WRITING THE LAND:

ANTIQUARIANISM IN THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

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by

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER ONE

Mapping the Self: Laurence Nowell's map of Britain (c1563) and John Donne's 'Hymn to God my God, in my Sickness' 9

CHAPTER TWO

Mapping Society: Renaissance Antiquarianism

1. Perspective and Place 55
2. Geography and Gentry: Definitions of Antiquarianism 70
3. The Antiquarian Way to Representing Place 95
4. The Antiquarian Society 124

CHAPTER THREE

William Lambarde: The Anatomy of Land

1. Conflicts of Representation 149
2. Creating the Text 175
3. Dividing the Land 199
4. Writing the Land 226

CONCLUSION 269

BIBLIOGRAPHY 279

WRITING THE LAND: ANTIQUARIANISM IN THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

BY MELANIE GORDONA HANSEN

The aim of this thesis is to examine the way in which land is represented in antiquarian, cartographic and literary texts of the Renaissance period. It employs New Historicist and Post Structuralist methods of analysis and it is interdisciplinary in focus. The thesis concentrates primarily on antiquarian texts, but also draws upon fields of cartography, geography and history. The questions pivotal to this thesis are the way in which antiquarian and cartographic texts were constructed, their influences, sources and responses to each other. The thesis also engages with ideas of nation, region and 'Englishness', ideas generated by antiquarian and cartographic representations of land.

Chapter one discusses Laurence Nowell's map of Britain (c1563) and John Donne's 'Hymn to God my God, in my Sickness'. The first section sets out to explore the relationship between cartography and art. It argues that cartography illustrates not only an emerging sense of national identity but also, that it provides an informing context for the literary texts of the period. As a case in point, John Donne's poem, in its use of different map forms, demonstrates how cartography, for this poet, was an important enabling menas for expressing ideas of identity and spirituality.

Chapter two is divided into four sections, each of which focuses on a particular aspect of antiquarian production and reception. The first section analyses the different perspectives involved in the representation of land whilst the second, illustrates the way in which antiquarians and cartographers attempted to formulate those representations. Section three discusses the social and political context of the production of antiquarian texts, particularly that of the dissolution of the monasteries and the monarchy. The final section examines the formation of the Antiquarian Society, a Society that responded to developments in antiquarian study as an authoritative and collective field of enquiry.

Chapter three brings together all the issues raised in the first two chapters by focusing on the work of the antiquarian William Lambarde. Divided into four sections, the first explores the different perspectives of the gentry antiquarian and antiquarian authorship whilst the second examines the way in which Lambarde constructed his texts. The third section discusses the narrative strategies involved in representing land and the final section consideres the importance of language as a means both to structure and articulate the antiquarian narrative.

The results of this thesis demonstrate the significance of antiquarianism and cartography for our understanding of Renaissance culture. It illustrates the way in which antiquarian and cartographic texts were not simple 'depictions' of land, but rather texts that engaged with a number of different traditions, geography, history, humanism and language, and with a different influences, monarchy, patronage and gentry. But study of antiquarianism and cartography also provides an important context for the literary texts of the period, and particularly, topographical poetry. Understanding the issues involved in representing land enables us to analyse the dynamics of the literary text that describes land, towns and buildings and the individual's relationship to them.

FOR KEITH OSBORNE

FOR LOVE, FRIENDSHIP AND CONSTANT SUPPORT

PREFACE

This preface is a statement of textual details and acknowledgement of assistance received. The aims and limitations of the thesis are set out in the Introduction. The thesis is all my own work. Quotations are in the original spelling and referenced in the notes at the end of each chapter. The notes contain brief references, full details being given in the bibliography. I would like to thank Prof. Jonathan Bate and Prof. Helen Wilcox for their supervision of this thesis. I would also to like to thank Keith Osborne, Susie Frost, friends and family for their continual enthusiasm and support. My greatest indebtedness is to Suzanne Trill for her persistent encouragement and laughter in adversity and without whom this thesis would never have been completed.

INTRODUCTION

> some, for one purpose, some, for an other, liketh, loveth, getteth, and useth, Mappes, Chartes, and Geographicall Globes. Of whose use, to speake sufficiently, would require a book peculiar.
> John Dee, 'Mathematicall Preface', Euclid [1]

Developments in literary studies over the last fifteen years have had enormous implications for the way in which English Renaissance texts are read. Recent studies have illustrated how different methodological approaches have questioned, in Stephen Greenblatt's terms, 'the literary as a stable ground in the Renaissance' and 'the existence of an autonomous aesthetic realm' [2]. Such approaches have suggested that literary genres in the Renaissance period were not as formulated as traditional literary criticism has claimed but rather, that Renaissance literature was the site within which 'boundaries [were] contested, endlessly renegotiated, permeable' [3]. In identifying the instability inherent within Renaissance texts, it has become an important part of literary study to draw on other kinds of cultural material, such as historical documents, documents that are more usually studied in other disciplines. The study of this material not only informs us about the context in which texts were produced in the Renaissance, but also informs our reading of them. Consequently, it is an interdisciplinary approach, one that takes into account cultural history, that both identifies and engages with the complexity of Renaissance texts and the culture that produced them.

This thesis has been influenced, and to a large extent determined by, these developments in the study of English Renaissance texts. And it draws particularly on New Historicist and Post-Structuralist readings. The first intention of this thesis was to

question the way in which land or place was conceptualised in the literary texts of the Renaissance period. Notions of land appear frequently in these texts, from political conceptions of land appearing in Shakespeare's Richard II or King Lear, to social and political dimensions of land in topographical poetry, to spiritual senses of land in the poetry of John Donne or George Herbert. By identifying the idea of land as a significant concept in Renaissance literary texts, it became important to analyse the cultural context which might inform our understanding of them. Thus, by drawing on an interdisciplinary approach, the study focused on antiquarian and cartographic texts, texts whose explicit purpose was to describe pictorially or in writing, the town, the county or the country as a whole. However, it soon transpired that antiquarian and cartographic texts were themselves heavily influenced by Renaissance ideas of 'art' and 'eloquence'. Antiquarians like William Lambarde and William Harrison, for example, actively engaged with Humanist ideals of education and writing, whilst cartography was based upon and negotiated with developments in Renaissance pictorial art. The primary question for this thesis became, therefore, not what is the relationship between literary texts that refer to notions of land and their cultural context - though this remains an important strand; instead the thesis questions the issues that these antiquarian and cartographic texts raised, and the status and authority that was accorded to them. In this way, although the interdisciplinary nature of English studies has widened the field of enquiry to include the study of cultural context which has made the study of antiquarianism and cartography possible, at the same time, the engagement of these very texts with notions of 'art' has facilitated the study of them in

their own right.

In fact, nowhere is Greenblatt's idea of the Renaissance text as being a site within which 'boundaries [were] contested, endlessly renegotiated, permeable' more applicable than to antiquarian and cartographic texts. Greenblatt's description manifests itself in these texts on two levels. Firstly, by describing land, antiquarian and cartographic texts are themselves interdisciplinary because they engage with different kinds of cultural material. In the case of antiquarianism, the antiquarian sought to represent the town, county or country through reference not just to geography, but also to cultural history, manifested in ancient monuments and documents, in the genealogies of the gentry and the nobility, and in the history of language. As a result, the representation of land focused on both antiquity and on the contemporary economic, social, political and geographical status of the town, county or country. By drawing on different kinds of sources, the antiquarian text became the site within which these sources 'contested' the 'boundaries' of the antiquarian text. With regard to cartography, the pictorial representation of land referred to the mathematical and geographical studies produced by Ptolemy and Mercator and at the same time, drew upon developments in illumination, writing script and new techniques in copperplate engraving. Thus, the kind of map produced was influenced and determined by the use of 'mathematic' or 'artistic' elements, or both. Secondly, Greenblatt's concept of the different influences dissecting and transversing the Renaissance text can be applied to antiquarianism in the sense that different kinds of representations of the county or country 'competed' with one another. William Lambarde and William Camden 'competed' with one another for

their own textual accounts, the Dictionarium Angliae Topographicum et Historicum and the Britannia, to be considered as the only adequate representation of the nation. Both these antiquarians had to negotiate with the idea that different kinds of representation of land could be produced, representations that could be accorded equal status. In the case of cartography, Laurence Nowell and John Norden 'competed' with other cartographers and surveyors by claiming the authority of their own maps to represent land adequately. In the antiquarian and cartographic texts of the Renaissance period, therefore, there is the attempt by the authors to define their own status and authority to write their own representations of land and simultaneously, to justify and authorize their observations. In each case, the 'boundaries' of what could or should be represented were 'contested, endlessly renegotiated' and 'permeable' to different influences and different perspectives.

The questions that underlie this thesis centre, then, upon the way in which antiquarian and cartographic texts were constructed, their influences, sources and responses to each other. However, whilst analysis of Renaissance cartography is undertaken in chapter one, the texts of the antiquarians provide the main focus of this thesis. It investigates not just how the antiquarians were able to accord authority to their texts, as adequate and 'correct' representations of land, but also the way in which they were able to project the monuments and manuscripts that they read as important cultural artifacts. For, if today there is a continuing debate about what constitutes a 'literary' text, then this is shared by the antiquarians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who were also negotiating with what constituted a cultural artifact. The

Renaissance period is framed by two immense political, religious and social upheavals, the Reformation and dissolution of the monasteries and the Interregnum; both of these upheavals involved the destruction of buildings and ancient manuscripts, a destruction to which the antiquarians sharply responded. Their response is just one indicator of the way in which cultural artifacts were accorded status by them. For example, the writing of John Bale and the Civil War diary of Richard Symonds, although separated by a century, share an intense preoccupation with the preservation of texts and buildings from the ravages of social and political change [4]. What differentiates their accounts is only their allegations of who was responsible for this destruction and not their belief in the significance of cultural artifacts: for John Bale it was the ignorant Catholic priests and bishops, whilst for the Royalist Symonds, it was the Parliamentary 'rebels'. In both cases, however, Bale and Symonds register the need for positing buildings and manuscripts as worthy of preservation, and as significantly, as important signifiers of the nation's cultural wealth. For Bale and Symonds share with antiquarians throughout the Renaissance period, the notion that cultural artifacts played a crucial role in signifying the nation. Through the recording and observation of cultural artifacts in their texts the antiquarians promoted a sense of nationality and 'Englishness'. And by according cultural artifacts a national status, and by preserving them in written form in their texts, the antiquarians saw themselves as fulfilling a patriotic ideal. Readers of their texts, therefore, came to know and understand the nation through the written text. In the case of the representation of counties, the observation of cultural artifacts

promoted a sense of regionality, a regionality that distinctly appealed to the residents.

However, whilst this thesis identifies certain correlations between the antiquarian accounts of the earlier and later Renaissance period, the primary focus remains on the development of antiquarian study during the period as a whole. Its historical starting point is John Leland's innovative antiquarian study, The Itinerary of John Leland In or About the years 1535-43; as will be discussed in more detail in chapter two, Leland's account is significant as a starting point for two main reasons. Firstly, Leland was the first antiquarian to designate himself AS an antiquarian, signing his Itinerary 'antiquarius'. This was a crucial point since it formulated antiquarianism as a distinct area of enquiry, undertaken by individuals who conceived of themselves as antiquarian scholars. Secondly, many antiquarians, and particularly William Lambarde and William Camden, consistantly referred to Leland's study as a groundbreaking one. Leland's work provided, then, an important structural and thematic framework which was to be developed throughout the Renaissance period as a whole. Whilst concentrating primarily on the work of William Lambarde, this thesis charts that development of antiquarian study from Leland and Lambarde, and looks tentatively forward to the antiquarian accounts written prior to, and during, the Interregnum. For it is in the reconstitution of the Antiquarian Society in the 1630s, and the descriptions of land offered by antiquarians like Richard Symonds and William Burton, for example, that the influence of those earlier antiquarians, Leland, Lambarde and Camden can be seen. Concepts of nationality and 'Englishness' were to adopt additional significance when it was

precisely these terms that were subject to such increasing ideological appropriation.

This introduction has raised a number of key terms for the study of Renaissance antiquarianism and cartography: nation, national and regional consciousness, county, country, patriotism and 'Englishness'. These terms are, of course, extremely problematic in this period as, indeed, they are today. The purpose of this thesis is not to offer an analysis of these terms (to do so would merit a thesis in itself) but rather, to investigate the way in which these ideas manifested themselves in English antiquarian and cartographic texts [5]. Concepts of nation and nationality, region and regionality, English and Englishness were by no means codified during this period. However, in representing the land, whether that involved representing the town, county or country, the antiquarians and cartographers were by necessity, forced to engage with these concepts. One of the questions of this thesis, therefore, is to determine the way in which these writers and surveyors negotiated with and formulated ideas of region, nation and Englishness. For it is the representations of land that provided to the readers of the Renaissance period and to us the readers today, a 'picture' of the county or of the nation. And it is with 'pictures' that this thesis begins, with Laurence Nowell's map of Britain (c1563).

INTRODUCTION: NOTES

1. John Dee, 'Mathematicall Preface' to The Elements of Geometrie of the most auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara, translated by Sir Henry Billingsley, 1570.

2. For recents studies see Stephen Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare, Representing the English Renaissance, edited by Stephen Greenblatt, Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c. 1540-1660, edited by Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn, The Matter of Difference: Materialist Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare, edited by Valerie Wayne.

   Quotation cited from Stephen Greenblatt, Representing the English Renaissance, p vii.

3. ibid.

4. John Bale, commentary on John Leland's The Laboryous Journey, (1549); Richard Symonds, Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army During the Great Civil War (1643-44). See also chapter one.

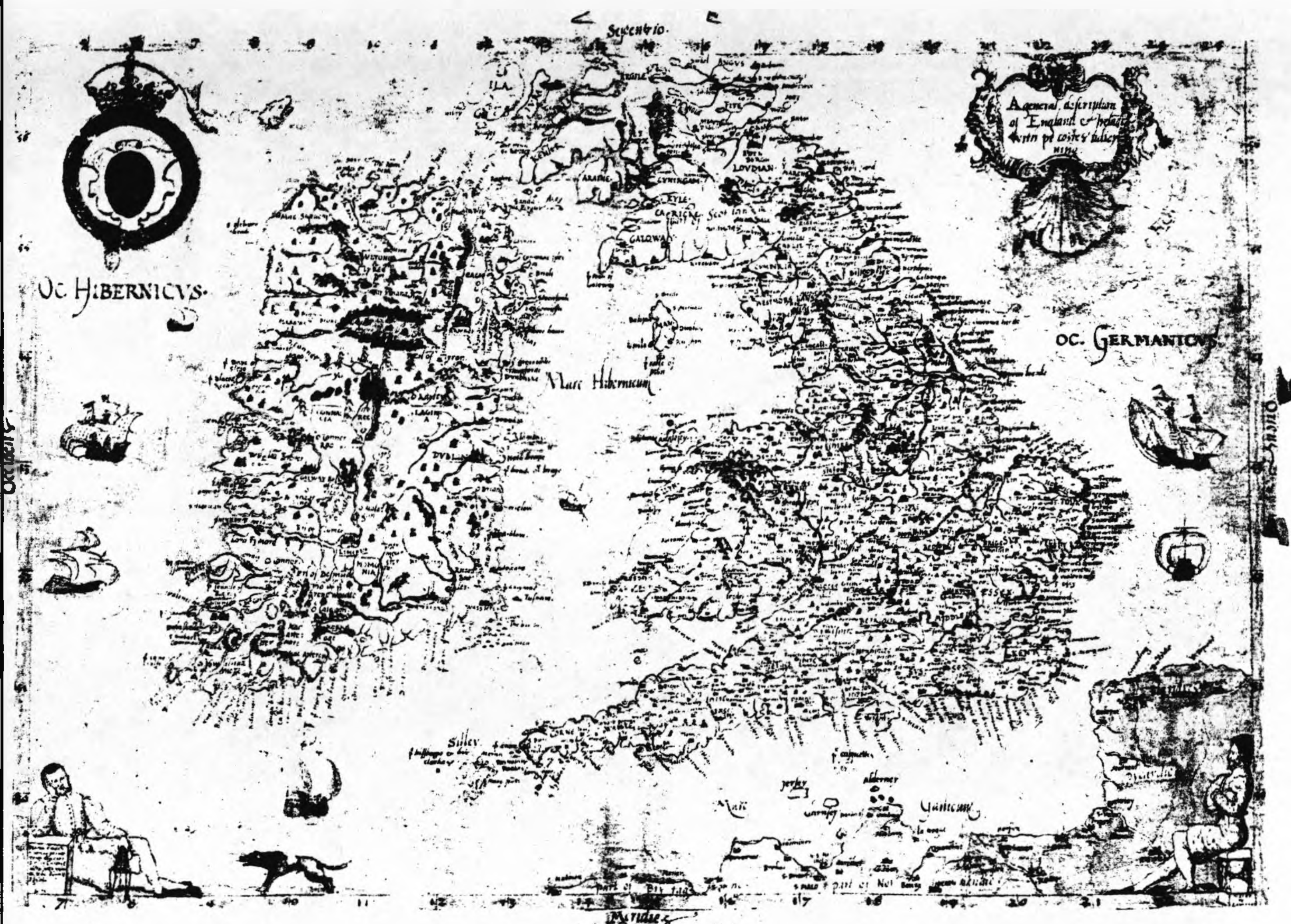
5. The concern with these terms has determined the focus of this thesis upon the development of specifically English Antiquarianism. Whilst continental influences upon English antiquarianism and cartography is recognized, particularly with reference to the work of Mercator and the much earlier Ptolemy (see especially chapter one), this thesis prime investigation concerns the development of antiquarian study in England. Although antiquarianism, cartography, and of related interest, cosmography and mathematics, were the focus of much work in Antwerp and the Low Countries, for example. the influence of that work to antiquarians in England is beyond the specific concern of this thesis.

CHAPTER ONE

MAPPING THE SELF: LAURENCE NOWELL'S MAP OF BRITAIN AND JOHN DONNE'S 'HYMN TO GOD MY GOD, IN MY SICKNESS'

> Geographie is the imitation, and discription of the face, and picture of th' earth ...
> William Cuningham, <u>The Cosmographical Glass</u> (1559) [1]

1. Laurence Nowell's Map of Britain (c1563)



Cartography played an important role in the antiquarian accounts of the period because it illustrated pictorially the geographical status of the county or country under discussion. Although the 1597 edition of William Camden's <u>Britannia</u> contained

only three general maps, the 1607 folio edition included an additional map of England engraved by William Hole and the county maps of Christopher Saxton and John Norden [2]. John Norden himself included his own maps in his Speculi Britannia: The Description of Hertfordshire (1598) and in William Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent (1576), there was a map of England and Wales which was attached to the first chapter, 'The exposition of this Map of the English Heptarchie, or seaven Kingdoms'. The history of cartography in this period is a complex one, and one that has not yet been fully examined in relation to the political and social structures of the period [3]. Furthermore, few maps of the period remain in existence, although there are contemporary references to map production [4]. However, rather than detailing a history of cartography, what I wish to explore in this chapter is the particular significance of Laurence Nowell's map of Britain (c1564) and the use of map forms in John Donne's poem, 'Hymn to God my God, in my Sickness'. Analysis of these two texts identifies the relationship between author/self and the representation of land, an analysis which will inform the chapters on the antiquarians and the study of William Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent.

In the first instance, Nowell's map raises important ideas associated with the representation of land in this period. In its inclusion of portraits on the map of Britain, Nowell's map directly confronts the relationship between 'art' and 'science' in the representation of land. And because those portraits depict the cartographer Nowell and his patron William Cecil, the map also addresses the relationship between authorial production and the control of patronage to determine that production. But the inclusion of the portrait of Nowell raises the further issue of the

representation of self: although purporting to represent the country, the map is also used to represent the individual who takes part in that country's pictorial construction. Thus, the subject, together with the country in which he lives, is also the object of representation. The relationship between maps and self, 'art' and 'science' is also the project of Donne's 'Hymne to God my God, in my Sickness'. The poem illustrates the way in which a spiritual relationship with God, one that acknowledges within that relationship alternative ideas of self and authorship, can be dramatically enhanced through reference to map forms. This poem is both informed by new developments in cartography and at the same time, addresses the issues and problems of perspective that such new map forms demanded. Consequently, the study of this poem can add to our understanding of the nature of cartography in this period, something that is not immediately attainable from specific study of these map forms alone. This chapter will address, therefore, the way in which the map of Laurence Nowell employs 'art' in a 'scientific' representation whilst that of Donne uses the 'science' of maps to represent the self in a religious poem.

Of course, the terms 'art' and 'science' were by no means clearly formulated during this period. And nowhere are they less formulated than in the cartographic practices of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In Landmarks of Mapmaking, Tooley and Bricker identify the way in which maps acted as 'pictures' during this period:

> In the early stages ... the history of maps is bound up with the development of pictorial art in medieval Europe. In the background of works by early Italian painters, for instance, we see a perspective convention of representing relief which is paralleled in fifteenth century maps. Indeed,

> there is little distinction to be made between early regional maps and topographical drawings and so-called bird's-eye views. [5]

Tooley and Bricker demonstrate that, during the period of 1450-1650 the cartographer was understood to be an artist. This identification became more clearly formulated owing to the introduction of engraving on wood blocks and on copper plates, so that 'maps were works of art in their own right' [6]. The first maps (those surviving from c1250), which like the Hereford Mappa Mundi were generally maps of the world, were usually drawn by monastic scribes, using their skill of illumination [7]. These early maps included on them depictions of forests, villages, forts and coasts, for example, depictions that reflected cultural concerns rather than 'scientific' accuracy [8]. As J B Harley points out:

> At their simplest, early maps provide material for reconstructing the changing physical and human landscape. But they are also a record of the life, organisation and environmental priorities of former societies, while as epitomes of geographical thought or knowledge, they contribute to intellectual history and to our understanding of key notions about lived in space from local to world perspective. [9]

Thus, these 'maps as pictures' are informative about the cultural preoccupations regarding the way in which space is ordered and hierarchies determined. For example, whether fortresses and castles are delineated or which towns are selected to be placed on the cartographic text. The relationship between cartography and art by the time of the sixteenth century was continued with new methods introduced from Germany and the Netherlands [10] which combined with the Italian Humanist antiquaries discovery of the old Roman inscriptional lettering [11]. This lettering, together with the 'cursive Chancery hand', were 'adopted as the only script on several of the earliest atlases ever published, 1477-90, and were used always

thereafter, though in combination with other scripts'. [12]

Although the use of pictorial representations, illumination and particular kinds of lettering came to constitute cartographic representation, there is also a sense in which a map itself is 'a specialized language' [13]. Whilst the depiction of castles and fortresses reflects the cultural preoccupations of power holders and their concern with defence, the buildings also act as signs, signs that convey both geographical and political meaning. J B Harley suggests that maps are texts:

> Most obviously their symbols are located and as all maps are space representing space - whether real or imagined - they are par excellence a language for historical geography. They can also be highly efficient. While writing is read consecutively, maps display information simultaneously with great potency for image formulation. [14]

Although Harley acknowledges that map symbols can be highly ambiguous and that they 'lack the immediate precision of words', the comprehension of maps as a particular form of communication identifies further the problematic relationship between 'art' and 'science' in the study of cartography. The pictorial symbol of a castle that is situated geographically in a particular area signifies therefore, not simply the existence of that castle, but also that it is a culturally significant aspect of the landscape to be included on the cartographic representation. In a later essay, however, Harley employs the methods of deconstruction to suggest that above all, the map is subject to precisely the same conditions of production and reception as the written text. He argues that even today, the 'science' of cartography with its access to mathematical and computerised technology to produce 'accurate' cartographic representation, is still far from immune from the cultural contexts from which it is produced. Harley suggests that:

> Deconstruction urges us to read between the lines of the map - 'in the margins of the text' - and through its tropes to discover the silences and contradictions that challenge the apparent honesty of the image. We begin to learn that cartographic facts are facts only within a specific cultural perspective. We start to understand how maps, like art, far from being a 'transparent opening to the world', are but 'a particular human way ... of looking at the world'. [15]

Contemporary theoretical models can demonstrate, therefore, the way in which maps can be 'read' as texts, 'like art'. The map by Laurence Nowell can be read, then, as a text that negotiates directly with the relationship between 'art' and 'science' in the sixteenth century and as a map that is itself, as a text, subject to techniques of analysis provided by contemporary literary criticism.

But Nowell's map is also situated within an increasingly prolific debate concerning the definition of cartography, or the distinction between chorography and cosmography. The heading to this chapter, 'Geographie is the imitation, and discription of the face, and picture of th' earth', is from William Cuningham's The Cosmograpicall Glasse (1559). As Cuningham proclaims himself in the preface, this text is the first English treatise on cosmography [16]. Although the terms chorography and cosmography will be examined in more detail in chapter two, it is pertinent to note briefly here the context of sixteenth century methodological discussion in order to situate more clearly the analysis of Nowell's map of Britain. Cuningham's definition of geography is, in fact, a direct translation from Ptolemy's Geographia, a copy of which he would probably have encountered during his visits to Heidelberg and the Rhine Valley [17]. Ptolemy had defined chorography as being:

> most concerned with what kind of places those are which it describes, not how large they are in extent. Its concern is to paint a true likeness, and not

> merely to give exact position and size. Geography looks at the position rather than the quality, noting the relation of distances everywhere, and emulating the art of painting only in some of its major descriptions ... [18]

Ptolemy's description of what chorography and geography might constitute illustrates precisely how closely allied are the concerns of 'art' and the newly emerging disciplines of more 'scientific' orientation. Here, chorography is specifically associated with painting whereas geography is understood as a later development, based on mathematics. In translating Ptolemy, Cuningham suggests that the former's definition of geography should be redefined in order to form two distinct areas of enquiry, cosmography and chorography. The former 'teacheth the discription of the vniuersal world, and not of th' earth only' whereas Geography is the study of 'th' earth and no other part' [19]. Cosmographie involves the mathematical description of the whole world, whilst geography as Stan Mendyk relates:

> was less concerned with determining mathematical relationships than with exact description of the place, or region. Its purpose was to render a 'true likeness', and so required the talents of an artist, one capable of 'painting the landscape' in words. [20]

In fact, the definition of geography as a distinct discipline of enquiry was of crucial significance to the early geographers, antiquarians and cartographers. They were all acutely concerned with outlining a methodology for the representation of land. These methods were fundamental for registering the existence and project of a particular enterprise, which as will be demonstrated below, were a significant part of cartographic practice. Furthermore, they were were important for the promotion of a collective undertaking for representing land, a promotion that provided the basis for the

Elizabethan Antiquarian Society to be established. The map of Britain by Laurence Nowell dissects all these different traditions, the map as an artform, as a scientific document, and as a contribution to a body of knowledge about the nation.

Nowell's map was one of the first drawn by an Englishman and is an illustration of the extent to which European ideas about cartography had extended by the early 1560s. It has been suggested that the map was used by Mercator as the basis for his map of Britain in 1563, illustrating both the dissemination of cartographic knowledge during this period and the influence of Mercator's new 'projections' in England [21]. In addition to the representation of the entire lands of Britain (although depiction of Scotland disintegrates into the frame of the map), it includes the pictures of two men, the identity of whom has been suggested as William Cecil and Laurence Nowell [22]. Sitting in the right hand corner is the patron, William Cecil (later Lord Burghley), who is sitting on an hourglass, 'inscribed with Greek words bidding his suppliant hope on an endure' [23]. Cecil is looking at Nowell, his suppliant, in the other corner being barked at by a dog. Nowell is holding an empty purse upside down, and resting his arm on a tablet. Inscribed in Greek on this tablet is a quotation in Greek from Hesiod's Works and Days describing Pandora's Jar: 'In that strong station Hope alone abode / Neath the Jar's rim, nor fluttered thence abroad' [24]. Above Nowell in the top left corner is the monarchichal herald, representing royal interest in the depiction of Britain. Primarily, this map suggests the way in which 'art' and 'scientific' method overlap - or, as the statements by Ptolemy and Cuningham indicate, are intrinsic elements of one another. It is not just that the map stands as a 'work of art in [its] own right'; in its depiction of

the surveyor (or artist) as well as the artifact the entire 'picture' is directly confronting the possibilities of representation [25]. And as Robin Flower points out:

> In the two bottom corners of the map a little scene is set out with a delicate art that proves Nowell to have been an exquisite draughtsman in that English school which derived its craft from the writing master's art of engrossing initials in manuscripts with human and animal designs. [26]

Here, writing becomes picture, a picture moreover that tells us as much about its method of production and its 'author', as the land it is trying to illustrate. As one scholar commentating on the nature of cartography has claimed, maps 'reflect [the] state of cultural activity and man's perception of the world' [27]. For example, the picture of the dog can be seen as a wry comment on every surveyor's affliction. It may account for, perhaps, the look of despair upon Nowell's face as he reflects upon the hazards of his occupation. More likely, however, is that the figure of the surveyor represents the interaction between a whole variety of ideas and problems surrounding the nature of describing land during this period. The look of despair, then, may be directed at the assertive looking William Cecil, patron, provider of funds for the survey, and therefore a figure powerful enough to determine both the existence of the map as well as its method. The importance of patronage at this time in the production of maps cannot be underestimated. The inclusion of the picture of the patron William Cecil on his map is an allusion also to an immensely complex set of relationships, all of which had a bearing on any kind of representation of place.

The need for funding of antiquarian and cartographic exercises was paramount during this period. At the same time however, there was also a very real need for reasonably accurate maps for

administrative purposes (and military ones, as study of the early maps or 'plats' of Britain's southern coastal regions instigated by Henry VIII has demonstrated) [28]. Additionally, of course, there was the desire for knowledge in the Renaissance, where maps and descriptions of land were undertaken for more academic reasons. What is particularly interesting is that all these come into play in the production of Nowell's map. Early in 1563 when Nowell wrote to Cecil offering his services in producing a map of Britain, he was employed by him as tutor to the Earl of Oxford, Cecil's ward. Thus, Nowell's relationship with Cecil is on two levels, one of occupation and one of patronage. Cecil himself was principle adviser to Queen Elizabeth and required accurate maps of Britain in order to carry out his political functions [29]. Thus, Nowell's map has a political dimension since his representation of land has to accord to specific criteria. But Cecil was also extremely interested in more academic activities. Thus, the map functions as geographical information and so as a constituent of increasing knowledge of Britain. In fact, Cecil was a well known advocate of learning and, additionally, was seen at the time as a 'scholarly' rival to Matthew Parker. Both men competed in promoting academic study (often through patronage) and particularly in the revival of Anglo-Saxon studies [30]. Like Cecil, Parker also acted as patron but his interests were related to a religious history of Britain; his preoccupation with Anglo-Saxon and other antiquarian endeavours were specificially directed to 'uncover' a continuous English church dating back to the Anglo-Saxon period [31]. Parker's interest in Anglo-Saxon concurred, in fact, with that of many antiquarians like William Camden and William Lambarde, both of whom included etymology of place names in their representations of land. Nowell himself was also particularly well known as an Anglo-

Saxon scholar, compiling the Vocabularium Saxonicum, and acting as tutor in Anglo-Saxon studies to William Lambarde [32]. Parker's interest in Anglo-Saxon, however, is in contrast to Cecil's design, where his interest lay, among other things, more in producing a historical topography of the country.

Nowell's map dissects this complex set of relationships and it seems that the surveyor was acutely aware of all these potentially conflicting forces, political, religious and academic. He was conscious too of the fact that Cecil and Parker were each encouraging study for different reasons and ends; indeed he even knew and co-operated with Ralph Joscelyn, a scholar sponsored by Parker. The appearance of the figures of patron and surveyor on the map, then, may be seen as the culmination of a range of ideas that influenced map production. The figures are there to register the major players in the compilation of information about Britain; each, including the monarch's insignia, has a part to play in delineating the significance of the map. Again, like the monarchichal herald that signifies royal interest in the description of Britain, the painting of Cecil and Nowell act as signs that inform us as to the relationships and modes of production involved in the representation of land. Understanding those forces at work helps us to 'read' these signs and so comprehend what is at issue.

However, it seems to me that although such an understanding does aid considerably our interpretation of the map, it does not address the more particular - and perhaps more intriguing - questions surrounding the representation of land at this time. Bearing in mind the movement towards a more 'scientific' representation of land, initiated by Ptolemy and developed by geographers like Cuningham, why are there then included on the map of Britain pictures of Nowell and

Cecil at all? If the development of cartography was to be concerned with more mathematical and geographical forms of representation (as it increasingly was as knowledge of geography grew) does the inclusion of the personal and the individual detract from that development? Another question to be addressed is that if the map had been produced for political or academic purposes there should have been no need to acknowledge these figures. It could be argued that the picture of Cecil may have been included as a tribute to his patronage, but why then also depict the recipient of such generosity? To do so, would imply equal status of patron and artist / surveyor, something that did necessarily exist. And perhaps most importantly, what is the relationship between those portraits both to the monarchichal herald and to the representation of land? Some kind of change in perspective must have occurred with regard to power, knowledge and land for the portraits of surveyor and patron to be specifically identified whereas Elizabeth is not; indeed, that such identification should exist at all. For these portraits directly confront ideas of individualism and nationalism as our understanding of Britain is influenced by the picture as a whole. Peter Stallybrass has suggested that the increasing number of topographical representations of the nation contributed to monarchichal ideology as the figuring of the land could only emphasize monarchical power. He claims that:

> The mapping of space was of crucial significance both literally and symbolically in the formation of the nation. The map on which Elizabeth stands in the Ditchley portrait is Saxton's map of 1583. There were major advances in English map-making during the 1570s and 1580s, shaped both by foreign policy and internal colonization. ... At the same time, maps were used symbolically in the 'discovery of England': they accompanied the production of histories of England, they were made into tapestries

> to adorn the walls of the gentry's houses, they were reproduced on playing cards. Mapping was thus an instrument in the charting of ideological as well as geographical boundaries. [33]

Whilst this suggests the complex nature of the production and reception of cartography, it also addresses the importance of maps in contributing to notions of nation and monarchy. In Nowell's map, however, the fact that Elizabeth is not portrayed indicates the increasing significance of the individual in relation to the nation. This necessarily problematizes definitions of nation since in Nowell's map, the representation of the nation is clearly constructed with reference to the individual, and to senses of identity and self, and not the monarch. That Nowell and Cecil are depicted on the map of Britain, in the form of portraits that actually frame our knowledge of the country, acknowledges both their roles in the representation of the nation. Both serve a function in an emerging sense of nationalism because the patronage of Cecil and the cartography of Nowell are perceived as explicit determiners of that nationalism. These questions have, I believe, a crucial bearing on our understanding of the issues surrounding the representation of land in both pictoral and written forms. They are fundamental to the focus of my thesis and much of the discussion of antiquarian texts interrogates the way in which senses of nation and region were formulated. Whilst these terms were by no means codified during this period, the attempt by antiquarians to describe the county or the country implicitly necessitated the engagement with those terms.

A particularly interesting and important examination of these ideas, however, has been addressed by Richard Helgerson in his essay, 'The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England' [34]. The essay analyses particularly the

relationships of power involved in the representation of land. Helgerson argues, citing the case of the county maps of England and Wales drawn by Christoper Saxton between 1572 and 1579, that during the Renaissance there was a transference of cultural authority from the contemporary powerholders - monarch and patron - to the individual maker of maps. He describes how the maps drawn by Saxton were not known by the surveyor's own name until the mid seventeenth century. Until then, they had been identified as the work of Thomas Seckford who, it transpires, was the patron rather than the surveyor of these maps. Seckford, under the directions of Queen Elizabeth and her government to undertake this cartographic enterprise was apprehended as the 'author' of these maps rather than Saxton, the surveyor he employed. As Helgerson therefore concludes, the 'prime movers' in the production of the country maps were not the individual surveyor but instead, the queen and her government. The significance of this attribution of production suggests for Helgerson that the representation of Britain in pictoral form is understood during this period through the powerholders of patron and monarch rather than through the individual. Thus, he concludes that in the sixteenth century particularly:

> chief responsibility and chief credit [was given] to the purchaser of the labor rather than to the laborer himself, whose describing and delineating hand is called by Seckford's name. ... Obviously to the maps' first producers the identity of the surveyor was the least essential bit of information. [35]

The significance of perceiving land through the patron and monarch maintains, therefore, our understanding of the relationships of power at this time. By referring to the maps as of the queen and patron, it is firmly established that just as the maps belong to these powerholders, so too does the land. In this relationship, the

identity of the individual maker plays no part. Indeed, just as the surveyor is erased from playing a major part in the production of maps, so too is he divorced from the economics involved. For in Helgerson's analysis, priority of identification is given to the financial instigator of the cartographic enterprise and not to the recipient of those funds.

Since these county maps of England and Wales are not acknowledged by succeeding generations as the 'Queen Elizabeth Atlas' Helgerson subsequently identifies some kind of transference of authorship / authority from the original 'prime movers' to the surveyor Christopher Saxton. He suggests that:

> By the mid seventeenth century, when any name or identifying mark appears other than that of the new engraver of print-seller, it is Saxton's. Seckford's maps and the Queen's have become his. ... Therefore we can discern the trace of some momentous transfer of cultural authority from the patron and the royal system of government of which patronage was an integral part to the individual maker. [36]

It would seem, then, that along with this shift in authority, there is also a transference in the denomination of power. In Helgerson's account, the power of representation is moved from the monarch and patron to the that of the individual maker, whose representations form a new kind of power. This is one that enables a country to be understood in terms of the individual rather than through the explicit hierarchy of monarch and patron. The significance of this for the representation of place is enormous, for it identifies the importance the individual has in the construction of ideas of nation and region. However, it is precisely these terms - individual, nation, region - that provide such a consistent focus of interest for the antiquarians and cartographers in this period. The final chapter to this thesis in particular, explores the way in which William

Lambarde shared with other antiquarians, an intense preoccupation with engaging with these terms.

In its analysis of the relations of power, Richard Helgerson's essay is important to the examination of the representation of land; it is particularly so in relation to my analysis of the map of Britain drawn by Laurence Nowell. There are, however, two main points that emerge from this discussion of Helgerson's essay, with which I would like to take issue. The first concerns the question of identity and the second, that of cultural authority in the production of maps. Primarily, that Nowell is identified on the map of Britain, as well as his patron, indicates that the transference of authority from powerholder to maker had occurred much earlier than suggested by Helgerson. Indeed, it suggests that the problems surrounding those relationships between powerholder and surveyor were being confronted just under a decade before work on the county maps of England and Wales had even begun. The fact that the surveyor is identified on the map illustrates that notions of power in the representation of land are being explicitly questioned or reinterpreted by Nowell. It could even be suggested, that because Saxton's maps are known at the time by his patron Thomas Seckford's name, they hide the fact that such questioning of identity and representation are being undertaken by individuals at this time.

Nowell's negotiation with the aspects of power involved in the representation of land is conveyed in his written material too. For example, in a letter written to Cecil in 1562 requesting patronage for producing a number of county maps of England and Wales, Nowell illustrates his awareness of those relationships of power. He describes how:

> those who have hitherto undertaken to describe

> the country ['provinciam'] of England have not in all respects satisfied you; nor certainly (for I should say what I feel) have any deserved even moderate praise. And this is not to be wondered at, because, without any certain rule ['certa regula'] and without the judgement of any art, they assembled in their maps certain imaginary locations and intervals of places, either by combining the reports of any others or by relying on the uncertain estimation of their own eyes. [37]

The letter, written in Latin, demonstrates an acute consciousness of the factors influencing map production during the early 1560s. Nowell acknowledges the significance of patronage by recognizing that whilst previous maps have failed to 'satisfy' Cecil, his own bid for producing county maps can fulfil Cecil's requirements. As C R Crone points out, 'The need for accurate maps of the kingdom for administrative and defence was increasingly apparent to the centralising Tudor government, and by none more so than Sir William Cecil' [38]. Nowell's claim for patronage, therefore, culminates from a response to current political needs. At the same time however, Nowell registers his own voice in the cartographic enterprise, 'for I should say what I feel'. This claim of authority for his own judgement on contemporary attempts at cartography is placed firmly within the 'art' or 'science' debate and his letter illustrates how, in fact, such an authoritative stance can actually gain patronage where a more cautious one might fail.

But the attitudes in Nowell's letter also resemble those of a number of cartographers who criticized the lack of skill in cartographic representations. Thomas Blundeville, in his A Brief Description of Universal Mappes and Cardes and Their Use (1559), for example, laments that:

> I daylie see many that delight to look on Mappes but yet for want of skill in Geography, they know not with what manner of lines they are traced, nor

> what those lines do signify nor yet the true use of mappes. [39]

And Edward Worsop in Sundry errours committed by land meaters (1582) describes that:

> When the lands were parted betweene my Mystres and her three systers, there were certain lawyers, valuers and country measurers, and for three or four days great controversie was among them and such a stir as I never sawe amongst wise men. Some wold have the land measured one way, some another. Some brought long poles, some lines that had a knot at the ende of every perch, some lines that were sodden in rosin and waxe to avoide stretching thereof in the water and shrinking in the drought. [40]

These three excerpts delineate the different contexts to map production and reception, contexts that have been discussed in the opening section of this chapter. But what is particularly interesting about these excerpts is the context of the gentry in commissioning surveys of land. As Edward Lynam argues, 'The creation of a new landed gentry in England which followed upon the redistribution of the vast estates of the dissolved monasteries created a wide spread demand for estate-surveryors and map-makers' [41]. Whilst this identifies the increasing requirement for qualified surveyors, what is at issue is the fact that it was the gentry rather than the monarch who were commissioning surveys. This is a very different situation to, for example, Henry VIII's commission of John Leland's Itinerary of England and Wales, where the survey was carried out under the aegis of the monarch rather than either the antiquarian or gentry. The rise in numbers of maps commissioned by the gentry following the Reformation necessarily, therefore, reflected the concerns of the gentry rather than the monarchy. Our knowledge of the land is determined and constructed, then, by the perceptions of the gentry and not of the monarch. At the same time, however, this requirement for adequate surveys of land

raised the question of the increasing need for 'scientifically' accurate - that is mathematically informed - maps, a need that could only be asswaged by qualified surveyors. The move towards collective understanding of geography and mathematics, propounded by texts such as William Cuningham's The Cosmographical Glasse, provided the ground from which the Elizabethan Antiquarian Society would emerge. But as importantly, the need for surveys focused on the importance of not just the gentry but also the individual surveyor in the representation of land. In this way, both the gentry and the individual surveyor move towards taking control and having power over the way in which land is represented. And it is for this reason that the lack of identification of Elizabeth on Nowell's map of Britain becomes significant. The portraits of Nowell and Cecil are there to register the significance of the individual rather than the monarch in the representation of land.

Of equal importance, especially for the focus of this thesis, is that the identification of the surveyor bears a close resemblance to the claims of the antiquarians of the sixteenth century. John Leland, whose work Nowell knew well, was the first to identify himself as an antiquary and in doing so, established his own authority to describe the land he perceived. William Lambarde, Nowell's pupil and fellow antiquary, was also concerned with the authority of the author to represent land and, as shall be illustrated in chapter two, Lambarde was a prime mover in the establishing of the Elizabethan Antiquarian Society. This movement towards a collective body concerned specifically with the representation of place was a crucial factor both in identifying antiquarian studies as a form of knowledge and at the same time, identifying its proponents as authoritative [42]. Nowell's map

falls, therefore, within these important ideas associated with the representation of place; the question of identity confronts directly the concerns of the antiquarians as individuals to contest the boundaries of power. Conversely however, Richard Helgerson's focus lays more emphasis upon the idea that maps illustrate the extent of the power of the monarch and patron rather than with the power of the author to represent.

It is this preoccupation with the state hierarchy and the power that it holds to determine representation of land during the Renaissance that informs Richard Helgerson's notion of cultural authority. Although he is concerned with addressing the transference of such authority from the monarch and patron to the individual maker, there is a sense in which Helgerson is more preoccupied with how power is expressed by such a hierarchy than with the power of the author to represent. However, his essay clearly illustrates the significance of the perceiver or 'reader' of maps, 'readers' whose role becomes that of identifying such a transferance of cultural authority. As he claims:

> The real question of [cultural] authority remains. And that is always a question that will be answered in terms governed by our ideological commitments, commitments so pervasive that we are hardly aware of them. Only the discovery that they have not been universally shared, that there was a time when buyers were more interested in knowing that maps were produced under the patronage of Thomas Seckford than that they were drawn by Christopher Saxton, can make us see our very different interests for the historically contingent thing that it is. [43]

Such an historicist approach, however, effectively transfers cultural authority not so much from the monarch and patron to the individual maker, but from the monarch and patron to the reader. For it is in the domain of economics and consumerism that the transference can be 'read' by later generations of critics. Therefore, it is the power

of the buyer / reader, 'the purchaser of the labor', that determines the map's economic - and so literary - value. Helgerson's emphasis upon the economics of power removes representational power from the individual maker and places it securely with the critic. This attitude resembles that of Foucault and the editors of a geographical journal in the essay 'Questions on Geography' [44]. In this essay, the concept of spatial metaphor is examined as means to express the way in which knowledge and power manifest themselves in discourse. And in exploring this, Foucault and the editors discuss the way in which spatial metaphor, terms such as 'field', 'site' and 'displacement', evolved from military and geographical domains. By pursuing this line of enquiry, the editors debate the function of the geographer:

> The geographer - and this is perhaps his essential, strategic function - collects information in an inventory which in its raw state does not have much interest and is not in fact usuable except by power. What power needs is not a science but a mass of information which its strategic position can enable it to exploit. [45]

And for Helgerson, the concern is with how state power uses, or manifests itself in relation to, the representation of place. Therefore, the texts do not so much question 'in themselves' or confront such relations of power but rather, only become powerful when used by the state hierarchies or, of course, by the critical reader.

I would argue, however, that the cartographers and antiquarians were all immediately involved in confronting different relationships of power in the representation of land. The map by Laurence Nowell clearly demonstrates this engagement with power and indeed, with its various forms encountered in the political, academic and religious spheres. Conversely, Richard Helgerson believes that the publication

of Christopher Saxton's maps in 1579 showed how:

> For the first time [Englishmen] took effective visual and conceptual possession of the physical kingdom in which they lived. And they did it without much struggle. [46]

It is interesting to note that even here, Helgerson is using the language of consumerism, 'possession', to denote the ability to represent place at this time. It is perhaps precisely that language of successful buying and selling that encourages him to suggest that the representation of Britain occurred 'without much struggle'. Analysis of Nowell's map, however, suggests that there was in fact an enormous struggle on behalf of the individual map maker as he engaged directly not only with the power of patronage and its ability to determine methodology but also with the signs of land, where to represent land necessarily meant to deal with a variety of meanings, political, geographical and historical. And Nowell's map captures in time all those processes.

The struggle involved in the representation of land manifests itself, in fact, in all the texts I deal with in this thesis. And perhaps nowhere is this more apparent than in the written descriptions of land in the Perambulation of Kent (1576) by William Lambarde. Lambarde had to deal directly with the concerns that so clearly occupied Laurence Nowell: he had to negotiate with the signs of monarchy and the power of patronage when representing either the entire country in the Dictionarium Angliae Topographicum et Historicum or the individual county of Kent. Whilst Nowell's map represents in visual terms the relationships between monarch, patron and artist / author and between the different forms of representation emerging under the headings of 'art' and 'science', the work of the antiquarians illustrate them in written form. Nowell's map, and the

circumstances of its production, clearly convey the need for negotiating and registering the identity of the author or surveyor and at the same time, acknowledging the relationship their representations have to the community as a whole. And it is precisely these aspects that concern the antiquarians. Nowell's map, like the antiquarian texts serves therefore as a crucial reference point for an interplay between the individual and community, between the lone authorial voice and the collective one. The map shows how the collective representation of place is not a clear cut one and that the identity of the producers of such representations are intrinisic elements of ideas of nationalism during this period.

2. JOHN DONNE'S 'HYMN TO GOD BY GOD, IN MY SICKNESS'

> Stil when we return to that Meditation, that Man is a World, we find new discoveries. Let him be a world, and him self will be the land, and misery the sea. [1]

The work of John Donne illustrates how maps can function in the exploration and definition of self. Just as the ideas of pictorial art informed Laurence Nowell representation of land, so too does Donne employ the perspective of maps-as-pictures and map construction to analyse how language defines self. Looking particularly at the poem 'Hymn to God my God, in my Sickness' together with a number of his sermons that, I believe, inform this poem, I wish to discuss the way in which the conceptual framework of the map allows a positive and enabling means of signifying the self, a means that moves away from the debilitating ideas of decay and fragmentation that are more

often documented in Donne's work. For this poet, the figure of mapping together with the literal use of maps themselves to perceive the world and the individual's relationship with that world, adds a new dimension to the old macrocosm / microcosm analogy of self ('I am a little world made cunningly') and additionally, challenges the notion that any 'new philosophy' is inherently destructive. Indeed, the disintegration of the popularly understood 'medieval security' of comprehending the world in terms of correspondences and the chain of being is, in Donne's poem, a positive rather than a negative occurrence.

The poem 'Hymn to God my God, in my Sicknesse' brings together a number of ideas Donne had already considered in other work, particularly in his Sermons and Devotions upon Emergent Occasions. Although Donne also uses the concept of maps in more secular work, as in 'The Good-Morrow', in this section it is his religious poetry that will be discussed [2]. Donne's 'Hymn' has been subject to scholarly debate on whether his map references are employed literally or metaphorically, a debate that enables very different readings of the poem [3]. Grierson's edition of Donne's poetry, for example, stressed the literal reading of the lines referring to 'Anyan, and Magellan, and Gibraltare', citing Richard Hakluyt's Principle Navigations as the source [4]. Grierson's insistence on Donne's use of maps in a literal sense has paved the way for future arguments in this vein. Indeed, Donald K Anderson's article 'Donne's "Hymne to God my God, in my Sicknesse" and the T-in-O Maps' not only identifies the use of medieval conceptions of the world but even more interestingly, suggests that:

> as Donne moves from stanza three to four he switches maps. He has used the two-hemisphere map, with its

> identity of West and East, for his death and resurrection analogy. He now turns to the T-O map for his allusions to Jerusalem and Gibralter and to Noah's three sons. [5]

Anderson's claim for Donne's literal use of the map in his hymn enables him to produce metaphorical readings of the T-O map archetype: that the contentiously read stanza five can now be understood as describing Christ on the cross (Jerusalem and Calvary are at the junction of the T, the shape of the T is like that of the cross), 'Adam's tree', and the poet himself as the 'recumbent patient, symbolized by a T'. [6] This identification of 'medieval science' to locate Donne's use of map references facilitates later ideas about the poet's reservations concerning the 'new philosophy', as examined in the _Anniversaries_ for example. Thus, the maps represent for these critics Donne's continual engagement with the 'scientific' ideas of the period.

