwing them upwards, sometimes twisting and turning them hither and thither, and seeming to treat them as his plaything and sport. Finally the sea cast them ashore, and they were recognised as being this father and son.

G. At night when the moon was shining this monster approached a group of fishermen and sailors who were six miles from the town, and began to maim anyone who came before him. Several awoke at the noise, but this wicked animal threw itself on them and ripped apart several of them, tearing them with its teeth. Others, moved by the cries, and attempting to help their companions, were unhappily killed: the others fled, so that after two hours the place was deserted, and more than thirty dead were found. The town of Emden heard news of this disaster, and people set to thinking of how they might take this fish which was causing so much harm to the surrounding area.

H. The method used for capturing the monster was the following: Since the sailors from Norway recalled the first instance in which the monster had been interested in the small barrel of wine, they hit on the idea of capturing him by means of wine. They placed a small container of strong and powerful wine in a look-out tower by the sea, which is one of the night-watch towers, and they poured some of the same on the ground by the door of the tower that faced the sea, so that the smell of it would lure the animal. They waited within the tower the whole day and night in order to catch the monster; above the door was suspended a caltrop in such a way that that it would fall when the animal was inside the tower. The monster just could not resist the smell of the wine, which he drank eagerly, so that he became incapacitated and sank to the ground. One of the men who was at the top of the tower, having taken down the caltrop, descended as he was the bravest man of all his companions, armed with a very sharp knife, with which he delivered a great blow to the shoulder, I. and separated the head from the rest of its corpse. The others above began to cry ‘Victory! Victory!’ Then they lifted the caltrop K. and carried the head outside. When they approached the town of Emden, people ran there to see the head of the monster, their great enemy: they skinned the corpse and filled the skin with straw in order to preserve it. The King

of Denmark, brother-in-law of the King of England, received the head as a present, which he kept as a rarity.

The portrait of this monster has been printed in many places and sent far and wide. The one that we used in printing it came from Italy, printed at Viterbo.

L. This monster resembles a man of twelve palms in height, on his head he has hair that stands up like the bristles of a boar, hard and prickly as the needles of a hedgehog: his colour is green like the sea: his ears are like ours, but with some spikes on the inside; his face is flat and very broad, with yellowish eyes; savage teeth; the mouth very large, the nostrils quite wide. Under the chin he has a bit of very prickly hair; the hands with their fingers; the fingernails resemble daggers, and his whole body is covered in scales. He has the tail of a dolphin, and his appearance has terrified the world.

From[?] the copy printed at Viterbo, sent to Paris.

M. DC. XVI

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