However, critics have also acknowledged the spiritual context of Donne's map references and by doing so, have opened up a far larger and more complex range of ideas. Helen Gardner for instance, interprets the 'streights / straits' as metaphor for the Christian concept of the path or way and Terence Lisbeth believes the 'streights' to allude specifically to chapter 17 of Matthew: '... strait is the gate and narrow is the way, which leadeth into life' [7]. Thus, it would seem that the maps become an important means of describing and understanding the spiritual since they act as a narrative form that provides a link between the spiritual and the material. This looks forward to the work of George Herbert, where in 'The Pearl' he experiments particularly with language and measurement (or charting / mapping) in order to describe the spiritual:

> Yet through the labyrinths, not my groveling wit,
> But thy silk twist let down from heav'n to me,

Did both conduct and teach me, how by it
To climbe to thee. [8]

Here, Herbert illustrates the possibility of three-dimensional conceptualizations of spirituality whereby both the 'labyrinths', the physical aspect of linear narrative, and the 'silk twist' facilitate the linking between the spiritual and the material and so, heaven and earth. Indeed, 'labyrinths' and 'silk twist' play with our very notions of vertical and horizontal, longitude and latitude, notions crucial to the consideration of map perspectives. The linking of language and maps signifies, then, the important concept of dimension whereby linear narrative adopts a three dimensional quality through the very analysis of different forms of representation.

Donne's map references have potentially, therefore, a diverse context, one that includes contemporary ideas of 'science', and the ability of language to express the spiritual as well as ideas of soul and body / self. This interplay of concepts can be seen in the second and third stanzas of the 'Hymn':

Whilst my Physicians by their love are growne
Cosmographers, and I their Mapp, who lie
Flat on this bed, that by them may be showne
  That this is my South-west discoverie
  Per fretum febris, by these streights to die,

I joy, that in these straits, I see my West;
  For, those their currants yeeld returne to none,
What shall my West hurt me? As West and East
  In all flatt Maps (and I am one) are one,
  So death doth touch the Resurrection. [9]

Whereas other critics believe these lines to refer specifically either to contemporary maps or to the poet's use of analogy to relate himself as microcosm, I believe rather that the emphasis of these stanzas is upon the possibilities of representation, and the experimentation with alternative forms of representation [10]. Donne's detailed examination of self in these stanzas deals directly

with the ability of language or indeed pictures, diagrams or maps to perceive adequately and delineate that self.

Primarily, the above quoted stanzas negotiate with the delineation of the self in terms of the active and the passive. Stanza two clearly establishes the physicians as active and the subject as passive [11]. The subject becomes objectified by virtue of the physicians new activity as cosmographers and it is in this sense that the self becomes passive [12]. The self's passivity in relation to the physician's perception of it culminates in the idea of the self being understood as 'their Mapp'. The personal pronoun clearly shows how the self, when represented by map (or text), becomes the property of those who are perceiving it - indeed, these lines suggest that any perception that is distinct from the subject's is inherently subsumed within that perceiving self. Donne is, then, the product of the learned physicians / cosmographers, 'I their Mapp' and as a result, learns from them: 'that by them may be showne / that this is my South-west discoverie'. This learning from the academically-informed physicians / cosmographers, who by virtue of their knowledge can teach others, enables Donne to perceive for himself his own West, 'my West', in all its symbolic associations [13].

Or so it would seem. Donne's clever use of map references and linguistic constructions in examining the issues of self enables him to question exactly the same notions of perception and perspective that are involved in drawing maps and writing descriptions of land, as that encountered by Laurence Nowell or William Lambarde for example. The seemingly unproblematic movement from 'their Mapp' to 'I see my West' hides, in fact, an entire arena of narrative strategies. Although it is the learning of the physicians / cosmographers that enables Donne to perceive his own 'South-West'

there is no indication that this 'South-West' is distinct from the original perceptions of those physicians: there is nothing to suggest that 'my South-west', the subject, is differentiated in any sense from 'their Mapp', the object. This necessarily questions by what means the differentiation between subject and object,'their Mapp' and 'my South-west' can be brought about. It cannot be by the teaching of the physicians / cosmographers since there is no description of the separate bodies of teacher and student either within the 'Mapp' construction or external to it. Neither can the differentiation be on the basis of language since there appears to be a shared discourse, one based upon geographical terminology. The situation becomes no clearer with the subsequent statement that Donne now perceives his West: 'I see my West': Donne cannot in fact see his West since he **is** the map (how can a map see itself? What perceptive and interpretative qualities can a map possess?) and moreover, he is a map that is constructed by and belongs to the physicians / cosmographers.

However, it does not seem that Donne is presenting negatively the problems of new ways of perceiving and describing the self brought about both by the advent of different kinds of maps and therefore experimentation with map construction. There is no suggestion, for example, that the representational dilemma of perceiver and perceived, subject and object, is problematised by developments in scientific knowledge. The sentiment of the 'Hymn' appears to be very different from that conveyed in the Anniversaries, for example, where the 'new science' expresses and is intrinsic to a fragmentary world and the divided self:

> And new philosophy calls all in doubt,
> The element of fire is quite put out;

> The sun is lost, and th'earth, and no mans' wit
> Can well direct him where to look for it.
> And freely men confess that this world's spent,
> When in the planets, and the firmament
> They seek so many new; they see that this
> Is crumbled out again to his atomies.
> 'Tis all in pieces, all coherence gone;
> All just supply, and all relation ... [14]

In the 'Hymn', rather than the 'new philosophy' that 'calls all in doubt', the advent and subsequent realization of different forms of maps enables alternative facets of the self to be registered. Consequently, the anomaly of the line, 'I see my West' can then be understood as a means by which the paradoxes of perceiver and perceived can be expressed. These are, for example, that the self in the second stanza at least, seems to be comprehended by virtue of another's perception, or the way in which the self can be described in the particular discourse / terminology of different disciplines, in this instance medicine and geography.

In Donne's 'Hymn' the 'new philosophy' of map perspectives enables the poet to engage with the significance of time involved in the representation of self. The sense of time is located in the line: 'Whilst my Physicians ... I joy'. It would seem that the conceptual framework of the map allows Donne to articulate the idea of time within forms of representation, a form not restricted simply to language. Furthermore, the maps introduce ideas of movement and activity, 'I see my West', within the dimensions of the 'Flat map', something that is not always consciously registered with linear narrative. The relationship between maps and time is, of course, a major preoccupation of history, a relationship to which Donne alludes in stanzas four and five, which will be discussed below. Interestingly, this link between maps and time was made in the preface to Mercator's Atlas, the Atlas that contained the famous

cordiform map of 1538 by Mercator:

> This worke then is composed of GEOGRAPHIE (which is a description of the knowne Earth and the parts thereof) and HISTORIE, which is (Oculus mundi) the eye of the world. These two goe inseparably together, and as it were hand in hand, or as Doctor Heylin saith, are like unto the two fire-lights Castor and Pollus seene together, Crowne or happiness, but parted asunder, menace a shipwreck of our content, and are like two Sisters entirely loving each other, and cannot without pittie be divided. [15]

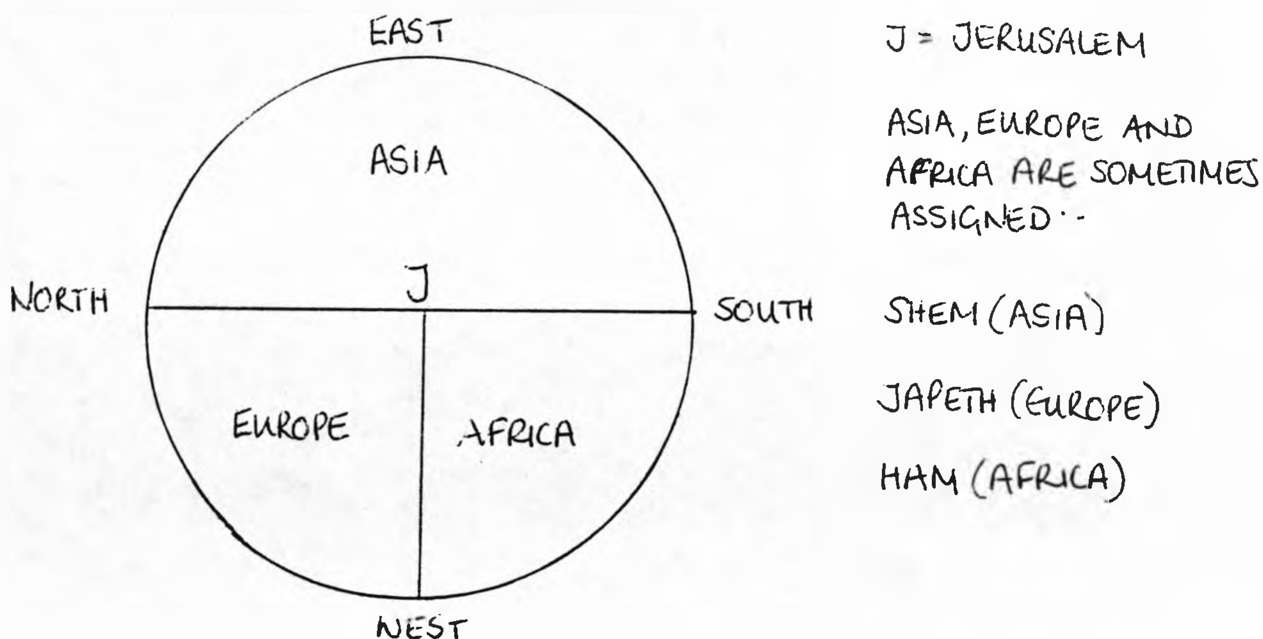
This description asserts quite clearly the notion of geography as a discipline of representation and one that has a direct relationship with time. Thus, any description of place would have to recognize this time element and be informed by it. Time is seen here not as something which destabilizes the representation of land but instead is an active constituent of it. This is because time is intrinsically involved in the perception of that land - 'the eye of the World'. As Arthur Ferguson has argued, the relationship between time and place was an important part of geographical study in the Renaissance. He points out that:

> Geographies tended to be historical and histories tended to be prefaced by a 'description' of the area which usually turned out to be concerned with time as well as place. Peter Heylyn no doubt reflected a deeply rooted opinion when he remarked that, just as Geography without history 'hath life and motion, but at random and unstable: so History without Geography like a dead carcass, hath neither life nor motion at all'. [16].

Ferguson's assertion of the important relationship between time and place and the Preface to Mercator's Atlas help to identify in Donne's 'Hymn' that complex relationship between time, perception and the representation of self.

Thus, at the same time as using the framework of maps and map construction to examine the way in which the self can be represented, Donne is also experimenting with the whole notion of what maps might

be and be capable of achieving. Stanzas three, four and five explore the different kinds of map representations, an exploration that is conducted again in relation to the description of self. Stanza three unites two different traditions of representing the world: the old idea of 'West and East' signifying both the spiritual associations of death (west) and resurrection (east) and the new double cordiform or two-hemisphere map: 'As West and East In all flatt Maps (and I am one) are one' [17]. In stanza four, Donne moves on to consider more contemporary conceptualizations of the world in relation to the more medieval T/O map. The following diagram illustrates the way in which biblical events could be grafted upon medieval knowledge of the world:



In this way, the biblical maps are linked to a physical reality which Donne explores in order to suggest the time element in relation to the conceptualization of place and the self existing within that place: 'Is the Pacifique Sea my home?', 'Is Jerusalem'. The reference to Anyan alludes to contemporary geographical explorations

and so to the advent of new discoveries. In each case, maps enable the examining of what the representation of place might constitute and what perspective is being taken, whether biblical or 'scientific'.

These ideas are brought together in stanza five where Donne moves from the wider sphere of world representation to that of the specific place, in this instance the highly significant 'Paradise and Calvarie'. This stanza consciously links the spiritual and material: just as the T/O map had combined spiritual and material by placing Jerusalem at the geographical centre of the map (symbolizing, of course, Jerusalem as a spiritual centre), so too does Donne establish 'in one place' the geographical site of Calvary together with that of the original Paradise, 'Christs Crosse, and Adams tree'. Calvary becomes the physical port after the journey by way of different forms of map representations as well as the spiritual port, by way of which 'Heaven' is achieved. Helen Gardner cites as a source for these lines The Golden Legend, a text that for her suggests that 'in one place' signifies 'in one region':

> Adam was made and sinned in the month of March, and on the Friday, which is the sixth day of the week, and therefore God in the month of March, and on the Friday would suffer death, and at midday which is the sixth hour. Secondly, for the place of his passion, the which might be considered in three manners. For one place either it is common or especial or singular. The place common where he suffered was the land of promise. The place especial the mount of Calvary. The place singular the cross. In the place common the first man was there formed, that was in a field about or nigh Damascus. Where it said in a place special, he was there buried. For right in the same place where Jesu Christ suffered death, it is said that Adam was buried ... In a place singular he was deceived, that is to wit in the Tree, not in this on which Jesus suffered death, but in another Tree ... [18]

Although the writings of Jacobus de Voragine are established within

medieval theoretical concepts of correspondences (see for example his 'Divisions of the Year' which relates spiritual time with seasons of the year) this excerpt is particularly interesting with regard to Donne's poem. However, I believe that rather than simply suggesting that 'in one place' might signify 'in one region', thus eradicating any reservations one might have about thinking that 'Paradise and Calvary' might exist - or be represented - in identical terms, Voragine's text suggests that 'place' can be accorded both a geographical and spiritual reality. Thus, Donne's lines that 'We thinke that Paradise and Calvarie, Christs Crosse, and Adams tree, stood in one place' signify the 'place' at which very different forms of representation might themselves meet. Additionally, Voragine's texts point towards a discourse of place, one that unites actual and spiritual time and place. This examination of what maps might signify leads to the establishing of the typological relationships of Adam, Christ and Donne, 'finde both Adams met in me'. In this identification with Christ and Adam, Donne goes on to illustrate the way in which place and self finally meet and, through reference to each other, achieve a spiritual significance. The use of different kinds of map representations, the T/O map, the (double) cordiform map, and the use of biblical notions of geography, all provide the means by which Donne can examine and define the self - defining that self in relation to the place in which it exists. The 'new philosophy' rather than undermining ancient conceptualizations of the world, material or biblical, culminating in the fragmentation of that world and so suggesting a divided self, instead actually provides the means for understanding the self. The old and new forms of knowledge provide 'in one place' the means for achieving a more spiritual relationship with God, a concept that is similar to that of Herbert's

where in 'Affliction I' the protagonist describes: 'I took thy sweetned pill, till I came where / I could not go away, nor persevere' [19]. It is through the use of different map forms that Donne reaches that 'place' from which a fuller understanding of the self and its relationship with God might be achieved.

This achievement is seen in the final stanza of the poem. Here, language, place and self are united in a dynamic relationship where there is a movement beyond the possibilities of representation opened up by maps and typology. It is no longer by 'their Mapp' that Donne's identity is known, but rather it is understood by reference to the creative ability of the poet himself to utilize different forms of representation. The 'Hymn' is directly allied to the sermons and so to the active participation by the speaking subject in spiritual matters. The closing lines, 'And as to others soules I preach'd thy word, Be this my Text, my Sermon to mine owne', is particularly interesting because they appear to refer directly to the sermon Donne gave on 15th September 1622 which, indeed, shares the same preoccupation with maps, language and text:

> You shal have but two parts out of these words; And to make these two parts, I consider the Text, as the two Hemispheres of the World, laid open in a flat, in a plaine Map. All these parts of the World, which the ancients have used to consider, are in one of those Hemispheres; All Europe is in that, and in that is all Asia, and Afrika too: So that when we have seene that Hemisphere, done with that, we might seeme to have seene all, done with all the world; but yet the other Hemisphere, that of America is as big as it; though, but by occasion of new, and late discoveries, we had nothing to say of America. So the first part of our Text, will bee as that first Hemisphere; all which the ancient Expositors found occasion to note out of these words, will be in that: but by the new discoveries of some humours of men, and rumours of men, we shall have occasion to say somewhat of a second part to the parts are, first, the Literall, the Historicall sense of the words; And then an emergent, a collaterall, an

> occasionall sense of them. The explication of the wordes, and the Application, Quid tunc, Quid nunc, How the words were spoken then, How they may be applied now, will be our two parts. and, in the passing through our first we shall make these steps... [20]

Here, language is identified with maps where each are used to refer to the literal and metaphorical significations of the word. Just as in the 'Hymn', the T/O map is not automatically discredited once the 'new and late discoveries' occur, so too is in this sermon the development of the T/O to the two-hemisphere map seen as a positive way in which language can be understood: that time and history plays a crucial role both in representation of the world and the self as well as in bringing about our understanding of 'the Literall, the Historicall sense of the words'. For Donne the 'new, and late discoveries' bring into being the 'collaterall, an occasionall sense' of language. And in this sermon, Donne makes it clear that an active part by the individual is required in order to perceive these different significations of language: 'The explication of the wordes, and the Application ... How the words were spoken then, How they may be applied now, will be our two parts, and in the passing through the first we shall make these steps'.

By the activity of the individual, 'make these steps', the idea of active and passive are re-introduced at the end of Donne's 'Hymn'. However, there is a vast difference between the activity of teacher and student in this final stanza to that of the second. In the latter, the self is known by the definition and perception of another (educated) group whereas in the last stanza there is an acknowledged relationship between teacher, student and language/text in which all are directly recognized. 'And as to others soules I preach'd thy word, Be this my Text, my Sermon to mine owne' has developed beyond the discovery of 'my South-west' to the realization of the

relationships between the subject, 'I preach'd', the object, 'to others soules' and so to God, 'Therefore that he may raise the Lord throws down'. Like Herbert, Donne illustrates the way in which the self attempts to move beyond linear narrative, the 'flatt Map', to the vertical and horizontal and so three dimensional aspects of spirituality:

> Yet through the labyrinths, not my groveling wit,
> But thy silk twist let down from heav'n to me,
> Did both conduct and teach me, how by it
> To climbe to thee. [21]

And again, in 'The H. Scriptures 1', 'Thou art joyes handsell: heav'n lies flat in thee, / Subject to ev'ry mounters bended knee' [22]. Just as for Herbert, Donne has used the 'ways of learning', not to understand the self simply in the terminology of others, 'I their Mapp', 'my South-west discoverie'; he has instead been able to convert 'their Mapp' into 'my Text, my Sermon' so that the representation of himself is within his own sphere of references [23]. The references to mapping and representation of the world have played a crucial role, then, in both registering the significance of the self / subject and at the same time, the methods of representing that subject. By examining the ways in which we perceive and articulate the self, Donne has explored the way in which the subject becomes objectified. For Donne, to achieve a more spiritual relationship with God has involved both identifying the problems of such objectivity and also, has involved the questioning of how different forms of representation, maps-as-pictures, might positively enable such spiritual relationships.

This chapter has illustrated the way in which mapping and pictures, portraits and selves, interact with one another in Nowell's map of Britain and Donne's poetry and prose. However, the particular

implications of Donne's employment of cartography to express complex ideas have wider ramifications for the study of other literary material of the Renaissance period. The concepts of representation and perspective, senses of nation and region, with which both cartography and antiquarianism explicitly engage, can usefully provide a context for reading a variety of different literary genres, as analysis of Donne's poetry and prose has illustrated. As will be explored in the conclusion to this thesis, topographical poetry - from that of Lanyer and Jonson to the more complex Poly Olbion of Drayton - might productively be studied in terms of the context of antiquarianism and cartography. The negotiation with the relationship between author and textual representation of land that constitutes such a crucial component of topographical literature is shared by antiquarians and cartographers. Whilst recognizing this shared focus, however, this thesis is essentially concerned with the exploration of antiquarian texts, interrogating the way in which representations of land were formulated, senses of nation and region engaged with, and the negotiation with particular forms of discourse in articulating those representations. It is a study of antiquarianism in its own right, but as the conclusion to this thesis suggests, such a study provides an important reference point for the re-situation of very different kinds of literary material. Chapter Two begins, then, with an exploration of the way in which antiquarians of the Renaissance themselves attempted to formulate antiquarianism as a field of enquiry in its own right: the engagement with problems of perspective that the representation of land demanded, the definition of the scope of antiquarian study, the constraints encountered in defining that scope, and the attempt to

codify and authorize such representations of land through the establishment of an Antiquarian Society.

CHAPTER ONE: NOTES

1. LAURENCE NOWELL'S MAP OF BRITAIN (c1563)

1. William Cuningham, The Cosmographical Glasse, 1559. Quotation from 'The First Booke of the Cosmographicall Glasse, conteinyng the necessary Principles required in this Art', fol. 6.

2. E G R Taylor, Tudor Geography 1485 - 1583, p11.

3. J B Harley, 'Ancient Maps Waiting to be Read', The Geographical Magazine 52 (1980) 313-17, p314.

4. Edward Lynam, The Mapmaker's Art: Essays on the History of Maps, p63. See also R V Tooley, Tooley's Dictionary of Mapmakers for a comprehensive list of cartographers; Sir Herbert George Fordham, The Road-books and Itineraries of Great Britain 1570 - 1850; Helen Wallis and Sarah Tyacke, My Head is a Map: Essays and Memoirs in Honour of R V Tooley lists the maps kept at the British Museum.

5. R V Tooley, Charles Bricker, Landmarks of Mapmaking, p5.

6. ibid.

7. Edward Lynam, Ornament, Writing and Symbols on Maps: 1250 - 1800, p1.

8. See Norman J W Thrower, Maps and Man: An Examination of Cartography in Relation to Culture and Civilization. He describes that:

   The Hereford world map is based on classical itineraries and later sources, and can be regarded as a summary of the geographical lore, secular and sacred, of the Middle Ages. Mythical creatures and abnormal people from the fabulists are depicted, but it contains, especially in the European section, new information derived from medieval commercial journeys, pilgrimages, or crusades. ... It has been debated whether such works as the Hereford mappa mundi were intended to aid travelers or as inspirational pictures like the stained glass windows of the cathedrals. No doubt they served both functions and some pilgrims who looked at them probably suggested changes based on their own travels. p34.

   See chapter two for discussion of the way in which maps dissected both spiritual and material concerns.

9. J B Harley, 'Ancient Maps Waiting to be Read', p313.

10. C R Crone, Maps and Their Makers: An Introduction to the History of Cartography, p94.

11. Edward Lynam, Ornament, Writing and Symbols on Maps: 1250 - 1800, p21.

12. ibid.

13. J B Harley, 'Ancient Maps Waiting to be Read', p313.

14. ibid.

15. J B Harley, 'Deconstructing the Map', in Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape, edited by Trevor J Barnes and James S Duncan, p 233. For a discussion of the relationship between literature and geography from the perspective of the discipline of geography. see Douglas C D Pocock, Humanistic Geography and Literature: Essays on the Experience of Place.

16. William Cuningham, The Cosmographical Glasse, 1559. 'The Preface of the Author, setting out the dignitye, and Ample vse of Cosmographie'. See also E G R Taylor, p26.

17. E G R Taylor, p26. Many of the discussions on cartography were based on Ptolemy's Geographia. For example, Robert Strafforde in A Geographicall and Anthologicall description of all the Empires and Kingdoms (1607) translated Ptolemy's definition of geography as 'Geographie is an Imitation of the picture of the whole earth, with those things which are annexed thereunto'. Cited in Stan A E Mendyk, 'Speculum Britanniae': Regional Study, Antiquarianism, and Science in Britian to 1700, p21.

18. P J Levy, Tudor Historical Thought, p140.

19. William Cuningham, The Cosmographicall Glasse, fol. 6.

20. Stan A E Mendyk, p21.

21. C R Crone, p76. E G R Taylor, p31. See also Leo Bagrow, History of Cartography, p164.

22. Sarah Tyacke and John Huddy, Christopher Saxton and Tudor Map-making p10. Robin Flower, 'Laurence Nowell and the Discovery of England in Tudor Times', pp17-19. The precise evidence for the identification of Nowell and Cecil on this this map remains, however, subject to debate, particularly since the known portraits of Cecil do not necessarily shed further light on that identification (see for example, portrait by A van Brounckhorst, c1560-70, National Portrait Gallery 2184, and the unattributed portrait, National Portrait Gallery 4881). However, that Cecil and Nowell knew one another and corresponded on the methodology of cartographic representation (see p23), can only support the identification of Nowell and Cecil on this map. I have decided to use the accounts given by Tyacke, Huddy and Flower because they profitably raise questions about the relationship between portraiture and the ostensibly more 'scientific' representations of land involved in the cartographic project. The existence of pictures of any individual on this map (whereas reference to the monarch is signified by a heraldic device rather than a portrait) involves a negotiation with the cultural assumptions invested in cartographic representation during this period; and

particularly, it involves the consideration of the interplay between the individual and the nation as they manifest themselves clearly on Nowell's map. Consequently, whilst I recognize the problems of a lack of evidence, the importance of a respresentation of Britain that offers both portraits of individuals and a cartographic representation cannot be ignored.

23. Robin Flower, p18.

24. ibid.

25. For example, see Albrecht Durer, The Art of Measurement (1525):

Illustration of a woodcut from The Painter's Manual, translated by Walter L Strauss, 1977, p434.

There is obviously a great deal about this painting that could be commented upon, particularly in terms of gender and the way in which women are depicted in pictoral conventions of art. In this context, however, the demonstration by Durer of a grid for providing a perspective is an interesting illustration of the relationship between methods of 'art' and 'science'. It places the artist, too, as an object of representation, as has been seen in the map of the British Isles by Lawrence Nowell. The backdrop to the artist / surveyor provides a complex range of metaphors, where the sea and land point towards both different dimensions and demands in terms of representing space, and at the same time, establish an explicit relationship between those spaces and the individual: men and women being the object of surveying in much the same sense as land and sea. (The exploitation and colonization of land and its relation metaphorically to women is an important correlation of this point.)

26. Robin Flower, p17.

27. Norman J W Thrower, p1.

28. Sarah Tyacke and John Huddy, pp11-15.

29. C R Crone, p95.

30. P J Levy, pp134-7.

31. Wilbur Dunkel, William Lambarde, Elizabethan Jurist 1536 -

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1601, p27.

32. Laurence Nowell's Vacabularium Saxonicum, edited by Albert H Marckwardt. Marckwardt has edited this dictionary from manuscript. He demonstrates that the manuscripts were given by Nowell to William Lambarde, his pupil, in 1567.

33. Peter Stallybrass, 'Time, Space and Unity: the symbolic discourse of The Fairie Queene'. Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity, edited by Raphael Samuel, p205.

34. Richard Helgerson, 'The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography and Subversion in Renaissance England', Representing the English Renaissance, edited by Stephen Greenblatt, pp327-361.

35. ibid., p329.

36. ibid., pp329-30.

37. Sarah Tyacke and John Huddy, p10.

38. C R Crone, p95.

39. Preface to Norman Thrower, Maps and Man.

40. Edward Lynam, English Maps and Map-makers of the Sixteenth Century, p11.

41. ibid.

42. See the discussion between Michel Foucault and the editors of the geographical journal, for the significance of collectivism and the quest for authority of academic endeavour. 'Questions on Geography', Power / Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977, edited by Colin Gordon, pp63-77.

43. Richard Helgerson, p330.

44. Michel Foucault, 'Questions on Geography'.

45. ibid., p75.

46. Richard Helgerson, p327.

2. JOHN DONNE'S 'HYMN TO GOD MY GOD, IN MY SICKNESS'

1. Meditation 8, Devotions upon Emergent Occasions, in John Donne: Selected Prose, edited by Neil Rhodes, pp110-11.

2. There is a particularly interesting article by Robert Sharp, 'Donne's "Good-morrow" and Cordiform maps' in Modern Language Notes 69 (1954) 493-95. Sharp believes that this is the only poem that illustrates Donne's use of the cordiform map - as

popularized in the early sixteenth century by Geradus Mercator in his world map of 1538. The heart-shaped image of the two hemispheres provides a literal context for the poem which, according to Sharp, would otherwise fail to make any sense. A point for further discussion would be, in fact, an examination of such specifically literal uses of maps in the secular sphere.

3. For an interpretation that suggests that place is used symbolically rather than geographically in this poem see Robert R Owens, 'The Myth of Anian', Journal of the History of Ideas, 36 (1975) 135-38. He argues that 'Donne's geography is mystical in intent, exact designation of places is unimportant' and that 'Donne's important intention in the poem is not to identify places on earth, but to assert a spiritual unity symbolized finally by Jerusalem, 'Christ's Crosse and Adam's tree'. p135.

4. Indeed, Grierson holds any metaphorical reading of these lines in some contempt:

   Grosart and Chambers have boggled unnecessarily at these lines ... What the poet says is simply, 'Be my home in the Pacific, or in the rich east, or in Jerusalem, to each I must sail through a strait, viz. Anyan (ie Bering Strait) it I go west by the North-west passage, or Magellan, or Gebralter. These, all of which are straits, are ways to them, and none but straits are ways to them.' The Poems of John Donne, vol 2, pp 249-50.

5. Donald K Anderson Jr, 'Donne's "Hymne to God my God, in my Sicknesse', South Atlantic Quarterly 71 (1972) 465-72.

6. Another article that looks back to medieval conceptions of the world as a commentary to Donne's poem is that that by Terence L Lisbeth, 'Donne's "Hymne to God my God, in my Sicknesse"', The Explicator, 29 (1970-71) 66. Lisbeth suggests that the mappa mundi gives an important context to the 'straits' in that they subsequently refer to 'the longitudinal and latitudinal lines that are theoretically direct and unbroken and that have correctly fallen both in the imagined "tropicus Capricorni" and in the narrator's own "South-west discoverie"'.

7. This idea of way (and 'gate' to the way) suggests an interesting amalgamation between ideas of geography and landscape with that of an internal spiritual journey. See of course Bunyan's The Pilgrims Progress where, for example, Christian describes how Evangelist sends him on a journey as demonstration of spiritual activity.

8. The English Poems of George Herbert, edited by C A Patrides, 'The Pearl' Ls 37-40.

9. John Donne: The Complete English Poems, edited by A J Smith, 'Hymn to God my God, in my Sickness', Ls 6-15.

10. For the microcosm debate in relation to this poem see, for example, Leonard Barkan, Nature's Work of Art: the Human Body

as Image of the World, pp59-60.

11. Owing to the reference to the physicians, there has been considerable debate as to the dating of the 'Hymn'. Earlier critics such as Grierson refer to Izaak Walton where, in his Life of Donne, Walton claims that the poem was written on 23. March 1630 shortly before Donne's death. This claim has resulted in a number of readings of the poem in terms of its personal and direct dealing with death. However, I am more convinced by later arguments which suggest that the 'Hymn' was in fact written in December 1623 during a life-threatening illness. This date derives from the reference of Sir Julius Caesar (for a more detailed discussion, see Helen Gardner, Appendix E, John Donne, The Divine Poems). The question of dates is, of course, important to any New Historicist approach but the reason for its importance in this context is that I have limited my discussion of Donne's map references to those sermons at were written before 1623, thus preventing any anachronistic discussion of the 'Hymn'. (Although, of course, it should be noted though that the poem was not published until 1635.)

12. See Meditation 19, in the Devotions where Donne plays on the relationships between patient and physician and the action demanded by each:

All this while the Physitians themselves have been patients, patiently attending when they should see any land in this Sea, any earth, any cloud, any indication of concoction in these waters. Any disorder of mine, any pretermission of theirs, exalts the disease, acclerates the rages of it; not diligence acclerates the concoction, the maturitie of the disease; they must stay till the season of the sicknesse come, and till it be ripened of it selfe, and then they may put to their hand, to gather it, before it fall off, but they cannot hasten the ripening. John Donne: Selected Prose, edited by Neil Rhodes, p129.

Here, it is the intrinsic interelation between physician, patient and disease that is explored by Donne in terms geography and geographical exploration. Often interpreted in terms of the microcosm / macrocosm analogy, the interest for me is more located in the use of the geography to explore the active and passive roles in perceiving or knowing the self.

13. In 'John Donne: Geography as Metaphor', Jeanne Sharmi emphasizes particularly the relationship between geography and spiritual knowledge of God: 'Donne chooses in this poem both medieval and modern aids in his efforts to apply the accumulated knowledge of men to the difficult ways of God', Geography and Literature: A Meeting of the Disciplines edited by William E Mallory and Paul Simpson-Housley, p167.

For a contrast in Donne's stance to teaching in the 'Hymn', see The First Anniversarie:

She, she is dead; she's dead: when thou know'st this,

Thou know'st how poor a trifling thing man is.
And learn'st thus much by our anatomy, Ls 182-5.
She, she is dead; she's dead: when thou know'st this,
Thou know'st how lame a cripple this world is.
And learn'st thus much by our anatomy.
John Donne: The Complete English Poems, Ls 237-9.

Here, Donne is the purveyor of all knowledge - especially so since he has set himself up as both representer of Elizabeth Drury as the world at its most perfect and at the same time, expositer of that world. To know Drury - the subject - involves learning from the poet.

14. The Anniversaries, John Donne: The Complete English Poems, Ls 205-14.

15. A Book of Old Maps Delineating American History from the Earliest Days Down to the Close of the Revolutionary War, Emerson D Fite, Archibald Freeman, p55.

16. Arthur Ferguson, Clio Unbound: Perception of the Social and Cultural Past in Renaissance England, p91. Ferguson is citing Peter Heylyn's Microcosmus, or a Little Description of the Great World, 1621.

17. See the Sermon Preached upon the Penitentiall Psalmes (April, May or June, 1623) where Donne describes the soul by referring to the two-dimensional map:

In a flat Map, there goes no more, to make West East, though they be distant in an extremity, but to paste that flat Map upon a round body, and then West and East are all one. In a flat soule, in a dejected conscience, in a troubled spirit, there goes no more to the making of that trouble, peace, then to apply that trouble to the body of the merits, to the body of the Gospel of Christ Jesus, and conforme thee to him, and thy West is East, thy Trouble of the spirit is Tranquilllity of spirit. The name of Christ is 'Oriens, The East'; And yet Lucifer himselfe is called 'Filius Orientis, the Son of the East'. If thou beest fallen by 'Lucifer', fallen to 'Lucifer', and not fallen as 'Lucifer', to a senselessnesse of thy fall, and an inpenitiblenesse therein, but to a troubled spirit, still thy Prospect is in the East, still thy Climate is heaven, still thy Haven is Jerusalem...' The Sermons of John Donne, edited by George R Potter and Evelyn M Simpson, Vol VI, p59.

Here, Donne appears to be particularly concerned with the form and structure of the soul in relation to the structure of the earth. It plays with the two-dimensional aspect of the map and suggests that 'to paste that flat Map upon a round body, and then West and East are all one' is to recognize the fallibility of representation with reference to spiritual symbolism: structurally, 'West and East are all one' yet with reference to the death and resurrection of Christ, the structure adopts a three dimensional quality (ie vertical and horizontal movement) in order to express the spiritual.

18. John Donne: The Divine Poems edited by Helen Gardner, p136.

19. 'Affliction I', The English Poems of George Herbert, Ls 47-8.

20. Sermon 15th September 1622, London, 1622, pp5-6.

21. 'The Pearl', The English Poems of George Herbert, Ls 37-40.

22. ibid., 'The H. Scripture I', Ls 13-14.

23. See Thomas Docherty, John Donne, Undone, where he suggests that the last three lines of this poem are 'an address to Donne's own soul. But, since that soul has been characterized as an entire world and its history, it becomes a sermon on the illness and perilous state of that world', p212. Here, the relationship between time and place is especially emphasized.

CHAPTER TWO

MAPPING SOCIETY: RENAISSANCE ANTIQUARIANISM

1. PERSPECTIVE AND PLACE

> I would restore antiquity to Britain and Britain to his antiquity; which was as I understood, that I would renew ancientrie, enlighten obscurity, cleare doubts, and recall home Veritie by way of recovery, which the negligence of writers and credulitie of the common sort had in a manner proscribed and utterly banished from amongst us.
> William Camden, Preface to Britannia, [1]

> no person hath a right [to an interest or share in the disposing of the affairs of the kingdom] ... that hath not a permanent and fixed interest in this kingdom, and those persons together are properly the represented of this kingdom, and consequently are also to make up the representers of this kingdom, who taken together do comprehend whatsoever is of real or permanent interest in the kingdom.
> Capt. Ireton, 'Extracts from the Army Debates', October 1647 [2]

> In recent years, there has been a reaction against the claims of European discovery of the world. A short time ago, some Zambians indicated that their ancestors 'discovered' David Livingstone in the 1850s.
> Norman Thrower, Maps and Man: An Examination of Cartography in Relation to Culture and Civilization[3]

The development of antiquarianism during the Renaissance period adopted particular significance during the religious, social and political upheavals brought about by the dissolution of the monasteries and much later, the period preceeding and during the Interregnum. Thoughout these upheaveals, people were becoming increasingly and dramatically aware of the way in which place - a country, a county or a city - was to be politically and textually represented. Those who lived through these important events, shared an intense preoccupation not only with **who** is to represent land or **how** land is to be represented, but also with **what** precise facet of that land **should** or **could** be represented. The social and political upheaval of this period was accompanied, or even deepened, by the

destruction of the accumulated learning, buildings and artifacts of the country. The dissolution of the monasteries between 1535 and 1539 and the destruction of castles, churches and estates during the Civil War, emphasized both the notion of temporality and simultaneously, the need to conserve such artifacts within the form of written accounts before they disappeared forever. Many of the antiquarian texts produced during this period acknowledge the responsibility of the antiquarian to preserve in textual form some facet of these artifacts and buildings for posterity. Owing to the destruction of this material, the texts replace such original learning and buildings to become themselves the 'representatives' of the country's accumulated wealth of learning. And, of course, in achieving the status of representatives, the voices of the authors become significant measures by which those buildings and estates, and the land on which they exist, should be known and understood. A new form of writing emerged, then, in the form of antiquarian accounts, accounts that included the representation of a whole variety of aspects of cultural life. In adopting their self appointed role as representatives of that culture, they listed everything from ancient artifacts to burnt out houses and estates, and from historical manuscripts to coats of arms and lists of nobility and gentry, together with copious descriptions of language development from Anglo-Saxon onwards. Each of these elements of antiquarian study were seen by antiquarians as a crucial register of Britain's learning, to be preserved not just from the upheaval of the Reformation and the Civil War, but from the ravages of time itself. Whilst this thesis concentrates upon the early development of antiquarianism from the Reformation to the early seventeenth century, the study of the texts produced during this particular period can be

considerably enhanced by reference to the wider timescale. Many of the texts produced during this early period anticipate the later developments of antiquarianism in the Civil War period as well as to the eighteenth century. Moreover, it is these later texts that often provide commentary upon sixteenth century antiquarian preoccupations, as the section on the Antiquarian Society will illustrate. Consequently, whilst my focus remains on the earlier period, acknowledgement and discussion of later texts will be included where such commentary adds important ideas to Renaissance antiquarianism as a whole.

The quotations cited at the head of this chapter raise, for me, the particular issues of representation and perspective as they manifest themselves in antiquarian texts. As the first two quotations heading this chapter illustrate, it is the concern with the power of the author to represent buildings, towns and the land, and the authority that the author and his text possesses, that are of such importance during the Renaissance period. At the same time, as the third quotation shows, problems of perspective are raised by this concern with representation. Whilst Ireton is concerned primarily with political representation, his ideas - as they are expounded in the Putney Debates - can also usefully be understood with reference to textual representation. Although Ireton is referring specifically to the issue of franchise, and particularly in countering the Leveller position, his concern with landownership in the political representation of land is analogous to many of the antiquarians who owned, as gentry, estates in the counties that they were describing. As will be discussed below and at various points during this thesis, the importance of landownership and the representation of that land is a crucial issue. The three quotations identify, therefore,

central issues surrounding the representation of place. Camden's preface to his Britannia illustrates his belief in the power of the author to 'restore' and 'renew' 'antiquity to Britain'; Ireton's statement raises questions of the rights of possession when acting as a respresentative of the nation; and Norman Thrower's reworking of popular ideas of 'discovery' reveals the significance of perspective where any kind of representation is involved. Each of these quotations suggest a framework from which to understand the development of antiquarianism as both an individual and a collective pursuit in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was individual in the sense that antiquarianism as a authoritiative form of knowledge was not yet institutionally recognized at this time, and collective in that the formation of an antiquarian society between c1572 and c1607 provided the effective means for such an authority and status, authority which was primarily given by the social and political status of its members. Each of the quotations, as I go on to demonstrate, offer an important reference point for an analysis of antiquarianism and the kinds of issues with which they had to negotiate when representing Britain, its land, political and social insitutions and its learning.

William Camden's undertaking to represent or re-represent Britain to 'himself' projects clearly a major preoccupation of antiquarians with restoring a sense of history, culture and knowledge that had been disrupted and displaced by the destruction of buildings and artifacts during the Reformation. This is made quite clear when he says 'I would restore antiquity to Britain and Britain to his antiquity; which was as I understood, that I would renew ancientrie, enlighten obscurity, cleare doubts, and recall home Veritie by way of recovery.' Significantly, it is a restoration or 'recovery' that

involves a 'renewal'; by means of his Britannia, Camden is able to identify, as an individual, what aspects of Britain's past require 'enlightening' or 'calling home'. In this way, the individual voice plays an important role in restoring such a cultural identity, an identity which subsequently informs the collective. For Camden is adamant in asserting that, as an individual, he has the ability to 'restore antiquity' to 'us', the community; and it is a community that is explicitly defined as 'home'. This complex piece of writing suggests the increasing significance attributed to understanding Britain by way of contemporary textual accounts rather than by artifacts and classical documents. Camden's acerbic claim that it was 'the negligence of writers and credulitie of the common sort [which] had in a manner proscribed and utterly banished [Veritie] from amongst us' identifies too, a hierarchy of writers who are able adequately to 'renew ancientrie' and overcome the ignorance of unlearned readers, the 'credulitie of the common sort'. Fundamentally, this excerpt from Camden's Britannia suggests the crucial importance of the individual, the author - rather than, as one might expect, the monarch or landowner - in reconstituting the notion of Britain following immense social and political upheaval.

During the Civil War the political aspects of representation through land ownership became a prominent issue: the monarch's function as an adequate representative of the land came into question. Whilst recognizing the context of Ireton's utterance and the way in which he engages with questions of political representation, the quotation identifies, for me, certain problems related to the relationship between political/textual representation and ownership of land. This relationship, although considered by Ireton during the Putney Debates, has certain correlations with

antiquarianism. For example, Ireton's definition of the individual right to political and, by extension, literary representation concentrates on the qualifications by which such a right is accorded authority. As he describes, 'no person hath a right [to an interest or share in the disposing of the affairs of the kingdom] ... that hath not a permanent and fixed interest in this kingdom'. Whereas Camden had specifically put **himself** forward as an adequate representer of Britain, Ireton qualifies this by stating that only those individuals who possess a vested interest in land can represent politically: his statement that only 'those persons together are properly the represented of this kingdom, and consequently are also to make up the representers of this kingdom' indicates quite clearly that only those who possess a vested interest in the nation in terms of land ownership, are capable of perceiving 'whatsoever is of real or permanent interest in the kingdom'. For Ireton, investment within the ideological framework signifies the ability of the inhabitants to determine not only any concerns that are to be articulated within that community, but also 'reality' itself. Consequently, to have no vested interest, necessarily produces an effective silencing of these individuals: any perception they may wish to voice is considered neither relevant nor pertinent to that which is believed by the upholders of the particular ideology, to be 'real'. Finally, perhaps the most important phrase in the quoted text, 'who taken together do comprehend' signifies that ultimately the expression of 'reality' resides with a specifically defined community. In contrast, Camden had made it clear that it is the individual, one qualified by virtue of the status of learning, that can reinstate 'Veritie', that is the truth and reality about the nature of 'Britain'. For Ireton, however, the representers of Britain would seem to have to forsake

individuality in order to represent place in terms of those who possess it, and whose priorities lay with presenting a uniformly ordered kingdom where anything perceived by the non-dominant group is relegated to the status of 'Other' and so effectively silenced: 'nothing [is to] be spoken but of this realm'. The expression of difference is prevented in the laying out of a complex grid of references that make up the representation of a country, a grid that signifies both the authority and control held by the vested individuals and also, the coherent society that they wished to promote.

Ireton's definition of the potential representatives of the nation is syptomatic of the political and social upheaval of the pre-Civil War period. At the same time, however, the combination of the perspectives conveyed by both Camden and Ireton, confront directly some of the problems surrounding the representation of place. Their claims identify the important interrelation of individual and collective perspective that was to concern the Antiquarian Society, not just of the Elizabethan period but also, of the much later attempts to re-establish such a society just before the Civil War itself. The concern with individualism and collectivism is related, too, to the progression from ideas of self to communal identity during the Renaissance period as a whole: the progression from individualism and the importance of the individual subject of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, to the mid seventeenth century where adherence to particular political groupings was a fundamental part of notions of community. The individualism of Camden and the movement towards collective experience and communal identity of Ireton, registers that shift between self and community. These ideas are treated in a complex way by the antiquarians of the

mid and late sixteenth century. This is because whilst there was a move towards registering an individual voice in the representation of place, at the same time, there also emerged a desire for collective endeavour expressed through the formation of an antiquarian society. But of course, both the claims of Camden and Ireton also necessitate negotiation with the problems of perspective towards representation as a whole. Such problems are explicitly underlined in the third quotation heading this chapter, a statement that confronts us with the question of how we are to interpret those claims made by Ireton and Camden. For Norman Thrower raises the issue of who is doing the representing, for whom, and what relationships of power are involved. Thrower goes on to comment that 'several Ethiopians solved the "Rhine problem" and handed out trinkets to the natives during the ascent of that river': this description of an alternative viewpoint on 'discovery' alerts us to the implicit assumptions concerning the representation of increased arenas of knowledge. It identifies too, how we as twentieth century readers might attempt to understand anew the processes of selection and interpretation that were involved in the representation of place during the Renaissance.

In fact, the issues of perspective and its relationship to the representation of place are not only a means for understanding the country; these representations also come in themselves to be constituted as knowledge. And for Francis Bacon in The Advancement of Learning, knowledge is itself expressed with reference to ideas of place:

> Thus have I made as it were a small globe of the intellectual world, as truly and faithfully as I could discover: with a note and description of those parts which seem to me not constantly occupate, or not well converted by the labour of man. [4]

The description of his methodology illustrates the conceptualization

of knowledge with reference to the geographical; the phrase 'a small globe of the intellectual world' reveals the use of the language of geographical enquiry and description when articulating the status of knowledge. But Bacon's statement also shows that the construction of knowledge itself becomes a colonial project; both known and unknown parts of the 'globe of the intellectual world' are charted by the cartographer-scientist in a quest not just for knowledge, but also for demarcation. Hence, Norman Thrower's reversion of European 'discovery' is of great relevance to thinking about the representation of place and the 'knowledge' that it becomes. Bacon's attitude is of the colonialist desiring not just to conquer land but also to project the means by which it should be known, means which superimpose European assumptions upon all those places that are 'not constantly occupate'. Moreover, it is a superimposition that involves a conversion, 'converted by the labour of men', one that suggests the conversion of knowledge to reflect Bacon's own preoccupations. In addition, Bacon's idea of the 'labour of men' alerts us to the importance of gender and the associations of masculinity in undertaking the 'work' of knowledge. He establishes quite clearly that it is 'men' who select and interpret what they 'discover'.

It is important to note that whilst Camden and Ireton were engaging with ideas of antiquarian and political forms of representation during the late sixteenth and mid seventeenth centuries respectively, other kinds of representation were also undergoing similar reinterpretation. Aschsah Guibbory, in analysing the nature of time and history during the Renaissance period, describes how:

> Especially during the Civil War period and the

> Restoration, there was a notable interest in writing the histories of the times one was living in rather than the histories of the distant past. [5]

Guibbory's statement indicates the way in which the writing of history during a period of change, incorporates within itself an acute awareness of the time in which one is living. The antiquarians too, despite their preoccupation with antiquites, were also involved in undertaking the representation of land and its monuments in their contemporary moment. Even those individuals not directly concerned with antiquarian endeavour found themselves describing, in a contemporary context, ancient buildings and artifacts. Joan Evans, for example, describes how in the Civil Wars 'Soldiers on the King's side of the warring armies used their enforced travels to take antiquarian notes ...' [6]. For example, Richard Symonds' <u>Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army During the Great Civil War</u>, was written in the period December 1643 to April 1644. A Royalist, Symonds interweaves his travels with the company commanded by Lord Bernard Stuart, the younger son of the Duke of Lennox, with that of antiquarian observation. The narrative is ordered by the marches through the country and it includes many details and listings of the members of the company. These details frequently slide into descriptions of the villages and churches through which they pass:

> The bayliffe and the aldermen mett the King at the townes end, and there the bayliffe made a speech to his majestie. And on Sunday morning went before the King to Church. // Toward the north of this towne, half a myle off on the top of the hill, stands a village called MAIDES MORTON, Co. Buck. // This shield is twice in old glasse in the south and north window of this church. [7]

Here, it is not just that the important political events of the day are situated in a geographical context - that is, both what, when and where the events occurred; the geography is also noted for the

purposes of establishing the geographical situation of churches that are of interest to antiquarian study. In the above excerpt, the information about the affairs of the civil war appear on equal standing with that of the description of 'This shield is twice in old glasse in the south and north window of this church.' But Symonds also details the change in the landscape brought about by the political upheavals, a change that had a fundamental impact on antiquarian study:

> HUSDEN, Co. Buck. The manor house neare this faire and neate church is Sir Alexander Denton's and by him made a garrison in winter 1643. // Taken by the rebels and burnt. The church windowes spoiled. // ... The statues of a man and woman which laye on the top of this tombe are broken and throwne downe there by the rebels. [8]

In this passage, manor houses - the seats of gentry - become garrisons whilst church windows and statues are destroyed, with Symonds making his own Royalist stance quite clear in his attribution of this change in the landscape to the 'rebels'. His description of the destruction of buildings during this period mirrors the earlier antiquarian accounts that detail the effects of the dissolution of the monasteries during the Reformation. In 1546 John Bale, for example, lamented the perishing of manuscripts and artifacts brought about by the dissolution, and like Symonds, was very clear in indentifying the perpetrators. For Bale, these were 'the professed souldyours of Antichrist', the 'monkes, chanons, and fryers' and 'the oyled Byshoppes and prestes':

> Yet this would I haue wyshed (and I scarcely vtter it without teares) that the profytable corne had not so vnaduysedly and vngodly peryshed with the vnprofytable chaffe, nor the wholsome herbes with the vnwholsome wedes, I meane the worthy workes of men godly mynded, and lyuelye memorayalles of our nacyon, wyth those laysy lubbers and popashe belly godes. But dyuerse were the workers of thys desolacyon,

lyke as the thynges dyssypated were dyuerse. [9]

Both Reformation and Civil War, therefore, encouraged antiquarians not only to attribute blame for the destruction of artifacts and buildings, but also to describe them before any further destruction could occur so as to preserve them for posterity. As William Dugdale stresses in his Antiquities of Warwickshire (1656), he has 'to my utmost preserved their very Monuments and Memorialls yet remaining' within his text, so that his text itself becomes 'a Monumentall Pillar, ... to shew in what Honour [your worthy Ancestors] lived in those flourishing Ages past.' [10] Graham Parry, for example, describes how during the Civil War:

> [William] Dugdale exemplifies ... the antiquary at full stretch in the race against time. In the 1650s men were able to take stock of the latest round of devastations: during the Civil Wars castles had been destroyed, great houses burned down, churches vandalized, tombs mutilated, and a world of documents destroyed. The monarchy, the House of Lords and the church courts had all been abolished, and all this only a century after the Dissolution of the Monasteries. [11]

Parry's description suggests the ironic combination of a lack of time needed to record buildings and artifacts and the sense of history derived from 'castles', 'great houses' and 'churches'. And as importantly, that there is a strong resemblance, certainly from the antiquarian point of view, between the effect of the Reformation and the Civil War on the monuments and buildings.

The alteration in the comprehension of what constituted history itself came about through analysis of how to deal with both contemporary and historical material. As Graham Parry points out, John Aubrey for example, 'understood that a new kind of history could be made out of stones, sherds, and hollows in the earth' [12]. Here, it is not the original monuments, the 'castles', 'great houses' and 'churches', the whole building in fact that are considered to be of

paramount importance in the representation of place; rather, if they no longer exist, then for the antiquarians an entirely new historical conception could arise out of the remnants and individual pieces that originally constituted those very buildings. Indeed, as Richard Helgerson describes, the representation of place in terms of its constituent parts, the 'stones, sherds, and hollows in the earth', provides just such a new historical conception. [13] This conceptualization is very different, Helgerson maintains, from the old medieval chronicle histories with their emphasis on the specific descriptions of monarchs; in the antiquarian accounts, history is not conceived in terms of the actions of the monarch, but rather history concerns the more particular elements of land, cities and buildings. The concentration upon the particular place focused the representation of land upon specific constituents of the landscape such as counties, cities or buildings, rather than the kingdom as a whole. As Helgerson again points out, it is not 'the land as a whole, at least not most frequently, but rather the land in all its most particular divisions' that goes to make up the representation of place and its description in historical terms [14]. And as Arthur Ferguson also comments, the antiquarian's emphasis upon the country 'in all its most particular divisions' culminated in them acquiring the 'ability to visualize societies and cultures as having a history in themselves, apart from that of the individuals whose deeds were recorded in conventional narrative' [15]. The antiquarians, therefore, were prime movers in formulating new ways of perceiving Britain in historical terms, terms which were very different from the previous chronicle histories such as those of Ranulph Higden and Holinshed. And they were able to do this by representing place through its constituent parts. The focus upon particular buildings

and churches, moreover, fostered the representation of individual counties and towns, illustrated as will be seen in chapter three, in William Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent.

Other ideas of history arising out of writing in a contemporary moment were also important during the Renaissance period as a whole. As John Aubrey in his introduction to Monumentum Britainicum describes:

> This enquiry, I must confess is a groping in the dark: but although I have not brought it into a clear light, yet I can affirm, that I have brought it from an utter darkness to a thin mist: ... These antiquitites are so exceeding old, that no books do reach them, so that there is no way to retrieve them but by comparative antiquity, which I have writ upon the spot, from the monuments themselves. [16]

The idea of 'groping in the dark' and the 'clear light' of understanding was a commonplace of the Renaissance and it appeared in texts about education and knowledge, as well as within antiquarian accounts themselves. Aubrey's imagery is comparable with that of William Camden's, quoted at the beginning of this section, and it appears, for example, in Thomas Westcote's A View of Devonshire (c1600) where he describes that 'Some few things will occur in reading, and to be collected out of diverse authors; but much more is to be sought for variety, in dark and obscure places, by industrious labour' [17]. However, what is particularly interesting about Aubrey's statement is that the immediacy of the project - preserving artifacts before their destruction - is combined with the recording of 'antiquities ... so exceeding old'. History emerges not just from breakdown and displacement, but from a specific historical moment: 'which I have writ upon the spot'. But of course, these two conceptions of history, contemporary and ancient past, exist in a tenuous relationship with one another. The Renaissance idea of the

darkness of obscurity and the light of present knowledge sits uncomfortably with 'comparative antiquity', where antiquarian texts arise out of contemporary events and preoccupations rather than from knowledge that is brought once more to the surface of enquiry.

The relationship between ancient and contemporary ideas of history brings notions of cultural perspective to the fore. The term 'comparative antiquity' raises the issue of the political stance of the individual who is writing 'upon the spot'. Joan Evans' description of the 'Soldiers on the King's side' using 'their enforced travels to take antiquarian notes', comments not only upon the nature of antiquarian studies and their relationship to the events of the day; it also suggests that the 'Soldiers on the King's side' were recording their observations of 'castles', 'great houses' and 'churches' because they attached significance to these buildings as underpining their sense of social and political order. Thus, these buildings and artifacts are not necessarily so much notable in relation to antiquarian study as a whole, but rather reflect the soldier's fear of a political order being overturned and destroyed. For this reason, the diary by Richard Symonds and the description of Warwickshire by William Dugdale, frequently emphasize the importance of heraldry, arms and genealogy. Their often detailed lists of the gentry and the nobility illustrate the antiquarian concern with establishing textually, the former's social and political significance within the general description of place. Their inclusion within such descriptions acknowledges that they are as crucial to the construction of knowledge about the county as the descriptions of towns, rivers and landscape. Indeed, most of the antiquarian accounts from the Reformation to the Civil War negotiate with the representation of the gentry within their descriptions of

counties and the country. Texts such as William Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, Sampson Erdeswicke's A Survey of Staffordshire (c1593-1603), Thomas Westcote's A View of Devonshire, William Pole's Collections towards a Description of the County of Devon (1604), Tristram Risdon's The Chorographical Description, Or, Survey of the County of Devon (compiled 1605-40), and William Burton's Description of Leicester Shire (1622), often read more like particular histories of gentry families than a comprehensive study of the geography of the region [18]. This interweaving between the study of the gentry and the study of the landscape is a crucial one for these texts, with many implications with regard to land ownership, patronage and the social and political cultural framework of this period. Very often, the definition of antiquarianism or geography explicitly involved the definition of the gentry's relationship to the land. And it is this relationship that is the subject of the next section.

2. GEOGRAPHY AND GENTRY: DEFINITIONS OF ANTIQUARIANISM

> I hope I may intermix a pleasant tale with a serious discourse, and an unwritten tradition with a chronicled history, old ancient armories and epitaphs, well near buried in oblivion, (matters not supervacual nor unworthy to be received and kept living, unless we could be content to have our own name and remembrance to perish with our bodies,) ancient families now extinct, or rather transanimated into others; some etymologies seeming and perchance strange and far fetched; old, new, serious, jovial, curious, trivial: for these and matters of such nature may, without peradventure, give recreation to a wearied body and mind (that reads for recreation,) with more delight and content for variety, than dislike the severe critic for simplicity, vulgarity, or doubt of verity.

Thomas Westcote, A View of Devonshire with a Pedigree of Most of its Gentry(c1630) [1]

The problem of defining the focus and object of antiquarian study, especially in relation to its status as knowledge, was a very real one both during the emergence of antiquarianism and its subsequent development in the Renaissance period as a whole. John Leland's epoch-making 'Laborious Serche and Journey for England's Antiquities', compiled between 1535 - 1546, paved the way for a comprehensive study of cultural artifacts, and as I shall discuss later in this chapter, Leland engaged with the problems of defining both the field in which he worked as well as his own authority as an antiquarian to write about and publish his findings. After Leland's text appeared, however, a number of antiquarians' attempted to define the object of their study, according to both their own particular preoccupations as well as to initiating the study of antiquarianism as a valuable knowledge, with equal status to other kinds of knowledge. In fact, it was out of this desire for status and authority for their work, that an antiquarian society came into being. Such a society provided an umbrella for their work and allowed for the dissemination of ideas among like-minded individuals. William Lambarde and William Camden, for example, were immensely concerned with defining their own antiquarian abilities and the scope of their studies - that is primarily what united them in their participation in an antiquarian society. However, owing to the complex circumstances that surrounded the emergence of the Elizabethan Antiquarian Society, its eventual demise during the reign of James I, and subsequent revival in the 1630s, I shall discuss it in more detail at the end of the chapter. In this section, however, it is important to discuss the different ways in which antiquarian

study was beginning to be defined in a variety of individual texts.

Thomas Westcote's description of the scope of his representation of Devon quoted at the head of this section, suggests just how wide the range of material pertinent to antiquarian representation was. It includes the genealogy of its residents (principally the gentry) together with heraldry and the study of etymology. But implicit within this study is the concern both with how that material is articulated as well as with the nature of the material under observation. Antiquarian study is both narrative story, 'a pleasant tale', and a learned work, 'a serious discourse'. Paralleling this, the focus of antiquarian study is upon different forms of information, both a 'chronicled history' and 'an unwritten tradition', the former of which possessed the status of learning whereas oral traditions did not. Westcote's use of both these kinds of material stresses that antiquarian accounts employ sources that are not confined to texts, 'a serious discourse', but include oral history, 'a pleasant tale'. Consequently, the status of the text, _A View of Devonshire_ together with the object of its study, involves the negotiation with perceptual frameworks, 'old, new, serious, jovial, curious, trivial'. The objects under observation and the text that articulates those observations are subject, therefore, to cultural assumptions. In Westcote's text, the cultural framework is determined not so much by the status of material in itself, but by the need to register and remember cultural history: 'matters not supervacual nor unworthy to be received and kept living, unless we could be content to have our own name and remebrance to perish with our bodies'. Here, there is no slide between 'serious' and 'trivial': rather, for Westcote, the fundamental importance of his antiquarian text is that it serves to contain the history of the

gentry for posterity. And hinting at the readership of his text, to those 'that reads for recreation', that is, the gentry, Westcote's A View of Devonshire reveals the concerns of the gentry in displaying their cultural history and their social and political involvement in the county of Devon. And as will be illustrated in the study of William Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent in chapter three, the concerns of the gentry antiquarian writing for the gentry audience, were an explicit assumption that pervaded the entire text. In Westcote's A View of Devonshire, the representation of place might, therefore, be seen to employ geography for the purposes of fixing in a particular geographical situation, the county of Devon, the history and activities of its landed members. In this sense, geography serves to illuminate cultural history rather than act as the subject of observation in itself. As a result, the definitions of geography and antiquarianism that appear in the texts of the period, tend to focus on defining geography with reference to the cultural history of the gentry within a particular county. Thomas Westcote's text is a useful introduction, then, to the cultural assumptions prevalent within antiquarianism. This section will discuss the issues raised by analysis of Westcote's description of the antiquarian project, considering the way in which antiquarianism was formulated both in relation to cultural preoccupation and a response to contemporary political events. I will begin, appropriately, with the renewed perceptions towards both land and cultural artifacts initiated by the events of the Reformation. For it was this renewed perception that was to directly influence the kinds of material considered appropriate to antiquarian observation.

Perhaps nowhere is the relationship between ancient past and political present more apparent than in the events following the

Reformation and the Dissolution of the Monasteries. If the antiquarians and other scholars of the day were to have access to monuments, manuscripts and various antiquities which provided the mainstay of antiquarian study, how could this be achieved in the light of the Dissolution? For the 'Act for the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries' issued in 1536, made it quite clear that these religious houses - and their contents - were now to be regarded as idolatrous:

> Foreasmuch as manifest sin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living, is daily used and committed amongst the little and small abbeys, priories, and other religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns ... whereby the governors of such religious houses and their convent spoil, destroy, consume, and utterly waste, ... to the high displeasure of Almighty God, slander of good religion, and to the great infamy of the King's Highness and the realm if redress should not be had thereof ... [2]

The Act claims that not only are the religious houses themselves 'vicious' and 'carnal' but also, that they provoked social and political disorder, 'spoil, destroy, consume and utterly waste'. Consequently, the manuscripts that the relgious houses held, together with those that they actually produced themselves as important centres of learning, became idolatrous. Any antiquarian wishing to consult or preserve such documents therefore came under suspicion of idolatry himself. Furthermore, such work became both spiritually and politically contrary to the desires of God and monarch - and even the 'realm' itself. Antiquarians, by reading the material of the monasteries and interpreting their contents, could be accused of unpatriotic behaviour as well as working against the greater political and spiritual 'good' of the country. Thus in order to write about the past, the antiquarians had to negotiate with the political and spiritual implications of both the material that they

read and the texts that they subsequently produced. The wider implications of the status of antiquarianism during this time will be discussed in the next section on the spiritual dimension of antiquarian study.

But, of course, Henry's dissolution of the monasteries also provided for the increased secularization of knowledge. Because the religious houses ceased to be centres of learning, the dissolution of them enabled others, including both universities and individuals, to become important generators of knowledge themselves. The antiquarians, then, were caught within these two, often conflicting, forces. With the passing of this Act of 1536, they became beholden both to God and the monarch and simultaneously, the horizons in which they worked and wrote were considerably extended. And because of this extension of the possibilities of formulating new and different kinds of knowledge, the representation of place came to incorporate the study not just of land, buildings and monuments, but also of any manuscript, book or artifact that could be perceived as constituting a cultural history. Arthur Ferguson, for example, identifies the increased range of material that became an intrinsic part of the representation of place:

> it was not until John Leland made his ambitious journey in the reign of Henry VIII, and by doing so in effect founding the systematic study of topography in England, that nonliterary materials began to attract an increasing amount of scholarly attention. By the mid-century, tombs, coins, artifacts of all sorts, ruins of ancient walls, inscriptions - to say nothing of the bones of prehistoric animals taken for those of legendary giants - were all coming to be recognized as the 'footprints' (the word was a favorite) of early societies. [3]

In the first instance, it is important to note that John Leland recorded his journey textually. Antiquarianism consequently 'mapped

out' the geographical and the cultural terrain over which they passed. And in doing so, the antiquarians absorbed a huge diversity of material, all of which came to be regarded as signifying the country or county through its geography and cultural history and, as has been illustrated in section one of this chapter, the status of that cultural history within the contemporary moment. The possibilities for access to material subsequent to the dissolution of the monasteries were, therefore, a significant factor in the emergence of antiquarian study. Access to this material alone considerably enlarged the potential field of enquiry. And as analysis of Thomas Westcote's description of the field of his own study of Devon illustrated, the wide scope of material considered relevant to antiquarian study was continuing.

As a result, the problem of defining antiquarianism and 'antiquities' became a dominant concern, a concern that is reflected right up to the post civil war period with William Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire (1656) [4]. As Ferguson points out '"antiquities" tended ... to mean simply records of all sorts, roughly distinguishable from chronicles and other narrative histories' [5]. In the first instance, by studying a whole range of material, the antiquarians could start to be distinguished from chronicles and other kinds of histories. But their work also came to be distinguished from the narrative histories which concentrated upon the stories of monarchs and their actions. Subsequently, antiquarian texts were perceived to be lower in status than chronicle and narrative histories, because the latter focused upon the all-important monarch rather than the huge diversity of material that preoccupied the antiquarians. And the excerpt by Thomas Westcote about the use of 'chronicle history', 'a serious discourse' and

'unwritten tradition', 'a pleasant tale', emphasized his awareness of that distinction. However, Francis Bacon, for example, suggested that the disparity in the narrative histories and the history that could be ascertained from the study of antiquities derived from the material and not from the observations about that material. In the Advancement of Learning Bacon defines 'Antiquities' as 'remnants of history' and claims that:

> when industrious persons by an exact and scrupulous diligence and observation, out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of books that concern not story, and the like, do save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time. In these kinds of imperfect histories I do assign no deficience, for they are 'Tanquam imperfecte mista'; and therefore any deficience in them is but their nature ... [6]

The way in which the study of antiquities is formulated by Bacon echoes that of William Camden, who claimed that it involved the restoration of 'antiquity to Britain and Britain to his antiquity; which was as I understood, that I would renew ancientrie, englighten obscurity, cleare doubts, and recall home Veritie by way of recovery ...'. The notion of heroic recovery by 'industrious persons by an exact and scrupulous diligence and observation' leads to Bacon's perception of antiquarianism as not 'imperfect' in itself but rather, that such imperfection reflected the 'deficience' in the material. But the very hierarchical nature of the study of history provided an enabling means for antiquarian study simply because chronicle and narrative histories did not include other kinds of cultural material; as a result antiquarians were able to direct their attention to this kind of material without any potential competition - or attack - from other chroniclers or narrative history writers. In this way, antiquarians like Westcote could employ the chronicles as sources, but not aim to produce a chronicle themselves.

In an attempt to qualify the definition of antiquarianism, Arthur Ferguson categorizes the different areas of enquiry in which the antiquarians were interested. He argues that antiquarian study could be divided into three broad categories:

> historical topography or chorography, research into the national antiquity (British, Romano-British, and Anglo-Saxon), and, latest and most significant in the long run, exploration of England's medieval past, with special reference to the development of laws, customs, and institutions. None resulted in anything like a comprehensive treatment of English social and cultural history, but all helped to explore the terrain and claim it for historical study. [7]

Despite Ferguson's division of antiquarianism into three categories, there seem to me to be only two categories registered in the antiquarian texts of the period: firstly, the 'topography and chorography' which was informed by developments in cosmography and geography and secondly, the 'national antiquity' and 'England's medieval past' that fell more under the heading of cultural history. This essential distinction between topography, chorography and cultural history is made by Richard Helgerson, where in his analysis of the terms 'survey, description and chorography' he differentiates history from the study of place. He maintains that:

> In sixteenth and seventeenth-century usage, all the makers of these books might be called 'chorographyers' or 'surveyors'; the work they all did was to 'survey' or 'describe': and their common product, whether mapbook, prose discourse, or poem, was a 'description', a 'survey', or a 'chorography'. ... What features distinguish this genre? Though the two terms and the practices they represent inevitably contaminate one another, chorography defines itself by oppostion to chronicle. It is the genre devoted to place, as chronicle is the genre devoted to time. [8]

Although Helgerson acknowledges the relationship between history and topography, with his rather negative description of 'contamination', his emphasis lies upon distinguishing the two fields of enquiry.

This is because he wishes to concentrate upon the way in which land is perceived in entirely different terms during this period. For it is only when topography is differentiated from chronicle that its importance in registering altered conceptions of realm can be understood. The chronicles, he maintains, fostered a sense of England through its monarchs whereas the concentration of topographical description upon cultural artifacts, towns, buildings and land, emphasizes that 'England is Devonshire, Stafford and York; Stratton Hundred, Cripplegate Ward, and the Diocese of Rochester'. The representation of place through its topography brings about a 'Loyalty to England' which for Helgerson, '... means loyalty to the land' rather than to the monarch.

However, what I wish to argue is that the distinctions between geography and history made by Ferguson and Helgerson are by no means clear cut during the Renaissance period. The antiquarian texts reveal an explicit engagement with concepts of time within their representations of land. And far from their being a 'contamination' between chronicle and chorography or history and geography, as Helgerson suggests, the antiquarian texts reveal the way in which these terms were inextricably interrelated. Geography served to situate cultural history on the landscape, whilst cultural history functioned to illuminate the geographical significance of the county or country. This interrelation was introduced at the beginning of this chapter with the analysis of texts that included within their descriptions of land conciousness of the contemporary moment; and again, at the beginning of this section with Thomas Westcote's description of 'old ancient armories and epitaphs, well near buried in oblivion' which through his antiquarian text are once more brought to life for the perusal of the gentry, 'matters not supervacual nor

unworthy to be received and kept living'. Here, time and history serve a cultural function: epitaphs and chronicle histories are important in identifying the social and political history of the inhabitants of the county or country. The importance of chronicles for the antiquarian, then, lies in their information about the particular county and not the particular monarch. In William Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent (1576), for example, the history of King Alfred is significant less for the representation of the nation as a whole, but more for the political divisions of the land that Alfred instituted as they applied specifically to the history of Kent. In a more general sense, time is important in registering the history of the inhabitants of the county, a history that is seen by the antiquarians to be directly relevant to the contemporary moment. An example of this can seen in Westcote's claim for the importance of 'reading the epitaphs' in the county:

> In reading the epitaphs, you shall, as it were, converse with the dead: (whose relics, long since dissolved to dust, will neither flatter nor accept thereof:) see their obelisks and monuments, read their remembrances indorsed on their gravestones; (which shew us either what they were, or what we shall be; or, sometimes, what we should be;) and their worthy actions register, to persuade their posterity and encourage them to imitation. [9]

The epitaphs, representing the historical actions of their commemorants, serve a function within contemporary society by informing and inspiring their descendants together with the wider community. In this excerpt, Westcote establishes a direct relationship between the epitaphs that can be 'read' or 'seen' through the reading his text and the 'dead' individuals that the epitaphs seek to represent. As in the description of his antiquarian text being concerned with 'matters not supervacual nor unworthy to be

received and kept living, unless we would be content to have our own name and remembrance to perish with our bodies'. Westcote appears to have a vested interest in establishing the relevance of antiquities, to suggest that they continue to 'live' just like his text. This conflation of time, of the past and of awareness of the contemporary moment registered through the reading of epitaphs operates, therefore, to enlighten and to construct knowledge of the county of Devon of the early seventeenth century. And in William Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire (1656) too, for example, there is a dominant concern with the way in which the past can enlighten the present, a past that is registered, as in Westcote's text, through the reading of epitaphs in the county. Dedicated to Lord Hatton, Dugdale praises Hatton for offering practical assistance in the form of allowing the antiquarian access to antiquities as well as to private monuments:

> Nor is it a little honour you deserve for that pious, though due respect, shewed to your dead Ancestors, by representing to the world a view of their Tombes, and in some sort preserving those Monuments from that fate, which Time, if not contingent mischief, might expose them to. [10].

The information contained on the tombs is preserved from the ravages of time in order to inform the present of the 'noble and eminent Actions' of 'your dead Ancestors'. By 'representing to the world a view of their Tombes', Hatton's 'Ancestors' become the public registers of the gentry of Warwickshire, preserved in the 'publique work' of the antiquarian text. In this way, the personal 'Lord Hatton' and the genealogy of this family that Dugdale describes, becomes public: it becomes the public face by which Warwickshire is known and understood both by its inhabitants and by the nation as a whole. And like Westcote, the emphasis in representing the epitaphs

and tombs lies upon inciting contemporary individuals to virtue:

> That this my endeavour will have a candid acceptance, I no whit doubt; my principall ayme having been, by setting before you the noble and eminent Actions of your worthy Ancestors, to incite the present and future ages to a vertuous imitation of them; the continued welfare, and lasting honour of your selves and hopefully posterity, ... [11]

The county of Warwickshire becomes known and understood, therefore, through the history of its gentry and the way in which the actions of 'Ancestors' inform and determine the actions of the contemporary inhabitants. History, then, serves to highlight the geographical significance of the county; the inhabitants of Warwickshire are known through the epitaphs and tombs, represented in the antiquarian text as a 'publique work' so that Warwickshire is placed firmly on the cultural and geographical 'map' of gentry endeavour.

Whilst chronicle, narrative history and senses of time influenced strongly the writing of antiquarian accounts, so too did contemporary definitions of geography inform the scope and project of antiquarianism. As a result, antiquarian study came to be defined with reference not just to history, but also to geographical study. In fact, the cultural assumptions embedded within the antiquarian accounts parallel those of the texts that describe the study and importance of geography. As already demonstrated in chapter one, William Cuningham's the Cosmographicall Glasse (1559) paved the way for the study of geography, one that placed a great deal of emphasis on Ptolemy. In Richard Willes' The History of Travalye in the West and East Indies (1577), geography is defined with reference to Ptolemy, both to contextualize the author's own travels and to accord status to geographical study within education. Willes argues that knowledge of geometry is fundamental to geography and that:

> The first principle and chief ground of all

> Geography, as great Ptolemy saith, is the history of travel, that is reports made by travellers skilful in Geometry and Astronomy, of all such things in their journey as to Geography do belong. [12]

Here, Ptolemy authorizes Willes' text, 'as great Ptolemy saith'. But whilst emphasizing the relationship between geography and travel - the need to actually physically survey the terrain - Willes also acknowledges the relationship between history and geography. Geography is constituted by the 'history of travel', that is, the travels made by Willes himself, as well as the variety of travel texts that were available during this period. The conflation of history and geography is also noted by Francis Bacon where in the Advancement of Learning he defines the study of land and people as a 'history of cosmography':

> So also is there another kind of history manifoldly mixed, and that is a 'history of cosmography': being compunded of natural history, in respect of the regions themselves; of history civil, in respect of the habitations, regiments, and manners of the people; and the 'mathematics', in respect of the climates and configurations towards the heavens: which part of learning of all others in this latter time hath obtained the most proficience. [13]

Here, Bacon divides the study of cosmography into three separate studies, a division that acknowledges the relationship between the study of cultural history and of the study of land that is based on mathematics.

But one of the most influential texts on geography of Renaissance period that reflected the distinctions between the representation of regions and the representation of countries made by the antiquarians, was Nathanial Carpenter's Geography Delineated forth in Two Bookes, Containing the Sphaericall and Topicall Parts thereof (1625). Carpenter took up many of points made by Cuningham in his discussion of Ptolemy, defining further the difference between

'Geographie' and 'Chorographie'. The former is defined by Carpenter as a study that involves 'the Sciences Mathematicall, chiefly of Arithmeticke, Geometry, and Astonomie' and is used to describe the 'whole spheare of the Earth, according to its iust quantity, proportion, figure, and dispositions' [14]. 'Chorographie', on the other hand, is defined by Carpenter as the representation of 'matters of smaller moment, such as are hillocks, brookes, lakes, townes, villages, and Parishes, without any respect at all to the places adioyning' [15]. These two separate areas of representation, of the earth or country and of the local region, require, according to Carpenter, two separate representational methods. In order to represent the world geographically, knowledge of geometry and mathematics is crucial, whereas in order to represent the region, representation follows the 'Art of Painting'. As Carpenter puts it:

> the Geographer, who willing to delineate out any part of the Earth, (as for example, our Realme of England) he would describe it as an Iland, encompassed round with the sea, and figured in a trangular forme, onely expressing the principall and greater parts of it. But the Chorographer vndertaking the description of some speciall and smaller part of England, as for example, the City of Oxford, descends much more particularly to matters of small quantity and note: such as are the Churches, Colledges, Halls, Streets, Springs, giuing to each of them their due accidents, colours, lineaments, and proportion, as farre forth as Art can imitate Nature. [16]

The distinction between geography and chorography, a distinction that is formulated through the use of two different representational techniques, produces therefore, two different kinds of knowledge of the country, county or city. The representation of land is hierarchically conceived in that only the 'principall and greater parts of' the country are represented whereas the representation of the region 'descends much more particularly to matters of small

quantity and note'. It is this cultural hierarchy that precisely facilitates the two representational techniques: 'science mathematicall' produces a 'factual' representation of the land whereas regional representations involve the artistry of a painter, an artistry that could produce very different kinds of 'pictures'. But by far the most interesting aspect to Carpenter's definition of chorography is that he perceives the representation of region to accord to the imitation of 'Nature'. As he claims earlier in his text, the chorographer acts as a 'Painter', one who perceives the land as a 'body' to be painted. The chorographer paints the individual parts of the body, as he paints the individual parts of the country. In this way, the chorographer is a painter who as he strives 'to expresse only an eye, or an eare, he might take space enough to designe out euery smaller lineament, colour, shadow, or marke, as if it were naturall' [17]. Thus, the representation of region becomes a representation in the form a portrait: the town or county through the chorographer's 'Art' can appear as 'naturall' as that of a painted individual.

The distinctions made between geography as a description of an entire country, and chorography as a regional description were important ones in terms of the development of antiquarianism. These different definitions came particularly into play with John Stow's A Survay of London (1598), William Lambarde's A Perambulation of Kent (1576) or William Camden's Britannia (1586), for example. Lambarde's preoccupation with chorography enabled him to concentrate upon towns like Canterbury and its institutions and customs in a local sense. John Stow, on the other hand, acknowledges the antiquarian representations of Lambarde and John Norden and hopes to add to the antiquarian project by describing the city of London [18]. With

Camden's Britannia, ideas of both chorography and geography were more relevant as he sought to describe the whole of Britain. But this distinction also registers the significance of the **readers** of geographical and chorographical descriptions. Chorographical description serves the local community by giving information about its own particular area and consequently, informs local identity, whereas representation of the country fosters a sense of national identity. This necessarily promoted a relationship between people and the representation of place. As F J Levy points out, 'The purpose of a chorography went further than explaining a county to the world at large: it was intended to explain the area to the very residents of it.' [19] And according to Jim Wayne Miller the relationship between people and place is worthy of further investigation. This is because, he suggests, the:

> ways in which different groups make use of the land and its resources are as much a part of what is ultimately meant by place as are rivers, valleys, mountains ...; for place is not simply natural terraine, but locale plus the human element. ... There is always a cultural landscape imposed on the natural landscape - a cultural landscape that reveals something about the collective needs, tastes, predilections, values and attitudes of people. [20]

Miller's statement addresses both the local and the national significance of the representation of place; he clearly identifies that 'place is not simply natural terraine' but includes within that description of the natural terraine an entire arena of perspective and interpretation. The definition of topography incorporates, therefore, a superimposition of the cultural upon the geographical domain, one that is only emphasised by definitions of the chorography that include within it the use of painting. For it is the use of painting that alerts us to the implications of selection and interpretation that are involved in representing land in this way.

The definitions of geography by individuals such as Cuningham, Willes and Carpenter influenced the way in which antiquarianism developed in Renaissance period. Many antiquarian texts either deal directly with the definitions of geography or they reveal the influence of the increased status of geography as an important area of knowledge that adds an authoritative voice to their own antiquarian endeavours. John Norden, for example, in Nordens Preparative to his Speculum Britanniae (1596) takes issue with what he perceives as incorrect formulations of geographical study in the representation of region [21]. And William Burton in the Description of Leicestershire (1622) acknowledges the importance of a 'loue of Pictures, Perspectives, Mappes, and other Geographicall delights' as a means of situating the genealogy of the gentry of the county which he represents [22]. Furthermore, he describes how he 'rectified' Christopher Saxton's map of Leicestershire in order to 'improve' knowledge of the county:

> As for the Topography of this Countie, at the request of a friend of mine I rectified (certain yeres passed) CHRISTOPHER SAXTONS mappe of this Countie with an addition of 80 townes, which was grauen at Amsterdam by IODOCUS HONDIUS 1602 and since imitated by M SPEED in his great Historie of Brittaine, with an augmentation of the Plot of the towne of Leicester; and reduced into a lesser forme, and heere inserted. [23]

Here, antiquarian representation could add to geographical study, just as that geographical study informed the development of antiquarianism. Again, in William Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire (1656), Dugdale acknowledges the work of geographers and cartographers in his inclusion of 'Maps, Prospects and Portraitures' in his text, but at the same time, attempts to improve contemporary representations:

> I have drawn exact Schemes of the severall Hundreds;

> wherein, besides the rectifying of divers places, which stand amisse in the ordinarie Maps, are inserted many that were hitherto omitted, fixing them according to their direct stations; ... heretofore not taken notice of by our Geographers.' [24]

By concentrating on chorography, on the representation of a particular county, Dugdale is able to place more emphasis upon county maps. More of them can be included because of the focus of the text, and at the same time, particular knowledge of the county enables Dugdale to 'rectify ... divers places'.

But geography and cosmography were also perceived in the Renaissance as an enabling knowledge for related kinds of endeavour, such as navigation, travel and education about both the nation and the world. Roger Barlow in A Brief Summe of Geography (1540-1) claims that knowledge of geography is crucial not just for navigation and travel, but also for the wider colonialist project. Dedicating his text on cosmography to Henry VIII, Barlow writes that:

> One of the thinges most naturally desired of noble hartes is to heere reade or comon of straunge contries, and espeitiallie of contreis that we have had no knowelege of being farre aparted from us, and of there commoditees, behaviour and customes which are very straunge to owres. Wherfore as one most desirous to ocupie him self in some service that myght be acceptable unto your royall maiestie, under your gracys favour and suffraunce I have set fourthe a brief somme of geographia which dothe treat of all parts and provinces of the worlde, and spetially of countreis latelie dyscovered by your maiestie ... [25]

Knowledge of geography is crucial, then, to the colonialist nation that seeks not just political power but also 'commoditees'. Geography serves a patriotic and nationalistic function as Barlow's text becomes profitable for the state in a very similar way to Laurence Nowell's map of Britain, a map that serves the political and administrative purposes of William Cecil. Therefore, both texts exist as conveyors of knowledge of Britain or 'of straunge contries'

and at the same time, as important components of state political power. Closer to home, Thomas Twyne's translation from Latin of Humphrey Lhuyd's The Breuiary of Britayne (1573) after Lhuyd's death, focuses on the importance of geography for knowledge about the 'home' nation. Twyne describes that Lhuyd's representation of Britain was written to 'doo his countrie good, wherevnto all men are naturally bounden' [26], a patriotic action that has given Lhuyd (and by implication the translator Twyne) 'immortal fame'. But for Twyne, The Breuiary of Britayne also operates to inform the country's ruling elite of Britain's history and geography so that its political administration and defence could be undertaken. In his dedication to Lorde Bulbeck, Earl of Oxford, Twyne argues that:

> Regarding your honour to be amongst the rest: a very fit patrone for it, in consideration, that beynge, as yet, but in your flower, and tender age, and generally hoped, and accompted of in time, to become the cheefest stay of this your commonwelth, and country: you woulde receaue into your salf tuition, the writen name, and description of that Britayne, which as it is part of your natiue soyle: so your duty biddeth you to defend and mantayne it. [27]

Here, geography is important for the education of the those that are 'to become the cheefest stay of this your commonwelth, and country', a clear insertion of geography within the humanist training for political action. Geography serves, therefore a political function in enabling defence of the country, and a patriotic one in informing its inhabitants of the nature of the country, a patriotism shared by both writer, translator and reader. But in the case of Thomas Churchyard's The Worthiness of Wales (1587), chorography could also be used to 'remind' Elizabeth of the patriotic nature of the Welsh with regard to the Tudor monarchy. Churchyard describes that he has 'set foorth a worke in the honour of Wales, where your highnes auncestors tooke name, and where your Maiestie is as much loued and

feared, as in any place of your highnesse dominion' [28]. In this antiquarian text, Churchyard employs geography, 'some of the beautie and blessednes of the Countrey: some of the strength and statelynesse of their impregnable Castles: some of their trim Townes and fine stuation: Some of their antiquitie ...' in order to register the cultural and political significance of Wales [29]. Geographical description is interspersed in Churchyard's representation of Wales with precisely this cultural preoccupation, as for example, the 'statelynesse of their impregnable Castles', the 'fine' stuation of 'trim Townes'.

The relationship between antiquarianism and geography is, then, a complex one: on the one hand antiquarians define and stress the need for geography to be considered as a 'science', a 'science' that authorizes the status of their texts, and on the other hand, geography is employed in their representations of land as means to situate geographically the social and political concerns of the gentry. For example, Sampson Erdeswicke's A Survey of Staffordshire (1593-1603) and Richard Verstegan's A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence (1605) concentrate primarily on the description of the history of the local gentry [30]. These texts include lists of the genealogy of politically significant families in the county. William Burton, for example, includes at the end of his Description of Leicester Shire (1622) 'The Names and Armes of those Knights of the Garter which were of this Countie of Leicester, eyther by Title of Honour, Birth, or dwelling' and 'A List or Catalogue of all such worthy personages, to whom the severall Kings of England, from time to time, committed the Counties of Leicester and Warwick...' [31]. These lists situate geographically the knights and 'worthy personages', identifying them with Leicestershire on the basis of

'Title of Honour, Birth, or dwelling'. Again, in Tristram Risdon's The Chorographical Description, Or Survey of the County of Devon, with the City and County of Exeter (c1605-30) the antiquarian study closes with, among other lists, 'The Names and Armes of the gentry of Devonshire, and the Towns Names wherein they live' [32]; and William Pole in Collections towards a Description of the County of Devon (c1604-1635) includes 'The Armes of such Nobles and Gentlement which have anciently dwelled and had lands in Devonshire' [33]. As will be discussed in the study of William Lambarde, this identification was crucial in establishing the way in which a county was to be known and understood. Lists of the gentry and sheriffs, for example, could only heighten the understanding of the county through the means of its politically and socially principal members.

However, geography also functions to situate the gentry within the towns of the county. This can be seen in, for example, William Pole's and Tristram Risdon's representation of 'Yarty' or 'Yartye'. Pole describes Yarty as standing:

> in the tithinge of Membiry, and hath borrowed his name from the river of Yartie, which runneth under it. It did first give ye name unto ye dwellers there, which were called de Yartie, which name ceased in King Henry 4 tyme, and sithens yt by ye name and famylye of Frye, and newly builded and augmented by Nicholas Frye, Esquir, whoe is nowe the owner thereof. [34]

Whilst the name of the place of 'Yarty' derives from the landscape on which it is situated, Risdon points out that the name was also given to the inhabitants, 'unto ye dwellers there'. This geographical significance is subsequently altered to include political and social ones: that following the reign of Henry IV, 'Yarty' is known by the family which owns the land, 'whoe is nowe the owner thereof'. The description of 'Yartye' by Tristam Risdon stresses the transformation

of understanding a place from its geography to that of the genealogy of its principle inhabitants:

> YARTYE is in Membury, and standeth under an Hill from the East somewhat advanced above the Water, from whence it borrowed its Name, and gave it again to the Owners, who, by the Names, of William and Simon, continued their Dwelling there divers Descents. The last Simon dying issueless, about the Reign of King Richard II, his Sister brought this Inheritance unto William Fry, Esq; by her Marriage, which hath continued ever since in that Family. The now Possessor married the Daughter of John Tounge, Esq, his Father, the Daughter of John Brett of Whitstanton, Esq; his Son the Daughter of Sir John Drake. [35]

Again, the origins of the etymology of place name is identified with the name of a geographical site, the river of 'Yartye'. Whilst Pole simply describes that this name was subsequently given to the inhabitants, Risdon suggests that it was the 'Owners' of the land that took the name. The place of 'Yartye' is represented, therefore, through the genealogy of the family that owns the land, tracing the female line where the male one fails. Both representations of place by Risdon and Pole identify the way in which the history of the land is understood in terms of ownership, and where that ownership and naming is authorized by reference to the original understanding of the land through the geographical site. This method of representing place, through genealogy and etymology was, again, important to William Lambarde, in his Perambulation of Kent, and will be discussed in more detail in chapter three.

What becomes clear from these excerpts, however, is that geography, genealogy, history and gentry all play a major part in the representation of place. This can be apprehended through the lists of the gentry included in these antiquarian accounts, the description of towns and even of the county as a whole. As just one example, Tristram Risdom begins his 'A Survey of Devonshire' in The

Chorographical Description, Or Survey of the County of Devon, with the City and County of Exeter (1605-30) with the following general description:

> This County is inferior to few for Worth, and Second for Largeness to any in this Island, extending from Sea to Sea, as from Salcombe in the South, to Lymouth in the North, about 54 Miles, and from Thorncombe in the East, to Hartland in the West, about 61 Miles. The North of this Shire, the Severn - Sea licketh with her Tongue, the East Part hath Somersetshire and Dorsetshire her friendly Neighbours, the South is wholy washed with the British Sea, and the West is bounded with the River Thamer from Cornwall, which once served for a Bound between the Britons and the Saxons. [36]

Whilst Risdon employs the knowledge of geography and the information pertinent to this form of observation, 'North', 'South' 'East' and 'West', the number of miles in extent, the rivers and sea, contained within this is the cultural information of the counties which border Devon and significant historical detail, 'the River Thamer ... which once served for a Bound between the Britons and the Saxons'. Furthermore, cultural assumptions permeate this representation of place, as the gendered landscape and the assessment of 'Worth' illustrates. In Risdon's representation of Devon, therefore, the representation of place is inextricably bound up with the different concepts of geography and gentry, history and culture. And it is for this reason, that establishing clearly defined definitions of antiquarian endeavour is so difficult during the Renaissance period.

The antiquarians, then, through their preoccupation with establishing antiquarianism as an important area of learning, use the 'scientific' nature of geography in order to substantiate that claim. Furthermore, the antiquarians also use that 'science' to add status to their own texts, often adding their own interpretations of geography and citing where current maps or written geographical

descriptions could be improved. This discussion of the definition of antiquarian endeavour and the representations of place that they produced, has highlighted the enormous range of ideas with which those antiquarians had to negotiate in order to represent place. The importance of notions of history involved them in setting the landscape and cultural artifacts within a historical context. But at the same time, it also led the antiquarians to consider that landscape and those artifacts as objects possessing a history in themselves - rather than the history (of monarchs, say) being the object of historical study. And in establishing such a historical context for their work, the antiquarians also engaged with further problems of the method of representation and of the definition of their own terminology. Whilst this section has been relatively schematic, many of the issues raised about ideas of locality and nation, of genealogy, gentry and geography, will be addressed in more detail in the study of William Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent (1576). At the beginning of this chapter, however, the question was asked of how precisely were the antiquarians able to represent place in a more contemporary political context, where the dissolution of the monasteries posed huge problems for the consulting of cultural material. The next section will discuss the way in which John Leland, considered to be the first antiquarian to represent place, attempted to negotiate with such a context and subsequently produce more workable definitions of both the object of study as well as the method by which it was to be carried out.

3. THE ANTIQUARIAN WAY TO REPRESENTING PLACE

> Now, according to my purpose, I will proceed only with Devon, which hath long lain in obscurity, illustrated only by the valiant actions of the worthy heroes therof, and not by the quills of the natives; who are such as dare rather to adventure in their travels by sea and land, to discover new worlds, to find them, and to conquer and people kingdoms therein, than to encounter the squint eye of envy, or black heart of malice, by treading the ridged, untrodden, uncouth path, by which I have undertaken to guide you; which promiseth neither reward nor regard, but scornful backbiting and scandalous detraction.
> Thomas Westcote, A View of Devonshire with a Pedigree of Most of its Gentry (c1630) [1]

For the antiquarian writing in the Renaissance period, the effects of the Reformation of 1535-1550 and the Dissolution of the monasteries reverberated right up to the civil war period. The loss of manuscripts, documents and the destruction of buildings and monuments, noted by antiquarians like John Leland and John Bale, were still being written about and lamented over by William Dugdale in the Antiquities of Warwickshire of 1656 [2]. And just as Richard Symonds was accusing the 'rebels' in his Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army During the Great Civil War of being responsible for the wholesale destruction of churches and monuments during the civil war, John Bale and John Leland in the post-Reformation period were accusing 'unlearned men' and 'private men's negligence' for what they considered as their part in the destruction of churches and monuments during the Dissolution. This section will discuss the way in which antiquarians of the early Renaissance period attempted to deal with both the effects of the Dissolution of the monasteries and with the monarchy, that is, Henry VIII, Mary and Elizabeth. Since Henry was the instigator of the Dissolution, the antiquarian John Leland

attempted to negotiate directly with him in order to preserve cultural artifacts from dispersal and sale. And monarchichal protection of material for antiquarian study continued with the proclamations of Mary and Elizabeth for the preservation of monuments. But whilst the antiquarians travelled through the country observing monuments and epitaphs, and consulting documents and records, the concept of a 'path' came to be established. This 'path' functioned in a literal sense to denote the geographical journey that the antiquarians made, in a metaphorical sense, as they attempted to follow a 'path' through the political and religious intrigue that culminated from Reformation and post Reformation policy, and also in a spiritual sense, as the antiquarians claimed that accumulating and observing cultural artifacts was potentially a religious occupation.

The excerpt from Thomas Westcote's A View of Devonshire cited above, although written later in the period, addresses the kinds of problems associated with antiquarian endeavour during the post-Reformation period. In the first instance, this excerpt reveals how Westcote believes that the representation of the native land is, ironically, far more perilous than colonial endeavour. At the same time, however, his description of the status of his own text and the problems encountered during its construction, displays his consciousness of the equally ironic situation whereby a county is known only by the 'valiant actions of the worthy heroes' of Devon who have 'conquered' abroad (presumably he is thinking especially of Drake) and not 'by the quills of the natives', the residents of the home county. The result of this, according to Westcote, was that Devon had 'long lain in obscurity' in spite of the 'valiant actions of the worthy heroes thereof'. But far from it being a revered and patriotic action to remedy this state of affairs, Westcote claims

that to represent the landscape, customs and inhabitants of the county in textual form, subjects the antiquarian to 'the squint eye of envy, or black heart of malice' and 'scornful backbiting'. Thus, it would seem that the representation of other lands and cultures, and of those 'worthy heroes' 'as dare rather to adventure in their travels by sea and land, to discover new worlds, to find them, and to conquer and people kingdoms therein', information of which the reader would not necessarily have prior knowledge, receives a more positive response than the representation of land and cultures of which readers already knew. To a large extent, much of the consternation of readers resulted from the omission of certain members of the gentry in the texts, gentry who expected to read of their family histories in the antiquarian account of the county. This is made clear by Westcote's addition of an apology 'To the Generous Reader' at the end of A View of Devonshire, an apology that answers, among other objections, the cavil that he has 'not noted every ancient house and generous tribe, but purposely neglected some' [3]. The excerpt from Westcote's antiquarian account reveals, therefore, the kinds of problems associated with the representation of place and the way in which the antiquarian attempted to negotiate with the problems of selecting and observing certain kinds of material. It also illustrates how the antiquarian posited antiquarian observation as a patriotic endeavour, a patriotism that functioned to reveal the county in textual form, through writing, rather than by actions. Such patriotism involves, as other perilous occupations, 'treading the ridged, untrodden, uncouth path, by which I have undertaken to guide you; which promiseth neither reward nor regard': Westcote, as the antiquarians in the post-Reformation period, had to follow both the difficult geographical 'path' through the county and the

metaphorical social and political 'path' through the objections to his work. Furthermore, as will be illustrated below in the discussion of John Leland, Westcote attempted to transform antiquarian observation into a patrotic rather a potentially politically and socially unacceptable form of occupation.

During the post-Reformation period antiquarians had to engage with the social, religious and political repercussions that followed Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries. As it has already been discussed in the previous section on the definition and scope of antiquarianism, the antiquarians were in an ironic position of negotiating directly with 'antiquities ... exceeding old' and at the same time, representing the land and its monuments in their contemporary moment [4]. For antiquarians wishing to study and preserve artifacts which they believed to be crucial to constructing a representation of England in its cultural and historical entirety, they had to engage with the contemporary signification of those artifacts. But if those artifacts were to be regarded as idolatrous, as the Act of the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries of 1536 claimed they were, how could they then be preserved and 'valued' for contemporary scholarship and for future posterity? John Leland and John Dee, for example, actively campaigned for the preservation of artifacts during the period of the the Dissolution, and Peter French describes how:

> The antiquary John Leland wrote to Thomas Cromwell in 1536 and begged for his assistance in the task of preserving the books that were being dispersed and destroyed during the spoilation of the English monasteries; his idea was to bring them together to form a collection for Henry VIII ... in other cases, Leland did the same thing that John Dee was to do later - he personally acquired many of the manuscripts. Both men collected the unwanted manuscripts of the Middle Ages. [5]

This statement identifies two important components of the nature of antiquarian study during the Reformation and post-Reformation period. These are firstly, the request for monarchical intervention - or participation - in antiquarian endeavour and secondly, the emergence of the individual as a significant determiner of such endeavour. But French's description obscures, however, the **means** by which the accumulation of manuscripts and documents were to be achieved by Leland or Dee. For example, **how** were the books to be collected for Henry VIII without the implication of their actions being perceived as idolotrous and of equal importance, **how** were Leland and Dee able to collect 'personally' manuscripts for their own use without considerable danger from attacks of recusancy?

John Leland's method of dealing with the contemporary signification of the books and artifacts involved engaging directly with the claims of the Act of the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries of 1536. Although he does not mention this Act in The Itinerary of John Leland In or About the Years 1535-1543, subtitled the 'Laborious Journey and Serche of Johan Leylande for Englandes Antiquities', the dedicatory preface to Henry VIII, 'Geven of hym as a Newe Yeares Gyfte to King HENRY the viii. in the xxxvii Yeare of his Raygne' appears to be written with just those tenets of the Act in mind [6]. In this preface, Henry VIII appears as a 'princely patrone of al good lerning' who 'encourages' Leland's 'Serche' by a 'moste gratius commission'. Thus, from the outset the Itinerary is inserted by Leland clearly within the political framework established by Henry VIII and subsequently, the text would not seem to conflict with the political connotations surrounding the activities of the Dissolution. But at the same time, however, Leland also negotiates explicitly with the problems of signification of the books and

artifacts, 'Englandes Antiquities', and their relationship to the representation of place. In the first paragraph of his 'Newe Yeares Gyfte', Leland describes that the intention and project of his work was:

> to peruse and diligently to serche al the libraries of monasteries and collegies of this yowre noble reaulme, to the intente that the monumentes of auncient writers as welle of other nations, as of this yowr owne province mighte be brought owte of deadely darkenes to lyvely lighte, and to receyve like thankes of the posterite, as they hoped for at such tyme as they emploied their long and greate studies to the publicque wealthe ... [7]

Whereas the Act of Dissolution had attacked the monasteries for containing and dispersing material that was 'to the great infamy of the King's Highness and the realm', in this passage Leland argues that this material had been, in fact, originally written for 'the publicque wealth' of the nation [8]. As a result, Leland's activities in bringing such material 'owte of deadely darkenes to lyvely lighte' involved an element of patriotism as their great 'wealth' could now be truly appreciated by Henry's 'noble reaulme'. Furthermore, Leland claims, the documents and manuscripts fulfil their original desire to be preserved for 'posteritie': this is fulfilled both in the contemporary moment in which Leland is writing and also, through publication in the <u>Itinerary</u>, preserved for the posterity of the future. Consequently, rather than these 'antiquities ... exceeding old', bringing 'infamy' to 'the King's Highness and the realm', they are used instead to construct a new conception of England's learning brought about solely by Leland's patriotic endeavour. As he claims, 'I think it now no lesse then my very dewty brevely to declare to your Majeste what frute hath spronge of my laborious yourney and costely enterprise' [9]. And since Leland was engaging with artifacts that were perceived as

'idolatrous', 'bravery' was an antiquarian pre-requisite. Leland's method of engaging with cultural material, with the construction of knowledge looks forward, of course, to Francis Bacon's own dedicatory prefaces to James I in the Advancement of Learning. Here too, Bacon praises James for his own learning, asserting that 'there has not been since Christ's time any King or temporal monarch, which has been so learned in all Literature and erudition, divine and human' [10]. And like Leland, Bacon dedicates his text to the monarch with the hope that by establishing the ideas contained within it under the aegis of a 'learned' monarch, the Advancement of Learning could gain authority whilst engaging with politically and spiritually sensitive material.

Leland's dedicatory preface illustrates, therefore, the way in which this antiquarian formulated the contents of the monasteries as signifying 'publicque wealth' rather than 'infamy'. But as Leland later asserts, those contents were also to signify Henry VIII's actual inheritance of the kingdom itself:

> Yet here yn onely I have not pitchid the supreme marke of my labor whereonto yowr Grace moste like a princely patrone of al good lerning did animate me: but also considering and expendinge with my self how greate a numbre of excellente goodly wyttes and writers, lernid with the beste, as the tymes servid, hath beene yn this your region, not only at suche tymes as the Romayne Emperours had recourse to it, but also yn those dayes that the Saxons prevailid of the Britannes, and the Normannes of the Saxons, could not but with a fervente zele and an honeste corage commend them to memory, els alas like to have beene perpetually obscurid, or to have bene lightely remembrid as oncerteine shadowes. [11]

Rather than these 'excellente goodly wyttes and writers' signifying a potential source of political 'infamy', a threat to the public good, instead they now come to signify Tudor genealogy and the Tudor claim to the throne by virtue of a history of learning. Leland illustrates

the way in which a succession of different cultures, the 'Saxons' or the 'Britannes', could be perceived through Leland's patriotic endeavour, 'your Grace moste like a princely patrone of al good lerning did animate me' and 'honeste corage' as signifying a long line of English cultural activity. And it is only the 'fervente zele' of the antiquarian that can recover and prevent the loss of England's history. Indeed, Leland's perception of Anglo-Saxon culture as being an important part of an English cultural history, became a fundamental preoccupation in antiquarian study throughout the Renaissance period and will be discussed in more detail in chapter three. In the preface to the Itinerary, however, Leland reformulates and absorbs the written documents of these historical cultures within Henry's own genealogy and claim to the throne. And so by recognizing the importance of these artifacts, Henry confers upon them the status not of idolatry but of English cultural heritage. As Leland further claims:

> Whereby I truste right shortely so to describe your moste noble reaulme, and to publische the Majeste and the excellent actes of yowr progenitors (hitherto sore obscurid booth for lak of enprinting of such workes as lay secretely yn corners, and also bycause men of eloquence hath not enterprisid to set them forthe yn a florisching style, yn sum tymes paste not communely usid in England of wryters, otherwise welle lernid, and now yn such estimation that except truethe be delicately clothid yn purpure her written verites can scant finde a reader;) that al the worlde shaul evidently perceyve that no particular region may justely be more extollid then yours for trewe nobilitie and vertues at al pointes renoumed. [12]

Here, Leland argues explicitly that the manuscripts and documents of the monasteries signify not infamy and idolatry but 'the excellent actes of yowr progenitors'. A specific relationship is established, therefore, between such artifacts and the monarch himself. Furthermore, this excerpt suggests that to claim as the Act does,

that the manuscripts and documents are intrinsic to the ability of the monasteries to 'spoil, destroy, consume, and utterly waste' is, in Leland's view, only to **misinterpret** their contents: confusion arises because the manuscripts were written in a language not identifiable by contemporary readers as important registers of the nation's wealth of learning, 'bycause men of eloquence hath not enterprisid to set them forthe yn a florisching style, yn sum tymes paste not communely usid in England of wryters, otherwise welle lernid' [13]. A recognition of this, brought about by 'correct' interpretation of the language in which the manuscripts were written, enables the antiquary to reveal their 'value' as true significators of Henry's realm, so that England's 'trewe nobilities and vertues at al pointes renoumed' can be demonstrated to 'the worlde'. Consequently, artifacts of the ancient past have a contemporary relevance in signifying the cultural heritage of the nation to be enjoyed and promoted in the present. It is in this way, then, that Leland averts or subverts the claims of the Act for the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries to suggest instead that patriotic and heroic endeavour, 'a fervente zele', 'an honeste corage' and 'brevely dewty' on behalf of the antiquary can recover a sense of their 'true' significance for the benefit of the nation as a whole.

But Leland also directly confronts the Act's claim that the monasteries and their books and manuscripts incite 'the high displeasure of Almighty God, [and the] slander of good religion' [14]. He counters that, in fact, it is only the bringing of these artifacts 'owte of deadely darkenes to lyvely lighte' that can facilitate both the correct perception of God's 'true' religion and the rejection of any idolatrous material. It is the purpose of his <u>Itinerary</u>, Leland claims, to reveal the difference between idolotrous

material and English cultural heritage:

> yea and farthermore that the holy Scripture of
> God might bothe be sincerely taughte and lernid,
> al maner of superstition and craftely coloured
> doctrine of a rowte of the Romaine bishopes totally
> expellid oute of this your moste catholique
> reaulme ... [15]

In this quotation, Leland illustrates how the reading of ancient manuscripts and documents can not only aid the teaching of scripture but can also teach individuals to understand what is 'superstition and craftely coloured doctrine'. It is only through such learning that these doctrines can be identified and ultimately eradicated from the nation. Again, this negotiation with the interrelationship between knowledge and religion, was to be part of the project of Bacon's Advancement of Learning. In order to engage with the construction of knowledge Bacon too, had to disassociate ideas of superstition from the study of ancient material, often produced in monasteries. He writes of the need:

> to clear the way, and as it were to make silence,
> to have the true testimonies concerning the dignity
> of Learning to be better heard, without the tacit
> objections, I think good to deliver it from the
> discredits and disgraces which it hath received;
> all from ignorance; but ignorance serverally
> disguised, appearing sometimes in the zeal and
> jealousy of Divines; sometimes in the severity
> and arrogancy of Politiques; and sometimes in the
> errors and imperfections of learned men themselves. [16]

For Bacon, the 'silencing' of errors will enable the 'true' nature of knowledge to be 'heard'. This 'true' nature can be understood by identifying that there are two different kinds of knowledge: firstly, there is 'the proud knowledge of good and evil, with an intent in man to give law unto himself' which was cause of the fall; and secondly, there is the 'pure knowledge of nature and universality, a knowledge by the light whereof man did give names unto other creatures in paradise, as they were brought before him,

according unto their proprieties', knowledge which is appropriate for individuals to study [17]. In this way, an intrinsic part of the texts by Leland and Bacon, is to engage with the relationship between knowledge and religion and to attempt to disassociate them in order for the 'way' for the accumulation of learning to be made clear. Indeed, Leland even claims that consultation of ancient manuscripts and documents can actually discover the influence of the 'Romaine bishopes':

> And that profite hath rysen by the aforesaide journey in bringging ful many thinges to lighte as concerning the usurpid autorite of the Bishop of Rome and his complices, to the manifeste and violente derogation of kingely dignitie, I referre my self moste humbly to your moste prudente, lernid and highe jugement to discerne my diligence in the longe volume wheryn I have made answer for the defence of youre supreme dignite, alonly lening to the stronge pilor of holy Scripture agayne to hole College of Romanistes ... [18]

Leland's patriotism is demonstrated, therefore, both by bringing to light a cultural history to which Henry is heir as well as enabling the monarch to discover dangerous religious elements in the form of the Bishop of Rome 'and his complices'. Leland adopts the role of the courtier or soldier by helping the monarch to defend the realm from the irreligious whilst asserting at the same time, that it is only through continual reference to and support from the true 'holy Scripture' that he has managed to 'arm' himself against idolatrous influences when undertaking this 'Laborious Journey and Serche'.

The association of spirituality with Leland's representation of place acquired additional authority through his use of language. The account of his endeavour being to bring ancient manuscripts and artifacts 'owte of deadely darkenes to lyvely lighte' adopts a spiritual signification that combines with the more secular elements of his study. This is emphasized in the above excerpt where he

describes 'that profite hath rysen by the aforesaide journey in bringging ful many things to lighte as concerning the usurpid autorite of the Bishop of Rome and his complices': the Itinerary becomes a text that incorporates within itself the ideal of a spiritual exercise or journey, a journey that in textual form provides religious 'profit' both to himself and to his readers. This is further accentuated, of course, by his clear reference to the importance of the 'holy Scripture' in the construction of his Itinerary and his ability to determine the true religion in the manuscripts that he reads and the artifacts that he observes. Thus, even his title of the 'Newe Yeares Gyfte' as a 'Laborious Serche and Journey' takes on the notion of a pilgrimage [19]. That Leland illustrates how such a 'journey' or pilgrimage can reveal the workings of the irreligious, answers the claims of the Act of the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries of 1536, where it was stated that:

> their vicious living shamelessly increaseth and augmenteth, and by a cursed custom so rooted and infested that a great multitude of the religious persons in such small houses do rather choose to rove abroad in apostasy than to conform them to the observation of good religion ... [20]

Leland's physical and spiritual 'movement' through the country acts, therefore, as a form of spiritual surveillance, a surveillance of the activity of anti-religious individuals who roamed the country spreading their 'apostasy'.

Emphasis has been placed on the work of John Leland because it engages with the kinds of problems encountered by antiquarians wishing to consult and preserve documents and monuments during the post-Reformation period. The cultural consequences of the Reformation involved the antiquarians in attempting to negotiate with

the significations of the texts and buildings that they wished to observe. In order to represent place, the antiquarians had to establish alternative meanings to those cultural artifacts which constituted that representation, so that idolatrous and anti-patriotic associations were reduced or removed altogether. Leland's 'Newe Yeares Gyfte' clearly illustrates the way in which this antiquary tried to deal with complex political events. It shows how Leland's main priority was not with the immediate political implementation of the dissolution of the monasteries, but with the importance of reading and preserving manuscipts and monuments for the purposes of his own particular study. Consequently, despite the patriotic stance of the Itinerary, Leland's main priorities resided with the artifacts themselves as crucial documents worthy of antiquarian study. This is a particularly important point since, as will be discussed in section four of this chapter, the members of the Elizabethan Antiquarian Society went to considerable lengths to deny any political involvement with the state in order for them to continue antiquarianism without either conflicting with the wishes of monarch or attracting any personal danger.

But attacks on the grounds of idolatry and superstition were only part of the difficulty that was involved in the representation of place during the early Renaissance period. F J Levy, for example, describes the wider implications that surrounded the destruction of cultural material during the Dissolution of the monasteries:

> When Henry VIII suppressed the monasteries, when Edward VI's commissioners attacked the scholastic learning of the universities, one result was the dispersal, and sometimes the destruction, of the inherited wealth of learning of the kingdom. In some degree, the damage was selective: service books and the writing of the schoolmen were more likely to be torn up than were more innocent-seeming

> chronicles. ... Therefore manuscripts and books disappeared and also, accessibility decreased to such an extent that for a time men were content merely to compile lists locating them. [21]

The selectiveness with which material was destroyed complicated the antiquarian's attempts to convey positive associations to it. As J R Tanner also suggests, 'The Visitors [carrying out the Act for the Dissolution] were men of doubtful character' [22], a fact that indicates the problem of saving manuscripts and books at a local level. One way of negotiating with this, as Levy points out, was to compile dictionaries of the manuscripts that could be consulted and preserved. John Bale for example, wrote a biobibliographical dictionary of British authors, the Illustrium majoris Britannia scriptorum ... summarium in 1548. It was this work that encouraged him to consider the importance of having a national library that would establish the manuscripts not within the religious domain of the monasteries but within a completely different cultural framework. In his preface to Leland's 'New Yeares Gyfte' of 1549, Bale associates libraries with scriptural tradition, an association that Bacon was to use in the Advancement of Learning where he describes libraries 'as the shrines where all the relics of the ancient saints, full of true virtue, and that without delusion or imposture, are preserved and reposed' [23]. Bale writes that:

> Cyrus the kynge of Perseanes (as testifyeth Esdras) had a noble lybrary in Babylon, for the conseruacyon both of the landes Antiquitees and also of the prynces actes, lawes, and commaundements, that whan necessyte shoulde requyre it, the certentie of thynges myghte there be sought and found out. ... Nehemias the Prophete made a lybrarye also, and gathered into it bokes from all contreyes, specyally the bokes of the prophetes and of Dauid, the epystles and actes of the kynges, with serten annotacyons and writynges, Judas Machabeus addynge dyuerse vyctoryes to the smae. ... Thus are buylders of lybraryes commended in the scriptures ... [24]

Just as Leland had claimed that the study of ancient manuscripts could arm individuals against the apostasy of Roman Catholicism and could actually aid the teaching and interpretation of scripture, Bale too invokes Christian ideology: he suggests that the study of antiquities had an ancient tradition, a tradition that was 'commended in the scriptures' themselves. Consequently, those manuscripts, although harboured in monasteries, signify not idolatry and superstition but instead, the wealth of the nation, or 'thys most worthy commodyte of your countrey' [25]. And to emphasise that point further, Bale claims that the monasteries did not appreciate ancient artifacts, 'the monkes kepte them vndre duste, the ydle headed prestes regarded them not' [26]. For Bale, the accumulation and observation of cultural artifacts, through the auspices of a national library, could actively serve the workings of the state, 'and also of the prynces actes, lawes, and commaundements, that whan necessyte shoulde requyre it, the certentie of thynges myghte there be sought and found out' [27].

The idea of establishing a national library fostered, then, a sense of national culture and identity, where John Leland's earlier request for manuscripts to be accorded the status of a national heritage could be fulfilled. The association of the representation of place with ideas of nationality was a significant one, as John Bale's preface to Leland's 'New Yeares Gyfte' of 1549, illustrates:

> If there had bene in euery shyre of Englande, but one solemyne lybrary, to the preseruacyon of those noble workes, and preferrement of good learynynges in oure posteryte, it had bene yet sumwhat. But to destroye all without consyderacyon, is and wyll be vnto Englande for euer, a moste horryble infamy amonge the graue senyours of other nacyons. A greate nombre of them whych purchased those superstycyous mansyons, reserued of those lybrarye bokes, some to serue theyr iakes, some to

> scoure theyr candelstyckes, and some to rubbe their bootes. Some they solde to grossers and sope sellers, and some they sent ouer see to the bokebynders, and not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shyppes full, to the wonderynge of the foren nacyons. Yea, the vnyuersytees of thys realme, are not all clere in this detestable fact. [28]

John Bale's seething anger at the destruction of documents provided the impetus for him to suggest the crucial importance of constructing libraries, libraries that would create a sense of national heritage. But his attack is also directed at the elements within the country that failed to 'value' such a heritage, elements like the universities who should have been adequate maintainers of such artifacts. But what is particularly interesting, is that at the same time that there was a move away from foreign intervention in religious matters, John Bale identifies an invasion by other countries of England's 'inherited wealth of learning'. He illustrates how other countries simply cannot 'value' England's manuscripts since they do not participate in national priorities; furthermore, that it was also their flagrant misuse of the manuscripts that actually revealed England's inability to 'value' its own cultural heritage. In compiling his own biobibliographical dictionary, Bale moves towards asserting ancient texts as 'valuable', worthy of preservation, and in doing so, makes an individual move rather than a collective one under the auspices of an antiquarian society, to establish the ground for further work to continue.

The concept of 'value' as an important determiner in the collection of books and artifacts emerged in different ways during the early Renaissance period. Bale's lament over the lack of concern given to preservation was demonstrated very much at local and individual levels. Esther Moir identifies the kind of problems faced by antiquarians travelling around the country in their 'Laborious

Journey and Serche' to see, read and record their observations:

> In country where stone was scarce the local surveyor of the highways felt no compuction in regarding any prehistoric remain or ancient monument as a public quarry, and the traveller who congratulated himself that the way leading to some well-known antiquity was in good repair generally failed to realize that this had been achieved only by the destruction of the goal of his journey. [29]

This passage illustrates how the provision of good roads on which to travel to see monuments, was often perceived to be of far greater value than the original monuments themselves. Some antiquarians and other interested individuals went to considerable lengths to save what cultural material they could from such terrible misuse. The autobiography of Edward Underhill, for example, demonstrates the way in which individual action in the preservation of artifacts was crucial to ensure both their (and the owners) survival:

> shortlye after [Mary's marriage to Philip] begane the cruelle parsecusyone off the prechers, and earnest professors and followers off the gospelle, and searchynge of men's howses for ther bokes. Wherefore I goott olde Henry Daunce, the brekeleyer off Whyte-Chappelle, who used to preche the gospelle in his gardene every halydaye, where I have sene a thousande people, he dyde inclose my bokes in a bryke walle by the chmnyes syde in my chamber, where they weare presarved from moldynge or mice, untylle the fyrste yere off ower most gracyouse quene Elizabeth ... [30]

The complete reversal during Mary's reign of Henry's ideas of reforming the monasteries, posed considerable problems for individuals at both spiritual and political levels. The autobiography of Underhill reveals the way in which individuals themselves, as well as their houses, became politically subject to various forms of invasion and control in the attempt to route out any potentially idolatrous material. In terms of saving manuscripts, however, there was often no recourse but to remove them from the

public sphere and so public access altogether. And, of course, despite Underhill's assertion that his books 'weare presarved from moldynge or mice', this was not always the case. William Harrison, for example, blamed Leland himself for the terrible condition of his texts by this time. Harrison wrote in his Description of Britain of 1587 that:

> So motheaten, moldy, and rotten are those books of Leland which I have, and, besides that, his annotations are such and so confounded, as no man can (in a manner) pick out any sense from them by a leaf together. Wherefore I suppose that he dispersed and made his notes intricate of set purpose, or else he was loath that any man should easily come to that knowledge by reading which he, with his great charge and no less travail, attained unto by experience. [31]

The 'motheaten, moldy, and rotten' state of Leland's books by 1587, is perceived by Harrison as an indication of an individual refusing to allow access to his own materials. He further assumes that Leland had deliberately dispersed his material and 'made his notes intricate of set purpose' in order to protect his antiquarian knowledge. Of course, the irony in Harrison's accusation resides in the fact that it had been Leland himself who had called for the establishing of national libraries and the collective perusal and preservation of manuscripts and monuments.

The state of manuscripts and monuments following the Reformation period, and the response of individuals to political events in determining the safety of preserving those artifacts, made for a complex state of affairs for the Renaissance antiquarian. It made for a particularly ironic state of affairs where antiquarians like John Leland and John Bale, who were advocating communal collection of ancient manuscripts and artifacts, came up against the hiding of such material by individuals wishing to prevent personal

attack from the powerholders of the time. But John Leland's attempt to bring artifacts 'owte of deadely darkenes to lyvely lighte' was given an additional irony by later antiquarians trying to resurrect any material at all. For example, William Lambarde in his letter to Henry Wootton that prefaced his Perambulation of Kent of 1570, writes that part of the antiquarian project involved him being:

> very desirous to attain to some knowledge and understanding of the Antiquities of this Realm, which (as Metall conteined within the bowels of the earth) lie hidden in olde bookes hoorded up in corners, [and] did not only my self digge, and rake together whatsoever I coulde of that kinde, but procured divers of my friends also to set their hands and do the like. [32]

Lambarde's words illustrate the seeming impossibility of 'understanding the Antiquities of this Realm' in order to provide a representation of it, and simultaneously, the way in which such a representation was prevented by individual hiding of material from the monarch herself. But his text also identifies the way in which the antiquarians were attempting to move towards a collective undertaking to represent the realm, 'did not only my self digge ... but procured divers of my friends also to set their hands and do the like'. John Bale's request for 'but one solemyne lybrary to the preseruacyon these noble workes and preferrment of good learynynges' came to be a feasible possibility, only when it could be collectively carried out.

The interplay between individual and collective undertaking to preserve manuscripts and artifacts, illustrated by the autobiography of Edward Underhill and the representation of Kent by William Lambarde, was a persistent concern for many antiquarians attempting to represent place during the Renaissance period. The attempt to represent place was complicated by the problems of travel, individual

reaction to political events, and the vagaries of the implementation of monarchical dictate. Furthermore, the antiquarians had to engage with the construction of a collective movement for antiquarian study (a movement that could protect and authorize antiquarianism) when support from the monarch in the form of patronage or financial renumeration was not necessarily forthcoming or whose interventions were contrary to the desires of the antiquarians. John Leland had paved the way, of course, in dedicating his Itinerary to Henry and prefacing it with the 'Newe Yeares Gyfte to HENRY viii'. But it was John Dee's petition to Mary, written in 1556, that brought together all the issues that have been discussed in this chapter so far. Entitled, 'A Supplication to Queen Mary, by John Dee, for the recovery and preservation of ancient writers and monuments' (15 January 1556), the petition is an interesting account of the kinds of problems the early antiquarians faced. In addition, it possesses a complex subtext owing to Dee's personal circumstances prior to the submission of his plea to Mary. Dee's motivation for establishing antiquities within a nationalist and patriotic context achieved an increased significance because only a year previously, in 1555, Dee had been accused of treason. In June of that year, Dee had been accused by a George Ferrys of 'attempting to enchant the Queen, by calculating the nativities of the King, the Queen and the Princess Elizabeth' [33]. By this time, Dee already had the reputation of a being a sorcerer, primarily because of his interest in mathematics, a study that was believed by some to be 'one of the black arts' [34]. Although Dee was released from prison in August 1555, the charges of treason having been dropped, the petition to Mary about the importance of national antiquities and the patriotism of those who endeavoured to preserve and study those antiquities, was manifestly

an attempt to repair his negative reputation.

With regard to the contents of the petition Dee, like John Bale, also lamented the 'spoil and destruction of so many and so notable Libraries, wherein lay the treasure of all Antiquity', and in this destruction, Dee identified the wider political implications of events initiated by the monarch. But he also complained of the consequences of such events upon local perspectives:

> [the Antiquities are] now in your Grace's realm being dispersed, scattered, yea and many of them in the unlearned men's hands, do still yet in this time of reconcilliation, dayly perish; and purchance of purpose by some envious person enclosed in walls, or buried in the ground, to the great injurie of the famous and worthy Authors, and the pitiful hindrance of the learned in this your Highness realm. [35]

Dee's description of the fate of manuscripts 'in the unlearned men's hands' echoes, of course, John Bale's earlier complaint that even the 'unyuersytees of thys realme' were unaware of the wholesale destruction and dispersal of England's antiquities. It identifies, too, the way in which Edward Underhill's enclosing of 'my bokes in a bryke walle by the chmnyes syde in my chamber' could be perceived not as a means to preserve those books but instead, actions that deliberately prevented the accumulation of learning. This in Dee's view, was tantamount to denying the value of 'the famous and worthy Authors' and to preventing the subsequent representation of the country in nationalistic terms through its antiquities. Thus, just as Leland had done, Dee establishes the preservation of artifacts within the framework of political (and as his petition later reveals, spiritual) patriotism. More importantly, perhaps, Dee's argument raised the wider implications of who was to be an adequate perceiver of what constituted 'learned' or 'unlearned' individuals. His petition specified that such a distinction was to be made on

patriotic terms: 'learning' is to be demonstrated by those individuals not by their preservation of documents as Edward Underhill had done but rather, upon "correct" patriotic behaviour which demanded that antiquities should be preserved according to monarchical dictate. For John Dee, adequate perceivers of cultural value were only those who acted in relation to nationalism in the form of monarchical control rather than individual reaction to political events.

The emphasis upon monarchical intervention in order to preserve antiquities involved Dee, therefore, in establishing and validating the monarch's relationship to them. In the case of Mary, the situation was complicated: whereas John Leland had been able to argue that it was through the dissolution of the monasteries that Henry had inherited all cultural material as his own, the situation for antiquarians living during the reign of Mary was more difficult. How could later antiquarians employ Leland's standpoint when the signification of the monasteries had been completely reversed from subversiveness to orthodoxy? Dee's treatment of this complex issue was to use Leland's argument outlined in the 'New Yeare's Gyfte', as a means of justifying the religious houses and their contents as politically and spiritually sound. This, in Mary's reign, was far more in line with political orthodoxy than Leland's had initially been. Thus, Dee claims as Leland had done, that the monasteries did not harbour and promote idolatrous material and furthermore, he disputes the Lesser Act for the Dissolution of the Monasteries which had described 'their vicious living [which] shamelessly increaseth and augmenteth, and by a cursed custom so rooted and infested ...' [36]. Instead, Dee advocates that the religious houses contained the 'treasure of all Antiquity, and the everlasting seeds of continual

excellency within this your Grace's realm' [37]. Consequently, just as Leland had associated Henry with antiquities, so too does Dee clearly relate Mary with cultural heritage. And whereas the dissolution of the monasteries in Leland's account had been a means of releasing antiquites to signify the monarch, Dee employs the reversion of the spiritual significance of those monasteries to illustrate Mary's claim to monarchical and spiritual inheritance of cultural artifacts. As he points out, by acknowledging the importance of antiquities:

> your Grace shall follow the footsteps of all the famous and godly Princes of old time, and also do like the worthy Governors of Christendom at these dayes ... The merit whereof shall redound to your Majestie's honorable and everlasting fame here on earth, and undoubtedly in heaven highly be rewarded ... [38]

Dee's establishment of a framework to include antiquities and the study of them within monarchical control had, though, an important purpose. This was to create a national library where artifacts could be preserved and consulted:

> Whereby your Highness shall have a most notable library, learning wonderfully be advanced, the passing excellent works of our fore-fathers from rot and worms preserved, and also hereafter continually the whole realm may (through your Grace's goodnes) use and injoy the whole incomparable treasure so preserved ... [39]

By claiming cultural artifacts as Mary's inheritance, then, Dee was able to suggest the establishment of a national library that could only enhance the monarch's reputation, just as Leland had with Henry. Furthermore, Dee makes clear that it is a spiritual as well as a political reputation or honour that is being constructed, 'The merit whereof shall redound to your Majestie's honorable and everlasting fame here on earth, and undoubtedly in heaven highly be rewarded ...' [40]. But, of course, by inviting monarchical intervention as the

only means to preserve such cultural objects, Dee had to justify his own relationship to this material on more than patriotic grounds. This was because the way forward to full access to cultural artifacts had to be firmly established in order to prevent disruption by a reversion of political policy. And he achieved this by declaring that the monarch was not the only inheritor of cultural artifacts; by constructing antiquities in terms of a communal genealogy, 'our fore-fathers', Dee suggests a patriarchal framework from which 'the whole realm may ... use and injoy the whole incomparable treasure'. And, through Dee's own participation in this genealogy, the accusations levelled against him in 1555, could be invalidated. For whilst the petition was intended to further antiquarian study, its importance also lies in the attempt to re-create the reputations of both Mary and Dee in terms of a patriotic ideal.

Dee's petition to Mary incorporated, then, an interplay of relations of power between monarchy, patriarchy and community and between the personal and the political. All were interwoven to create a space for the antiquarian representation of place through its cultural artifacts. Mary's reply to John Dee's petition was surprisingly swift, the 'Articles concerning the recovery and preservation of the ancient monuments and old excellent Writers ...' being written on 25th January 1556 [41]. In this document, Mary gave her permission for a 'meet place to be forthwith appointed' for the 'Queen's Majestie's Library' to be established and furthermore, she agreed to underwrite any charges that accrued from 'the riding and journeying for the recovery of the said worthy monuments, as also for the copying out of the same'. Undoubtedly, one reason for the speed with which Mary answered Dee's request arose out of the desire to carry out this work before individuals attempted to hide their

artifacts in the fear of their imminent use for monarchical purposes, however seemingly protective. As the Articles point out:

> First, lest, after this motion made, the spreading of it abroad might cause many to hid and convey their good and ancient Writers (which nevertheless were very ungodly done, and a certain token, that such are not Lovers of good learning). [42]

This accentuates the idea that individuals such as Edward Underhill were acting in an unpatriotic and even unspiritual way by attempting to preserve their own artifacts by hiding them and simultaneously, lent considerable weight to the antiquarians' own claims for patriotic endeavour in their representations of place. By following monarchical dictate, then, the antiquarians are defined as 'Lovers of good learning'. But the Articles also answer John Bale's earlier complaint that material was being conveyed abroad by stating that Mary would pay for the consultation of works in 'all the famous and worthy monuments, that are in the notablest Librarys beyond the sea'. This important statement illustrates the movement both towards the creation of national institutions that would parallel those of the most renowned cultural centres of Europe and at the same time, looked forward to the considerable accumulation of cultural artifacts from other countries that constituted colonial enterprise.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of Mary's reply to Dee's petition is the explicit reference to the means by which the representation of place was to be achieved. Mary confers her commission:

> for the seeing and perusing of all places within this her Grace's realm where any notable or excellent monument may be found, or is known to be. And the said monument or monuments so found and had by the said Commissioner then, of the former possessor in the Queen's Majestie's name to be borrowed and so nevertheless restorable to the said former possessor after such convenient time, wherein of every such

monument one fair copy may be written ...[43]

Here, the monarch authorizes the perception of place, 'the seeing and perusing of all places', so that the representation of it is specifically contextualized within a monarchical framework. The monuments, although 'restorable to the former possessor', during the moment of their perception and interpretation signify the monarch. In this way, the monuments represent the 'Queen's Majestie' and not 'England', an important contrast to Richard Helgerson's idea that the representation of place fostered the sense that 'England is Devonshire, Stafford and York' [44]. The seeking of monarchical intervention for the preservation of cultural artifacts necessarily involved the equation between those artifacts and the monarch. At the same time, however, the above excerpt clearly illustrates the conversion of place into textual form, 'wherein of every such monument one fair copy may be written'. Therefore, whilst the Articles assert monarchical claim and power to the land by authorizing the perception of place, the subsequent textualizing of place culminated in the comprehension of England through written texts rather through the original monuments themselves. As a result, instead of Helgerson's idea that 'Loyalty to England ... means loyalty to the land', here, loyalty to England means loyalty to the text.

Despite the swiftness with which Mary replied to Dee's supplication, nothing came of the Articles. More pressing problems occupied the monarch and it was not until 1560 that Elizabeth took a particular interest in the state of monuments and antiquities throughout the country. In response to the widespread destruction of these artifacts, arising mainly from strong reactions to the Reformation and Counter-reformation, Elizabeth issued 'A Proclamation

against breaking or defacing of monuments of antiquitie, being set up in Churches or other publique places for memory, and not for superstition' [45]. This is an especially important document because it criminalizes the destruction of monuments. The perpetrators of these now criminal activities were to pay for the restoration of the monuments and where the individuals could not be found, or were dead, their descendants or the clergy were to provide the funds in their stead. Under the aegis of preserving these monuments, the Proclamation demonstrates an acute awareness of the importance they had in maintaining a sense of national identity and specifically, monarchical control. The title clearly establishes those monuments within a non-idolatrous framework and as a result, it conveys a sense of the increasing significance of the secular sphere. Thus, although the Proclamation created a space for antiquaries to survey the ruins as an intrinsic element of their representation of place, its emphasis was upon prioritizing a history of the monarch and the nation. And this priority was constructed through a recognition that the monuments signified monarchical and heraldric genealogy. As the Proclamation observes:

> ancient monumentes, some of metall, some of stone, which were erected up as wel in Churches, as in other publicke places within this Reaulme, only to shewe a memory to the posteritie of the persons there buryed, or that had ben benefactours to the builduynges, or donations of the same Churches or publicke places, and not to ... any kind of superstition. By which meanes not only the Churches and places remayne at this present day spoyled, broken and ruinated, to the offence of all noble and gentle heartes, and ... of the honourable and good memory of sundry vertuous and noble persons deceased ... [46]

Here, the monuments signify not spirituality, or 'superstition', but the secular: individuals whose former social or political standing merited burial and secular remembrance. The churches function as a

means, then, to stress their importance within the community and they are to be understood as the result of individual secular benefactions rather than purely as places of worship. The monuments exist in order to maintain, therefore, a sense of genealogy wherein contemporary society can clearly see and comprehend the importance of these individuals within the political order. Thus, the Proclamation implies that the defacement of those monuments necessarily disrupts that order. The accentuation upon genealogy in the maintaining and revering of ancient monuments, however, has another aspect: it is to set that remembrance of individuals within the framework of nationalism. As the Proclamation continues:

> But also the true understanding of dyvers families in this Realme (who have descended of the blood of the same persons deceased) is thereby so darkened, as the true course of their inheritance may thereafter be interrupted, contrary to Justice. [47]

This illustrates the way in which monuments function as a means to understand not just 'dyvers families' but also, 'this Realm'. The idea of nation is constructed, then, through the remembrance of certain families whose descendants can claim importance via the monuments. To misinterpret those monuments as superstitious obscures that claim, and for the Elizabethans who were deeply concerned with all things legal, that misinterpretation prevented 'Justice'.

The stress upon legal descent had, of course, a particularly significant role. This was the affirmation of monarchical, nobility and gentry descent. As the Proclamation asserts:

> the breaking or defacing of any parcell of any monument, or tombe, or grave, or other inscription and memory of any person decesed beyng in anye manner of place, or to breake anye Image of Kynges, Princes, or noble estates of this Realme, or of any other, that have ben in times past erected and set up, for the memory of them to their posteritie in common Churches, and not for any religious honour ... [48]

The monuments were to stand, then, as representative of the monarch and certain politically and socially important families. Significantly, it is a secular representation that is being constructed: 'not for any religious honour'. The Proclamation registers the shift between a spiritual and a secular society, a shift that could be read in monuments throughout the country. Furthermore, the definition of the country through its monuments is constituted not through the Churches' relationship to Catholicism and the focal point of Pope and Rome but rather, through the existing secular monarch. It comes as no surprise therefore, that Elizabeth should encourage antiquarianism, since descriptions of the monuments together with the new significations that they were to encapsulate, could only strengthen dynastic claims for authority and ownership of land. Any representation of place, instead of serving merely as of particular academic interest to a few, played an immensely important part in underpining monarchical ideology and senses of national identity.

This section has illustrated the context of antiquarian endeavour and it suggests the way in which the representation of place was fraught with complexity. The antiquarians were caught within a complicated web of conflicting demands on both spiritual and political levels. Whilst monarchical intervention for the preservation of antiquities, manuscripts and buildings was fundamental in associating positive significations to these objects of study, those significations registered at the same time the shift from spiritual to secular notions of monarchy and community. This section has also demonstrated the importance individual antiquarians attached to collective endeavour which was perceived to be a crucially necessary attitude when confronting contemporary social and

political events. However, the ideology of collectivism in the representation of place was not a clear cut one; there was a certain irony in the fact that it was individually motivated antiquarians such as John Bale and John Dee who were advocating a collective endeavour. At the same time, however, as has been seen in the description of Edward Underhill's move to hide his own material for fear of political reprisal, individual actions were often criticised as detrimental to nationalism and patriotism. The aspirations of antiquarians like Bale and Dee prescribed instead a collective framework which would prevent, theoretically, individual determination over such material. In this way, the antiquarians directly engaged with ideas of individualism and collectivism in their pursuit of artifacts in order to represent place. And it was through the Antiquarian Society that this engagement was explicitly registered.

4. THE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

The move by various individual antiquarians towards the creation of a national library, their increased consciousness of the validity of antiquarian endeavour, and the emerging ideas of nationalism and collectivism, culminated in the establishing of an Antiquarian Society. The dates for the formation of this Society have been subject to debate owing to the lack of specification by the sources of this period [1]. However, the detailed work carried out by Linda van Norden has established the foundation of the Society to

be around 1572, a date that is substantiated by the most important source of the Society, the written records of Henry Spelman [2]. According to van Norden and Joan Evans, the Society met the most regularly in London between 1590 - 1607 with a gap between 1594 - 1598 which were plague years. The primary function of the Society was to create a forum for the dissemination of ideas between like minded individuals, all of whom were interested in and working on a variety of representations of place. Around two hundred discourses produced by the members of the Society as a whole for discussion are still extant, and the manuscripts represent important documentation in outlining the interests of members. Written mainly in English and primarily during 1598 - 1607 with 1599 at the most prolific, the manuscripts record membership, discussion of society business and minutes of the various meetings. The manscripts also illustrate the immense scope of antiquarian endeavour during this period: they range from the discussion of sterling money to the antiquity of shires, arms in England, Dukes, funerals and epitaphs, the antiquity and privilege of heraldry, tombs and monuments, and the antiquity of the laws of England [3].

Importantly, the discourses also occasionally refer to the methods by which antiquarian representations of place and their objects of study were to be carried out. Francis Tate, the most prolific of the members who, according to van Norden produced around 23% of the discourses, wrote clearly on both the scope of antiquarian projects and the language in which they were to be articulated [4]. In the following excerpts from two of his discourses written in 1600, Tate writes that:

> If I should handle these generall heads particularlie
> with a multitude of words, I should wery you all,

> therefore I passe them over and will omit to speak of ... For in this question, the greatest difficulty I finde, is to use brevity, though nothing be spoken but of this realm ...
>
> If the limits of the question exceede not the strictness of the words, and we beholden to the antiquity of a steward, I meane to his name, and not to the office ... nescio be the summe of my speech; for I know not soe much as what language the word is ... [5]

Linda van Norden argues that Tate is propounding not so much his own views as the opinions of his fellow members and colleagues. Consequently, the ideas and sentiments expressed by Tate suggest the formation of a highly structured Society, one which already possessed a distinct methodology that was applied by its members for carrying out antiquarian projects [6]. However, it seems to me that Tate's manuscripts also reveal that an antiquarian discourse was emerging, a discourse that was beginning to identify a relationship between particular words and the object of study. Although the first excerpt appears to be primarily concerned with 'brevity', it also explicitly delineates a certain kind of discourse that was to be employed when the object was 'this realm'. The 'brevity' of language was to accord, therefore, with the 'reduced' scope of the representation of place, which was to concentrate upon England only. Despite the awareness of the larger extent and influence of European antiquarian and cartographic studies, described by John Bale or the proclamation of Queen Mary for example, Tate's discourse implies an increased insularity in focusing on national rather than international antiquarian endeavour. This is partly the result, of course, of nationalism and patriotism, aspects of life during this period that have already been discussed in this chapter. But another important consequence of the concentration upon the idea that 'nothing be spoken but of this realm' is that of establishing a specific national

discourse that could justify and validate antiquarian endeavour as an authoritative academic pursuit, and so as valuable as any other kind of enquiry. The national scope introduced, then, the possibility of a national institutional framework for antiquarianism with the subsequent authority for the individual members: this was a standpoint that gave an authority to antiquarianism as distinct from a monarchical one. This was a particularly crucial distinction to emerge as the political environment was always unstable, as the events following the Reformation has shown. Any move towards establishing antiquarian endeavour upon an independent basis could only, it was believed, secure their studies from adverse political intervention. However, as will be discussed below in relation to the demise of the antiquarian society during the reign of James I, such security was not necessarily automatic.

Whilst outlining the scope and authority of their work the antiquarians were also, as suggested by Tate's discourse, negotiating with the authority of their source material. The second excerpt specifically engages with the antiquarian reliance upon a variety of potential sources. Although tortuously expressed, Tate appears to be attempting to specify the means with which antiquarian material could be disassociated from the social or political status of the 'office' from which such material derived. This could be achieved, he suggests, by using 'brevity', 'strictness' and the 'limits' of a particular kind of discourse in order to establish the basis from which to distinguish authoritative material from political or social status. The discourse of 'brevity' denotes then not only antiquarian study but it also becomes the means with which to engage with the political or social authority of the 'steward'. The social and political status via the 'name' is denigrated and disallowed,

enabling focus upon the 'office'; the negation of the authority of 'office' was potentially, according to Tate, not subject to particular individual determination but outside or divorced from political manipulation by certain individuals. Thus, the antiquarian could concentrate upon the 'antiquity' of the material rather than the authority of the 'steward'. But this use of a particular form of language to isolate antiquarian material was not without problems. Both Camden and Westcote, for example, incited an angry response when they described genealogies in the Britannia and A View of Devonshire that did not include all the 'names' of the nobility and gentry. Various 'names' were omitted since their main priority lay in the representation of the county or country and not with the social and political status of the individuals to which the genealogy referred. However, this movement towards precluding political intervention by means of an antiquarian discourse did not take into account the social and political status of any kind of institution, whether or not independent from monarchical control, stewards, or nobility; nor did it take in consideration the social and political status of the members who were carrying out antiquarian projects employing 'brevity' and 'strictness' of words.

Twentieth century scholars vary in their interpretation of the central members of the Antiquarian Society; some suggest Sir Robert Cotton as a key figure whilst others put forward Archbishop Matthew Parker [7]. Despite this debate, however, reference to the major source document about the Society points towards a number of politically important individuals who congregated in order to establish an institutional basis for antiquarian study. Thus, Henry Spelman's account of the Society clearly describes the individuals involved:

> Sir James Ley Knight, then Attorney of the Court of Wards, since the Earl of Marleborough and Lord Treasurer of England, Sir Robert Cotton Knight and Baronet, Sir John Davies his Majesty's Attorney for Ireland; Sir Richard St George Knt, then Norrey, Mr Hackwell the Queen's Solicitor, Mr Camden, then clarencieux, my self, and some others. Of these the Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert Cotton, Mr Camden and myself, had been the original Foundation ... [8]

Arthur Ferguson describes these individuals as 'gentlemen scholars', 'members who came to the Society from careers in law, heraldry and the Church' [9]; and Joan Evans confirms that 'many of them owned manorial rights and were interested in the condition of the tenure of land in England' [10]. What these descriptions indicate, however, is that the focus of the antiquarians upon the antiquity of land, counties and law, for example, reflect in fact the concerns of their own specific class preoccupations. The investigation of genealogy gains increased significance, then, when the antiquarian owns or has a vested interest in the land and country nobility that he is representing. But although this professional and noble status of most antiquarians certainly existed, it did not necessarily hold true of all antiquarians: Lambarde may have owned a manor in Kent and been responsible for administering justice in the county as a member of the rising gentry, but individuals such as Camden and Norden had to rely on their own endeavours to gain financial support for their work [11]. What Spelman's listing of members suggests to me, therefore, is that his inclusion of the professional and class standing of the members, derives from an attempt to validate the society by virtue of status rather than their object of study. This is echoed by another member, Richard Carew, who wrote to Sir Robert Cotton in 1605 that: 'I heard by my brother, that in the late Queenes tyme it was lykelie to have received an establishment and extraordynarie favour from sundrie great personages' [12].

Obviously, the descriptions by both Carew and Spelman are in complete contrast to Francis Tate's claim that antiquarians should prioritize 'office' over 'name'. Carew's concern with 'sundrie great personages' and Spelman's use of political status imply, then, that at the time of writing, it was of great importance to specify status. Since Spelman's account of the Antiquarian Society was written retrospectively, that is, after the demise of the Society in 1607 during the reign of James I, he was attempting to re-authorize antiquarian study. This gains credence by two factors: his admission that he wished to publish his own contributions to the original Society, and the inclusion of his own genealogy (written in Latin, with his name translated into 'Henricus Spelman') at the head of his work. Both factors suggest that individual rather than collective motives determined his use of status to describe the members.

The Antiquarian Society consisted, therefore, of politically and socially important members, who gathered in London in order to disseminate ideas and provide an authoritative and institutional framework for their representations of place. One of their major contributions to antiquarian study was the submission in 1589 of what is known as the 'Cotton Petition', which was signed by Sir Robert Cotton, James Ley and Sir John Doddridge. It sought, as Harrison Ross Steeves describes, to 'legalize their organization and extend their influence' and since it was addressed to Queen Elizabeth, the Petition attempted to acquire royal endorsement for the Society [13]. Even though the Petition was ultimately unsuccessful in gaining specific royal favour, the document is an important register of the state of antiquarianism at this time. Thus, both in its concerns and its eventual outcome, the Petition is directly related to those

formerly made by John Leland and John Dee. But the significant difference from those earlier documents lies in the fact that this was a Petition written and submitted by the collective rather than the individual. The Petition arises, then, subsequent to the grouping of antiquarians into a potentially active academic - and political - body, an aspect which is made palpably clear by the following excerpt:

> Their ar divers gentlemen studious of this Knowledge and which have long tyme assemblid and excersised themselves theirin out of which company and others that ar desirous the body of the said Corporation may be drawne. [14]

The tone and substance of this Petition is radically different from that put forward by John Dee since it suggests that a Society had already been established and that what was required was monarchical and political recognition of both the Society and its members. Consequently, approval was not sought for antiquarian endeavour itself but rather, an institional framework, one which could only gain additional authority from royal favour. The Petition set out exactly what the members wished:

> for a charter of incorporation, and for some public building where they might assemble and have a library. ... This Society will not interfere with the Universities, as tending to the preservation of History and Antiquities, whereof the Universities, long buried in the Arts, take regard. [15]

Since the membership had already been established by individual determination, only the physical structure, 'some public building where they might assemble' was requested. However, the Petition astutely recognized a potentially negative response from other academic bodies, namely the universities. Rather than denigrate them as John Bale had done, in critizing them for not being interested in national antiquities, the Petition identifies a space for their

Society: it is to concentrate upon 'the preservation of History and Antiquities' of which the Universities 'take no regard'. In this way, the Society promotes recognition of their work outside mainstream academia and it is a public building and a library that would authorize such work and not the universities.

Much work has already been done on the Elizabethan Antiquarian Society, especially by the excellent studies carried out by Linda van Norden and Joan Evans. However, although there have been many descriptions of the Antiquarian Society, its members and activities, they have not analysed in any detail the important source document of Henry Spelman [16]. Spelman's account of the formation of the Antiquarian Society provides a particularly interesting insight into the cultural preoccupations invested in antiquarian study during this period. Spelman's account of the eventual formation of the Society in 1572 implicitly underlines a concern with the importance of the collective in countering potential attack from the monarch. He relates the Society's establishment in the following terms:

> About 42 years since, divers Gentlemen in London, Studious of Antiquities, fram'd themselves into a College or Society of Antiquaries, appointing to meet every Friday weekly in the Term, at a place agreed of, and for Learning sake to confer upon some questions in that Faculty, and to sup together. The Place, after a meeting or two, became certain at Darby-house, where the Herald's office is kept ... [17]

What is crucial about Spelman's account is the complex interaction between the individual and the collective, and the way in which the Society is formed from the personal. His description makes clear that it is individuals who determine the collective and that it is they that become the physical, the Society of Antiquaries. Moreover, despite the move for 'some public building where they might assemble and have a library' that was outlined in the Cotton Petition,

Spelman's description that 'a place agreed of' and 'The place ... became certain' suggests that the Society could meet and function without either public funding or recognition. The collective gains authority, therefore, from within: the individual determination of members enables the Society to exist on its own terms rather than through those of the monarch or universities. This is a particularly important point: since the Society arose in London, they necessarily became a potentially significant political and academic force, and where to the universities at least, they could be perceived as rivals. This was a major factor of the formation of the Antiquarian Society which would, eventually, lead to its demise.

Once the framework and place appointed for meeting had been established, attention turned towards determining a methodology for the representation of place. This has already been commented upon in relation to the discourses of Francis Tate. However, Spelman adds to this debate with his own account of the arranging of seminars where papers could be given and ideas exchanged. He describes how:

> every Man had a Sennight's respite to advise upon them, and then to deliver his Opinion. That which seem'd the most material, was by one of the Company (chosen for the purpose) to be enter'd in a Book; that so it might remain unto Posterity. [18]

Just as individual determination culminated in the physical structure of the Society coming into being, so too do the representations of place given at their meetings adopt a physical manifestation. It is not only that oral communication becomes text, but that the Society itself achieves a textual being. Furthermore, in Spelman's account, it would seem that the Society itself becomes the significant idea that is to be transmitted to 'Posterity' rather than the original artifacts and manuscripts which provided the object of study.

Interestingly, an internal evaluative system operates where only certain papers are to be published. The 'Book' is to represent, then, not the Society as a whole, incorporating the work of all the members, but instead, selections.

The Antiquarian Society formulated certain restrictions to the scope of its study. These restrictions were were conceived mainly in response to the potential attack from both the monarch and the universities. As the text, The Society of Antiquaries in London claims, the Cotton Petition particularly incited the opposition of the universities, who perceived the Society as a threat to their pre-eminence as academic centres of learning [19]. The Petition had attempted to avoid such a response by specifying its field of enquiry, one in which the universities appeared to take no interest. Spelman echoes this concern when he writes that:

> We held it sufficient for that time to revive the meeting, and only conceiv'd some Rules of Government and Limitation to be observ'd amongst us; whereof this was one, that for avoiding offence, we should neither meddle with matters of state, nor of Religion. [20]

There is a certain irony here, in that Spelman should be advocating that the antiquarians should 'neither meddle with matters of state, nor of Religion' when only in the previous paragraph he had outlined in great detail the political status of the members. Consequently, the viability of his statement is called into question when individuals such as 'Sir James Ley Knigh, then Attorney of the Court of Wards ... Sir John Davies his Majesty's Attorney for Ireland ... Mr Hackwell the Queen's Solicitor' were to give papers on subjects that bore no relation to politically and spiritually sensitive material. In order to do so, they would have had to divorce their political functions from their antiquarian ones. Moreover, since the

discourses that were produced by the Society covered a whole variety of arenas of knowledge from sterling money to the antiquity and privilege of heraldry and the laws of England, they were very much involved in the political ideas of the time [21]. This necessarily raised the issue of whether cultural material could in any case be divorced from the social and political status of the antiquarians who interpreted and wrote about the land and communities that they observed. This has already been noted by the fact that the status of the antiquarians determines what they perceived to be of value in the representation of place. As important perhaps, Spelman's definition of 'some Rules of Government and Limitation to be observed amongst us' established the possibility of transgression; the cultural material produced by the antiquarians could always be interpreted with senses of the political in mind. Furthermore, the idea of 'Rules of Government', although operating on a collectively authorized basis, introduced the notion of transgression within, as the scope of antiquarianism increasingly developed. Spelman's account of 'some Rules of Government and Limitation' was obviously conceived, therefore, with the potentially negative response of both monarch and universities rather than with the scope of antiquarian study in mind. It is indicated especially by the phrasing 'We held it sufficient for that time' since it implies a consciousness of contemporary events. And more importantly, it is borne out by the dissolving of the Society by James I who proved, like the universities, to be unsympathetic to it.

James' culpability in the demise of the Society is, in fact, clearly registered by Spelman. His description of James' actions in this respect is a particularly fascinating example of the interaction between the collective and the individual when under attack:

> But before our next Meeting, we had notice that his Majesty took a little Mislike of our Society; not being informed, that we had resolv'd to dcline all Matters of State. Yet here upon we forbeare to meet again, and so all our labours lost: But mine lying by me, and having been often desir'd of me by some of my Friends, I thought good upon a Review and Augmentation to let it creep abroad in the form you see it, wishing it might be rectify'd by some better judgement. [22]

Whether or not James had actually been informed about the 'Rules of Government and Limitation', he was nevertheless hostile to the Society. And perhaps precisely because the members held important political roles, they withdrew their involvement, at least on a collective basis. What is particularly interesting about Spelman's account, however, is that it would seem that he has used the the dissolution of the Society to positive effect: despite his allegation that 'all our labour [was] lost', the disintegration of the collective has enabled him to publish his own work as an independent individual. Subject to no 'Rules of Government and Limitation' Spelman could publish without fear of transgression of Society rules; he could also publish without regard to the selection of material carried out by the Society to be printed as a 'Book'. It could be suggested then, that his whole account of the Antiquarian Society in 'The Occasion of this Discourse' functions, in fact, as a means by which to authorize his own work. Thus, the account adopts the status of autobiography as Spelman delineates his own involvement and interpretation of events. Consequently, his claim that 'But mine lying by me, ... I thought good upon a Review and Augmentation to let it creep abroad ...' can be understood as a self-perceived opportunity to publish his own work on an individual basis, however self-consciously. This is only emphasised by his frequent use of personal pronouns as he tentatively promotes his own material.

Thus, we come full circle. As the Antiquarian Society emerged out of the needs and desires of individual antiquarians for a collective forum for the dissemination of ideas, the dissolution of that very collective enabled the antiquarian to publish as an individual (albeit with the authority of a previous Antiquarian Society behind him). However, this is not to suggest a rigid analysis of the Antiquarian Society but rather, that the interaction between the individual and collective, the personal and the political, was not a clear cut one. There was considerable fludity as the members met and disbanded, producing their representations of place in variety of both adverse and positive environments. As the account provided by Henry Spelman indicates, the collective voice mingled with the individual one. In fact, the Antiquarian Society was to remain dormant until 1638, with a brief ressurection between 1617 and 1628 via the efforts of Edmund Bolton [23]. It was in the third attempt at forming a Society in 1638, however, that a far more comprehensive set of rules was drawn up. These rules reflect the history of the Society and antiquarianism as a whole, primarily from the Reformation onwards, as the members sought to learn from previous events. Thus, as an example, the rules exhort members:

> Imprimis, That every one do helpe and further each others studyes and endeavours, by imparting and communicating (as time and circumstances may permitt) all such bookes, notes deedes, rolles etc, as he hath ...
>
> Item, That no person of this Society do shewe or otherwise make knowen this or any the like future agreement, nor call in, nor promise to call in, any other person of this Society without a particular consent first had of all this present Society ...
>
> Item, That care be providently had, not to lend, much less part with, any other peece, treatise, booke, roll, deed, etc, unto any stranger, but to such persons, from whom some reasonable exchange probably be had or borrowed. [24]

These rules illustrate the attempt to codify antiquarian pursuit and moreover, they are much more explicit in their attempt to specify membership. This looks forward, of course, to the future formation of the Royal Society. From the rules of 1638 it would seem as if the whole country were to be divided into antiquarians and 'Strangers' as the former sought to protect the interests of both antiquarians and the objects of their study. Again, this reflects, of course, the move towards the collectivism of the civil war period; analysis at the beginning of this chapter of Ireton's definition of political representation and the individuals who were entitled to represent and be represented, bears a close resemblance to the 1638 rules of the Antiquarian Society in its concern to mark out the boundaries of interest. In conclusion then, the Society rules of 1638 arise from the lamentations of John Bale about the wilful destruction of manuscripts and artifacts both at home and abroad, from the desires of John Leland, John Bale and John Dee to establish a national library, from the hostile interventions of the universities and the power of the monarch, and finally, from the desire to create an active body of antiquarians, able to disseminate ideas with like-minded individuals. It is almost as if the antiquarians of 1638, in drawing up what Henry Spelman had called the 'Rules of Government and Limitation', had specifically consulted William Lambarde's _A Perambulation of Kent_ of 1576:

> that someone in each shire would make the enterprise for his own country to the end that by joining our pens and conferring our labours ... we might at the last by the union of many parts and papers compact one whole and perfect body of our English topography. [25]

The rules drawn by the Antiquarian Society of 1638 seem to have Lambarde's words in mind as they sought to facilitate the sharing of material and the creation of a national 'whole and perfect body of

our English topography'. The next chapter will focus, therefore, on the work of Lambarde, and in particular his Perambulation of Kent. Analysis of his texts illustrate the way in which he attempts to negotiate with ideas of individualiam and collectivism, the significations of the land, towns and buildings that are being represented in textual form, and the discourse in which such representations were to be articulated.

CHAPTER TWO: NOTES

1. PERSPECTIVE AND PLACE

1. Preface, William Camden, Britannia, 1610.

2. 'Extracts from the Army Debates, October 1647', Revolutionary Prose of the English Civil War, edited by Howard Erskine-Hill and Graham Storey, p71.

3. Norman Thrower, Maps and Man: An Examination of Cartography in Relation to Culture and Civilization, p4.

4. Francis Bacon, The Advancement of Learning, p221.

5. Achsah Guibbory, The Map of Time: Seventeenth Century English Literature and Ideas of Pattern in History, pp3-4.

6. Joan Evans, A History of the Society of Antiquaries, p21.

7. Richard Symonds, Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army During the Great Civil War, edited by Charles Edward Long, pp20-1.

8. ibid., p21.

9. John Bale, 'Bale's Treatise' in John Leland, The Laboryous Journey, edited by W A Copinger, p15.

10. William Dugdale, Antiquities of Warwickshire, 1656. Dedication to Christopher Lord Hatton; 'To My Honoured Friends the Gentrie of Warwickshire'.

11. Graham Parry, The Seventeenth Century: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature 1603 - 1700, p173.

12. ibid., p175.

13. Richard Helgerson, 'The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography and Subversion in Renaissance England', p349.

14. ibid.

15. Arthur Ferguson, Clio Unbound: Perception of the Social and Cultural Past in Renaissance England, p79.

16. ibid., p174.

17. Thomas Westcote, A View of Devonshire with A Pedigree of Most of its Gentry, edited by Rev. George Olivier and Pitman Jones, p xvi. There is no date on the manuscript but the editors suggest that the possible date of composition is 1630. Since Westcote's year of birth is 1567, there is every likelihood that the text would probably have been written over a fairly long period, as other antiquarian texts of the period.

18. William Lambarde, A Perambulation of Kent, 1576; Sampson Erdeswicke A Survey of Staffordshire, 1717; William Pole, Collections towards a Description of the County of Devon, 1791; Tristram Risdon, The Chorographical Description, Or, Survey of the County of Devon, with the City and County of Exeter, 1714; William Burton, The Description of Leicester Shire, 1622.

2. GEOGRAPHY AND GENTRY: DEFINITIONS OF ANTIQUARIANISM

1. Thomas Westcote, A View of Devonshire with A Pedigree of Most of its Gentry, p xvi.

2. J R Tanner, Tudor Historical Documents AD 1485 - 1603, p59.

3. Arthur Ferguson, pp80-1.

4. William Dugdale, Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated From Records, Leiger-Books, Manuscripts, Charters, Evidences, Tombes, and Armes: Beautified with Maps, Prospects and Portraitures, 1656.

5. Arthur Ferguson, p80.

6. Francis Bacon, Advancement of Learning, nos. 3-4 pp73-4; See also no. 7 p75.

7. Arthur Ferguson, p90. For further discussion of the scope of antiquarian study see E G R Taylor, Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography: 1583-1650, p2; Arnaldo Momigliano, Studies in Historiography, p7; R A Butlin, 'Regions in England and Wales c1600-1914' in An Historical Geography of England and Wales, edited by R A Dogshon and R A Butlin, p228; W G Hoskins, Local History in England, pp19-20.

8. Richard Helgerson, 'The Land Speaks: Cartography and Subversion in Renaissance England', pp347-8.

9. Thomas Westcote, pp xvi - xvii.

10. William Dugdale, 'The Preface'.

11. ibid.

12. Richard Willes, The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies and Other Countreys lying eyther way, towardes the fruitfall and ryche Moluccaes, 1577. Quotation from E G R Taylor Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography: 1583-1650, p41.

13. Francis Bacon, p79.

14. Nathanael Carpenter, Geography Delineated forth in two Bookes, Containing the Sphaericll and Topicall Parts thereof, 1625. Chapter one, p3; p2.

15. ibid., p2.

16. ibid.

17. ibid. See also John Dee's preface to H Billingeley's translation of Euclide's Elements (1570) where Dee describes that:

    Geographie teacheth ways, by which, in sundry forms, (as Spherike, Plaine or other), the Situation of Cities, Townes, Villages, Fortes, Castells, Mountaines, Woods, Havens, Rivers, Crekes, and such other things, upon the outface of the earthly Globe (either in the whole, or in some principall member and portion thereof contayned) may be described and designed, in commensurations Analogicall to Nature and veritie: and most aptly to our view, may be represented.

    Although Dee is not making the distinction between geography and chorography that Carpenter was to make, his definition of geography is interesting nevertheless for its association with 'Nature'. In this excerpt, Dee is primarily concerned to reveal not just the scope of geographical study (which bears a close similiarity to that of antiquarianism), but also the way in which representations of land can be made 'Analogicall to Nature and veritie'. The representations that are subsequently produced appeal to the perceiver's or reader's sense of truth and so, fulfil cultural expectation.

18. John Stow, A Survay of London 1598. See 'To the Right Honourable, the Lord Mayor of the Citie of London, to the communalitie, and Citizens of the same, John Stow, Citizen'.

19. F J Levy, p140.

20. Jim Wayne Miller, 'Anytime the Ground is Uneven: The Outlook for Regional Studies - and What to look Out for', Geography and Literature: A Meeting of the Disciplines, edited by William E Mallory and Paul Simpson-Housley, p14.

21. John Norden, Nordens Preparative to his Speculum Britanniae, 1596. The discussion is contained in the section 'To All Coverteous Gentlemen, Inspectators and practitioners in Geographie, in Christo Salutem'.

22. William Burton, The Description of Leicester Shire, 1622, p4.

23. ibid., 'To the Reader'.

24. William Dugdale, p10.

25. Roger Barlow, A Brief Summe of Geographie, c1540-41, edited by E G R Taylor, p1.

26. Humfrey Lhuyd, The Breuiary of Britayne, translated by Thomas Twyne, 1573, 'Preface'.

27. ibid., sig. Aiiir - Aiiiv.

28. Thomas Churchyard, The Worthiness of Wales, 1587. 'The Preface'.

29. ibid., sig. A2r.

30. Sampson Erdeswicke, A Survey of Staffordshire, 1717; Richard Verstegan, A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence: In Antiquities Concerning the most noble and renowned English nation, 1605.

31. William Burton, p320.

32. Tristram Risdon, The Chorographical Description, Or Survey of the County of Devon, with the City and County of Exeter, 1714, pp146-61.

33. William Pole, Collections towards a Description of the County of Devon, 1791, p444.

34. ibid., p118.

35. Tristram Risdon, p43.

36. ibid., p1.

3. THE ANTIQUARIAN WAY TO REPRESENTING PLACE

1. Thomas Westcote, A View of Devonshire, p31.

2. William Dugdale, Antiquities of Warwickshire, p9. See also below.

3. Thomas Westcote, p448.

4. Quotation from John Aubrey, cited in chapter two, section one, p63. From Graham Parry, The Seventeenth Century: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature 1603 - 1700, p174.

5. Peter French, John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus, p42.

6. The Itinerary of John Leland In or About the Years 1535-1543, edited by Lucy Toulmin-Smith, 1907. All page references are from this edition.

7. Leland, pp xxxvii - xxxviii. It should be pointed out that Leland's objectives also served a longer term function than the immediate engagement with the Dissolution. As Robin Flower points out:

   Leland's projects served as a draft instruction for the labours of all the antiquaries of the Tudor times. Leland's activities had three objectives; the preservation of the records of the

English past; the full exploitation of the material thus conserved; the mapping of the face of that England which he had traversed and lovingly observed in his toilsome journeys. Robin Flower, Laurence Nowell and the Discovery of England in Tudor Times, p49.

8. J R Tanner, Tudor Constitutional Documents AD 1485-1603, p59.

9. John Leland, p xxxviii.

10. Francis Bacon, Advancement of Learning, p3.

11. John Leland, p xxxix.

12. ibid., p xxxviii.

13. J R Tanner, p59.

14. ibid.

15. ibid.

16. Francis Bacon, p4.

17. ibid., p5; pp4-5.

18. John Leland, p xxxix.

19. For the relationship between pilgrim literature and geography, see E G R Taylor, Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography: 1583-1650:

    there exists pilgrim literature although its geographical importance is slight. In 1506 an account of the Pilgrimage of Sir R Guylforde was published by Pynson, while manuscript versions of the Pilgrimage of the Norfolk parson Sir R. Torkington to the Holy Land in 1517, and of that of R Langton to Compostella in 1522, are also extant. p6.

20. J R Tanner, p59.

21. F J Levy, Tudor Historical Thought, p120.

22. J R Tanner, p58.

23. Francis Bacon, p63.

24. John Bale, 'Bale' Treatise' in John Leland, The Laborious Journey, 'To the Reader', pp16-17.

25. ibid., p20.

26. ibid., p21.

27. Bale's assertion that the study of antiquities could aid the state was, in fact, to become a contentious issue during the period of the Antiquarian Society. As will be illustrated in

Section Four, Henry Spelman suggested that James I's dislike of the Society was precisely because of the members knowledge of ancient legal precedents.

28. John Bale, pp18-19. See also Thomas Kendrick, British Antiquity:

    Leland was concerned to secure collections of British authors ... some of the lesser well known writers were in doubt, and there were unscrupulous foreign scholars to be feared. In a letter written to Thomas Cromwell, in 1536, about the need for securing books by these writers, Leland said, 'The Germans perceiving our desidiousness and negligence, do send daily young scholars hither, that spoileth them and cutteth them out of libraries, returning home and putting them abroad as monuments of their own country.' p198.

29. Esther Moir, The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists, p6.

30. Narratives of the Dayes of the Reformation, edited by John Gough Nicols, p171.

31. William Harrison: The Description of England, The Description of Britain, edited by Georges Edelen, p63.

32. William Lambarde, A Perambulation of Kent, 'To the Right Worshipfull, and vertuous M Thomas Wootton, Esquire'.

33. Peter French, p34.

34. ibid., p5.

35. A Supplication to Queen Mary, by John Dee, for the recovery and preservation of ancient writers and monuments; 15th January 1556. Johannis confratis and monachie Glastoniensis Chronica, Vol. 2, 1726, pp490-5.

36. J R Tanner, p59.

37. John Dee, A Supplication to Queen Mary.

38. ibid.

39. ibid.

40. ibid.

41. Articles concerning the recovery and preservation of the ancient monuments and old excellent writers: and also concerning the erecting of a Library without any charges to the Queen's Majestie, or doing any injury to any of the Queen's Highnes subjects, according to the tenor and intent of a supplication to the Queen's Grace in this behalf exhibited by John Dee, Gentleman; 1556, the xv day of January. Johannis confratis and monachie Glastoniensis Chronica, Vol.2, 1726, pp490-5.

42. ibid.

43. ibid.

44. Richard Helgerson, 'The Land Speaks: Cartography and Subversion in Renaissance England', pp347-8.

45. A Booke Containing all such Proclamations as were published during the Raign of the late Quene Elizabeth, collected together by the Industry of Humfrey Dyson of the City of London, Publique Notary, 1618.

46. ibid.

47. ibid.

48. ibid.

4. THE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

1. They vary between 1586: Graham Parry, The Seventeeth Century: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature: 1603-1700, p171 and A L Rowse, The England of Elizabeth, p159; and 1572: Joan Evans, The History of the Society of Antiquaries, pp8-11 and Harrison Ross Steeves, Learned Societies and English Literary Scholarship in Great Britain and the United States, p27.

2. Linda van Norden, The Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries.

3. Printed copy of MS Faustina EV in Thomas Hearne, A Collection of Curious Discourses, 1720.

4. Linda van Norden, p149.

5. ibid.

6. ibid.

7. Sir Robert Cotton: F J Levy, Tudor Historical Thought, p128 and Graham Parry, p171; Archbishop Matthew Parker: Harrison Ross Steeves, p5, and Esther Moir The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists, p15.

8. The English Works of Sir Henry Spelman Published in his Life-Time; Together with his Posthumous Works, Relating to laws and Antiquities of England; first published by the Present Lord Bishop of Lincoln, in the year 1695; Together with a Life of the Author, Now Revised by his Lordship, to which are added:- Of the Admiral - Jurisdiction; and the Officers thereof; Of antient Deeds and Charters, 1723.

9. Arthur Ferguson, pp87-8.

10. Joan Evans, pp10-11.

11. See John Norden, Preparative to his Speculum Britanniae, 1596, where in the dedicatory preface to William Cecil he writes:

    I have beene forced to struggle with want, the unpleasant companion of Industrious desires, and have long sustained foyle, inforced neglect of my purposed business, and sorrow of my working spirit.

    And again in The Description of Hartfordshire, 1598, the B.M. copy G.3685, contains a handwritten and signed dedication to Elizabeth:

    I was promised sufficient allowance, and in hope thereof only I proceeded. And by attendance on the cause, and by trauvaile in the business I have spent above a thousand markes, and five yeares time. By which being daungerouslie indepted, much greeved, and my familie distressed, I have no other refuge but to flie unto your Maiesties never fayling bountie for releefe.

    Richard Helgerson cites a letter from Camden to a fellow antiquary in 1618 where he claimed that he had no need of patronage since he earned his own living (by teaching at Westminster School):

    I never made suit to any man, nor, not to his Majesty, but for a matter of course incident to my place, neither (God be praised) I needed, having gathered a contented sufficienty by my long labors in the school. 'The Land Speaks', p343.

    The lack of financial reward for antiquarian endeavour has already been noted by Thomas Westcote and Richard Willes, in his The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies, 1577, states in the dedicatory preface to the Countess of Bedford that in writing his account:

    I loke for no prayse, I hope not for honour, I gape for no gayne by this kind of studie. I knowe this day no place, no preferment, no public chayre, no ordinarie lecture, no commune stipende, no special reward due vnto the studentes in Geography. sig. vi v.

12. Cited in Harrison Ross Steeves, p6.

13. ibid., p27.

14. Cotton MS Faustina EV. 12, fol. 89 (see also a copy in Titus B.V. 67, fol. 210). The complete Petition has been printed by Sir Joseph Ayloffe in Curious Discourses Vol. II, 1771, 1773, 1775. Cited in Linda van Norden, p23.

15. Rupert Bruce-Mitford, The Society of Antiquaries of London: Notes on its History and Possessions, p11.

16. For eighteenth century accounts of the formation and dissolving the Elizabethan Antiquarian Society see Thomas Hearne, A Collection of Curious Discourses, 1720; Richard Gough,

Anecdotes of British Topography Or, An Historical Account of what has been done for illustrating the Topographical Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland, 1720.

17. Henry Spelman, p69.

18. ibid.

19. Rupert Bruce-Mitford, p11.

20. Henry Spelman, p69.

21. There was a potential contention between the denial of political activity through antiquarian study and the effect that it actually had upon the political ideas of the time. Whilst William Dunkel, for example, points out that: 'Members offered to take the oath of Supremacy to Elizabeth, to show that they contemplated nothing subversinve, a second oath to preserve the library' at the same time, though he makes no connection, he describes how 'The Society was to be memorable not only for its scholarly activities per se, but because of the strong effect these activites had upon the political thinking of the day.' William Lambarde, Elizabethan Jurist: 1536-1601, pp xi - xii.

22. Henry Spelman, p70.

23. Joan Evans, Chapter II 'Stuart Antiquarianism'.

24. ibid., p22.

25. William Lambarde, 'The peroration of this worke', Perambulation of Kent, 1826, p474.

CHAPTER THREE

WILLIAM LAMBARDE: THE ANATOMY OF LAND

1. CONFLICTS OF REPRESENTATION

> nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist. Ernst Gellner, in Peter Stallybrass, 'Time, Space and Unity in The Fairie Queene' [1]

> The nation ... is not only a spatial entity. The nation has to be invented or written; and written, what is more, in the crucial and troubling knowledge that it could be written otherwise. It is because the nation could be written otherwise that the act of writing must be forgotten, transformed instead into the act of reading a pre-given past. Peter Stallybrass, 'Time, Space and' Unity in The Fairie Queene' [2]

> The other considerations of method, concerning propositions, are chiefly touching the utmost propositions, which limit the dimensions of sciences; for every knowledge may be fitly said ... to have a longitude and a latitude; accounting the latitude towards other sciences, and the longitude towards action; that is from the generality to the most particular precept. Francis Bacon, The Advancement of Learning [3]

These quotations suggest the complexity by which knowledge and the 'knowledge of nation' are both determined and understood. On the one hand, according to Francis Bacon, knowledge is a construct articulated by means of spatial metaphor, metaphor which stands for the process of induction. In terms of thinking about nation as a spatial entity, land becomes the site upon which knowledge, the 'latitude' and 'longitude', is inscribed. As I have argued elsewhere, [4] this idea concurs with Bacon's belief that the world could be 'colonized' through knowledge: his aim to carry out the 'description of those parts which seem to me not constantly occupate or not well converted by the labour of man' indicates the way in which his knowledge becomes inscribed upon the world, even those parts not 'constantly occupate', in order to understand it. On the

other hand, however, Peter Stallybrass suggests that that very site, the world, the land, is a shifting, amorphous, entity since the means by which it is known appear to be arbitrary insofar as potentially conflicting textual accounts compete for dominance. Thus, for Stallybrass, the enclosure of land of the sixteenth century projected ideals of state hegemony whilst simultaneously the Robin Hood narratives, for example, subverted that inclusiveness. Stallybrass concludes from this that land becomes the site upon which competing textual accounts - and by extension their status as knowledge - are contested. The understanding of nation, therefore, is derived from the reading of different narratives, where each narrative embodies certain ideological assumptions. The quotations heading this chapter reflect, therefore, the different facets of nation where Bacon uses spatial metaphor with which to articulate ideas of knowledge, metaphor which serves to delineate methodology. But the concepts of 'longitude' and 'latitude' also function as a conceptual basis for understanding the world and the land. In Bacon as in Stallybrass, ideas of the world and the nation become a focal point through which spatial metaphor and knowledge of that world and nation pass.

But Peter Stallybrass is also concerned with the processes of reading and writing that constitute the text that 'invents' the nation. The excerpt claims that the act of writing has to be ignored since a plethora of textual accounts 'inventing' the nation exist; according to Stallybrass, such plurality cannot inform us sufficiently about the ideological assumptions inherent in those writings. What is important, therefore, is the process of reading that is subsequently formulated into written text, so that as literary critics we read the writing to find how that writing came to be constituted. The extract illustrates, then, the New Historicist's

continuing concern to reveal ideology. However, despite the appeal of this argument, I find problematic the division of reading and writing that Stallybrass appears to be suggesting. In his example establishing this division, drawn from the Faerie Queene, he identifies in the text a set of 'false narratives' that obscure the 'true narrative'. This 'false narrative' functions in the text to produce a conflation of national and spiritual destiny. However, Stallybrass's analysis appears to be a working through of exactly those competing texts (although in the one narrative of the Faerie Queene) and their narrative strategies, in order to identify Spenser's ideological assumptions. In addition, it is difficult to separate a text into two levels of reading and writing, since any reading, that we in any way can determine, is known through the writing. Where I think that Stallybrass's article is particularly helpful is in the ideas of competing textual accounts and the way in which nation can be said to be 'invented or written'. These concepts can be expanded to suggest the significance of the way in which land - its geography and its boundaries, its customs and the laws by which the people live on the land - becomes text and through being written, achieves some kind of authorizing status. As has been discussed in the previous chapter in relation to the proclamations issued by Mary and Elizabeth regarding monuments, the concept of the nation as text added an important political dimension to the way in which England or Britain was perceived. Furthermore, by the very existence of a variety of textual accounts of the nation, Stallybrass's article identifies the importance of the way in which those texts become potentially competitive with each other.

These ideas are especially productive when looking at the work of William Lambarde and in considering the way in which the

antiquarian can be said to 'invent' the nation and through that 'invention' be seen to compete or conflict with other 'inventions'. Like Bacon, Lambarde is concerned with the means by which knowledge, and in particular knowledge of place, is constructed. But he is also interested in the alternative ways by which land could be represented and understood in textual form and so be constituted as knowledge. Both his antiquarian and his legal texts reveal an explicit preoccupation with identifying whether knowledge of the nation is formulated by collective or individual endeavour, and as a result, how that knowledge should be articulated methodologically. As in the case of Bacon's Advancement of Learning, Lambarde experiments with the methods of deduction and division of material in order to undertake the representation of place. Alongside this concern with methodology, Lambarde also attempts to establish the means by which his 'invention' could be articulated linguistically. His antiquarian texts directly confront the problem of whether the nation should be represented alphabetically, describing each town or shire in alphabetical order, or whether some kind of linear narrative should be constructed whereby the information of any area is ordered under the particular headings of 'customs' or 'laws', for example. And implicit in this concern with the language of antiquarian texts, is what form of discourse should be used to represent place. In Lambarde's texts, the language of the labourer or craftsman is used in order to express the different dimensions of place, from the creation of the antiquarian text itself, to the articulation of geographical and cultural information. This preoccupation with language and method reflects, of course, the difficulties of representing land in other than cartographical terms.

Lambarde's 'invention' of the nation involves, therefore, the

consideration of both the language and the methodology by which antiquarian representations of place are to be undertaken. At the same time, however, Lambarde's letter to William Camden of 1585 which describes his reading of the manuscript Britannia (first published in 1586) reveals his negotiation with another antiquarian's representation of Britain [5]. In claiming to Camden in this letter that he cannot publish his own description of Britain, the Dictionarium Angliae Topographicum and Historicum [not published until 1730] now that he has read the Britannia, the letter indicates the problems of acknowledging another textual 'invention' of place. Thus, the idea put forward by Peter Stallybrass that what is written is constructed in 'the crucial and troubling knowledge that it could be written otherwise' could be applied to suggest that Lambarde's response to the Britannia reveals his awareness of the status of narrative and its relationship to other narratives. Consequently, Lambarde's belief that he could not publish his own 'invention' of place owing to the existence of another, illustrates the way in which different different textual accounts compete or conflict with one another.

The self-referentiality that is implicit in Stallybrass's concept of the 'invention' of the nation in textual form and the conscious awareness of the construction and status of that text can be examined in detail in both Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent (written 1570, published 1576) and his letter to Camden of 1595. I will be concentrating on the second edition of the Perambulation of Kent (1596), however, as it includes Lambarde's response to the publication of the Britannia. Although the Perambulation of Kent concentrates specifically on the representation of Kent, Lambarde discusses in detail in this text the need for the representation of

the entire nation, of which his account is only one part. In the second edition of the Perambulation of Kent, Lambarde argues that since such a project would require more effort than any one individual could possibly hope to achieve, the complete 'definitive' account would have to be created by a number of individuals:

> As touching the description of the residue of this Realme, finding by this one, how harde it will be for any one (and much more for my selfe) to accomplish it for all, I can but wish in like sort that some one in each Shyre would make the enterprise for his own Countrie, to the end that by ioyning our Pennes, and conferring our labours (as it were, 'ex symbolo') we might at the last by the union of many partes and papers, compact one whole and perfect bodie and booke of our English Topographie. [6]

In the first instance, this extract suggests that Lambarde believes his description of Kent to be an adequate textual account since he requests that others should complete the 'residue of this Realm'. But in outlining this further endeavour, he appeals to both parochial and nationalistic ideals which interweave with notions of collective and individual endeavour. For example, Lambarde clearly desires that it should be 'some one in each Shyre', that is, an individual producing an individual text that subsequently would be incorporated into the complete 'booke of our English Topographie'. As a result, the amalgamation of all these accounts creates a complete text, which in this state, represents collective production. Therefore, the antiquarian text that is originally determined by personal and individual knowledge of a particular geographical area and consequently, one that derives from senses of parochialism, becomes when combined with others to produce the whole 'booke', a reflection of a nationalist ideal: 'some one in each Shyre would make the enterprise for his own Countrie'. The creation or 'invention' of the nation becomes collective, then, through the very process of writing

itself. It is the 'ioyning our Pennes' and 'conferring our labours' that comes to 'write' the 'whole and perfect bodie and booke' [7]. And it is the 'union of many partes and papers' which substantiates that creation of the one text. The idea of the 'union' of disparate parts acts in two important ways. Firstly, it indicates Lambarde's methodology which, as will be discussed later in this chapter, consists of dividing the 'whole Realm' or the whole county of Kent into constituent parts in order to represent the whole. Secondly, the 'union' acts symbolically to illustrate how the 'union' of individual texts, also refers to the union of the nation in narrative form.

The interrelation between the individual and the collective, the separate and the whole text, and their symbolic status as signifying the unified nation is a significant aspect of Lambarde's conception of the methodology by which the representation of England is to be undertaken. Lambarde's description of the 'whole and perfect bodie and booke of our English Topographie' does not immediately imply any element of competition. Rather, by the 'union of many partes and papers', the individual 'inventions' come to be constituted as a unified text with the ultimate aim of symbolizing the unified nation. Therefore, it comes as a great surprise to read Lambarde's response to the manuscript of Camden's Britannia. This letter reveals a conflict in the reading of another antiquarian's representation of Britain, a response that is articulated in the language of bereavement:

> In the reading of these your painful topographies, I have been contrarily affected; one way taking singular delight and pleasure in the perusing of them; another way by sorrowing that I may not now, as I wanted, dwell in the meditation of the same things that you are occupied withal. And yet I must

> confess, that the delectation which I reaped by your labours recompensed the grief that I conceived of mine own bereaving from the like ... [8]

Despite having worked on the Dictionarium Angliae Topographicum and Historicum (from which text the Perambulation of Kent was drawn and expanded) for at least the last twenty-five years, the letter suggests that Lambarde could no longer publish the Dictionarium now that Camden had produced the 'definitive' representation of Britain. This response may be partly accounted for by academic rivalry; Wilbur Dunkel relates how

> Lambarde needed Parker's advice and encouragement, for his humility and independence provided a second paradox, his diffidence and need of patronage to attain the favor with Queen Elizabeth. Unlike many writers, Lambarde did not need money. However, Archbishop Parker had supplied the service of calling Lambarde's work to the attention of Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth. [9]

Patronage was important, therefore, not for the purposes of financial remuneration but for recognition of his status and work (see below). More significantly, however, Lambarde's letter begs the question of why he should feel so 'bereaved' over the publication of the Britannia when in the Perambulation of Kent he advocates the publication of 'one whole and perfect bodie and booke of our English Topograhie'. Surely, Lambarde's reaction to reading the Britannia should consist only of 'delight and pleasure' since his desire for the complete representation of Britain would seem to have been accomplished. The answer to Lambarde's response lies perhaps in the notions of authorial control and in the potential competition of textual 'inventions' of Britain. For example, what is explicitly emphasized in the Perambulation of Kent is Lambarde's directive for the creation of a 'whole booke' where he instigates and calls for further representation. By Camden taking it upon himself to write

his own 'whole booke', the Britannia, he circumvents Lambarde's directive for other antiquarians to represent the 'residue of this Realme'. In producing the whole text, Camden erased those segments, supplanting even Lambarde's description of Kent. It is in this way that Camden competes with Lambarde's directive - and in that competition, obscures Lambarde's own textual accounts, both the Perambulation of Kent and the Dictionarium. Moreover, because Lambarde believed that the Dictionarium could not now be printed, obviously it could not even adopt the status of textual account. It is as a result of this erasure of Lambarde's antiquarian texts, that the language of bereavement pervading the letter becomes comprehensible: the 'sorrow', the 'grief' and the 'bereaving' derive from a sense of the 'death' of a text, Lambarde's Dictionarium. The concept of the 'death' of the text and the author suffering bereavement over that loss takes an even greater poignancy by the fact the Dictionarium was indeed not published in Lambarde's lifetime.

But, of course, to suggest the 'death' of his own texts in the light of the publication of the Britannia is not ultimately a position Lambarde wished to condone. To do so would negate completely his own antiquarian texts together with the considerable thought he had put into establishing a methodology by which the representation of place could be undertaken. Thus, in order to counter the potential dominance of the Britannia, Lambarde emphasized the element of the individual and the personal when representing land, thereby indicating the importance of individual perspective. This emphasis would detract, therefore, from any one text claiming to be, or being perceived as, dominant. These ideas are suggested in the letter to Camden and expanded more fully in the second edition of

the Perambulation of Kent. In the letter, Lambarde describes:

> What praise you deserve in all, I can best tell, by Kent, wherein (however I have laboured muyself) I learn many things by you, that I knew not before. ... To be plain, I seem to myself not to have known Kent, till I knew Camden. [10]

Although Lambarde is concerned to emphasize to Camden that his 'praise' is not 'flattery', the above extract reveals a sense of the inadequacy of his own work when compared to Camden's. However, what is significant is the way in which the idea of the personal is introduced into the representation of place, 'I seem to myself not to have known Kent, till I knew Camden'. This suggests that knowledge of place is derived not only from the textual account, Camden's Britannia, but that such knowledge is acquired through the individual, 'Camden'. Lambarde's statement illustrates the complex relationship between text and author because in this extract, the Britannia is referred to in the name of the author rather than by the name of the text. Thus, in this instance, the actual text disappears as Lambarde's knowledge of Kent seems to be understood through the individual rather than through the text. Lambarde's phrase foregrounds, then, senses of the individual and by implication, the importance of individual perspective. As a result, knowledge of place is acquired not just through the reading of textual accounts, but through the personal perspective of the individual undertaking that representation, a perspective that is subsequently written into the text.

The significance of the personal and the individual is addressed in detail in the second edition of the Perambulation of Kent. Again, Lambarde refers to the Britannia and the way in which that text far exceeded any other account. It is because of that pre-eminence that Lambarde stresses its importance as information for

other antiquarians. However, instead of going on to suggest that other accounts are subsequently made redundant, Lambarde concentrates on the personal perspective that 'individualizes' any representation:

> having for mine own particular found myself thereby to have learned much [from the Britannia], even in that Shyre where I had endeavoured to know most. Neverthelesse, being assured that the inwardes of each place may best be known by such as reside therein, I cannot but still encourage some one able man in each shyre to undertake his own whereby both many good particularities will come to discoverie everywhere and Master Camden himself may yet have greater choice wherewith to amplify and enlarge the whole. [11]

Lambarde's emphasis on the personal allows, therefore, for a number of representations to be written, even though ultimately they would be formulated to constitute the 'one whole and perfect bodie and booke of our English Topographie'. Personal perspective not only facilitates the initial co-existence of disparate texts but perhaps even more importantly, indicates that there are a number of elements of any 'Shyre' that could only be known - and understood - by the indigenous inhabitants. In addition, in claiming that 'the inwardes of each place may best be known by such as reside therein', Lambarde employs both the discourse of the body and the discourse of the antiquarian in the method of retrieving information from the 'body' of the earth itself. These discourses are a significant aspect of Lambarde's texts which will be discussed in section three. In this instance, however, this form of discourse denotes the importance of aligning the indigenous inhabitant with local information of the land. And in asserting this claim, of course, Lambarde stresses the status of that information. As a result, it is through acknowledging that status together with the personal perspective producing the particular text, that Lambarde elides Camden's Britannia. From Lambarde's point of view, Camden could not possibly have known

'personally' about all local customs and laws, despite the considerable accumulation of source materials gathered from other scholars and from his own travels; Camden as resident of London, would not have been able to 'represent the inwardes of each place' which are 'best known by such as reside therein'. Lambarde's argument authorizes the local account through ideas of the personal perspective and as a result, the local account becomes of paramount importance.

The final outcome of Lambarde's argument, therefore, is that it is precisely those individual perspectives that come to be constituted as knowledge and reference for the great Camden himself: 'and Master Camden himself may yet have greater choice wherewith to amplify and enlarge the whole'. Interestingly, it was precisely these concepts of 'greater choice' and 'amplification' that were adopted by Camden in his description of Canterbury. In this chapter, Camden asserts the importance of sources and the work of other antiquarians in writing his description of Britian. Furthermore, he claims that two separate accounts of the same place could be written, when the original source was quoted and acknowledged. In the opening chapter on Canterbury, he writes:

> Now am I come to Kent, which Countrey although master WILLIAM LAMBARD, a man right well endued with excellent learning, and as godly vertues, hath so lively depainted out in a full volume, that his painfull felicitie in that kind hath left litle, or nothing for others, yet according to the project of this worke which I have taken in hand, I will runne it over also: and least any man should thinke, that as the comicall Poet saith, 'I deale by way of close pilfering', I willingly acknowledge him, (and deserve he doth no lesse) to have been my foundation, and fountaine both of all (well-neere) that I shall say. [12]

Paralleling the sentiments expressed by Lambarde, Camden initially complains that the consequence of the representation of Kent already

having been undertaken was to leave 'nothing for others'. As in the case of Lambarde's Dictionarium, this suggests the element of competition between texts that represent place: once a description has been written, further accounts are made redundant since there is no 'place' for them. Camden overcomes this situation by suggesting that his representation of Kent is justified by the framework of his narrative as a whole; there is a 'place' for his representation of Kent because it is an intrinsic part of the description of Britain as whole.

Naturally, Lambarde had everything to gain from formulating this argument, that 'the inwardes of each place' are 'best known by such as reside therein': his Perambulation of Kent could only acquire additional status because he actually lived in Kent, where he owned the manor of Westcombe near Greenwich and where he was employed as a lawyer. According to Lambarde's argument, his own legal knowledge and activities as a local Justice of the Peace would qualify him to describe aspects of Kentish customs and law; and this description would derive from direct involvement rather than purely from travel or from the consultation of written material. For example, Lambarde defined in the Perambulation of Kent the concept of 'gravelkind', a form of inheritance opposite to primogeniture where all the children had equal rights to inheritance, a legal custom that only existed in Kent [13]. The implication of Lambarde's concept of the personal and the individual was, therefore, that an antiquarian from another geographical area might not consider 'gravelkind' to be a significant aspect of Kent to include in an antiquarian representation of place as different cultural preoccupations would determine what is considered to be "worthy" of inclusion within the text. Although it could be countered that any lawyer from any part

of the country could in fact describe local custom through textual investigation (and this was, indeed, an explicit aspect of antiquarian endeavour during this period), it is important to emphasize that Lambarde was raising the status of local information and he was attempting to validate and authorize local experience and personal perspective. For it is that perspective that validates his own text despite the existence of the Britannia.

But of course Lambarde's own cultural preoccupations are embedded within the Perambulation of Kent, preoccupations that reflect his own class position, his political status in administering the law, and his status as an educated individual. It is apposite to examine here the significance of ideas of gentry and land ownership that are implicit in Lambarde's conception of the personal and individual perspective when representing place. Although Lambarde believed himself to be qualified to represent Kent by virtue of his own residence there, 'being assured that the inwardes of each place may best be known by such as reside therein', it is important to point out that originally, Lambarde came from London. His father had been a prosperous draper who had increased his own financial wealth and social and political standing to such an extent that he was made an alderman and Sheriff of London. This raises questions of what Lambarde meant by the idea of 'residence' and the very nature of the qualification to represent the 'inwardes of each place'. For example, is the personal perspective determined by birth and continued residency in that particular place or does the individual qualify by virtue of spending a certain amount of time in that area? Moreover, it begs the question of whether the qualification to represent place derives not only from residency but also from employment or ownership of property. A L Rowse has suggested that

Lambarde considered himself to be a 'Kent man' because he owned land and the Westcombe manor and that it was the purchase of property by the father which was subsequently inherited by the son that defined regional status; buying property, rather than being born in the county, made Lambarde 'a Kent man' [14]. The relationship between land-ownership and the sense of belonging to a particular county became the basis, then, of Lambarde considering himself to be 'some one able man' who is 'assured that the inwardes of each place may best be known by such as reside therein'. A link is clearly established then, between land ownership in a particular county and the ability to represent that county in written form.

The ideas of land-ownership and senses of regionality generated by that ownership, convey a sense of the increasing political and social importance of this group. For it was land-ownership that was a means by which the class of gentry itself came to be defined:

> Separated from the nobility by only a title and the privileges it conferred was the country gentry. This class embraced within its ample folds men of gentle birth and breeding, whose worldly possessions might vary from extreme affluence to comparative poverty, but which would include the ownership of land. [15]

It would seem, therefore, that Lambarde's directive to other antiquarians to represent land, a representation that prioritized the personal and the individual perspective, had as much to do with notions of class and ownership of land as it had to do with the formulation and the furthering of antiquarian study. Implicit in Lambarde's directive were notions of what it might have meant to be 'Kentish' as well as what might constitute the status of 'gentry'. These concepts are reflected in the letter by Thomas Wootton to the reader of the Perambulation of the Kent as well as within the main body of the text itself. The letter is explicitly addressed by

Wootton 'To his Countrimen, the Gentlemen of the Countie of Kent'. Wootton specifically relates the readership of the representation of place to the tenuous definitions of being 'Kentish' as well as being a member of the 'gentry':

> I know not (in respect of the place) unto whome I may more fitly thus send it then unto you, that are eyther bred and wel brought up here, or by the goodnesse of God and your own good provision, are well settled here: and here lawfully possesse, or are neere unto sundrie of those things, that this booke specially speaketh of: and thus, as of your selfes, doe you see what they are now, and thus as of this booke, may you knowe why they were, and by whome they were, and what they were long agone. [16]

This extract reveals not just the attempt to define the audience of the Perambulation of Kent but also contains within it the 'qualities' by which a 'Gentleman of the Countie of Kent' may be known and judged. Along with the reference to residency 'eyther bred and wel brought up, or ... well settled here', the allusion to ownership of property, 'here lawfully possesse', Wootton attempts to define such 'Kentish' 'gentlemen'. According to Rowse, the last clause refers to:

> [the recognition] that the gentry of Kent are not of such ancient stocks as elsewhere, for merchants, lawyers and courtiers were continually being transplanted thither from London. Thomas Wootton ... was of an old Kent family. [17]

Ironically, Wootton's definition of 'gentry', 'as of your selfes, doe you see what they are now, and thus as of this booke, may you knowe why they were, and by whome they were, and what they were long agone' is as applicable to Lambarde himself as to the increasing rise and geographical spread of the gentry class in general. Indeed, the tortuous definition offered by Wootton incorporates the very unstable nature of gentry families in their struggle to acquire increased wealth and status. As Laurence Stone argues, the Renaissance period

saw an 'unprecedented economic mobility among the middle land owning groups, with families moving up or down in considerable numbers' [18]. And Wootton's definition reflects just such an instability.

Although such instability is acknowledged by Lambarde himself in the Perambulation of Kent, it is described in far more positive terms. In 'The Description and Hystorie of the Shyre of Kent' Lambarde comments upon the social and geographical mobility of 'gentlemen', a mobility that culminated in a lack of gentry 'ancient stock':

> The gentlemen be not heere [throughout] of so auncient stockes as elsewhere, especially in the partes neerer to London, from which citie (as it were from a certeine riche and wealthy seed plot) courtiers, lawyers, and marchants be continually translated, and do become new plants among them. [19]

Despite the fact that Kent did not possess gentry of 'so ancient stockes as elsewhere', Lambarde emphasises a sense of generation and development of the Kent gentry population and the county as a whole. And this is achieved by articulating the mobility of the gentry in the discourse of agriculture, 'a certain riche and wealthy seed plot' and 'new plants among them'. This discourse both suggests and enforces the relationship between the gentry and the actual land itself. Social, political and geographical movement is therefore not perceived as 'unnatural' or necessarily unstable but as a constituent part of the cyclical seasons of agriculture and growth. The association between people (specifically the gentry) and the land is an important one since Lambarde was particularly concerned to link the economic and social preoccupations of the gentry with the various geographical and agricultural benefits of Kent. Again in 'The Description and Hystorie of the Shyre of Kent', Lambarde suggests that economic growth is a 'natural' consequence of gentry mobility:

> Yet be their [the gentlemen's] revenues greater then any where else: which thing groweth not so much by the quantitie of their possession, or by the fertilitie of their soyle, as by the benefit of the scituation of the countrie itself, which hath all that good neighbourhood, that Marc. Cato, and other old authors in husbandry require to a well-placed graunge, that is to say, the sea, the river, a populous citie, and a well traded highway, by the commodities whereof, the superflous fruites of the grounde by dearly sold, and consequently the land may yeeld a greater rent. [20]

For Lambarde, it is not just that the economic status of Kent is vastly improved by the increased numbers of gentry living in the county; it is also that the geographical and agricultural aspects of Kent provided potentially excellent prospects for financial remuneration. Thus, Kent both attracted financial investment through the availability of good agricultural land, diverse means of transport, a developed political and social administration and a ready source of labour, and at the same time, through actually living and working in the county the gentry could manifestly increase their economic and political status. That gentry mobility should be articulated not so much in the language of instability which pervades the letter by Thomas Wootton but in the discourse of agriculture and the land, 'a certain riche and wealthy seed plot' and 'new plants among them', substantiates the economic preoccupations of the very gentry class itself. And what could be more enticing for gentry settlement in Kent, with their concern with land-ownership as a definition of their own class status, than that economic investment would result in 'land [that] may yeeld a greater rent'. The association of the actual land of Kent with the mobility of the gentry culminates not just in the representation of economic and political gain, but perhaps more importantly reduces the emphasis upon the potentially unstable nature of this kind of population

movement. And, as significantly, the 'agricultural' discourse obscures the fact that 'The gentlemen be not heere (throughout Kent) of so auncient stockes as elsewhere ...'. Rather than the gentry of Kent being known - and judged - in terms of genealogy, they are instead recognized on the basis of economic wealth: 'Yet be their [the gentlemen's] revenues greater then any where else'. In this way, the potentially negative associations surrounding the lack of ancient ancestral gentry families in Kent is cleverly reversed by Lambarde in order to emphasize the economic and political benefits and 'growth' of the new families. Lambarde's argument contrasts, therefore, with other sixteenth century ideas of gentry mobility from rural areas to London. As Laurence Manley describes:

> The boundary of political culture placed around the city [of London] was permeable in both directions. First of all the city effected a transition that took its leading sons, if not its daughters, outside the domestic urban field and into the fields of opportunity - the court and landed aristocracy - where great prestige and power lay. [21]

Lambarde's description of the economic and cultural possibilities of Kent provided, therefore, a detraction from those of London.

However a major consequence of geographical mobility was its effect upon the cultural and political allegiances of the gentry class as a whole. Increasing numbers of gentry in particular geographical areas meant that ideas of regionalism and nationalism were foregrounded. This is because class mobility raised the question of whether the gentry allied themselves to London with its involvement in national interests or to the regional interests of local counties and communities. As R A Butlin has described in 'Regions in England and Wales c1600-1914':

> The major debate is between those who contend that the major focus of political loyalty and social and

> cultural life was the county, often described as 'the country', in contrast to those who argue more traditionally that there was consciousness and awareness of national issues and institutions in the 'provinces'. [22]

Lambarde's description of the gentry moving from London, 'as it were from a certeine riche and wealty seed plot', to the provinces, where they are 'translated' and 'do become new plants', raises important political issues: the antiquarian is involved in delineating cultural allegiances and the shifting of centres of power. Butlin goes on to cite Holmes who suggests that for the gentry, despite their residence in the counties, a residence that might develop a regional consciousness, it was their education and business interests in London that ensured the maintenance of a national interest. Holmes argues that:

> particularly [the gentry's] formal education and their involvement with the national capital, London, ensured that their horizons were not narrowly local. In their participation in local administration, the gentry were continuously reminded that England was a centralized polity, governed by a common law, and they were frequently obliged to confront major constitutional issues directly. [23]

This analysis could, of course, be directly applicable to Lambarde himself, since as a gentry lawyer, trained in London but practising in Kent, his conciousness of regional and national interests would be interrelated. However, as will be seen in the discussion in section four of Lambarde's description of Canterbury, the relationship between senses of nationalism and regionalism were not necessarily clear cut. In describing the economic and social deprivation of Canterbury caused by the Reformation, Lambarde is caught between representing national interest by supporting the routing of all things Catholic and being conscious of regional interest by lamenting the damage such destruction caused to the local population. To a

large extent, Lambarde's situation was symptomatic of the antiquarians' occupation as a whole; as has been discussed in the previous chapter, the antiquarians' concern with recording monuments and manuscripts forced them to confront directly national Reformation and post-Reformation policy on a regional level.

In 'The Description and Hystorie of the Shyre of Kent', regional and national interests are interwoven with the definition of class-focused gentry interests. As Lambarde describes:

> These gentlemen be also (for the most part) acquainted with good letters, and especially trained in the knowledge of the lawes: They use to manure some large portion of their own territories as well for the maintenance of their families, as also for their better increase in wealth. So that they be well employed, both in the publique service, and in their own particular, and do use hauking, hunting, and other disports, rather for their recreation, then for an occupation or pastime. [24]

Initially, national interests are revealed through the fact that the gentry are 'acquainted with good letters, and especially trained in the knowledge of the lawes'. This education and training, especially if received in London, might initiate a national consciousness, a consciousness that would emerge more strongly whilst undertaking 'publique service'. Moreover, many practising lawyers would have owed their primary allegiance to common law rather than civil law. This is significant in that it was common law, with its relationship to an ancient law uninfluenced by Roman law, that appealed to senses of nationalism and the idea of an English nation. But a regional consciousness could appear too, as Lambarde describes the economic interests of the gentry families within their own communities. What is foregrounded in this extract, however, is less the interrelationship between senses of nationalism and regionalism than the class preoccupations of the gentry themselves. Thus, the idea

that the gentry 'manure some large portion of their own territories as well for the maintenance of their families, as also for their better increase in wealth', essentially reveals that the gentry's implicit concern is with the accumulation of wealth and their own definitions of class in terms of economics, the generation of families and land-ownership. This idea is emphasized further by Lambarde's explicit distinction between the way in which the gentry use the land from that of the nobility: sport is for 'recreation' rather than for 'an occupation or a pastime', an observation that implicitly attacks the land uses of the nobility. In this way, the gentry are defined through their occupation, both in their participation in 'publique service' and in their 'recreation'. Early notions of the Protestant 'work ethic' emerge since sports activities are for 'recreation' rather than for 'occupation or pastime'. This definition of the gentry indicates their distinction from the nobility and suggests, significantly, that it is only the gentry who use land properly - and profitably. Notions of nationalism and regionalism are subsumed, then, in the 'correct' way in which land is to be used. And with the description of land in terms of 'their own territories', Lambarde clearly illustrates that land-ownership is an important definition of status; as importantly, land is associated here not with the monarch or with the whole community but with the gentry. Land becomes the site, then, upon which the monarch as a sign of power is displaced.

This relationship between the gentry and the land, was a direct consequence of the increased wealth accumulated by the gentry, wealth which was subsequently invested in land. Godfrey Davis points out that:

> The change in the balance of wealth [between the nobility and the gentry] was of the greatest political importance. Because the possession of land - and the 'nouveau riche' sooner or later invested his money in land - was becoming recognized as a source of power, the greater wealth of the gentry was to give the house of commons an ascendancy over the house of lords. [25]

This alteration in the balance of wealth and so the balance of power, manifested through the land itself, raises a number of fundamental issues pertinent both to Lambarde's antiquarian and legal work and as well as to antiquarianism as a whole. In the first instance, Davies' statement substantiates the relationship between the increased political importance of the gentry and the fact that a member of the gentry group itself, that is Lambarde, should be occupied with delineating class structures in his representation of place. That the Perambulation of Kent should register a shift in the balance of power may be accounted for by Lambarde's involvement in law, his promotion of gentry ideals because of his own membership of this class, and also to his alleged appointment as a Member of Parliament. The implication of all these factors is that Lambarde was in a position to acknowledge and represent the increased involvement of the gentry in relations of power. For example, it has been suggested by some commentators on Lambarde that he had been a Member of Parliament and had spoken out in the House of Commons about the issue of Elizabeth's succession. Wilbur Dunkel in William Lambarde, Elizabethan Jurist 1536 - 1601 has described that during his time at Lincolns Inn, Lambarde attended the Second Parliament called on 12 January, 1563, as a Duchy Nominee. As the Parliament of 10 April, 1563 was prorogued, it was at the session on 13 September, 1563 that members demanded that Elizabeth designate the line of succession. Elizabeth refused to respond to these demands and had Lord Burghley

read out a letter informing the members of her reply. Dunkel states that:

> Three days later Lambarde arose and declared that the Queen had made a grave error in avoiding the issue ... He argued learnedly that the welfare of her government required that her decision be made. Even though he presented learned precedents and spoke in good faith, his speech seemed audacious. He was only a young law student, speaking his mind, and however forthright ... he had challenged authority. [26]

The implication of this is that the gentry, and specifically the antiquarians and lawyers, were in a unique position both to make their voices heard on constitutional matters and to cite historical precedent to substantiate and authorize their voices. The challenge to authority, therefore, arose not just through the increased power through wealth and land-ownership, but through the ability of antiquarians and lawyers to make use of their access to ancient documents for political use. Retha Warnike, however, disputes in William Lambarde: Elizabethan Antiquary 1536 - 1601 the fact that Lambarde ever was a Member of Parliament, citing considerable evidence for her claim [27]. She suggests that the antiquarian and lawyer of Lincolns Inn has been confused with a certain William Lambart, MP. But Lambart was a burgess, educated in Latin and French and may well have been proficient in history and the law. So, whether it was Lambarde or Lambart who challenged Elizabeth to designate a successor, the importance of the gentry voice and the use of historical precedent to validate that voice had been established. More and more during the late sixteenth century, lawyers and antiquarians made their presence felt with their knowledge of law and the rights of land-ownership and in the case of the antiquarians, their knowledge was acquired through the very textual representation

of land itself. As has been discussed with regard to the demise of the Antiquarian Society, James I had expressed a specific dislike for the Society because of the increasing involvement of lawyers and antiquarians in bringing to light (often to the chagrin of the monarch) historical precedent and relating it to contemporary political events. This state of affairs was to acquire ever more significance well up to the civil war period itself as the gentry became involved directly in constitutional matters and their right to own land.

But despite Lambarde's representation of the new gentry and the mutual economic, social and political benefit accorded to them and to Kent, the old gentry families could offer additional benefits to the Perambulation of Kent itself. Because Thomas Wootton belonged to an old Kentish family, he could authorize the text through his county and gentry status. Although Lambarde considered himself to be a member of the gentry (indeed, he includes his own name in his list of the nobility and gentry in the Perambulation of Kent) he required nevertheless the 'patronage' of a more 'ancient' member of the county gentry class in order to validate his text. Although Lambarde did not require any financial remuneration for his work he did need Wootton as a patron to recommend his work to a gentry audience [28]. As Wilbur Dunkel makes clear:

> This book [the Perambulation of Kent] greatly increased Lambarde's reputation, particularly in Kent, where now he was known as the benefactor of the College for the Poor and as a respected author of local history. If ever he had seemed an outsider, there was now no question of the esteem and affection in which he as held by the county families proud of their heritage. [29]

The letter by Thomas Wootton and the descriptions of the gentry in the Perambulation of Kent suggest, therefore, that the gentry class

were interested in themselves as a group, in reading of their original ancestors and their acquisition of lands in the county. And the 'county families' had every reason to hold Lambarde in 'esteem and affection' as he was providing a codification in textual form of their very identity. As Jack Simmons points out:

> The Perambulation of Kent was a practical handbook for a knowledge of the county. It included a list of the Kentish nobility and gentry recorded in the heralds' visitation of 1574; and that gives us a clue to its character, for - like nearly all the works of this kind undertaken in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, - it was a book in which the author saw himself as a gentleman writing for gentlemen. at the same time, as its title suggests, it was not strictly speaking an historical work. It included some historical matter, but its main purpose was to describe the county as it was when Lambarde wrote. [30]

Not only is the idea that the Perambulation of Kent 'was a book in which the author saw himself as a gentleman writing for gentlemen' applicable to Lambarde and the way in which he included his own name in the list of noblity and gentry; Wootton also describes the text as a 'booke ... written by a Gentleman of our Countrie' and as one 'none ... more meete, then for the estate of Gentlemen'. Thus, in describing gentry mobility, a representation that conveys a complex negotiation with senses of nationalism and regionalism, and in describing gentry families of 'auncient stockes' as an appeal to be a specific 'Gentlemen' audience, Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent may be understood as both a contemporary account of land and an historical one.

As a member of the new gentry and with his concern with the contemporary economic, social and political interests of this class, Lambarde's notion of the personal and the individual perspective in representing place becomes clear. Not only does this perspective circumvent the publication of Camden's Britannia, allowing for the

existence of other antiquarian representations of place, the emphasis upon the personal and the individual is based upon ideological assumptions about the nature of class and ownership of property. Lambarde as owner of land in Kent, employed as a local administrator of law, and as a philanthropic figure building a hospital for the poor, becomes the 'one able man' of a county who is 'assured that the inwardes of each place may best be known by such as reside therein'. It is in this way then, that the "conflict of representation" is addressed by Lambarde and potentially resolved by him through the prioritizing of personal perspective. This perspective does not detract from the formation of a 'whole and perfect bodie and book of our English Topographie' since such individual texts could be subsequently formulated into the complete text of the nation. What becomes of issue now, therefore, is how precisely Lambarde constructed his own antiquarian texts. The next section considers the method by which Lambarde constructed his representations of place and the notion of the labour that is involved in such a production.

2. CREATING THE TEXT

> I know right well, that the thing it selfe [the text] (being but a Bearewhelp that lacketh licking: a rawe colloured portraiture that wanteth polishing: and gyfte, 'In quo censendum nil nisi dantis amor') is neither aunswerable to your woorthinesse, nor to mine owne wishe ... [1]

What characterizes Lambarde's practice in legal and antiquarian texts is his explicit preoccupation with the means by which the text

is constructed. And by construction, I mean both the method by which representation is organized into narrative as well as the actual creation of the physical text. The above quotation, taken from the letter to Thomas Wootton to whom the Perambulation of Kent is dedicated, reveals more than authorial reticence in the promotion of his own work. What is significant is the way in which Lambarde self-consciously projects the text as a physical object, requiring further work upon it. The language of 'colloured portraiture' was a commonplace of the period in referring to the written text and was in fact used earlier by John Leland to describe his Itinerary [2]. However, the implication of the externality of the text and the relationship of the author to that text reverberates throughout Lambarde's work. Moreover, the language of the craftsman becomes a dominant metaphor by which the actual process of writing as a physical activity and the way in which the author organizes material to be placed in that text is articulated.

These ideas pervade Lambarde's work, but one of his legal treatises, the Eirenarcha (1586) is worth detailed examination [3]. This is because it both informs the methodology of the Perambulation of Kent and the Dictionarium and projects most clearly Lambarde's methodology for the creation of a text. The whole domain of law in the sixteenth century was disorganized; despite the existence of the four formal Inns and a number of minor houses, the study and application of legal practices was by no means a simple operation. Lambarde, with his detailed knowledge of Anglo-Saxon language and his examination of manuscripts from this period, together with his formidable knowledge acquired from antiquarian endeavour, was placed in a unique position for outlining national and local legal practices. And it is the Eirenarcha that responds to this context

and addresses itself to the laying out of legal procedure for the purposes of both lawyers and local Justices of the Peace in order for them to carry out their work. At the same time, the formalizing or codification of legal practices within the written text enabled Lambarde himself to carry out his function as a Justice of the Peace, 'as also for mine owne Information and discharge in the Service itself'. Thus, in the introduction to this work, the individual endeavour and the collective application are drawn together. And it is in this introduction that Lambarde's description of the creation of the text appears:

> I betooke me to the olde and newe bookes of the Common Lawes, and to the volumes of the Actes and Statutes and (mistrusting the slipperness of mine owne memorie) I did upon a second reading plot the matter with my penne, and made (as it were) a Module thereof in a small booke, wherein I brought together stuff of ech kinde, sorted in heapes, and layed readie to be wrought and framed. [4]

Here, Lambarde is not merely concerned with the significance of the creation of the text but also, with the prioritizing of written language over oral memory. For it is in that prioritization that the written text itself acquires additional credibility. The extract illustrates how we know that Lambarde is interpreting 'olde and newe bookes' by virtue of his describing the actual process of reading and gathering together of material. For here we have the organization of information into narrative at its earliest stage. But Lambarde also foregrounds the use of the 'penne' in the writing process and in doing so, reveals both his preoccupation with the construction of text and at the same time, makes the reader conscious of the writing process. The 'penne' in this extract operates, therefore, on a literal rather than a metaphorical level. The penne' becomes the tool of the craftsman, a concept that is only emphasized by

Lambarde's last line, 'wherein I brought together stuff of ech kinde, sorted in heapes, and layed readie to be wrought and framed'. From this we learn of the organization of material into narrative form and the way in which that organization can be perceived in terms of the physical construction by the craftsman. This aligns the construction of text with the ideas of the 'labour' of writing and antiquarian endeavour that appear so often in Lambarde's work. As he describes in the Perambulation of Kent 'the ioyning of our pens and the conferring of our labours', the notion of writing and labour are closely interrelated. A more detailed discussion of the significance of labour will be addressed below.

Another level to the discussion of the construction of the text outlined in the above quotation is Lambarde's treatment of the law. Recounting that 'I betooke me to the olde and newe bookes of the Common Lawes, and to the volumes of the Actes and Statues' and later in the text where he 'planted Precedents here and there in it' illustrates Lambarde's engagement with common and civil law. Although as a student at Lincoln's Inn he would have encountered mainly the common law, the concept of constructing a new legal text that would encompass the civil law as well, suggests the lawyer and the antiquarian attempting to reconstruct the two together, and engaging with the ancient legal customs. Such innovation was contrary, Kevin Sharpe and Christopher Brooks argue, to earlier academic explanations that the lawyers of the sixteenth century were 'insular' and unable 'to accept that their law was the product of time and historical development' [5]. Rather, Lambarde's engagement with the common and civil law illustrates the way in which laywers recognized the significance of customs and history; and, of course, research into the customs of the past was a specific antiquarian

concern. Indeed, Sharpe and Brookes argue that the Antiquarian Society, and particularly the work of William Camden and Sir John Davies, was pivotal in establishing archives from which historical precedents could be identified and debated [6]. In addition, the antiquarian interest in historical precedent was an important basis from which contemporary political events could be both understood and negotiated with. A knowledge of 'the olde and newe bookes of the Common Lawes' constituted a potentially powerful challenge to political authority. As it has already been discussed in section one of this chapter of Lambarde's alleged role as a Member of Parliament, this knowledge of law and the interest in historical precedent enabled the gentry lawyer and antiquarian to participate, in ways not always desirable to the monarch, in contemporary political events.

From the perspective of the creation of the physical text, an important dimension to Lambarde's introduction to the Eirenarcha is the way in which the physical construction of the text takes place within a narrative framework that includes the description of the context in which that writing occurs. Firstly, it is a response to contemporary ideas of legal practice. But in describing the immediate circumstances of writing at the same time as illustrating the way in which the text is constructed, Lambarde's text also bears a close resemblance to the relationship between the writing study and the writing individual, and to the writing taking place at a removed geographical distance from the public sphere. As Jonathan Goldberg points out:

> Although the secretary's closet may seem to mark the arrival of this study in a highly straitened domain ... it represents the locus through which a modern individuality emerges, with extensions to all who write. [7]

The creation of text takes place then, within a specified space,

removed from the context that had originally initiated the task. The restricted space is the arena in which the genesis of writing takes place and at the same time, it is a space which generates a sense of individuality as that writing act occurs within the closed, non-communal environment. The relationship established between the act of writing and an emerging sense of the individual or self has also been addressed by Francis Barker, who from his critical reading of the diaries of Samuel Pepys suggests that:

> The boundaries of the outer context, designated as much by discourse as by a physical separation of space, are clearly defined, and the real energies and interests of the text then locate themselves within these frontiers. The diagram of the text is as a series of concentric circles at the furtive heart of which is the secret declivity of the soul itself. The I surrounded first by discourse, then by the 'domus', the chamber, and finally by the public world ... [8]

The above excerpt can illustrate the way in which in Lambarde's Eirenarcha, the sense of the individual is woven into the process of constructing the text; in the Eirenarcha, it is the I that is situated in the centre, the I that holds the pen, that writes how the text comes to written and the text that we read. Surrounding the I is the discourse and the books and manuscripts 'sorted in heapes, and layed readie to be wrought and framed' into written text. And in a further concentric circle is the response to the requirement for adequate legal texts that can be applied on both national and local levels.

The individual nature of the I that stands at the centre of the text is only emphasized by the description of the results of his writing endeavour, the craftsmanship that produces the physical object, the Eirenarcha. Lambarde suggests that the legal treatise which he has written should not only be for his specific personal

use, enabling him to undertake his office as a Justice of the Peace. It should also be promoted for other individuals involved in legal practice. Thus, he comments that:

> But, when as (through dayly occasion to use that booke abroade) I had imparted it with other men, I was perswaded by sundrie godly, wise, and not unlearned gentlemen, my friendes, that the more parte of the Iustices of the Peace, at this day had neede of some helpe in writing for their better conduict in that office, and that it might increase the knowledge of many of them, and consequently doe a common good, to have the booke made common by Impression. [9]

The text that is created, 'wrought and framed' for his own information, enters the outside world, 'through dayly occasion to use that booke abroad' for public practice. But it is a practice that is extended to a wider audience so that a further concentric circle is added to refer to 'the more parte of the Iustices of the Peace'. And finally, the original 'small booke' is recommended for printing and so reaches out to a much wider reading public. The individual, the I, therefore becomes public, constructed into written text for many readers and as a result, the I enters the communal domain.

Although it is the recommendation of the 'sundrie godly, wise, and not unlearned gentlemen, my friendes' to publish the newly constructed Eirenarcha, Lambarde informs us in this introduction that the text subsequently merited revision. The 'small booke' is torn apart to recreate a new version more 'suitable' for publication, despite its former usefulness to Lambarde's own legal practice:

> Then again, I tooke the booke into my handes, and ripping (stitch by stitch) my former doing, I enlarged the worke, graunting unto it more breath and roome of speach: I planted Precedents here and there in it: I gave it some light of Order and

> Methode: and added withall some delight of history and Recorde. Finally framing it altogether to commune conceipt and practise, I provided (as I might) both for profite and pleasure, and fraught and laded it with the best ware of counsell and advice that I had of mine owne, or could borrow of my friends, determining so to send it from the Cape of good Hope, and to adventure it to the Seas and windes of Iudgementes and reportes of other men. [10]

Entering the public domain requires, then, the re-fashioning of the text. Again, the Eirenarcha is perceived as a physical object but here, it is one into which the I breathes life, 'graunting unto it more breath and roome of speach'. The re-fashioning involves, therefore, not just the arrangement of material into narrative form, the 'plot[ing of] the matter with my penne', but the genesis of a 'living' text ready to enter the external world. It is a text, moreover, that includes within it the responses to the original 'small booke', 'could borrow of my friends' illustrating the way in which the context influences the individual construction of the text. And finally, the actual process of printing itself enables Lambarde to conceive of more than a specific audience, 'through dayly occasion to use that booke abroade'; the reference to the 'Cape of good Hope, and to adventure it to the Seas and windes' establishes a whole potential geographical 'world of men' as receivers and commentators upon the text. Thus, the final concentric circle to the I at the centre of the text is the world itself.

The Eirenarcha is a significant text for the understanding of Lambarde's methodology and the language in which he articulates his function as a creator of texts. The concept of the text as a physical object, the concern with narrative form and the language of writing, craftsmanship and labour that pervades this legal treatise inform and are reflected in his antiquarian texts. And nowhere is

this more noticeable than in the introduction to the Perambulation of Kent. Here, Lambarde describes the method by which the representation of place is to be undertaken and how that representation is to be formulated into narrative. Relationships between the individual antiquarian and the community of antiquarians are expressed in the language of the craftsman and the labourer as Lambarde attempts to articulate both the means by which antiquarian material is to be recovered 'from the land' as well as how that material is to be 'shaped' for an audience. He begins, then, with the metaphor of mining to describe the initial work to be carried out when representing place:

> It is the manner (right Woorshipfull) of such as seeke profit by Minerall, first to set men on woorke to digge and gather the Oare: Then by fire to Trie out the Metall, and to cast it into certain rude lumps, which they call Sowze: And lastly to commit them to Artificers, that can thereof make things serviceable and meete for use. [11]

The text embodying the representation of place is itself characterized by the elements of the earth, the 'Minerall', the 'Oare', the 'Metall', and the 'Sowze', the latter of which represents the text in pre-fashioned form, much as the original 'small booke' of the Eirenarcha. The emphasis upon the 'physical labour' involved in the construction of the text that appeared in the Eirenarcha is far more explicitly revealed here. What is particularly interesting about this extract is the way in which the concept of labour involved in the construction of the text is articulated in terms of labour division, a division that is in this particular instance, hierarchically conceived. Whereas in the legal treatise Lambarde had referred to 'sundrie godly, wise, and not unlearned gentlemen, my friends' who influenced the publication of his text, the 'one able man in each Shyre' to represent the 'residue

of this Realme' in the main text of the Perambulation of Kent, and later in this introduction 'divers of my friends' to support Lambarde undertaking antiquarian study, in this extract the initial labour of the text is carried out by labourers, 'men', and not fellow colleagues and friends. This necessarily introduces, therefore, the assumptions of labour and class. There is a very real distinction in this extract between the 'men' who actually 'digge and gather the Oare' and the 'Artificers', the craftsmen, who produce a first 'draft' of the text. Here, there is no I sitting at the centre of a geographical space, bringing 'together stuff of ech kinde, sorted in heapes, and layed readie to be wrought and framed'. Rather, the initial labour is directed by Lambarde to others below him in the social and political hierarchy.

However, it is only once this labour has been given by Lambarde to others that he himself adopts the role of Artificer in order to reveal the way in which he constructs the text. Having directed his friends 'also to set their hands and doe the like' to recover antiquarian material from 'the bowels of the earth', Lambarde expresses his own function in this textual endeavour. And he describes this operation in the following terms:

> And when the matter was by our diligent travaile grown (as we thought) to a convenient Masse, with such fire of discretion as I had, I severed the metal and drosse in sunder and cast it into certeine rude and unformed Sowze, not unmeete for a worke man. [12]

Just as in the Eirenarcha the complete text is constructed once the approval of contemporary lawyers has been given, so too in the construction of the Perambulation of Kent, do fellow antiquarians give important peer approbation. The idea of labour functions in this extract on both a literal and a metaphorical level. As a literal expression of 'work', the notion of labour acts as a

signifier of the emerging Protestant 'work ethic', which in this instance is associated with the labour of the 'Gentleman scholar'. Therefore, the 'I' of the text that directs other labourers and artificers initially to construct the text, the 'I' that directs other antiquarians to participate collectively in the creation of a complete representation of place can be understood as a manifestation of the individual nature of such a Protestant 'work ethic'. But labour also functions in the above extract in a metaphorical sense as an expression of collective antiquarian endeavour. All antiquarians co-operate in the construction of a complete text in precisely the same way as they co-operate collectively in the creation of 'one whole and perfect bodie and booke of our English Topographie', as Lambarde writes in the 'Peroration' of the Perambulation of Kent. Furthermore, it is in this 'Peroration' that the metaphor of labour is employed by Lambarde to denote the remaining work to be undertaken for future antiquarian endeavour:

> [I wish] that some other man of greater profite in reading, deapth in Judgement, and Dexteritie in penning, would have undertaken the labour for as I at the first assaied it, to proove my selfe, to provoke any, and to pleasure and profite others: So, having now atchieved it (after the measure of my small talent) if any man shall like to take this mettall, drawen out of a few Sowzes into many sheetes, and hammer it to some further and finer fashion, I will not onely envie it, but will most gladly thanke him, and gratulate to our countrie so good a turne and benefit. [13]

Here the text, the Perambulation of Kent, has been constructed by Lambarde from the 'Mettall' of the earth into metal 'sheetes' signifying the pages of the text. Having directed others to labour, both artificers and fellow antiquarians and having laboured to produce his own text, Lambarde continues to direct the labour of

future antiquarian work. And to these ideas of labour are attached the important ideas of the benefits to be derived from such employment: 'to pleasure and profite others' and to do 'our countrie so good a turne and benefit'. Knowledge and labour combine to produce education for 'Gentlemen' and an emerging sense of patriotism for the 'countrie' as a whole [14].

The idea of labour pervades, in fact, the whole of the Perambulation of Kent. Labour is used to signify not just the directive by Lambarde to labouring 'men' and 'Artificers' to construct the physical text but is also employed by him to define the method by which the representation of place is to be undertaken. In fact, Lambarde was not the only antiquarian to use concepts of labour; many antiquarian texts are prefaced by the description of the 'labour' of compiling their accounts. They form an important basis of the work of John Leland and William Camden, for example, and ideas of labour are particularly related to aspects of learning and knowledge in Bacon's Advancement of Learning. In a much wider sense, Lambarde's use of the term was related to the undertaking of antiquarian study, to the humanist ideals of knowledge and wisdom that culminated in virtue and patriotric participation in state affairs, and to the ideal of education adopted by the gentry in order to participate more fully in commercial and political power. Interweaved with these different dimensions to the concept of labour in the sixteenth century, is that of the emerging Protestant 'work ethic', an ethic that was, as shall be discussed below, intrinsic to the construction of 'Englishness'. In the first instance, Lambarde had, of course, an important predecessor whose very title of his antiquarian study incorporates the concept of labour; this is John Leland's The Laboriouse Journey and Serche of Johan Leylande for

Englandes Antiquitees. In the 'Newe Yeares Gyfte to King Henry the viii' attached to the Itinerary, Leland outlines not just the labour involved in reading a vast range of material but also the travelling required to gain access to this material and to visit the various sites and towns of the country, 'to peruse and diligently to serche al the libraries of monasteries and collegies of this yowre noble reaulme' [15]. As Leland claims at the end of the 'Newe Yeares Gyfte':

> and my great labors and costes, proceding from the moste abundant fonteine of yowr infinite goodnes towarde me, yowr poore scholar and moste humble servante, shaul be evidentely seene to have not al only pleasid but also profited the studius, gentil, and equale readers. This is the briefe declaration of my laborius yorneye, taken by motion of yowr highenes, so much studiyng at al houres the fruteful praeferremente of good letters and aunciente vertues. [16]

Although Leland attributes his 'labors and costes' to the patronage of Henry VIII, it is clear that he associates the undertaking of antiquarianism with labour and 'so much studiyng at al houres'. This labour that is involved in travel, reading, investigation and writing has a explictly productive purpose.

Leland's drawing on humanistic notions of learning leading to wisdom and an increased sense of patriotism is clear. The labour of study culminates in the practice of 'aunciente vertues' and produces a text that is to the 'profit' of 'the studius, gentil, and equale readers'. Consequently, it is the Itinerary perceived as knowledge that is constructed through labour that will lead both the writer and the reader into increased virtue and, ultimately, induces patriotism. As Roger Asham asserted in his section on 'The importance of knowledge' in The Schoolmaster (1570):

> And to say all in short, though I lack authority

> to give counsel, yet I lack not good will to wish that the youth in England, specially gentlemen and namely nobility, should be by good bringing up so grounded in judgement of learning, so founded in love of honesty, as when they be called forth to the execution of great affairs in service of their prince and country, they might be able to use and to order all experiences, were they good, were they bad, and that according to the square, rule and line of wisdom, learning and virtue. [17]

The acquisition of knowledge, particularly in the case of the nobility and the gentry, enabled them not only to 'use and to order all experiences, were they good, were they bad' but also, to employ them in the service of the state. And such service could prove both beneficial to the 'prince' and to the country as a whole. In this way, knowledge could only lead to an increased patriotic activity for the monarch and for the state. Thomas Wootton himself, in his introduction to the Perambulation of Kent, attaches humanist ideals to the antiquarian text, claiming that it contains 'good words wel placed, [and] eloquently'. The use of eloquence and rhetoric with which to represent land textually and the accumulation of knowledge from reading, 'out of sundry bookes with great studie collected, painfully' has, for Wootton, a specifically patriotic aim 'for the Gentlemen of Englande':

> I muste needes say, that (the sacred word of Almightie God alwayes excepted) there is nothing either for our instruction more profitable, or to our mindes more delectable, or within the compasse of common understanding more easie or facile, then the studie of hystories: nor that studie for none estate more meete, then for the estate of Gentlemen: nor for the Gentlemen of Englande, no Hystorie so meete as the Hystorie of Englande. For ... in serving their King and Countrie (of all outward things, the best thing) doth rest cheefly upon their owne and other folkes experience. [18]

Reflecting the ideals set out in Ascham's The Schoolmaster, Wootton proposes that the study of history, a history that is produced from the labour of the antiquarian, 'great studie collected, painfully',

functions as a crucial attribute for the individual in serving the monarch and the country. And what is clear from Wootton's employment of humanism is its applicability for the gentry class, the 'Gentlement of Englande'. The relationship between virtue, patriotism and antiquarianism is reflected in other antiquarian texts. For example, Thomas Twynne's translation of Humphrey Lhuyd's The Breviary of Britayne (1573), dedicated to Lord Bulbeck, Earl Of Oxford, describes the educational benefit to the reader of the representation of Britain. Twynne claims that 'the writen name, and description of that Britayne, whiche, as it is part of your natuiue soyle' incites the individual to recognize that it is 'your duty ... to defend and mantayne it' [19]. Thus, the textual account - the language in which it is written - functions to inspire the reader to defend the country. And furthermore, Twynne argues:

> in the studie of Geographie, it is expedient first to know exactly the situation of our owne home, where wee abide, before that wee shalbe able to iudge how other countries doo lie vnto vs, which are farre distant from vs, besides that it were a foule shame to be inquisitive of the state of forreyne landes, and to be ignorant of our owne. [20]

With a passing glance at colonial endeavour and the plethora of texts that described travel to foreign countries, Twynne situates the reading of antiquarian accounts as central to knowledge of the nation. But it is in Camden's Britannia, however, that ideas of labour and patriotism are combined in order to suggest the wider uses of the text for the country as a whole. In the preface to the Britannia, Camden writes:

> A painfull matter I assure you, and more than difficult; wherein what toyle is to be taken as no man thinketh, so no man beleeveth but hee that hath made the triall. Neuerthelesse how much the difficultie discouraged me from it, so much the glory of my country encouraged me to undertake it.

> So while at one and the same time I was fearefull to undergoe the burden, and yet desirous to doe some service to my Country, I found two different affectations Feare and Boldnesse, I knowe not how, conioined in me. [21]

Here, Camden presents the study and representation of Britain as a vertuous action, an action that is as valid as the undertaking of other heroic deeds for the country. Moreover, Camden claims, it is patriotism itself that has inspired the writing of his account, 'and yet desirous to doe some service to my Country'.

Lambarde's employment of concepts of labour is, then, related to other antiquarian accounts, and one that was related to humanistic notions of knowledge and learning. But his use of this concept was also interrelated to the consequences of the Reformation and the Dissolution of the monasteries. John Bale, for example, attaching a commentary to Leland's Itinerary in 1549, claimed that although the eradication of Catholic centres had been a correct and patriotic policy for all English citizens to participate in, it had been unpatriotic individuals who had been responsible for ancient manuscripts and 'monuments' to be included in the general destruction. In chapter two ('The Antiquarian way to representing place') it was described how Bale cited a number of cases where ancient documents have been sold for 'commercial' purposes, by sellers more interested in their 'pryuate commodite ' than the 'publyque wealthe' of the nation; where artifacts have been sold abroad, much to the loss of the England and to 'the wonderynge of the foren nacyons' unable to comprehend what would have been to them 'a most horryble infamy amonge the graue senyours of other nacyons' and even, Bale reports, that manuscripts have been used to 'scoure candelstyckes'. In his commentary, Bale lamented that like-minded patriotic individuals had not 'laboured' to preserve such documents,

in the face of such desolation and private profit. These actions would have constituted a 'labour' that would have emulated the 'labour' of those writers who had written the texts in the first instance. Bale fulminates that:

> A much forther plage hath fallen of late yeares I dolorouslye lamente so greate an oversyghte in the most lawfull overthrow of the sodometrouse Abbeyes and Fryeryes, when the most worthy monumentes of this realme, so myserably peryshed in the spoyle. Oh, that men of learnyng and of perfyght loue to their nacyon, were not then appoynted to the serche of theyr lybraryes, for the conseruacyon of those most noble Antiquities. [22]

Although Bale equates the preservation of manuscripts and monuments with patriotic sentiments that would benefit the country, he also identifies learning itself with patriotism 'men of learnyng and of perfyght loue to their nacyon'. In this way, antiquarian endeavour is itself invested with patriotism, an important association to establish since the preservation of documents harboured in a idolatrous monastery, as has already been noted in chapter two, could easily lead to attacks of recusancy. In Bale's eyes, it was the 'labour' of John Leland, who patriotically travelled the nation in order to save material from destruction:

> And yet not herwyth all content, he dyd fully and whollye both labour and trauayle in hys owne persone throughe this our realme and certen of the dominions thereof, because he woulde heaue the perfyte and full knowledge of all thynges that myghte be gathered or learned, bothe for thynges memorable, and for the sytuacyon of the same. And as for all authors of Greke, Latyne, Frenche, Italian, Spanyshe, Bryttyshe, Saxonyshe, Walshe, Englyshe, or Scottyse, touching in any wyse the vnderstandyinge of oure Antiquitees, he had so fully redde and applyed them that they were in a manner grated in hym as of nature. So that he myght well cal him self 'Antiquarius'. [23]

Here, Bale claims that it was Leland's 'labour and trauayle' in undertaking the humanist ideal, 'because he woulde heaue the perfyte

and full knowledge of all thynges', that therefore involved him in the patriotic aim of preserving artifacts, artifacts which were to signify the English nation through its history. The Itinerary was, therefore, the product of both labour and patriotic endeavour, and a text that could only promote such ideals.

Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, influenced by its predecessors, brings together all these ideals through both the literal and the figurative application of the idea of labour. Even the methodology by which he represents Kent is influenced by the labour involved in acquiring information. As has been illustrated in chapter two, reformation and counter-reformation policies made it extremely difficult to discover and save manuscripts from destruction, neglect or ignorance. John Leland had described how much of his labour as an antiquarian involved gaining access to texts and artifacts that 'lay secretely yn corners'. But with reference to Lambarde, the introduction to the Perambulation of Kent, reveals the antiquarian's claim that finding material involved 'digging up' 'olde bookes hoorded up in corners':

> I myself being very desirous to attain to some knowlege and understanding of the Antiquities of this Realm, which (as Metall conteined within the bowels of the earth) lie hidden in olde bookes hoorded up in corners, did not only my self digge, and rake together whatsoever I coulde of that kinde, but procured divers of my friends also to set their hands and doe the like. [24]

Using the discourse of anatomy, 'the bowels of the earth', together with the concept of constructing knowledge of the country through its geography, Lambarde emphasizes the labour necessary for antiquarian endeavour. The excerpt clearly illustrates too, the physical nature of the labour required to 'uncover' any information at all. The context of this imagery reflects the nature of the

effect of the Reformation where even Elizabeth herself encountered the discovery of artifacts believed to be long destroyed or lost. In her famous conversation with William Lambarde in 1601, she described the discovery of a portrait of Richard II:

> Her Majestie: 'The Lord Lumley, a lover of antiquities, discovered it fastened on the backside of a door of a base room; which he presented unto me, praying, with my good leave, that I might put it in order with the ancestors and successors; I will command Tho. Kneaver, keeper of my house and gallery at Westminster, to shew it unto thee'. [25]

The representation of land constructed from materials that constitute the 'Antiquities of this Realme', here signify the representation of the lineal descent of the monarch herself. The context of the Reformation and the destruction and rediscovery of manuscripts and monuments involved, therefore, not just physical labour in their recovery but also, this context is reflected in the discourse and the methodology of the antiquarian representation of land.

Lambarde's persistent concern with labour and its hierarchy is a manifestation of an intense sixteenth century preoccupation. Particularly during the mid to late sixteenth century there was an important reformulation of notions of labour, a reformulation that brings to light some of the ideological assumptions implicit in Lambarde's texts. The re-evaluation of ideas of labour derived from a variety of social and political factors, of which the most significant were the change in the landscape brought about by the Reformation; the enclosing of land that effected employment on a dramatic scale; the increased wealth and political standing of the gentry which transformed them into employers of labour; the proclamations issued both by Elizabeth and later James to coerce the gentry and nobility back to their country estates in order to

oversee the labour being carried out in the provinces and of course, to implement administration on a local level; and the development of Protestant ideals of labour, or the 'work ethic'. Ideals of labour and what regular employment signified about the individual in terms of both secular and religious behaviour were important issues of the period too, and they were particularly important as a determinant of 'Englishness'. In the first instance, it is interesting that Lambarde's concern with ideas of labour should be registered in a representation of place, since here, perhaps more than in any other form of narrative, the description of the land and the inhabitants are consciously foregrounded. It was this foregrounding, in fact, that demanded such a negotiation with the complex alterations in the landscape, in land economy and town employment, as well as with the individuals that worked on the land. As will be discussed in section four, Lambarde himself had to confront directly the consequences of the Reformation upon Canterbury; his representation of this city had to engage with the economic deprivation that derived from the Reformation at the same time as registering the spiritual significance of the destruction of the monasteries.

The ideological assumptions of Lambarde as a member of that increasingly powerful and financially wealthy group, the gentry, are implicit. There is a distinction between the gentry antiquarian 'labouring' to construct the text, 'I tooke the booke into my handes, and ripping (stitch by stitch) my former doing', and the 'labour' that Lambarde directs other 'men' to undertake, 'first to set men on woorke to digge and gather the Oare' and, again, other antiquarians to undertake,'if any man shall like to take this mettall, drawen by me out of a few Sowzes into many sheetes, and hammer it to some

further and finer fashion'. This distinction reflects sixteenth century preoccupations with the value, both Christian and secular, of labour. It illustrates, too, Lambarde's own concern with the 'profitable' nature of work when applied to scholarly antiquarian endeavour. However, in the Perambulation of Kent, the status of antiquarianism as a form of 'profitable' labour for the gentry antiquarian and the notion of every individual in the social and political hierarchy being involved in that 'profitable' labour appear to be interrelated. And Lambarde's own involvement with labour and law in Kent provides an important basis or context for this relationship. Lambarde was responsible for administering justice, building the first hospital for the poor at Greenwich and establishing the first houses of correction. In each of these projects, Lambarde clearly outlined those who warranted hospital treatment and correction as well as, obviously, the application of punishment to breakers of the law. And in each case, it was only those who 'laboured', that is, had regular employment, that 'deserved' sympathetic treatment; 'vagabonds' and 'rogues' were disqualified and punished. Wilbur Dunkel has described his establishment of the College for the Poor at Greenwich:

> Lambarde wished to make a distinction between the lazy and the sick. The recipients of his hospitality must be 'poor, honest, and Godly persons who have been three years resident in the parish when they are chosen'. He wanted none of the vagabonds roaming the highways to be admitted. When he determined that accommodations could be provided for twenty persons, he also decided that the chief qualification must be their demonstrated piety. They were to be examined on the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, but in particular, he wished to be sure that they were anti-Popish. [26]

This establishes the fact that Lambarde equated regular employment with both 'correct' secular and Christian behaviour. Only those who

were 'godly' and not 'lazy' were to benefit from the hospital and as importantly, only those 'who have been three years resident in the parish when they are chosen'. The assumptions of labour are therefore clear: individuals were to be employed only in one particular area and they were to conform to social, political and religious ideals. The idea of the importance of length of residence in order to qualify for aid reflects, of course, Lambarde's own concern with residency and the senses of regionalism that it projected; as I have discussed in section one, this played an important part in the qualification by which antiquarians were to represent place. But it is the assumptions of residency and Christian ideals of behaviour that inform Lambarde's notions of labour as described in the Perambulation of Kent. The idea of labour acts not just as metaphor for the construction of the text, it also implies the definition of those 'Kentish' or 'English' inhabitants who are to be involved in the 'invention' or representation of the county or the nation. In Lambarde's own 'invention' of Kent, only those with regular employment and those gentry that 'seeke profit by Minerall' qualify as adequate 'labourers' to be involved in the construction of the text that represents the county.

The idea of labour was associated, therefore, with the major developments in the society of the mid to late sixteenth century. Primarily, there was the upheaval created by the enclosing of land and the unemployment that those enclosures generated. Christopher Hill states that:

> there were rogues, vagabonds and beggars, roaming the countryside, sometimes in search of employment, too often mere unemployable rejects of a society in economic transformation, whose population was expanding rapidly ... They caused considerable panic in ruling circles during the sixteenth century,

> but they were never a serious menace to the social order. [27]

Lambarde, as a local Justice of the Peace, as the creator of houses of correction, would have been directly involved in dealing with such 'rogues, vagabonds and beggars'. As A L Beier describes:

> [The Southeast] was something of a crossroads for the country's vagrants, and the authorities were aware of its cosmopolitanism. The Recorder of London reported that a round-up netted over a hundred vagrants in 1582, but that only twelve were from the metropolis itself; the same year at Maidstone sessions the JP William Lambarde observed of Kentish rogues that 'the most part be of foreign shires'. [28]

However, as member of the gentry, as builder of a hospital and owner of property, Lambarde would also have been involved in hiring labour. The land enclosures, although they increased unemployment dramatically, also provided an increased supply of labour for the financially active gentry:

> The physical hedging in of common land generally was the final phase of a larger enclosing process which removed land rights from peasants and thus denied them control over their means of production. Without that control, both rural peasants and those forced into the city became wage-laborers who were increasingly dependent upon their employers. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, one-quarter to one-third of the English work force, now without land rights, had begun to hire themselves out. [29]

Thus, there was an increased supply of labour brought about by those very land 'reforms'. And with the nobility laying off labour and tenants the gentry became important employers [30]. This meant that members of the gentry had significant power to determine both the terms of labour and also to specify the ideals associated with labour. The gentry, more than any other group, were in a powerful position to determine the importance of labour and what constituted 'correct' labour conditions.

That Lambarde should be so concerned with ideas of labour and the hierarchical notions of labour and class, reflects sixteenth century preoccupations with the significance of labour as a determinant of 'Englishness'. The relationship between labour and senses of nationalism was a significant one, as Peter Stallybrass discusses in the article quoted at the head of this chapter. He suggests that labour was a crucial determinant by which an individual was deemed to be 'English', a definition that necessarily implied that anyone who did not have regular employment, the 'vagabonds' for example, were 'unEnglish'. Stallybrass cites John Norden, who in The Surveyors Dialogue (1607) described that in the:

> great and spacious wastes, mountains and heaths' of England the people are given to 'little or no kind of labour ... dwelling far from any church or chapel, and are as ignorant of God or of any civil course of life as the very savages amongst the infidels. [31]

The implication here is that 'little or no kind of labour' is equated by Norden with ungodliness, a lack of civilized behaviour and as a result, such 'people' are given the status of foreign 'Otherness'. This clearly resembles Lambarde's description of vagrants, quoted by Beier, that 'the most part be of foreign shires'. This representation of vagrancy, and particularly the language of Norden's description, are very far removed from Medieval conceptions of poverty as a Christian ideal. As Beier points out, the ideal of poverty in the Medieval period was transformed in the Tudor period to signify ideas of vagrancy; poverty was increasingly secularized as it lost its association with a spiritual ideal [32]. Both Lambarde's and Norden's sentiments are therefore clear: those individuals who do not have regular employment, do not conform to any sense of 'Englishness'. And because those individuals who are not seen to

labour are perceived as 'Other', it was felt in some quarters towards the end of the sixteenth century, that the actual deportation of such 'unnationalistic' individuals was desirable [33].

This discussion of the significance of ideas of labour during the sixteenth century provides an important context for Lambarde's texts. Ideals of Christianity, the increased power of the gentry, the humanist ideals of knowledge and wisdom inducing patriotism, and notions of labour interact to illustrate the ideological assumptions of Lambarde's use of ideas of labour to construct the representation of place. In the Perambulation of Kent, Lambarde is not just directing other people as well as himself to facilitate the represention of place, he is also establishing Protestant ethics of labour and as a result, defining a sense of 'Englishness'. All those who take part in that labour, from the artificers to the antiquarians, from the individual to the collective group, share in that qualification of 'Englishness'. Thus, the emphasis upon labour is that to take part in the 'invention of the nation' you have to be involved in that labour. This reveals far more clearly the ideological assumptions of the directive for others to represent the 'residue of this Realme': Lambarde, as powerful gentry, directs the 'profitable' labour of others that come to constitute the 'invention' of the nation.

3. DIVIDING THE LAND

> because al Citties were bound in common ciuilty,
> in pollicies, and in honour to maintaine their

> Names, their Callings, their priuilidges, and those Ancient houses that Spring out of them, I [London] wil ... Annatomize my selfe; euen from head to foot, thou shalt know every limbe of me, and with how many parts my bodie is deuided. My birth, my bring vp, and my rising shall bee ... manifest. Thomas Dekker, The Dead Tearme[1]

> He that shall advisedly consider the plot of this Shyre, may finde three diverse (and those not unfit) waies, to divide it: one, by breaking the whole into the East and West Kent: another, by parting it (as Watling streate leadeth) into North, and South Kent: and a third, by severing it into the two distinct Dioceses of Canterbury, and Rochester. Of these three, I have determined to chuse the last, both bicause that kinde of division hath as certain limits, as any of the former, and for that, it seemeth to me the most convenient severance, being wrought both by bounde of place, and of jurisdiction also. William Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent[2]

As a topographer and antiquarian describing the county of Kent, Lambarde had to confront directly the problem of ordering his material into a narrative framework. Apart from deciding - consciously or unconsciously - from which perspective Kent was to be represented, Lambarde also had to align that perspective to the issues that concerned him most. And those issues were primarly the language of the county, its laws and customs, its adminstrative system and its geography. The Perambulation of Kent is divided into chapters, all of which have as their underlying focus the significance of these issues in relation both to the gentry as well as to the history of Kent itself. The organisation of material begins with the letters of Wootton and Lambarde and is followed by a map of England. This map is attached to two chapters, one a general history of England, 'The exposition of the map of the English Heptarchie, or seaven Kingdomes' and the other, a general history of Kent, 'The Description and Hystorie of the Shyre of Kent'.

Information relating specifically to Kent, information both contemporary and historical, is conveyed in the form of lists and tables. In this section, for example, the economic status of individual 'Lathes', notes on market days and fairs, an alphabetical list of the names of the gentry and nobility, and the names of 'Kentish writers' are included. In contrast, descriptions of individual towns appear in narrative form within separate chapters. Lambarde's interest in language, and specifically Anglo-Saxon, is reflected in the inclusion of a table of the 'Saxon Characters and their Values'. The concern with language predominates in this text and to large extent, this is because the Perambulation of Kent is drawn partly from the Dictionarium Angliae topographicum et historicum where information on individual towns and areas is recorded in alphabetical order. Here, each entry begins with a discussion of the etymology of the town or area name and Lambarde often traces the name back to Anglo-Saxon origins. Laurence Nowell, Lambarde's colleague at Lincolns Inn, had had a considerable influence on the Dictionarium, and their research into language informs much of Lambarde's antiquarian work [3].

The most influential model for Lambarde's narrative strategy was John Leland's Itinerary. Although Leland's antiquarian account of England had been less schematic than Lambarde's own ordering of material in the Perambulation of Kent, he introduced a number of innovative ideas for the undertaking of antiquarian study. In the first instance, the narrative framework of the Itinerary conformed to Leland's actual geographical journey and progress through the country. The 'New Yeares' Gyfte' appended to the Itinerary, which outlines the objectives and method of his antiquarian project, delineates the travelling required by Leland for the collection of

material. Here, Leland describes how he was commissioned by Henry VIII to 'peruse and diligently to serce al the libraries of monasteries and collegies of this yowre noble reaulme' [4]. As Stan Mendyke argues, the narrative strategy of the Itinerary consequently devolved from a compilation of travel notes:

> The Itinerary itself resulted from Leland's voluminous, often disorganized, compilation of rough notes made during his journeys, and covers a vast diversity of topics: 'there is almoste nother cape, nor bay, haven, creke or peere, river or confluence of rivers, breches, waschis, lakes, meres, fenny waters, montaynes, valleis, mores, hethes, forestes, chases, wooddes, cities, burges, castelles, prinicpale manor placis, monasteries, and colleges, but I have seene them; and notid yn so doing a hole worlde of thinges very memorable'. [5]

Leland proved to be an enormous influence on later antiquarians in that he instigated the method of actually visiting and representing both social, political and geographical aspects of the country, the latter of which is especially suggested by his listing of the 'wooddes, cities, burges, castelles, prinicipale manor placis, monasteries, and colleges'. This enormous range of subject matter encouraged the broad scope of later antiquarian endeavour and the range implies the widening definition of such study in itself. The concept of perceiving directly the different aspects of each county or town added an important dimension to antiquarian study and it underlies Lambarde's own arguments about the prerequisites required for any antiquarian representation of land. Leland's description that 'I have seene them; and notid yn so doing a hole worlde of thinges very memorable' illustrates, moreover, the way in which antiquarian travel opened up 'a hole worlde' not just geographically, but also textually. But the method of travel was also a manifestation of patriotic endeavour where geographical 'exploration'

was formulated in the discourse of patriotic desire. As Leland describes in the 'New Yeares Gyfte':

> Wherefore after that I had perpendid the honest and profitable studies of these historiographes, I was totally enflammid with a love to see thoroughly al those partes of this your opulente and ample reaulme, that I had redde of yn the aforesaid writers. [6]

Here, it is not just travel as a form of patriotism that is intrinsic to antiquarianism; Leland's description also registers the significance of reading historical texts, a reading that generated the patriotism that culminated in travel and antiquarian study. Leland's formulation of patriotic desire in relation to the representation of land parallels the later patriotic sentiments of Lambarde and Wootton where the latter directs the Perambulation of Kent to the 'the Gentlemen of this Realme'.

Lambarde was influenced by Leland and employed the method of travel and geographical 'exploration' (see below), in the representation of Kent. However, despite the fact that the Itinerary is less schematic than the Perambulation of Kent, Leland aspired nevertheless to a more organized narrative framework that would encapsulate the entire representation of England and Wales. Subsequent to producing the Itinerary, Leland proposed a number of future projects which included a topographical map of England, a description of English nobility entitled De nobilitate Britannica and a history to be entitled either Liber de antiquitate Britannica or Ciuilis historia [7]. And it was his formulation of a narrative strategy for these works that proved to be so influential on that of Lambarde as well as Camden. This formulation is described in the 'New Yeares Gyfte':

> I have matier at plenty al ready preparid to this

> purpose, that is to say, to write an history, to the which I entende to adscribe this title, De Antiquitate Britannica or els Civilis Historia. And this worke I entende to divide yn to so many bookes as there be shires yn England, and sheres and greate dominions yn Wales. So that I esteme that this volume wille enclude a fiftie bookes, whereof eche one severally shaul conteyne the beginnings, encreaces, and memorable actes of the chief tounes and castelles of the province allottid to hit. Then I entende to distribute yn to vj. bokes such matier as I have al ready collectid concerninge the isles adjacent to your noble reaulme and under your subjection. [8]

Leland's proposal to divide the representation of land into 'the beginnings, encreaces, and memorable actes of the chief tounes and castelles of the province' reflects Lambarde's own narrative strategy in the Perambulation of Kent. This is because his emphasis upon the 'chief touns and castelles' fosters the establishment of a jurisdictional and political hierarchy when representing land, and as shall be discussed below, this was an influential model for Lambarde's representation of the 'chiefe' towns of Kent. With regard to a methodology for the representation of land, Leland's description of the separate 'bookes' each of which is intended to contain the description of a county, 'I entende to divide yn to so many bookes as there be shires yn England, and sheres and greate dominions yn Wales', suggests the method of division when describing areas of knowledge. But despite the division of the country into its constituent parts for the purposes of narrative strategy, the country retains a sense of the whole through its appearance in the complete text, 'De Antiquitate Britannica or els Civilis Historia'. This method of division and reformulation into a complete text appears in a modified form in the Perambulation of Kent where Lambarde suggests a collective antiquarian endeavour to construct 'at the last by the union of many partes and papers, compact one whole and perfect bodie

and booke of our English Topographie' [9]. Leland's inability to carry out his own proposal due to insanity towards the end of his life reflects, perhaps, his suggestion that only one individual should carry out the complete representation of England and Wales. The enormity of Leland's suggested project may account too, for Lambarde's more realistic notion that such a project could only be undertaken collectively [10].

In spite of the considerable influence of Leland's work, Lambarde's narrative strategy involved far more an ordering of the representation of Kent in terms of different kinds of perspectives. As the quotation heading this section illustrates, these perspectives appear to be informed by a conscious awareness of the alternative means by which the representation of place could be effectively organized. And to a large extent, such a consciousness reflects Lambarde's concern with the creation or construction of the physical text, outlined earlier in the chapter. The reference in the quotation to his attempt to 'consider the plot of this shyre', or in his letter Thomas Wootton, 'When I had in a rude plot and rough sort performed [the writing of the text]', for example, correlates with his construction of the <u>Eirenarcha</u> where he describes the way in which he 'did upon a second reading plot the matter with my penne'. The excerpt from the <u>Perambulation of Kent</u> that heads this section, illustrates how Lambarde identifies the existence of three positions from which Kent could be potentially analysed and embodied in textual form. The first, representing the county 'by breaking the whole into the East and West Kent', signifies the possibility of ordering information about Kent in terms of its geography, where the simple division of land into two distinct parts provides the narrative framework. The second position, 'parting it (as Watling streate

leadethe) into North and South Kent', involves the representation of Kent in terms of its social manifestation in the form of a road system. The county of Kent becomes known, therefore, through the perspective of a mapping upon the landscape. The third perspective, which Lambarde's favours, is that of 'severing [Kent] into the two distinct Dioceses of Canterbury, and Rochester'. This final perspective indicates the representation of Kent in terms of the jurisdictional and the political. In this perspective, however, the Dioceses of Rochester and Canterbury retain their geographical significance, regardless of the emphasis upon the political division of land, because the limits of the Dioceses have distinct 'geographical' boundaries, 'wrought ... by bounde of place'. The interrelationship between the geographical and political, as inscribed upon the landscape, is an important dimension to Lambarde's representation of Kent.

Despite Lambarde's conscious awareness of the alternative means by which place could be represented and ordered into narrative form, it is his own involvement in jurisdictional matters, both as a lawyer and as a Justice of the Peace, that unconsciously determines the manner in which his representation of place was to be undertaken. This unconscious ordering of space reflects, therefore, the cultural preoccupations of the lawyer, topographer and antiquarian and they are further accentuated by Lambarde's hierarchichal conception of the ordering of his narrative material. As he later comments:

> And bicause the See of Canterbury is not onely the more worthie of the twaine, but also the Metropolitane and chiefe of the whole realme: I have thought good, in the first place, to shew the beginning and increase of that Bishopricke, and afterward to prosecute the description and hystorie of the principall parts belonging to the same. [10]

Echoing John Leland's concept of the representation of the 'the beginnings, encreaces, and memorable actes of the chief tounes and castelles of the province', Lambarde's description of Canterbury illustrates the way in which the town becomes the focus and ordering principle of his narrative strategy because of its alleged social and political significance. As Lambarde makes clear, Canterbury is both 'the more worthie of the twaine' and 'also the Metropolitane and chiefe of the whole realme'. It is this significance that determines the place of Canterbury within the narrative structure. And what is even more noticeable in Lambarde's narrative strategy is the way in which Canterbury achieves pre-eminence not just within the county of Kent, but also within the country as a whole, being 'the Metropolitane and chiefe of the whole realme'. This suggests that Lambarde perceives Canterbury as the 'capital' city of Kent, a perception that underlines his attitude towards Kent as possessing a unique history and social and political system not to be found elsewhere in other counties. Lambarde's narrative strategy denotes, then, his own unconscious cultural preoccupations not just as a lawyer and antiquarian but also, as a member of the gentry class in Kent, gentry who were specifically concerned with fostering geographical and economic links with the land. As argued in the previous section, these concerns of the gentry, including of course Lambarde himself, acted as an important dimension to the way in which land and the county was represented and understood.

But it is not just the ordering of material in the Perambulation of Kent that is important in these extracts; it is also the language in which that methodology is articulated. In the first instance, the quotation heading this section reflects the concern with the conceptualization and the ordering of forms of

knowledge in terms of division. This is made clear through Lambarde's statement that 'He that shall advisedly consider the plot of this shyre, may finde three diverse (and those not unfit) waies, to divide it'. As in the case of Leland's Itinerary or Bacon's Advancement of Learning, the means by which information is conveyed is perceived as being as significant as the actual material itself. It also reflects, of course, Lambarde's training and practise as a lawyer where he would have used the skills of rhetoric. Lambarde's division of information into 'three diverse ... waies', derives from the rhetorical notion of 'partitio' or 'divisio', where the subject is divided under three main headings. [12] But Lambarde's training and practice as a lawyer, like Bacon's, also manifests itself in relation to the actual discourse formulated for the division and ordering of material involved in antiquarian endeavour. Throughout the Perambulation of Kent, legal language often predominates, as for example in the quotation heading this section, 'and afterward to prosecute the description and hystorie of the prinicipall parts' [13]. In this way, the rhetorical method of division and the discourse of the lawyer combine in the antiquarian text to articulate the representation of place. However, this discourse also encapsulates within it the discourse of anatomy. Lambarde's description of the alternative means by which Kent could be represented, 'by breaking the whole', 'by parting it', and 'by severing it' highlights not just the principle of division in the ordering of knowledge, but also the division involved in anatomy that reveals knowledge. It is through this discourse of anatomy that Kent becomes the body, a body that is dissected by Lambarde before the reader.

In this sense, Lambarde's method and discourse bears a close

resemblance to that of Thomas Dekker's anatomy of London. The female personification of London in The Dead Tearme (1608) illustrates the way in which the city perceived as a body is anatomized - or in this instance self-anatomized - and revealed in order to demonstrate it in all of its constituent parts. The importance of the genealogy of the city, 'al Citties were bound in common ciuility, in pollicies, and in honour to maintaine their Names, their Callings, their Priuilidges, and those Ancient houses that Spring out of them' is registered by Dekker through the actual personification of London as a body/gendered individual, 'My birth, my bringing vp, and my rising'. As Lawrence Manley suggests in his essay, 'From Matron to Monster: Tudor-Stuart London and the Languages of Urban Description', Dekker's personification of London illustrates the way in which:

> The advantages of birth and circumstance are embodied in discussion of the city's site, and the beauties and accomplishments of the person find their counterparts in the city's fabric, its government, and its worthy offspring. [14]

Thus, just as the body is anatomized in order to be fully understood as a whole as well as in all its constituent parts, so too does the city and the county. And since genealogy of the city or county is perceived as important for such an understanding, especially in relation to the families of the gentry and their involvement in the country's social and political institutions, the body acts as a crucial and incisive metaphor. The idea of the land as body was, of course, a dominant metaphor of the period and Lambarde employs this metaphor in relation to the representation of Kent. For example, when describing the early kings of the county, Lambarde describes that:

> These be the matters that I had to note in the reigns of these two kings; as for the rest, I

> passe them over to their fit titles, as things rather perteining to some peculiar places, then incident to the body of the whole shyre, and will nowe prosecute the residue. [15]

Here, it is the county as a whole that is perceived as the complete 'body' in contrast to local areas which are denoted as 'some peculiar places'. And what is particularly interesting about this use of the body metaphor is its relationship both with a legal discourse, 'now prosecute', and the with the methodology of division, 'prosecute the residue'. But despite the division in this extract into the general and particular through the metaphor of the body, the idea of anatomy can be identified in Lambarde's reference to antiquarian study as a whole. For example, in the 'peroration' to the Perambulation of Kent, Lambarde describes how:

> I can but wish in like sort that some one in each Shyre would make the enterprise for his owne Countrie, to the end that by ioyning our Pennes, and conferring our labours (as it were, 'ex symbolo') we might at the last by the union of many partes and papers, compact one whole and perfect bodie and booke of our English Topographie. [16]

This extract illustrates that whilst the ordering and revealing of knowledge require anatomical division, it is the construction of the complete text encapsulating all antiquarian knowledge of the country that re-creates the whole body and the complete text, 'by the union of many partes and papers, compact one whole and perfect bodie and booke of our English Topographie'. Representing Kent as a body enables Lambarde, then, to conceive of the fragmented 'limbs' of local topography which are united unto a 'perfect bodie' through textual account. And it is a reconstitution of the 'bodie and booke' that signifies collective antiquarian endeavour.

These short extracts reveal the way in which Lambarde's narrative strategy is both informed and determined by the ideas and

discourses of division and anatomy. Moreover, they identify how the representation of Kent is determined both by conscious and unconscious cultural perspectives. Consequently, the notion of the 'invention' of the nation through antiquarianism, outlined in section one of this chapter, becomes applicable here. This is because it is the antiquarian description and its expression through methodology and language that illuminates our understanding of the processes at work in the representation of place. Furthermore, implicit within that 'invention' of the nation is the way in which that 'invention' is formulated methodologically and linguistically. In the aforementioned essay by Lawrence Manley, the significance of 'invention' as a linguistic and cultural construct is explored. Although Manley is referring specifically to representations of London during the Tudor-Stuart period, the ideas of 'invention' and the narrative strategies employed by antiquarians provide an interesting addition to this discussion. Manley argues that:

> the often massive learning of the topographers was matched by an equally innovative concern with expository method, by an effort to shape the facts of topography - especially of urban life - into a coherent vision. For this reason, topography was neither a figure of speech (as in rhetoric) nor a science, but a mode of invention, with its own generic rules and assumptions. [17]

As will be examined below, Lambarde was indeed throughout the Perambulation of Kent, persistently concerned with the method by which the representation of Kent was to be undertaken. But what is particularly interesting about Manley's argument is that it is precisely the methodology and language - in the case of Lambarde, division and anatomy - that illustrates the creation or 'invention' of the cultural concerns of the city or, potentially, of the country as a whole. Thus, Lambarde's cultural preoccupations with

jurisdictional and political perspectives employed in the representation of Kent might therefore be apprehended as the attempt to 'shape the facts of topography ... into a coherent vision'. More importantly, however, it is not just the narrative strategy that reflects cultural concerns, but that such a strategy promotes a certain way of perceiving - and justifying - the county or the nation. As Manley concludes:

> a fundamental feature of descriptions of Tudor-Stuart London is their use of inventive models or paradigms to guide the selection and arrangement of material. Through such models, the city's life was not simply organized, but justified. [18]

In this way, it is the ordering of narrative and the use of certain forms of discourse that both formulate a 'coherent vision' and simultaneously, justifies a particular form of civic life. And in the case of Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, it is a form of civic life that is articulated through the importance of institutions and their relationship to the jurisdicational and the political. Where I would take issue with Manley's argument, however, is in the prioritization of 'invention' over rhetoric or science. This is because, as has been argued earlier in this thesis, antiquarian accounts, especially when understood in relation to the Antiquarian Society, were explicitly concerned with the creation of antiquarianism as a form of scientific endeavour, an endeavour that was articulated in a specific discourse appropriate to its emerging status as a distinct discipline.

Lambarde's attempt to formulate a 'coherent vision' of Kent could be understood as a reflection of a vision that encapsulated his social and historical sense of the county as a whole. For example, Lambarde includes in the Perambulation of Kent references to a Christian perspective, to historical monarchs that influenced the

legal and political system of Kent, to notions of feudalism that Kent inherited, and to the language of the county. All of these different aspects of the representation of Kent inform his narrative strategy and illustrate his own specific cultural preoccupations: preoccupations which have been discussed above and in the earlier sections of this chapter and which included the promotion of an ancient and individual identity for both the gentry and for the county. And nowhere are Lambarde's gentry concerns illustrated more clearly than in his conception of history and its relationship to the representation of Kent. For example, because Lambarde wished to illustrate the unique identity of Kent, the history of the region became significant. This necessarily integrated the study of history with that of topography. However, Lambarde's attitude towards history is problematic since on the one hand he wished to represent the unique nature of Kent through its ancient history and on the other, he believed that some forms of history were irrelevant or 'digressions' to the project of antiquarianism. Consequently, Lambarde attempted to negotiate with this dilemma by formulating a definition of topography that included within it the possibility for historical account. In 'The Description and Hystorie of the Shyre of Kent', Lambarde claims that:

> Now, although it might heere seeme convenient, before I passed any further, to disclose such memorable things, as have chaunced during the reignes of all these forenamed kings: yet for as muche as my purpose specially is to write a topographie, or description of places, and no chronographie, or storie of times, (although I must now and then use both, since the one cannot fully be perfourmed without enterlacing the other,) and for that also I shall have just occasion hereafter in the particulars of this Shyre, to disclose many of the same, I will at this present, and that by way of digression only, make report of one or two occurrents that happened under Ethelbert,

and Eadric, two kings of this country. [19]

Here, the definition of topography is clearly identified with the 'description of places' rather than with history, the 'storie of times'. In this way, historical accounts of the county become 'digressions' both to the Perambulation of Kent and to the methodology by which Kent is to be represented. The writing of history, according to Lambarde's narrative strategy of division, will have an adverse effect upon the the actual division of the county into parts to be represented. In this way, history affects linear narrative by interrupting the 'description of places' that has as its focus and ordering priniciple the jurisdictional and political significance of individual towns. However, in the above definition of topography, Lambarde reveals an awareness that in order to represent place, a conception of the events which inform contemporary institutions, laws and customs are as significant as the actual 'description of places' themselves. Thus, he claims that 'I must now and then use both [topographie and chronographie], since the one cannot fully be perfourmed without enterlacing the other'. In this way, historical accounts become not a digression but an illustration of the way in which history interrelates with topography. But what is particularly interesting about Lambarde's inclusion of history is that it is articulated precisely as a digression to the definition of topography in that it appears in parenthesis. As a result, despite Lambarde's belief that there are situations in which topography and history are distinctly 'enterlacing', nevertheless in this quotation, history sits uncomfortably within Lambarde's antiquarian account.

To a large extent, Lambarde's attitude towards history reflects the antiquarian concern to distinguish their topographical accounts from chronologies. As has been discussed in chapter two, history was

seen by the antiquarians as a field of enquiry dominated by the universities and, as a result, mostly inapplicable to their own endeavour. However, Lambarde's unstable definition of topography also reflects his own cultural concern with hierarchy, illustrated most clearly with his perception of Canterbury as being 'the more worthie ... and also the Metropolitane and chiefe of the whole realme' and therefore most 'worthie' of inclusion within the textual account of Kent. In this sense, Lambarde's notions of hierarchy determine that history is described only when certain historical events affect the most politically important towns or the county as a whole. Historical events that are specific to particular or 'peculiar' places are referred to in relation to individual towns. Thus, following the accounts of Ethelbert and Eadric, Lambarde asserts that:

> These be the matters that I had to note in the reigns of these two kings; as for the rest, I passed them over to their fit titles, as things rather perteining to some peculiar places, then incident to the body of the whole shyre, and will nowe prosecute the residue. [20]

The accounts of these two kings are included within the general narrative of this chapter owing to their significance for the county as a whole. Eadric deserves mention as a king of Kent whereas Ethelbert is described because he was believed to have been the first king to have 'promoted the kingdome of Christ' in England [21]. Whilst the inclusion of these historical accounts into the narrative is obviously important in terms of Christianity and regional history, their existence in the text also signifies Lambarde's concern to promote a distinguished history of Kent that possesses a securely Christian framework. Other historical accounts that are not specifically related to these concerns, ('as for the rest') are

relegated 'to their fit titles' and so are inserted under particular chapter headings. These histories, which are of less account, do not interrupt the linear narrative of the 'description of places' but conform to their allotted space within the text, 'I passed them over to their fit titles, as things rather perteining to some peculiar places'.

Because Lambarde has distinguished between two kinds of history, the history that illuminates the unique identity of Kent and 'other' forms of history that can be placed under the headings of particular towns, his definition of topography becomes more clear. So too, do his cultural concerns as a lawyer, Justice of Peace and member of the gentry. For example, the references to Christianity and specifically scriptural history in 'The Description and Hystorie of the Shyre of Kent' appear to be described in order that the jurisdictional and political institutions of sixteenth century Kent can be understood and justified. In this chapter, Lambarde relates the history of Kent with the Book of Moses, where he identifies that Britain was originally ruled by the heirs of Japheth, Shem and Ham:

> We read in the first Booke of Moses, that after such time as the order of nature was destroyed by the generall floude, and repaired again by the mercy of Almightie God the whole earth was overspred in processe of time, by the propagation of mankinde that came of the loines of Sem, Cham, and Iapheth. By which authoritie, we are throughly certified, that all the nations of the worlde, must of necessitie derive their pedegrees from the countrie of Chaldee (or some place nighe unto it) where the Arke of Noah rested ... [22]

With the concern for genealogy so favoured by the gentry it comes as no surprise that Lambarde should focus upon the 'authoritie, [by which] we are thoroughly certified, that all the nations of the worlde, must of necessitie derive their pedegrees from the country of Chaldee'. England is therefore accorded a Christian basis from which

the laws, customs and the gentry preoccupation with genealogy devolve. However, Lambarde's appears to use scriptural history for the purposes of accentuating Kent's cultural identity rather than offering an explication of that history for the benefit of the country as a whole. For although the division of Europe that was introduced by 'one Samothes, the sixth sonne of Iapheth' and his subsequent naming of England as 'Britain' or 'Albion' was overcome by Brutus Caesar, Lambarde emphasized that Kent was not only the first 'inhabited part of all this our iland' but also, that King Alfred himself continued 'the example of Moses' in his political division and ordering of the country [23]. In this way, Lambarde's representation of Kent through the perspective of the jurisdictional is accorded authority by the very nature of the way in which the rule of King Alfred is delineated. This is made explicit through Lambarde's claim that:

> The good King Alfred ... by advice of this counsaile, and by the example of Moses ... divided the whole realme into certain parts, or sections (being thirty-two in number, as I guess), which of the Saxon word Scynan, signifying to cut, he termed shyres, or (as wee yet speake) shares, and portions: and appointed over every one shyre, an Earle, or alderman (or both) to whome he committed the government and rule of the same. [24]

Lambarde's narrative strategy of division emulates the political division of land by Alfred. Indeed, even the language of the division of land, 'which of the Saxon word Scynan, signifying to cut, he termed shyres', correlates with Lambarde's formulation of an antiquarian discourse that includes within in it the discourse of the legal and the anatomical. The description of Alfred illustrates the way in which both the ordering of the text and the conception of land in terms of its constituent parts is given historical precedent, and a precedent moreover, that has a distinct Christian basis. It is not

just that the political is inscribed upon the landscape but that the geographical nature of land is conceptualized and understood through the matrix of political division.

King Alfred's actions are, of course, related to the instigation of feudalism and this adds an another dimension to the relationship between the political and geographical. Lambarde's description of land division and the feudalism that it represents has an important connotation for the perception of land and spatial order. For example, in 'The Changing Evaluation of Space 1500 - 1614', R A Dodgson describes how it was in the nature of feudalism itself, the granting of land by the monarch to the aristocracy in return for military services, the labour and rents acquired from the people who lived on the land, the control over trade by the lords and burgesses, that actually 'generated a qualitively distinct system of spatial order'. He continues:

> Being based on grants of jurisdiction, land and rights of trade in return for a definite amount of service or rent, these different forms of relationship [between monarch, aristocracy and people] needed to be specified or bounded in a geographical sense and anchored to particular points or blocks of land. In effect, feudal relations were mapped into the landscape, their explicit geographical component being part of the way the king both controlled and exploited his realm. [25]

As a Justice of the Peace, Lambarde supported such a division of land for adminstrative purposes, suggesting that:

> The whole Shyre hath long been, and is at this day, divided into five partes, communly called Lathes, not altogether equal: which also be broken into Hundrethes, and they againe parted into Townes and Borowes, most aptly for assemblie and administration of justice. [26]

Despite this division being 'most aptly for assemblie and administration of justice' it is more that such a division of land

that actually necessitated that individuals and the community as a whole 'be specified or bounded in a geographical sense and anchored to particular points or blocks of land'. In this way, geography and the socio-political interweave because 'feudal relations were mapped into the landscape'. Thus, when Lambarde delineates his favoured method of division when representing land, a method that concentrates upon 'the two distinct Dioceses of Centerbury and Rochester', the political and the jurisdictional are 'mapped into the landscape'. When Lambarde describes the reasons for his method, 'both bicause that kinde of division hath as certain limits, as any of the former, and for that, it seemeth to me the most convenient severance, being wrought both by bounde of place, and of jurisdiction also' he is registering the interaction of the geography of place and the political that is mapped 'into' it.

Lambarde's acceptance and promotion of King Alfred's division of land into jurisdictional and political units reflects, of course, his own preoccupations as a lawyer and Justice of the Peace. But it also signifies the cultural assumptions of the perspective with which Lambarde chose to represent Kent. The narrative strategy of division to delineate knowledge not only receives authority from scripture and historical precedent but also, text and land parallel one another. Indeed, such is the support that Lambarde gives to these authorities, that Kent achieves the status of an ideal county or state. Following the description of King Alfred, Lambarde argues that as a direct consequence of the division of land carried out by this monarch, labour and economics were peacefully reinstated:

> By this device of his it came to passe, that good subjects (the travailing bees of the realme) resorted safely to their labors againe, and the evill and idle droanes were driven clean out of

> the hyve of the common wealth: so that in short time, the whole realme tasted of the sweete hony of this blessed peace, and tranquilitie: insomuch that (as one writeth) if a man had let fall his purse in the highway, he might at great leasure, and with good assurance, have come back and taken it up againe. [27]

The analogy of the beehive with an ideal commonwealth was a commonplace of the period and in this instance, it is employed to illustrate both the value of labour and the eradication of vagabonds from the economic stability and growth of the county. It is significant that even in his description of the 'blessed peace, and tranquilitie' of Kent that followed economic restoration, the example of the success of such restoration is articulated in pecuniary terms: 'if a man had let fall his purse in the highway, he might at great leasure, and with good assurance, have come back and taken it up againe'. The ideal state where theft is non-existent is articulated through the very road system that is inscribed upon the landscape itself. In Lambarde's ideal state, therefore, only those that labour and participate in the economic development of the county, have a place within it. As has been discussed earlier with regard to the importance of ideas of labour and the gentry in relation to the representation of land, Lambarde's cultural perspective embodies economic and gentry ideals, ideals which are mapped into the landscape.

All these factors comprising the representation of land, the political and jurisdictional, and the mapping of these into the very landscape itself, the discourses of antiquarianism that encapsulate concepts of the legal and the anatomical, and the narrative framework that incorporates the strategy of division, all register Lambarde's method for describing Kent. The perception of landscape in terms of the political and the social, the use of hierarchy to denote place

within the text, come together in the final analysis of Lambarde's methodology for the Permabulation of Kent. In the beginning of 'the Description and Hystorie of the Shyre of Kent', Lambarde's methodology is explicit. Introducing this chapter, which follows the general history of England in 'The English Heptarchie', Lambarde describes that:

> Having thus before hand exhibited in generalitie, the names, scituation, and compasse of the realme, the number of the sondrye nations inhabiting within the same, the severall lawes, languages, rites, and maners of the peoples, the conversion of the countrie to Christianitie, the divisions and lymites of the kingdomes, the beginnings and alterations of bishopprickes, and such other things incident to the whole: order now requireth, that I shew in particular, the boundes of eache Shyre and Countie, the severall Regiments, Bishops Sees, Lasts, Hundrethes, Fraunchises, Liberties, Cities, Markets, Borroughs, Castles, Religious Houses, and Schooles: the Portes, Havens, Rivers, Waters, and Bridges: And finally, the Hilles and Dales, Parkes and Forests, and whatsoever the singuilarities within the same. [28]

Although Lambarde appears to employ the process of deduction, moving from the general description of the 'realme' to the particular description of the 'boundes of eache Shyre and Countie' it is important to emphasize that this process is a part of representing the particular in order to complete the 'whole bodie and booke of English Topographie'. In this wider sense, therefore, Lambarde employs the process of induction, incorporating the particular productions of collective endeavour to complete the general representation of the country as a whole. Furthermore, the movement from general to particular in the Perambulation of Kent enables Lambarde to delineate the basis and authority for his method of narrative division; it is the general description of the 'the conversion of the countrie to Christianitie, the divisions and lymites of the kingdomes' that provides the basis of Christian and

historical precedent, seen for example in Lambarde's account of the Book of Moses and of King Alfred. Once this general narrative has been outlined, Lambarde specifies what the representation of the particular involves. And like John Leland's description of the antiquarian project in his Itinerary, described at the beginning of this section, the representation of the particular encapsulates an enormous range of material. But what is particularly interesting about Lambarde's listing of the different aspects of Kent that warrant inclusion within the narrative is that it embodies precisely the same concern with hierarchy as he displays with the promotion of the jurisdictional and political. The above quotation illustrates clearly that hierarchical movement. It begins with the 'boundes of eache Shyre and Countie', a description that echoes Lambarde's elucidation of his method in favouring Canterbury above all others in the representation of Kent, 'being wrought both by bounde of place, and of jurisdiction also'. This description reveals the way in which boundaries denote both the geographical and the political and, where as demonstrated in relation to the ideas of feudalism, the political is mapped into the landscape itself. The hierarchical movement is continued with the subsequent listing of the social and political aspects of Kent, its institutions and its laws, reflecting, of course, Lambarde's gentry and legal preoccupations; this is followed by politically significant facets of the landscape, 'the Portes, Havens, Rivers, Waters, and Bridges', suggesting transport and trade and, therefore, the economic functions of land; and finally, Lambarde describes the last part of the hierarchical representation, the 'the Hilles and Dales, Parkes, and Forests, and whatsoever the singularities within the same'. These parts of the landscape are delineated last owing to their less immediate economic function.

The two remaining facets of Lambarde's narrative strategy in the representation of Kent are those of the conveying of information in the form of tables and the use of travel or 'perambulation' to view personally the various social and geographical 'landmarks' of Kent and to gather source materials. Following 'The Description and Hystorie of the Shyre of Kent', Lambarde encapsulates in table form an enormous amount and variety of information relating to the economics of the various boroughs, towns and lathes of Kent, the designation and dates of fairs and markets, a list of castles and religious houses, names of the nobility and gentry, and a list of 'Kentish Writers'. This format was common to antiquarian accounts, where lists of gentry, nobility and armes were appended [29]. Although Lambarde employs tables within a number of chapters elsewhere, as for example a list of Archbishops in the section, 'The See of Canterbury', this is the main site for this form of information. He introduces this material by describing the method of division and the purpose and function of the table:

> I will set before the Reader's eye in table, a plaine particular of the whole shyre, wherein, to the end that with little labour of search, double commoditie may be founde, I will first divide the countrie into lathes, baylifwyeks, limites, and hundres, as it is sued for execution of services by the shyrifes, their baylifes, and iustices of the peace ... [30]

In the first instance, Lambarde clearly distinguishes between the narrative framework for these lists and the 'topographie and larger description of such places, as either faithfull information by worde, or credible hystorie in writing' [31]. For Lambarde, then, 'words' and 'writing' provide an alternative rendering of the representation of Kent to that of the table form, and in this sense, the table serves an as alternative 'scientific' means to convey information.

The idea that the lists 'set before the Reader's eye in table' the gathered information illustrates the way in which the table functions as a map, upon which various kinds of information are inscribed and a map which the reader can clearly 'view'. This visual dimension interweaves or unites the cultural ordering of information offering a codification of the landscape. The land of Kent becomes understood, therefore, through the very tables that formulate information and inscribe it on the the land. Kent is known through its gentry and writers as the lists of their names come to constitute knowledge even though the information may not be as schematic as first appears. For example, in the list of the nobility and gentry, Lambarde acknowledges that the information may not be complete and that it is a compilation from authorized sources and the author's own memory:

> The names of suche of the Nobilitie, and Gentrie, as the Heralds recorded in their visition, 1574. To the whiche I have added suche as I called to mynde, and have set a starre before ech of them, that they may be knowne from the rest. [32]

In this way, authority and the cultural assumptions of Lambarde interrelate as he assesses 'as I called to mynde' the qualifications by which any name is included in the list. And Lambarde's own aspirations for status by entering his own name are revealed, a revelation that can only increase the status of his own text. Again, cultural preoccupations are foregrounded in the list of 'Kentish Writers' where the surprising appearance of the name of Elizabeth I (owing to her birth in Greenwich) indicates the way in which Lambarde is attempting to raise the status of Kent itself [33].

The ordering of information through the framework of tables and alphabetical lists, the division of material that emulates the division of land, interrelate with the final method by which Lambarde undertakes the representation of Kent. As in John Leland's

Itinerary, Lambarde also employs the method of actually visiting towns and boroughs in order to accumulate and verify information at source. To a large extent, this is not just following the methodology of his antiquarian predecessor but rather, the method of visiting sites culminates both from the Lambarde's concept that antiquarianism can best be carried out by those who actually live in the county and from the nature of post-Reformation society where manuscripts and documents were often widely dispersed and under constant threat of destruction. Following the listing the Archbishops of Canterbury in the chapter, 'The Bishops See, and Diocese, of Canterbury', Lambarde outlines his method of travel:

> It followeth therefore, that according to purpose and promise, I handle such particular places within this Diocese, as are mentioned in hystorie: in which treatie, I will observe this order: first to begin at Tanet, and to peruse the East and South Shores, till I come to the limits betweene this Shyre and Sussex: then to ascend Northward, and to visit such places, as lie along the bounds of this Diocese and Rochester, returning by the mouth of Medway to Tanet again, which is the whole circuit of this Bishopricke: and lastly, to describe such places, as lie in the body and midst of the same. [34]

This extract illustrates the method of perambulation, as signified in the title of the text itself. However, rather than the narrative being a compilation of travel notes as in Leland's Itinerary, the narrative of the Perambulation of Kent is determined by an 'ordering' of the journey through the county. Consequently, just as the political and jurisdictional division of the county into parts in emulates the ordering of the narrative so too, does the travel parallel the ordering of the description of the Dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester. The text is contained not just by the limits of subject matter (although voluminous and various as described earlier in the section) but by the 'circuit' of the

journey. Within this circle lies the 'body' of the county, 'to describe such places, as lie in the body and midst of the same'. Thus, the journey through the landscape both geographically and textually, creates the complete narrative that will eventually constitute 'the union of many partes and papers compact one whole and perfect bodie and booke of our English Topographie'.

4. WRITING THE LAND

> Generally speaking, the Blue Guide testifies to the futility of all analytical descriptions, those which reject both explanations and phenomenology: it answers in fact none of the questions which a modern traveller can ask himself while crossing a countryside which is real **and which exists in time.** To select only monuments suppresses at one stroke the reality of the land and that of its people, it accounts for nothing of the present, that is, nothing historical, and as a consequence, the monuments themselves become indecipherable, therefore senseless. What is to be seen is thus constantly in the process of vanishing, and the Guide becomes, through an operation common to all mystifications, the very opposite of what it advertises, an agent of blindness. Roland Barthes, 'The Blue Guide', Mythologies [1]

> There would appear to be, then, at the other extremity of the earth we inhabit, a culture entirely devoted to the ordering of space, but one that does not distribute the multiplicity of existing things into any of the categories that make it possible for us to name, speak, and think. Michel Foucault, The Order of Things [2]

(A) THEORY

Analysis of Lambarde's Eirenarcha illustrated the way in which the antiquarian was conscious of the significance of writing as a

physical process in the construction of texts. His description of the compilation of the legal treatise, 'wherein I brought together stuff of ech kinde, sorted in heapes, and leayed readie to be wrought and framed' indicates such a consciousness, one that underpinned his textual construction of both the Perambulation of Kent and his directive for other antiquarians to construct their own representations of land for the purposes of putting together 'a whole body and book of English topography'. This consciousness of the physical nature of textual construction correlates with Lambarde's awareness of the significance of the pen and of writing itself to **create** textual representation, as he describes in the Eirenarcha, to 'plot the matter with my own penne'. Such an awareness is reflected too, in Lambarde's antiquarian texts whereby as the pen physically constructs the text, so too does the pen take part in writing the representation of land, the 'joyning of our pens and conferring our labours'. For Lambarde, therefore, writing is not just 'labour' but is used consciously in the representation of the land: it is a means by which our knowledge of the land is brought into being. But implicit also in Lambarde's preoccupation with the writing process is the Humanist ideal of wisdom and eloquence. As the letter from Thomas Wootton appended to the Perambulation of Kent made clear, it is not just that the description of Kent is written with 'good words wel placed' and 'eloquently', it is also a piece of writing that teaches and informs, 'for our instruction more profitable', the citizens of Kent (and particularly its gentry), to regional and national patriotic consciousness. In this way, writing for Lambarde is both method and process; it is a means by which the representation of land is textually constructed and at the same time, writing is the means for constructing knowledge of the land. And it

is this knowledge, articulated with 'good words wel placed' and 'eloquently', that promotes the virtue of the gentry that read the representation of Kent. The self-referentiality implicit in Lambarde's work involves, then, the consideration of these two different, but related, elements of writing. Whilst the physical nature of textual construction has already been addressed [3], this section will examine the importance of writing and language in Lambarde's antiquarian texts. And in order to analyse further the issues involved in representing place, reference to Roland Barthes Mythologies and Michel Foucault's The Order of Things will be made. These texts might seem antithetical to one another, in that the project of Barthes is to deconstruct signs in order to reveal an endless play of meanings, whilst that of Foucault is to reveal the workings of power and knowledge within those signs, within discourse. However, Barthes' analysis of the Blue Guide, a travel narrative, illustrates the way in which descriptions of landscape function as 'mystifications' in that they conceal the social and political 'reality' of the very landscape they purport to reveal. At the same time, Foucault's analysis of the ordering of knowledge and the language in which that knowledge is articulated, illustrates the way in which they are subject to the workings of power. In this sense, the social and political contexts that determine the representation of land become an important area of examination.

In the first instance, Lambarde's preoccupation with language can be understood in relation to Humanism. Broadly speaking, the Humanist ideal of eloquence and wisdom privileged the vernacular language as an adequate means to express knowledge with the explicit aim of teaching virtue. Thomas Elyot in The Governor explains that:

> Undoubtedly, very eloquence is in every tongue where any matter or act done or to be done is expressed in words clean, propice, ornate and comely, whereof sentences be so amptly compact that they, by a virtue inexplicable, do draw unto them the minds and consent of the hearers, they being therewith either persuaded, moved or to delectation induced. [4]

Here, a certain kind of language, 'words clean, propice, ornate and comely', is able to express the important matters of society and educate the hearers or readers. Invested in this language and innate to it, is 'a virtue inexplicable' that, according to Elyot, plays a crucial role in such education. Elyot's contention that this eloquence resides 'in every tongue' paved the way for the vernacular to be used as a means to articulate knowledge. As Roger Ascham also claimed in The Schoolmaster:

> Yet nevertheless, the rudeness of common and mother tongues is no bar for wise speaking. For in the rudest country and most barbarous mother language, many be found can speak very wisely; but in the Greek and Latin tongue, the two only learned tongues, which be kept not in common talk but in private books, we find always wisdom and eloquence, good matter and good utterance, never or seldom asunder. [5]

Whilst Latin and Greek are still acknowledged as the main languages in which wisdom and eloquence are resident, Asham clearly stresses that the 'common and mother tongues', despite their 'rudeness', are nevertheless adequate for 'wise speaking'. Although in this instance, Ascham is referring particularly to speaking rather than writing in the 'common and mother tongues', it is the Humanists' privileging of the vernacular that informs antiquarian texts. As Camden was to write in 1605 in his Remaines of a Greater Work, Concerning Britain, 'our tong is (and I doubut not but hath beene) as copious, pithie, and significative, as any other tonge in Europe', which echoes Elyot's early definition of a certain kind of English

that uses 'words clean, propice, ornate and comely'. Camden continues that:

> pardon me and thinke me not overballanced with affection, if I thinke that our English tongue is (I will not say as sacred as the Hebrew, or as learned as the Greeke,) but as fluent as the Latine, as courteous as the Spanish, as courtlike as the French, and as amorous as the Italian, as some Italianated amorous have confessed. [6]

Although Camden actually wrote the Britannia in Latin, which was not translated by Philemon Holland until 1610, his later promotion of the vernacular both above and in the fact that he published the Remaines in English, testifies to an important development in the representation of place in the English language. As with Ascham, Camden accords English the status of Latin whilst Greek and Hebrew are revered as 'learned' and 'sacred'. And with his acknowledgement of English as 'fluent', 'courteous', 'courtlike' and 'amorous', Camden situates the vernacular both in a European cultural context and at the same time, he promotes a national and patriotic consciousness, 'thinke me not overballanced with affection, if I thinke that our English tongue ...'. The relationship between the 'mother tongue' and place was made explict, then, through the differentiation from other European countries. As Richard Mulcaster commented, 'I love Rome but London better, I favour Italy but England more; I honour Latin but I worship the English': both the country and its language are accorded veneration, rather than simply the geographical and cultural territory [7]. The influence of the Humanists can also be identified in Lambarde's texts in their preoccupation with teaching either the practical application of law or the knowledge of the county and country. But more importantly, however, the ideals of language propounded by Humanists like Elyot and Asham also permeate Lambarde's concepts of language. The

prioritizing of the vernacular played an important role in both encouraging antiquarians to write their descriptions of land in English and at the same time, raised the status of their texts as repositories of eloquence and wisdom. The use of the vernacular, then, served as a means to foster senses of national and regional identity as readers could learn of their country and county in their own language. This was particularly important for Lambarde since he was appealing to a gentry readership, gentry who if resident in Kent, would have more affinity with their own county if they read its representation in English. With Camden, however, the Britannia was aimed at containing in one text, scholarship concerning Britain and for that reason, Latin was felt by him to be more suitable.

Although Lambarde, like other antiquarians, apologizes for his lack of 'good arte', an important Humanist ideal, in the representation of Kent, his antiquarian accounts are, in fact, explicitly concerned with the 'arte' of language itself. And in particular, with the etymology of language and place names. This concern is registered through the fact that Lambarde includes within the description of each town in the Perambulation of Kent the etymology of the word, often tracing it to its Anglo-Saxon and Latin origins. However, Lambarde's preoccupation with language also appears in his Dictionarium Angliae Topographicum et Historicum [8]. The additional title to the text, 'An alphabetical Description of the Chief Places in England and Wales; with an account of The most memorable Events which have distinguished them', illustrates the way in which land is described according to the tenets of language itself. It is the alphabet that constructs the narrative and that determines the place of each town within the text. Thus, the social and political hierarchies implicit in the title, 'the Chief Places',

'The most memorable Events', are subsumed to the grammar of language. In both cases, however, the inclusion of eytomology of place names within the description of place and the use of the form of a dictionary to arrange the representation of a country, identifies the way in which the relationship between language and place is explicit. It is not just that a certain kind of language, as in Thomas Elyot's phrase, 'words clean, propice, ornate and comely', can articulate knowledge of the land, but that etymology and the alphabet are an intrinsic part of that knowledge. Furthermore, the use of the alphabet to arrange descriptive material in the Dictionarium can be seen as a means to actually codify place. The country, the county or the town are perceived, therefore, not just through the language that articulates knowledge of them but also, the rules of language arrange the means by which that knowledge is structured.

This self-referentiality makes how we read Lambarde's antiquarian texts problematic because in them the rules of language construct - and articulate - the descriptive material. Reading is further problematized since Lambarde's texts raise the issue of whether his representations of land conceal, or in Barthes' term 'mystify', rather than emprically revealing the county they purport to describe. These issues can be examined in relation to the theoretical models offered by Barthes and Foucault. Roland Barthes 'The Blue Guide', an excerpt from which introduces this section, identifies the way in which a travel guide 'mystifies' and ultimately acts as 'an agent of blindness' in describing the land. This is because the preoccupation with monuments and churches in the Blue Guide illustrates for Barthes how the landscape is depoliticized in favour of the 'bourgeois' concern with economic and Christian cultural value. That monuments are chosen by the writers as an

adequate representation of landscape identifies how the Blue Guide 'postulated (religious) Art as the fundamental value of culture, but saw its 'riches' and 'treasures' only as a reassuring accumulation of goods (cf. the creation of museums).' [9] The monuments 'describe' therefore, not the political and social 'reality' of the landscape, but offer instead a mythology, one that 'mystifies' the landscape rather than empirically describing it. Such mystification occurs not just in terms of the selection of elements of the landscape for its representation but also, it manifests itself on a linguistic level too. As Barthes suggests:

> Ultimately, the Guide will coolly write: 'The road becomes very picturesque (tunnels)': it matters little that one no longer sees anything, since the tunnel here has become the sufficient sign of the mountain ... [10]

Barthes' analysis illustrates how in the Guide, the mountains in the landscape are signified by the tunnel; the travellers come to 'know' the mountains, then, through a signifier unrelated to what they actually see. This particular analysis is, in fact, a good example of the way in which the Guide operates as 'an agent of blindness' where in ostensibly representing the mountains, instead the tunnels become 'indecipherable, therefore senseless', as their meaning is 'constantly in the process of vanishing ...' [11]. Barthes analysis of the Blue Guide presents an interesting approach to Lambarde's antiquarian texts because it highlights the importance of examining the information that Lambarde selects in order to represent the county and the country. Primarily, that Lambarde describes Kent, for example, in terms of the economic and cultural concerns of the gentry, suggests the creation of a 'gentry' myth of land. The readers of the Perambulation of Kent come to 'know' Kent through, say, the lists of the gentry resident in the county. The names act

as signifiers, not for any aspect of the landscape that the readers might see, but as a signifier of a particular cultural identity. In this way, the text might be seen to 'mystify', to create the myth of gentry culture, to act as 'an agent of blindness' that obscures certain social and political 'realities' of the landscape, rather than the text describing the county empirically.

If the use of the alphabet in the Dictionarium to structure knowledge is an intrinsic part of Lambarde's representation of England and Wales, then it follows that the alphabet also functions to order the place it seeks to describe. As it has already been suggested above, language in these antiquarian texts serves to codify place by ordering knowledge about the landscape within the formations of grammar. The analysis of the way in which knowledge is ordered and the relationship that language has to that order is the project of Foucault's The Order of Things. The introduction to this text describes Foucault's response to reading Borges citation of 'a certain Chinese encyclopaedia', an encyclopaedia that divides animals into categories that, seemingly, bear no relation to any sense of empirical order. The guiding principle of the ordering of these categories, or classifications, is that of language because it is language and not empiricism that appears to establish the links between the groups of animals. Thus, for Foucault:

> What transgresses the boundaries of all imagination, of all possible thought, is simply that alphabetical series (a,b,c,d) which links each of those categories to all the others. [12]

This alphabet, similar to that used by Lambarde in the Dictionarium to represent England and Wales, operates as a table or grid. Just as the alphabetical series, a,b,c,d links the categories of animals in the encyclopaedia, so too does it link the towns in the Dictionarium.

Foucault offers two definitions of this grammatical series or table. Firstly, the table functions to bring together things unlike or '"incongruous"', the linking together of things that are inappropriate'. However, this inappropriateness of material is obscured by the apparently rational nature of the table itself. The consequence of this gives rise to the second definition of the table or 'tabula', a 'tabula':

> that enables thought to operate upon the entities of our world, to put them in order, to divide them into classes, to group them according to names that designate their similarities and their differences - the table upon which, since the beginning of time, language has intersected space. [13].

The table operates then, not only to illustrate the relationship between language and the ordering of knowledge but also, the table becomes the primary means by which the reader engages with that knowledge. However, for Foucault, it is precisely the immediate presence of the table that obscures the 'common locus' of the ordered information. And so it is for this reason that he questions the order by which allegedly empirical facts are placed and the idea of spatial coherence that that order provokes:

> For it is not a question of linking consequences, but of grouping and isolating, of analysing, of matching and pigeon-holing concrete contents; there is nothing more tentative, nothing more empirical (superifically at least) than the process of establishing an order among things. [14]

The alphabetical series of the encyclopedia or Lambarde's Dictionarium appear, therefore, as empirically ordered knowledge, an order that obscures the relationships between things that are potentially 'incongruous' or unlike. The reader of these tables engages with the information on the level of order, which is linguistically constructed, rather than on the information contained within them. As Foucault suggests, 'language [is] the spontaneous

"tabula", the primary grid of things, ... an indispensable link between representation and things' [15].

According to Foucault, therefore, what makes Borges so difficult to interpret is that the encyclopaedia represents an ordering process completely different from our own. This is partly due to the fact that because order is a cultural construction, it is constantly subject to change. And it is a change in culture that produces a 'loss of what is "common" to place and name' as the means by which we interpret the linguistically constructed order has altered. But at the same time, the difference in cultural perception enables the West to interpret the encyclopaedia in terms of myth: 'the mythical homeland Borges assigns to that distortion of classification that prevents us from applying it, to that picture that lacks all spatial coherence, is a precise region whose name alone constitutes for the West a vast reservoir of utopias' [16]. Consequently, Foucault's analysis of the encyclopaedia moves in two directions: firstly, it identifies that the relationship between language and 'things' is changeable, thereby substantiating allegations of the lack of empiricism in the construction of order; and secondly, that although we can no longer understand what is 'common to place and name' in the encyclopaedia, the West produces nevertheless an interpretion of it that conforms to the construction of a myth of culture. [17] However, for Foucault it is precisely this aspect of cultural change in the ordering of knowledge that facilitates the analysis of 'the pure experience of order and of its modes of being'. This 'pure experience' is a more 'true' order, one that only becomes visible during a change in the relationship between knowledge and language. Thus, the project of The Order of Things is to examine:

> in what way, then, our culture has made manifest the existence of order, and how, to the modalities of that order, the exchanges owed their laws, the living beings their constants, the words their sequence and their representative value; what modalities or order have been recognized, posited, linked with space and time, in order to create the positive basis of knowledge as we find it employed ... to rediscover on what basis knowledge and theory became possible' [18]

Consequently, Foucault attempts to explore the way in which a certain ordering of knowledge comes into being and the rules that determine its construction and reception. And because language has a specific role in the way knowledge is formulated, it becomes an object of analysis in itself. But Foucault is also concerned with the way in which power is invested within discourses that formulate knowledge. For example, as will be discussed below in relation to the antiquarian, he examines the discourse of the 'scientist', a discourse that functions as an indicator of the dominant preoccupations of society rather than as straightforward epistemology.

Foucault's analysis of language, order, knowledge and power provides an important means of reading Lambarde's texts. For example, the alphabetical series in the Dictionarium that orders knowledge of the landscape within the constraints of grammar, suggests a rational order, one that offers an apparently empirical order to a set of diverse information. On the one hand, it might be suggested that the use of the alphabet derives from the increasing confidence in the vernacular language posited by many of the Humanists, in the same way as it does with Lambarde and other antiquarian's concern with the etymology of place names. It is not just that the vernacular is acknowledged as adequate to express wisdom and eloquence, but that it is also perceived to order

knowledge. On the other hand, however, the alphabetical ordering of knowledge about the land in the Dictionarium fosters a sense of the unity of the country. This unity is created, then, through the structure of grammar, a unity which ultimately promotes a sense of national consciousness. The representation of the country is contained and ordered, therefore, not only in a grammatical and a structural sense but also in political one. The knowledge of the country in the Dictionarium is contained by the spatial coherence of the alphabetical series in contrast to the Perambulation of Kent or Camden's Britannia, for example, where the name of the text signifies or stands for the country or county. National consciousness is informed, then, not so much by the information contained within the alphabetical table but by the ordering of it. But the wider implications of the use of the alphabet are that it obscures the fragmentary nature of the material, the differences in the landscapes and cultures of England and Wales, for example. This method of ordering knowledge of the country suggests that its representation is unproblematic. But as it has been discussed in chapter two, the accumulation of knowledge of the country was far from simple. The difficulty in travelling, the lack of source material and libraries, and the potential hostility of the monarch, all played a part in preventing the antiquarian from acquiring the necessary information for the representation of place. And set against all of these, there was the effect of the dissolution of the monasteries which dispersed material, and made its recovery difficult and dangerous in the face of attacks of recusancy. In addition, with regard to the actual arrangement of knowledge into narrative form, this was by no means codified. Lambarde's definitions of chorography problematized the use of history to describe place, where his definitions attempted to

deal with potential digressions to the antiquarian project. And finally, the arduous labour of actually writing and constructing texts, described in both the Eirenarcha and the Perambulation of Kent, is not present in the schematic use of the alphabet to order knowledge. The use of the alphabet to order knowledge of the country promotes, therefore, an apparent coherence both of subject matter and the arrangement of material.

In his analysis of order and knowledge, Foucault identifies the way in which they function in science both on conscious and unconscious levels. He suggests that on the conscious level, the historian of science 'traces the progress of discovery, the formulation of problems, and the clash of controversy ... it describes the processes and products of the scientific consciousness' [19]. In terms of antiquarian study, this would involve the examination of its development, identifying both changes in techniques and new discoveries. But the historian of science also studies what 'resists', 'deflects' or 'disturbs' the linear development of science. For Foucault, this analysis focuses on the 'unconscious of science', one that can only identify restraints to scientific development retrospectively. However, because analysis of both conscious and unconscious levels concentrates upon the process and progress of knowledge, it fails to address the language in which these alterations are articulated. In order to counteract this, Foucault attempts to:

> reveal a 'positive unconscious' of knowledge: a level that eludes the consciousness of the scientist and yet is part of scientific discourse, instead of disputing its validity and seeking to diminish its scientific nature. ... [to identify the way in which] unknown to themselves, the naturalists, economists, and grammarians employed the same rules to define the objects proper to their own

> study, to form their concepts, to build their theories. It is these rules of formation, which were never formulated in their own right, but are to be found only in widely differing theories, concepts, and objects of study ... [20]

Here, Foucault clearly equates the ordering of knowledge within a particular discourse, the scientific. This 'positive unconscious of knowledge' operates on the level of what he terms the 'archeological', 'a level that eludes the consciousness of the scientist and yet is part of scientific discourse'. Consequently, his object of study is the analysis of the unconscious ordering of knowledge that operates upon, and can identified within, discourse. This project can inform the study Lambarde's antiquarian texts, therefore, because it takes account both of the way in which knowledge is ordered and the language in which that knowledge is articulated. Moreover, it takes into account the formulation of a discourse that is pertinent to the particular area of enquiry of antiquarianism. By substituting the term 'scientist' with that of antiquarian, then, it becomes possible to examine the discourse that Lambarde uses to represent place. In this discourse, the concept of a 'positive unconscious of knowledge' can reveal the workings of power within it. Thus, in Lambarde's description of Canterbury, for example, the focus on discourse can illustrate the preoccupations of gentry economic and political status. Furthermore, it is Lambarde's chapter on Canterbury that shows how, far from offering a coherent representation of the town, instead Canterbury operates as a site of fragmentary and competing discourses, discourses of the secular, economic and spiritual. The remaining part of this section, therefore, will examine Lambarde's <u>Perambulation of Kent</u> and the <u>Dictionarium Angliae Topographicum et Historicum</u>, informed by the theoretical formulations of both Foucault and Barthes. Discussion of

the use of etymology and the relationship between language and place will be followed by analysis of the particular description of Canterbury.

(B) LANGUAGE

In both the Perambulation of Kent and the Dictionarium Angliae Topograhicum et Historicum there is a prevailing interest in the Anglo-Saxon language. In the former text, for example, this interest is reflected in Lambarde's compilation of a list of 'The Saxon characters, and their values'. But the focus on Anglo-Saxon manifests itself particularly in Lambarde's analysis of the signification of place names and their etymologies, etymologies which head the description of each town. In the first instance, such interest in Anglo-Saxon and the history of language in general in these texts, derives from Lambarde's research with Laurence Nowell. As Wilbur Dunkel describes:

> Under Nowell's guidance William Lambarde began to assist with the making of glossaries and determining rules of grammar for their ancient language [of Anglo-Saxon]. He participated in the deciphering of words and phrases from Anglo-Saxon manuscripts collected by Nowell and then in the determination of priority among these ancient scripts. [21]

Both men translated original manuscripts and the accumulation of source material was fundamental to their work. Furthermore, Nowell had produced in manuscript form an Anglo-Saxon dictionary [22]. The gathered material and glossaries informed the texts of many other antiquarians where in William Harrison's Description of England (1587), for example, Harrison inserts practically word for word

Lambarde's history of Kent complete with the latter's analysis of original Anglo-Saxon place names [23]. And Camden in particular, acknowledges the work of Nowell and Lambarde in his listing of examples of Anglo-Saxon in the Remaines of a Greater Worke, Concerning Britaine:

> I could particulate in many more [Anglo-Saxon examples], but this woulde appeare most plentifully, if the labours of the learned Gentlemen Maister Laurence Nowell of Lincolnes Inne, who first in our time recalled the studie heerof, Maister William Lambert, Maister J Joscelin, Maister Fr. Tate were once published. Otherwise it is to be feared, that devouring Time, in a few yeeres will utterly swallow it, without hope of recoverie. [24]

Camden's acknowledgement reveals the number of individuals who were working in this area, individuals who all had some contact with the Antiquarian Society. It identifies, too, the importance attributed to language study and in Camden's terms, that the study is as subject to loss as the original Anglo-Saxon itself. For the compilation of glossaries of Anglo-Saxon also became important documents for consultation about language change. As R F Jones points out, 'In studying past English civilization, the antiquarians were compelled to use documents written in the language of various periods, and thus they could not fail to note the changes that time had produced in the mother tongue' [25]. Cultural history and the history of language were therefore related in the project of antiquarianism and as a result, the discovery of the 'original' 'mother tongue' became an intense preoccupation.

Broadly speaking, the collection of Anglo-Saxon material undertaken by the antiquarians served a twofold function. Firstly, the investigation into the Anglo-Saxon language and the information that it revealed uncovered a potential connection between the English Church and an 'original' Christianity 'uncorrupted' by Papal links

with Rome. Secondly, the uncovering of ancient documents not only revealed the relationship between contemporary culture and the past but also, signified a unique identity for an English history and an English language. This sense of history promoted an emerging nationalism that defined the status of England and 'Englishness'. This second function was a crucial one, where as Retha Warnike argues:

> The study of Anglo-Saxon culture by many sixteenth century scholars like Lambarde was popular ... a feeling of nationalism was rising in Europe in conjunction with the emergence of nation states. When national identification began to supersede and replace old provincial ties, those who desired to glorify their nation and their race were motivated to search their past for examples of greatness and splendour. [23]

Investigation into the language of the past engendered, therefore, senses of contemporary nationalism. Moreover, the uncovering of ancient material became an act of patriotic endeavour for 'those who desired to glorify their nation'. But despite these two important factors of the study of Anglo-Saxon, it is also clear that Lambarde's interest in the language arose from his practice as a lawyer. Research into the past could not only illustrate a cultural origin, but could also reveal the history of the common law. Since Lambarde studied at Lincolns Inn, he was more likely to encounter common law rather than civil law (or Roman law) which was more the province of the Universities. With the emphasis of common law upon national law, the study of ancient texts could only substantiate senses of nationalism [27].

Indeed, it was the antiquarian's preoccupation with law that enabled them to describe the relationship between a national language and the laws and institutions of the country. As Camden was to write

in the Remaines of a Greater Work, Concerning Britaine:

> the English-Saxon tongue came in by the English-Saxons out of Germany, who valiantly and wisely performed heere all the three things, which implie a full conquest, viz. the alteration of lawes, language and attire. [28]

Here, the Saxon language and the laws that were introduced subsequent to conquest, are revered by Camden. His description of the 'valiant' and 'wise' actions of the Germans reflects, in fact, the work of sixteenth century comparative philology which venerated the Saxon language. German philology, particularly, had expounded upon its linguistic qualities of monosyllables and antiquity. And as R F Jones asserts:

> The Continental praise of the German race and language was loudly echoed in England, where there was almost as much interest in comparative philology as in Europe. And in the midst of their praise English writers awoke to a fact which had been only passively perceived before, namely, that they and their language were originally derived from the Saxons, the noblest of Teutonic peoples. [29]

Thus, Camden's emphasis of the 'English-Saxon language' and 'English-Saxon' culture becomes clear. This language offered a sense of an English cultural identity, one that constituted an idea of Englishness, and an Englishness that shared with the Saxon, antiquity and linguistic quality. And it was this quality, that offered an alternative perspective on the vernacular: if the English vernacular could be proved to possess an antiquity and a quality that was at least equal to that of Latin, then its use could be justified. Camden's lauding of the Saxon introduction of laws and language are also shared by Lambarde, who specifically stressed the important political and legal foundation instigated by Egbert and Alfred:

> Kent was united by King Egbert (who last of all chaunged the name of the people, and called them Englishmen) unto the Westsaxon kingdome, which

> in the ende became the ladie and maistress of
> all the rest of the kingdomes also: and it was
> from thenceforth wholy governed after the Westsaxon
> law, as in the mappe of the tripartite lawes of
> this realme hath appeered, until such time as
> King Alfred first divided the whole realme into
> particular shyres, upon this occasion following. [30]

Here, Lambarde equates the formulation of a national identity, brought about by the Anglo-Saxons, with the naming of the people, 'who last of all chaunged the name of the people, and called them Englishmen'. This formulation is subsequently mapped onto the political landscape through the implementation of law and government. However, whilst Camden's interest lay in ideas of the nation, Lambarde's perspective is determined by a regional consciousness. His position is made evident by the importance he attributes to Kent in the implementation of legal and political systems and in the naming of the people. Lambarde's claim that 'Kent was united by King Egbert ... unto the Westsaxon kingdome, which in the ende became the ladie and maistress of all the rest of the kingdomes also' illustrates a slide between national and regional consciousness. This slide is registered by Lambarde's identification of the function that the region of Kent plays in the cultural and linguistic construction of the nation.

Because Lambarde's perspective was determined by a regional consciousness, his etymologies of place names included Latin, British and Anglo-Saxon origins. Whilst Camden was concerned to promote a sense of Englishness through the venerated Anglo-Saxon, Lambarde's concerns lay with promoting Kent through its linguistic history, a history that preceeded even the Anglo-Saxon. And through identifying

a linguistic history, Lambarde was able to establish a relationship between language and place, a relationship that provoked a sense of regional identity:

> [Kent] is called by Caesar, and other auncient writers, 'Cancium' and 'Cancia' in Latin, which name (as I make conjecture) was framed either out of 'Cainc', a woord that (in the language of the Britaines, whom Caesar at his arrivall founde inhabiting there) signifyeth, bowghes, or woods, and was imposed, by reason that this countrie, both at that time, and also long after, was in manner wholy overgrowne with woode, as it shall hereafter in fit place more plainly appeare: or else, of 'Cant' or 'Canton', which denoteth an angle, or corner of land, (so this and sundry others bee) as Master Camden, the most lightsome antiquarie of this age, hath observed. [31]

In the first instance, Lambarde frames his definition of the naming of Kent by the the authorities of Caesar and Camden. The latter source establishes Lambarde's definition within the emerging antiquarianism and of which, Camden was acknowledged to be a major contributor. But more importantly for Lambarde's prioritizing of the status of Kent, Camden is used to substantiate and validate his claim for Kent's British etymology. This is because, although Lambarde might appear to be using Caesar and 'other auncient writers' to authorize the Latin variation, 'Cancium' and 'Cancia', instead he suggests that the Latin derives from the British words, 'Cainc', 'Cant' or 'Canton'. Thus, whilst the allusion to the Latin apparently serves as an authority, at the same time, Lambarde points out its dependancy upon the original British words. Lambarde's etymology of Kent served an important function. Primarily, the British word identifies clearly the relationship between language and place: 'Cainc' 'signifyeth, bowghes, or woods, and was imposed, by reason that this countrie, both at that time, and also long after, was in manner wholy overgrowne with woode', so that the British word

signifies the British landscape. Again with 'Cant' or 'Canton', the word relates specifically to the geographical position and shape of Kent: 'which denoteth an angle, or corner of land'. Kent is known and understood, therefore, through the clear relationship between signifier and signified, and through the positive association of the county with British language origins. Lambarde's description of etymology illustrates, therefore, the way in which he constructs a sense of regional identity through a linguistic antiquity rather than through the venerated Anglo-Saxon.

Lambarde's concentration on linguistic history as a means to describe the history of the county fostered a sense of language change and the way in which the introduction of a new language altered the understanding of place names. This was noted by other antiquarians like William Harrison, for example. In his Description of Britain (1577), Harrison acknowledges that whilst Latin was 'easy and delectable' at the same time, it also 'perverted' the original British language:

> Howbeit, as the speech itself [Latin] is easy and delectable, so hath it perverted the names of the ancient rivers, regions, and cities of Britain in such wise that in these our days their old British denominations are quite grown out of memory and yet those of the new Latin left as most uncertain. [32]

Harrison continues that even 'our deeds, evidences, charters and writings of record' are written in Latin 'though now very barbarous' [33]. The implication of this is that not only has Latin 'perverted' the original British but also, that it has itself degenerated. Harrison's sentiments reflect the conscious association made between language and place. Whilst Lambarde claimed that Kent retained its connection to British origins, thus enabling the relationship between the signifier and signified landscape to remain intact, Harrison

identifies that that relationship has been disrupted by the introduction of Latin. It is not just that the original British names for the land and cities had been forgotten, but that Latin played a major role in altering the relationship between the British signifier and the signified British landscape: 'it perverted the names of the ancient rivers, regions and cities of Britain'. As a result, rather than Latin being represented by Harrison as the language of learning and the learned, he associates it instead with the destruction of a British national identity. The detrimental nature of language change noted by Harrison was also described by Lambarde in relation to the linguistic and cultural alterations brought about by the Norman Conquest. Lambarde claims that the Norman Conquest directly contributed to the 'decay of the Olde English tongue':

> For it is plaine, that the Normans at their very first entrie, laboured by all means to supplant the English, and to plant their owne language amongst us: and for that purpose, they bothe gave us the lawes, and all manner of pastimes, in the French tongue, as he that will peruse the Lawes of the Conquerour, and consider the terms of Hawking, Hunting, Tenise, Dice play, and other disportes, shal easily perceive: they reiected also the Saxon Characters, and all that their wonted manner of writing ... [34]

Just as Harrison associated the demise of the British culture alongside that of the language, so too does Lambarde describe the imposition of an alien culture through the introduction of a different language and legal system. Using organic imagery, 'to plant their own language amongst us', Lambarde associates the introduction of French with the establishing of an alien culture, 'Hawking, Hunting, Tenise, Dice play, and other disportes'. Lambarde's description reflects, in fact, the Saxonist stance of other antiquarians. As R F Jones points out, the Saxonists:

> reveal a bitterness [at the Norman Conquest] that can be explained only on the basis that they resented the victory gained over the glorious Saxons, even though by a partly Germanic people, and the introduction of an alien element into the noble inheritance beqeathed by the former. In short, the Danes and the Normans dimmed the glory and interupted the traditions of their true origin. As one worthy says, they 'unteutonized' the English people. [35]

The introduction of another language effectively removed, then, the sense of an 'uncorrupted' 'English' origin. And the rejection of Anglo-Saxon 'and all that their wonted manner of writing' culminated in a language change that instigated the perception of England through the social and political culture of another nation.

Antiquarian research into the past necessarily focused, therefore, on the history of language change. This focus influenced the representation of place as antiquarian accounts began to include the history of place names as an intrinsic part of their antiquarian projects. As a result, a relationship between language and place was established. For the antiquarians, this was a crucial relationship because the words that denoted land, cities and landscape also gave rise to senses of national and regional identity. For example, Lambarde praised the Anglo-Saxons for formulating words that signified a specific aspect of the land:

> For, to compound the name of a Towne, out of the mouth of a River adioining, was most familiar with our auncestors: as Exmouthe was framed out of the River Ex: Dartmouthe of the Water Dert ... [36]

Thus, the name 'Exmouthe' that signifies the particular city, derives from the name of the river that stands by it. In this way, Exmouthe is known in relation to the land, a knowledge that constructs a sense either of the region or of the nation of which Exmouthe is a constituent part. As with Lambarde's description of the naming of Kent, there is a clear relationship established between the Anglo-

Saxon signifier and the signified Anglo-Saxon landscape. Indeed, Lambarde is so concerned with the way in which land is named, that he describes in some detail the processes of signification. In the 'The terminations, of the names of townes', he describes how:

> The name [Malling] hath (as you see) his termination in (ing) which betokeneth plainly that it hath a low scituation: for (ing) signifieth a low ground, or medow, and so remaineth knowen in the North countrie of England till this present daie. ... For, as a Name is nothing else, but a worde appointed by consent of men to signifie a thing: Even so, the Saxons our auncestors endevored to fashion their names of places after a certaine naturall force and reason, taken from the scituation of the place itselfe ... [37]

Again, the names of places have a direct correlation to the land on which they are situated. For Lambarde, this is an example of the way in which the Saxons employed language 'after a certaine naturall force and reason', whereby the 'naturall' landscape is figured in the words that name it. Senses of community and identity are constructed through this figuration and at the time, through the way in which language works to communicate, 'For, as a Name is nothing else, but a worde appointed by consent of men to signifie a thing'.

Lambarde's description of the Anglo-Saxon origin of place names contrasts that of the Normans, where he had claimed that they 'laboured by all means to supplant the English, and to plant their owne language amongst us'. The Norman language served to 'contaminate' the 'English' culture whereas the Saxon functions as an origin of 'English' culture. But for Lambarde, the main significance of the relationship between language and place, is its function in the representation of land:

> And hereof it falleth out, that a man (but meanly exercised in their language) may (for the most part) as readily understand the scite, or soile,

> of their townes, by the onley sounde of the name,
> as by the verie sight of the place itselfe. [38]

The establishing of the relationship of an Anglo-Saxon signifier to the Anglo-Saxon signified landscape enables the hearer - or reader - to comprehend the land as if they were actually able to see it. This is, of course, crucial for Lambarde's own representations of Kent, England and Wales. This is because it suggests that the representation that includes description of the original Anglo-Saxon words, descriptions, in fact, which head every section of each town in the Perambulation of Kent, constructs adequate knowledge of the land. Consequently, the Anglo-Saxon words describe the social and political 'reality' of the county and country because there is a direct relationship between signifier and signified. This is very different from Roland Barthes' analysis of the Blue Guide where he suggests that the monuments chosen to represent the landscape serve to 'mystify' its social and political 'reality'. Moreover, that the use of the 'tunnels' to signify the mountains, 'The road becomes very picturesque (tunnels): it matters little that one no longer sees anythings, since the tunnel here has become the sufficient sign of the mountain' [39], illustrates for Barthes the way in which language can obscure the relationship between signifier and signified. That Lambarde attributes to Anglo-Saxon the ability to formulate a name that clearly signifies the relationship between the town and the land on which it is situated, enables him to claim that an individual: 'may (for the most part) as readily understand the scite, or soile, of their townes, by the onley sounde of the name, as by the verie sight of the place itselfe'. Lambarde's perception of the Norman Conquest therefore becomes clear: in his view, the French language disrupted the relationship between signifier and signified, so that

an individual may now no longer 'see' and come to know the land. But Lambarde also refers to the sixteenth century 'deterioration' of language. He suggest that this deterioration has been brought about by the reduction in the number of syllables in place names, a situation where 'hardly a man may know them to be the same':

> For, of Medweys Towne, we make Maidstone: Of Eglesford, Ailsford ... and so foorth infinitely, both throughout this Shyre, and the whole Realme: and that so rudely (in a great many) that hardly a man may know them to be the same ... Neither hath this our manner of abbreviation, corrupted the names of townes and places onely, but infected (as it were with a certaine contagion) almost our whole speech and language ... [40]

The introduction of French and the general 'deterioration' of language combine, therefore, to act as an 'agent of blindness' where the relationship between signifier and signified is no longer clear, 'that hardly a man may know them to be the same'. Indeed, Lambarde attributes an enormous significance to 'this our manner of abbreviation' in the naming of towns in that the reduction of syllables has an adverse effect on the whole of 'speech and language'.

The preoccupation that Lambarde, Harrison and Camden have with language and the portrayal of Anglo-Saxon as a 'golden age' in English history, reveals their concern with the relationship between language and place. For these antiquarians, the land acts as a sign to which various cultures, like Anglo-Saxon, throughout that history attribute meaning. For them, place names signify the social and political 'reality' of the landscape, a 'reality' that can be identified in land as a sign. But whilst they appear to be conscious, in a Foucauldian sense, of the history of the development of language and its relationship to place names, there is also an element in their antiquarian texts of what Foucault terms the

'positive unconscious of knowledge'. Operating on what Foucault calls the level of the archeological, 'a level that eludes the consciousness of the scientist and yet is part of scientific discourse', are the unconscious workings of power that can be identified within antiquarian discourse. For example, although it has been shown that Lambarde is conscious of the significance of culture in the naming of places, the etymological descriptions given with the description of even town, reveal an unconsciousness of his own cultural preoccupations. In the etymology of 'Albion and Anglia' in the Dictionarium, Lambarde suggests that with the name 'Anglia':

> Some thynk it tooke the Name 'ab arbis rapibus', of the white Cliffes that be on the South Coast of 'Ingland', and appeare first of all this Land to suche as sayle in the Occean Sea betwene it, and 'Fraunce'. [41]

In this instance, Lambarde is concerned only with identifying the history of the name 'Anglia', and is unconscious of the relationship between etymology and political persective. It is not just that the history of conquest might determine the name of 'England', but that the perspective of the conquerors would be reflected in its naming, 'the white Cliffes that be one the South Coast of 'Ingland' and appeare first of all'. The name denotes the perspective, therefore, of the outsider and not the resident.

In previous sections it has been suggested that Lambarde's representations of place embody within them the preoccupations of the gentry, with their political, social, economic and religious aspirations. Although Lambarde is aware of the significance of language in the representation of place, in the description of a social and political 'reality', it is the discourse that is used to undertake that representation that reveals the way in which different senses of 'reality' are constructed. In the description of

Canterbury in the Perambulation of Kent, for example, the competing discourses of the secular, economic and spiritual illustrate that although Lambarde, when it comes to etymology, is conscious of the relationships between language and culture, in his own representations of place that relationship is far from consciously registered. This can be seen most clearly in Lambarde's description of the effect of the reformation upon Canterbury:

> I cannot on the one side, but in respecte of the places themselves pitie and lament this generall decay, not onely in this Shyre, but in all other places of the Realme also: So on the other side, considering the maine Seas of sinne and iniquitie, wherein the worlde (at those daies) was almost wholy drenched, I must needes take cause, highly to praise God that hath thus mercifully in our age delivered us, disclosed Satan, unmasked these Idoles, dissolved their Synagogs, and raced to the grounde all monuments of building erected to superstition and ungodlynesse. ... By the iust iudgement of God therefore, Canterbury came suddenly from great welth, multitude of inhabitants, and beautiful buildings, to extreme povertie, nakedness, and decay ... in which plight, for pitie I will leave it ... [42]

Because Canterbury had been historically an important place of worship, its economic status had been vast. The income from the Religious Houses alone was considerable, where as Lambarde earlier lists in 'Religious Houses, that sometime were, and their yerely values', Christs Church for example, had a yearly value of £1421,17.3 [43]. This wealth had transformed Canterbury into a politically and economically (as well and spiritually, of course) important centre, with the effects of wealth being registered in the 'multitude of inhabitants, and beautiful buildings'. But with Lambarde's concern with the economic and political status of Kent and simultaneously, his Protestant convictions, his perspective on Canterbury is deeply ambiguous. This ambiguity is manifested in the language that describes the effects of the dissolution.

In the first instance, Lambarde clearly contrasts the positive dissolving of Catholicism with its negative effect on the economic status of Canterbury. This contrast is particularly complex in relation to the language that describes the city. For example, Lambarde's description focuses on the deconstruction of the places of worship, where the sign of them is revealed, 'unmasked', so that Satan is 'disclosed'. Consequently, the relationship between signifier and signified is 'dissolved' in order that a new signified is established, that the 'Monuments of building [were] erected to Superstition and ungodliness'. The dissolving of the former signifier/signified produces, then, both an understanding of the 'sinne and iniquity' that these places formerly embodied as well as the knowledge that 'unmasked Idoles' involves material deprivation for the city as a whole. But Lambarde appears to be unable to relinquish his sense of the former places of worship as having been 'beautiful buidings' even though they have been revealed as irreligious. Subsequently, Lambarde appears unable to accommodate the newly reconstructed signifier/signified because of his preoccupation with economic value. This description of Canterbury illustrates again, therefore, the way in which land - and buildings - act as signs. That Lambarde 'deconstructs' the sign of places of worship (and is unable to accommodate the new signified) might be seen as an example of what Roland Barthes terms a 'second order signifier'. In 'Ideology and Bliss: Roland Barthes and the secret histories of landscape', James S and Nancy C Duncan argue that:

> To produce a semiology of landscape, then, one must investigate the ideological process by which landscape signs become second-order signifiers. Thus when a signifier - that is, an element in a signifying system such as a landscape - is joined with a signified or the concept to be communicated

> it becomes a sign. Next this sign can become a signifier itself when it is associated with a new concept (signified), and thus a second-order sign is formed. This happens when the meaning of a sign which is historically and culturally variable, and thus contingent, dissipates and becomes open to new meanings. The form which may have had a rich, full history can become an empty signifier, to be filled again with a new history, another contingent significance, to become a new sign. [44]

In relation to the representation of Canterbury, the places of worship, the buildings and city, initially act as signs that signify spirituality. Following the reformation, this sign is 'dissolved' and 'unmasked', so that 'Satan [is] disclosed', with the result that these buildings become a new signifier of irreligion and idolatry. This formation of a second-order sign occurs then, 'when the meaning of a sign which is historically and culturally variable', and where in Lambarde's case, there is a cultural change brought about by the reformation. Consequently, the meaning of the sign 'dissipates and becomes open to new meanings', new meanings which in the description of Canterbury, include that of economic and material deprivation as well as that of irreligion. What has occured in the language of the representation is an opening of meanings, meanings which are not yet fully established. Whilst Lambarde is able to identify linguistic change in the British, Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French languages, and to describe its effect upon culture and the naming of places, when it comes to Canterbury, his awareness of cultural and linguistic change is unformulated. Again, Lambarde's interpretation of the etymology of Kent acknowledges the relationship between signifier and signified landscape and the effect that any alteration in that relationship has upon the reader's understanding of the county; but with Canterbury, Lambarde does not consciously engage with the idea that the buildings of Canterbury have altered their meanings, where the buildings

signify idolatry rather than Protestant senses of spirituality, and yet those same buildings also being interpreted as 'beautiful' despite their idolatry being 'unmasked'; his response is to leave the area, 'in which plight, for pitie I will leave it' rather than to negotiate with the implications of this representation. It would seem as if the consequences of the second order signifier, 'The form which may have had a rich, full history can become an empty signifier, to be filled again with a new history, another contingent significance', have not been apprehended by Lambarde - despite his understanding of the way in which words change their meanings to accommodate new ones.

To a large extent, Lambarde's inability to negotiate with linguistic and cultural change in Canterbury (in contrast to historical linguistic and cultural change) reflects the fact that the city is the 'capital' of Kent, a city and county that, as has been illustrated in this chapter, Lambarde wished to promote. Furthermore, his preoccupation with the economic value of Canterbury as a city, generating wealth for its inhabitants, means that he has difficulty in acknowledging its economic decay, despite his acknowledgement of the reasons for that decay. What his representation of Canterbury appears to illustrate, therefore, is language in process. Whilst conscious of the process of language change in historical terms, Lambarde is unconscious of the contemporary sixteenth century moment at which language change occurs. The reason for this lies, of course, in his own cultural preoccupations with notions of gentry, economics and with antiquarian study itself. For in many ways, Lambarde's representation of Canterbury differs little from the descriptions of the effects of the dissolution of the monasteries articulated by the earlier

antiquarians, John Leland and John Bale. Both these antiquarians had lamented the destruction of documents and artifacts that followed from cultural change, and they were both deeply committed to attempting to negotiate with the situation. The focus of Lambarde's representation of Canterbury falls, therefore, upon the immediate effect of the dissolution, that of economics and the destruction of cultural artifacts, 'beautiful buildings', rather than offering a rational linguistic explanation of that effect as he had done with the change brought about by the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans.

CHAPTER THREE: NOTES

1. CONFLICTS OF REPRESENTATION

1. Peter Stallybrass, 'Time, Space and Unity: the symbolic discourse of The Fairie Queene', Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity, Vol. III National Fictions, edited by Raphael Samuel. Quotation from Ernst Gellner cited p200.

2. ibid., p200.

3. Francis Bacon, The Advancement of Learning, pp144-5.

4. See chapter two, p58. See also, Cognita et Visa:

   It would disgrace us, now that the wide spaces of the material globe should be set by the narrow discoveries of the ancients. Nor are those two enterprises, the opening up of the earth and the opening up of the sciences linked in any trivial way ... Not only reason but prophecy connects the two. What else can the not at all obscure oracle of the prophet mean, which in speaking about the last times says: 'Multi per transibunt et multiplex erit scientia?' Does he not imply that the passing through or perambulation of the globe of the earth and an increase or multiplication of the sciences, were destined to occur in the same age and century?

   Cited in Graham Parry, The Seventeenth Century: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature 1603 -1700, p158.

5. The Britannia, 1586: revised 1587, 1590, 1594, 1600, 1607, translated by Philemon Holland, 1610. See the Introduction, William Camden: Remains Concerning Britain, edited by R D Dunn.

6. William Lambarde, 'The peroration of this worke', A Perambulation of Kent, 1826, p473. The 1826 edition is a reprint of the second edition of 1596. All references are to the 1826 edition unless otherwise stated.

7. The idea of 'ioyning our Pennes' and 'conferring our labours' introduces the notions of collective research outlined in chapter two, section four, 'The Antiquarian Society'.

8. Letter Gul. Lambardus Gul. Camdeno, 1585. J Nicols 'Memoirs of William Lambarde Esq., An Eminent Lawyer and Antiquary' in the Bibliotheca Topograhia Britannia, 1780-1790, pp512-13.

9. Wilbur Dunkel, William Lambarde: Elizabethan Jurist: 1536 - 1601, pp50-1.

10. Letter Gul. Lambardus Gul. Camdeno, 1585.

11. William Lambarde, 'The peroration of this worke', p474.

12. William Camden, Britannia, 1610, p.323.

13. See 'The Description and Hystorie of the Shyre of Kent' in the Perambulation of Kent:

    Neither be they [the yeomanrie, or common people] here so much bounden to the gentrie by copyhold, or custumarie tenures, as the inhabitants of the westerne countries of the realme be, nor at all indangered by the feeble holde of tenant right, (which is but a discent of a tenancie at will) as the common people in the northren parts be: for Copyhold tenture is rare in Kent, and tenant right not heard of at all. But in place of these, the custome of Gavelkind prevailing every where, in manner every man is a freeholder, and hath some part of his own to live upon. p7.

14. A L Rowse, The England of Elizabeth, pp56-7.

15. Godfrey Davies, The Early Stuarts 1603 - 1660, p267.

16. Letter of Thomas Wootton to the reader, 'To his Countrimen, the Gentlemen of the Countie of Kent'. Cited from the 1576 edition of the Perambulation of Kent.

17. A L Rowse, p57.

18. Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy: 1558-!641, p8.

19. William Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent, p6.

20. ibid.

21. Laurence Manley, 'From Matron to Monster: Tudor-Stuart London and the Languages of Urban Description', The Historical Renaissance: New Essays on Tudor and Stuart Literature and Culture, edited by Heather Dubrow and Richard Strier, p360.

22. R A Butlin 'Regions in England and Wales c1600 - 1914' in An Historical Geography of England and Wales, edited by R A Dodgshon and R A Butlin, p233.

23. Cited in R A Butlin, p233.

24. William Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent, p7.

25. Godfrey Davies, p269.

26. Wilbur Dunkel, p32.

27. Retha M Warnicke, William Lambarde: Elizabethan Antiquary: 1536-1601, pp17-22.

28. See Jack Simmons 'The Writing of English County History' in English County Hisorians, edited by Jack Simmons:

    [The antiquarians] have only one thing in common: all, without

exception, were amateurs. None of them made a living out of the county historys, or even out of the wider study of antiquities unless it was Nicols, who published so much of was the antiquaries wrote. ... Most of these people ... financed themselves. p17.

See also Wilbur Dunkel, p40.

29. Wilbur Dunkel, p55.

30. Jack Simmons 'The Writing of English County History', p5.

See also Wilbur Dunkel: '[Lambarde] presented his learning about these local matters in a readable style acceptable to scholars as well as to the gentry and yeoman. Despite the formidable array of knowledge, he seemed to be trying to interest all Kentish men who could read. p40.

See also Retha Warnicke: 'In choosing Thomas Wotton, a former sheriff of Kent, as his first critic, Lambarde singled out a local gentleman, whose support would be important to the ultimate success of the history among Kentish gentlemen.' p31.

2. CREATING THE TEXT

1. William Lambarde, Letter to Thomas Wootton, 'To the Right Worshipfull, and Vertuous M Thomas Wootton, Esq.', Perambulation of Kent.

2. See John Leland, 'New Yeare's Gyfte', edited by Lucy Toumlin Smith:

Now if it shaul be the pleasure of Almightty God that I may live to performe these thinges that be al ready begune and in a greate forwardnes, I truste that this yowr reaulme shaul so welle be knowen, ons payntid with his natives coloures, that the renoume ther of shauyl gyve to the glory of no other region ... p xlii - xliii.

See also John Bale commentary on John Leland's 'New Yeare's Gift to King Henry VIII', The Laboryous Journey: John Leland edited by W A Copinger:

So lernedlye, lyuelye, euydently, and groundedlye, and with such authorytees (yea, and as it were wyth a serten maiestie) would he haue fullye and whollye paynted, described, or set fourth thys oure realme and all thynges therein, wyth all the domynyons thereof, and wyth all suche thynges as haue from tyme to tyme byn done in them. pp25-6.

3. William Lambarde, Eirenarcha: Or the Office of the Justices of Peace, in two Books. Gathered in 1579, and how reuised, and first published, in the 24 yeere of the peaceable reign of our gracious Queene Elizabeth, 1582.

4. William Lambarde, 'To the Right Honourable, Syr Thomas Bromley, Knight, Lord Chauncelour of England', Eirenarcha.

5. Kevin Sharpe and Christopher Brooks 'History, English law and the Renaissance', in Kevin Sharpe, Politics and Ideas in Early Stuart England: Essays and Studies, pp174-5.

6. ibid., pp178-9.

7. Jonathan Goldberg, Writing Matter: From the Hands of the English Renaissance, p9.

8. Francis Barker, The Tremulous Private Body: Essays on Subjection,, pp9-10.

9. William Lambarde, 'To the Right Honourable, Syr Thomas Bromley', Eirenarha.

10. ibid.

11. William Lambarde, Letter to Wootton, 'To the Right Worshipfull, and Vertuous M Thomas Wootton, Esq.', Perambulation of Kent.

12. ibid.

13. ibid., p475.

14. 'countrie' could denote country of county. See R A Butlin, 'Regions in England and Wales c1600-1914', An Historical Geography of England and Wales, edited by R A Dodgshon and R A Butlin, pp223-54.

15. John Leland, 'The New Yeares Gyfte', p xxxvii.

16. ibid., pxliii.

17. English Humanism: Wyatt to Cowley, edited by Joanna Martindale, pp181-2.

18 William Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent, p ix.

19. Humphrey Lhuyd, The Breuiary of Britayne, 1573, translated by Tomas Twynne, sig. Aiii v.

20. ibid., sig. Aiii v - Aiiiir.

21. William Camden, 'The Author to the Reader', Britannia, 1610.

22. John Bale's commentary, Leland's New Yeare's Gift to King Henry VIII', p3.

23. ibid., pp26-7.

24. William Lambarde, 'Letter to Thomas Wootton', Perambulation of Kent.

25. J Nichols, 'Memoirs of William Lambarde Esq., An Eminent Lawyer

and Antiquary', Bibliotheca Topographia Britannia, p525.

26. Wilbur Dunkel, p51. See also: 'Lambarde himself composed a form of morning and evening prayer, with the consent of the Bishop of Rochester, and he ordained that these forms should always be used.' p51.

27. Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution, p40.

28. A S Beier, Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560-1640, p33.

29. Rosemary Kegl, '"Joyning my Labour to my Pain": The Politics of Labor in Marvell's Mower Poems', Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century English Poetry, edited by Elizabeth D Harvey and Katharine Eisaman Maus, p93.

30. Christopher Hill: 'The necessity to economize led lords to cut down their households; the quest for profit led to eviction of some tenants from their holdings, the buying out of others.' p40.

31. Peter Stallybrass, p207.

32. A S Beier, pp5-7.

33. Stallybrass cites from David Beers Quinn, The Elizabethans and the Irish, Ithaca, p157.

3. DIVIDING THE LAND

1. Thomas Dekker, The Dead Tearme (1608) quoted in Laurence Manley, 'From Matron to Monster: Tudor-Stuart London and the Languages of Urban Description' in The Historical Renaissance: New Essays on Tudor and Stuart Literature and Culture, edited by Heather Dubrow and Richard Strier, p354.

2. William Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent, pp70-1.

3. See Retha Warnike on the debate surrounding the influence of Laurence Nowell upon the production of the Perambulation of Kent:

> This present study has revealed that even though Nowell's transcripts were undoubtedly of great significance in the writing of the Description, they were not as important of those of Lambarde. Even if the antiquary had used all the Nowell materials on [Robin] Flower's list, except for the Cambrensis and Paris transcripts but conceding the copies of Bede and the Peterborough Chronicle, since he referred to them only about 1,500 times in a work with over 5,000 references, they provided at most about one-third of the research for the Description. p28.

4. John Leland, 'New Yeares Gyfte', p xxxvii.

5. Stan A E Mendyke, 'Speculum Britanniae': Regional Study, Antiquarianism, and Science in Britian to 1700, p46. See his description of Leland's travelling through the country to acquire material:

   Armed with the king's commission and letters of introduction which Leland put to good use, he searched dozens of monastic and cathedral repositories, as well as local records and other literary sources and so on for information to supplement his observations made during his excursions; in the process recording local customs, legends, inscriptions, and Roman antiquities (archaeological remains). p46.

   See also chapter two for the means by which information was collected and distributed among antiquarians.

6. John Leland, 'New Yeares Gyfte', p xl.

7. Stan Mendyk, p45.

8. John Leland, 'New Yeares Gyfte', p xlii.

9. William Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent, p474.

10. See John Bale's account of Leland's insanity in his commentary, 'Leland's New Years Gift to King Henry VIII':

    I muche do feare it that [Leland] was vayneglorуouse, and that he had a poetycall wytt, whyche I lament, for I iudge it one of the chefest thynges that caused hym to fall besydes hys ryghte dyscernynges. But thys dare I be holde to saye, as one that knoweth it (for I sawe and redde of them in his stody, dyuerse and many tymes) that he neuer promysed to set fourth so manye workes as he had dygested in an ordre, and had in a forwarde redynesse to haue set fourth. And surelye in suche a sort he handeled the matters by hym treated of, that (by my symple iudgement) if he had so fynyshed them and set them fourth accordynge as he than intended and wolde have done. Truly I suppose no lesse, but it wolde haue byn a wondre (yea, a myracle to the worlde) to haue redde them. pp24-5.

11. ibid., p71.

12. Peter Dixon, Rhetoric, p29.

13. Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, 'prosecute' as a legal term recorded 1579.

14. Laurence Manley, p354.

15. William Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent, pp16-17.

16. ibid., p474.

17. Laurence Manley, p348.

18. ibid.

19. William Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent, p15.

20. ibid., pp16-17.

21. ibid., p15.

22. ibid., p8.

23. ibid., pp9-10.

24. ibid., p18.

25. R A Dodgshon, 'The Changing Evaluation of Space 1500 - 1614', p256.

26. William Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent, p3.

27. ibid., p18.

28. William Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent, p1.

29. For example, see Sampson Erdeswicke, A Survey of Staffordshire, 1593-1603; William Pole, Collections towards a Description of the County of Devon, 1604; Tristram Risdon, The Chorographical Description, 1605-40; William Dugdale, Antiquities of Warwickshire, 1656.

31. William Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent, p29.

32. ibid., p22.

33. ibid., p58.

34. See Lambarde's description of Mary and Elizabeth at Greenwich in the Perambulation of Kent, p390:

    Marie his eldest daughter (and after Queene of the realme) was borne in this house [at Greenwich]: Queen Elizabeth his other daughter, our most gratious and gladsome Governour, was likewise borne in this house: and his deere sonne King Edwarde (a miracle of Princely towardnesse) ended his life in the same house. p390.

35. ibid., pp87-88.

4. WRITING THE LAND

(A) THEORY

1. Roland Barthes, Mythologies, p83.

2. Michel Foucault, The Order of Things, p xix.

3. Section 2, 'Creating the Text'.

4. Thomas Elyot, Book I, 'The True Orator', in English Humanism: Wyatt to Cowley, edited by Joanna Martindale, p178.

5. Roger Ascham, Book II, 'The importance of words', English Humanism, p183.

6. William Camden, Remaines of a Greater Work, Concerning Britaine, the inhabitants thereof, their languages, Names, Surnames, Empresses, wise speeches, Poesies, and Epitaphs, edited by R D Dunn, pp29-30.

7. Richard Mulcaster, cited in English Humanism, edited by Joanna Martindale, p31.

8. Dictionarium was begun in 1567. See Retha Warnicke, p26.

9. Roland Barthes, Mythologies, p83.

10. ibid., pp81-2.

11. ibid., p83.

12. Michel Foucault, The Order of Things, p xvi.

13. ibid., p xvii.

14. ibid., p xix.

15. ibid., p xxii.

16. ibid., p xix.

17. There are similarities in the analyses of Foucault and Barthes of the construction of cultural myths although here, Barthes is concerned with signs that purport to reveal 'truth' or 'reality' whereas here, Foucault is concerned with the myth of 'other'.

18. Michel Foucault, The Order of Things, p xxxi.

19. ibid., p xi.

20. ibid., p xi.

(B) LANGUAGE

21. Wilbur Dunkel, p27.

22. Laurence Nowell's Vocabularium Saxonicum, edited by Albert H Marckwardt.

23. William Harrison, Description of England, pp83-5.

24. William Camden, Remaines of a Greater Worke, Concerning Britaine, p.29.

25. Richard Foster Jones, The Triumph of the English Language: A Survey of the Opinions Concerning the Vernacular from the Introduction of Printing to the Restoration, p266.

26. Retha Warnike, p29.

27. Brian P Levack, 'Law and Ideology: The Civil Law and Theories of Absolutism in Elizabethan and Jacobean England', The Historical Renaissance: New Essays on Tudor and Stuart Literature and Culture, edited by Heather Dubrow and Richard Strier, pp220-241.

28. William Camden, Remaines of a Greater Worke, Concerning Britaine, p23. See also Camden's further description of the German origins of the 'English Tongue' from which it derived various attributes:

    This English Tongue is extracted, as the nation, from the Germans the most glorious of all now extant in Europe for their morall, and martiall vertues, and preserving the libertie entire, as also for propogating their language by happie victories in France by the Francs ... p23.

29. Richard Foster Jones, pp218-9.

30. William Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent, p17.

31. ibid., pp2-3.

32. ibid., p414.

33. ibid.

34. ibid., p238.

35. Richard Foster Jones, p227.

36. ibid., p232.

37. ibid., p374.

38. ibid.

39. Roland Barthes, Mythologies, pp81-2.

40. William Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent, p233.

41. William Lambarde, Dictionarium Angliae Topographicum et Historicum, p1.

42. William Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent, pp267-9.

43. ibid., p57.

44. Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of the Landscape, edited by Trevor J Barnes and James S Duncan, pp21-2.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has identified an important area of research, an area that suggests the significance of antiquarianism and cartography for the furthering of our understanding of Renaissance culture. This significance is intensified by the way in which these texts engaged with a number of different traditions, geography, history, humanism and language and with different influences, monarchy, patronage and gentry. These traditions and influences were crucial in determining the way in which antiquarian and cartographic texts were produced. And furthermore, they were important for the way in which antiquarians and cartographers perceived themselves as being involved in the representation of land on individual or communal levels. Our negotiation with these traditions and influences encourages us, therefore, to read these texts not in isolation, but as a complex response to and engagement with a changing social and political landscape. For whilst the antiquarians and cartographers were concerned to preserve cultural artifacts and descriptions of land within textual form, at the same time these texts generated a sense of nation and region. This thesis has shown, therefore, that the study of antiquarian and cartographic texts informs us firstly, about the way in which land was represented, secondly, about the constraints upon such representations and thirdly, about the function that these texts served. As a result, whilst the production and reception of antiquarian and cartographic texts adds to our understanding of Renaissance culture, it also serves to contextualize literary texts of the period. For example, it has been already illustrated in chapter one how cartography provided an important context for the poetry and prose of John Donne. But further research

could identify the way in which the concerns of the antiquarians and cartographers are paralleled in literary texts, and particularly that of topographical poetry.

The study of topographical poetry has been considerably enhanced by the seminal work of James Turner and R A Aubin [1]. There studies centre respectively on the historical and political context and on the classicism that informs the topographical poetry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Turner, in particular, challenges this form of poetry as involving the simple description of land by claiming that:

> Country literature cannot be reduced to 'depiction' of the actual state of the countryside - that is its whole point. It works on historical reality, and produces something different. It works, moreover, in a variety of ways - insisting on the irrelevance of the world, or suppressing its painful contradictions, or interrogating, transforming or inverting it. [2]

This takes issue with the notion that the topographical genre only offered the poet a means to elide the social and political reality of the land he or she sought to describe. Instead, Turner outlines an interpretation of topographical poetry that concentrates upon the way in which authors negotiated with the ideals of landscape as a retreat and simultaneously, with the realities of 'bad harvests, unprecedented poverty and oppression, peasant rebellion and the devastations of civil war' [3]. Through challenging the way in which we read topographical poetry, Turner resituates this poetry within the political and social context from which it was produced and with which it engaged. Turner's assessment of topographical poetry parallels, of course, that of this thesis: that antiquarian and cartographic texts 'cannot be reduced to "depiction" of the actual state of the countryside' but rather, that these texts were actually 'interrogating, transforming or inverting' the way in which

land could be represented in textual or pictorial form. But the comparison between topographical poetry and antiquarianism, and in particular county descriptions like Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, continues with the focus upon families, buildings and estates. Both illustrate the relationship between people and land and offer a 'picture' of life at local levels.

However, the studies of Aubin and Turner centre on the topographical poetry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Both put forward the commonly held view that the genre emerged in England with Jonson's 'To Penshurst' though, of course, more recently, Lanyer's 'The Description of Cookeham', having been printed in 1611, is now acknowledged to predate Jonson's poem [4]. Whilst these studies have made either the importance of classical models or the social and political context pivotal to their interpretations of topographical poetry, the question that emerges from this thesis, is the extent to which the antiquarians and cartographers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries provide an additional context. And more specifically, this thesis considers the extent to which the antiquarians, through their representations of land, towns, families and buildings, raised consciousness about the significance of land and the relationships between land and people. Camden's Britannia, although published in Latin in 1586, appeared in translation in 1610. As a result, the popularity of this text may well have exerted a considerable influence on seventeenth century topographical poetry. Jonson, in particular, knew Camden since the latter had been his teacher at Westminster School. Consequently, Jonson would have known directly about Camden's work, his involvement in the Antiquarian Society and, possibly, his relations with William Lambarde. Moreover, Jonson wrote a dedicatory poem to Camden,

praising not just his learning and his patriotism, '... to whom my country owes / The great renown, and name wherewith she goes' but also Camden's influence on Jonson as a poet, 'to whom I owe / All that I am in arts, all that I know' [5]. Here, Jonson does not simply recognize Camden's influence as a teacher but claims that Camden actually gave 'name' to Britain through the Britannia. Because Camden, like other antiquarians, gave the etymology of place-names as an intrinsic part of his representations of land, Jonson suggests that in that 'naming', land achieves some kind of identity: the 'naming' identifies both the country, 'great renown' and the citizen, 'my country'.

Jonson's dedicatory poem to Camden suggests that further research could concentrate on the different ways that antiquarian and cartographic texts were perceived and used in literary texts. For example, it could be asked to what extent antiquarian and cartographic texts were used as consultative texts for knowledge of the county and country, as promoting a regional and a national consciousness, and most importantly, whether these representations of land constituted authoritative accounts. For Jonson, in his dedicatory poem to Camden, especially praises his authority, 'What weight, and what authority in thy speech!' [6]. But Jonson was not the only poet writing topographical poetry to acknowledge his debt to Camden. Michael Drayton, author of one of the most deeply problematical poems of the seventeenth century, Poly-Olbion, and John Selden his commentator, cite Camden's Britannia as a source text for the history of Britain. This topographical poem, or as Drayton defines it, 'A Chorographicall Description of Tracts, Riuers, Mountaines, Forests, and other Parts of this renowned Isle of Great Britain', is far more extensive than other poems of this genre.

Whilst the poems of Lanyer, Jonson, and Marvell, for example, focus on particular estates, Drayton's poem ranges across all the counties of Britain. Like Camden's Britannia, each chapter concentrates on a county, describing the landscape and its history and each is preceded by an illustration of the county drawn from Saxton's county maps. The antiquarian influence can be further seen in the introduction to poem, where Drayton laments the contemporary indifference either to antiquities or to the way in which those antiquities inform knowledge of the nation. He criticizes in particular those:

> as had rather read the fantasies of forraine inventions, then to see the Rarities and Historie of their owne Country delivered by a true native Muse. Then, whosoever thou be, possest with such stupidity and dulnesse, that, rather then thou wilt take paines to search into ancient and noble things, choosest to remaine in the thicke fogges and mists of ignorance, as neere the common Lay-stall of a Citie; refusing to walke forth into the Tempe and Feelds of the Muses ... [7]

Drayton's sentiments clearly anticipate Thomas Westcote's claim that, prior to his antiquarian account, Devon 'hath long lain in obscurity, illustrated only by the valiant actions of the worthy heroes thereof, and not by the quills of the natives' [8]. In each case, both antiquarian and topographical poet promote the representation of the native land as of far more importance than that of the accounts of exploits abroad, a representation that in Drayton's words, involves an 'Herculean labour' [9]. Moreover, each posits his representations of land as crucial to the formulation of a regional or national identity and consciousness. Again, Drayton, as other antiquarians of the Renaissance period, claims that history is a fundamental constituent of knowledge of the land and so, of the county or nation. And by history, Drayton includes the history of Britain as well as the 'Nobilitie, or Gentry', where Poly-Olbion contains:

> all the Delicacies, Delights, and Rairities of this renowned Isle, interwoven with the Histories of the Britaines, Saxons, Normans, and the later English: And further that there is scarcely any of the Nobilitie, or Gentry of this land, but that he is some way of other, by his Blood interressed therein ... [10]

Through the convergence of the history of the nation with the history of families, the gentry and nobility, Drayton follows antiquarian methodology. As a result, Drayton delineates an audience for his text: the inhabitants of each county, who can read of their own histories and relate them to the history of the nation as a whole. And, of course, this emulates William Lambarde's own project, who in the Perambulation of Kent situated the particular history of Kent within the context of national history - or again, Sampson Erdeswicke's A Survey of Staffordshire and Richard Verstegan's A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence that sought to represent local histories of the gentry. And finally, Drayton anticipates too, Westcote's later assertion that his text has met with 'neither reward nor regard, but scornful backbiting and scandalous detraction' [11] with his own acerbic comment that 'I have met with barbarous Ignorance, and base Detraction' [12].

However, whilst antiquarianism and cartography can add an important and enlightening context to Drayton's topographical poem, at the same time what makes Poly-Olbion such a difficult text to interpret is the way in which it employs that material. The landscape that Drayton entices the reader to see in his account is very different from that portrayed by the antiquarians. For example, William Lambarde, in the Perambulation of Kent, employs the landscape as an ordering principle for his narrative. He relates that:

> I will observe this order: first to begin at Tanet, and to peruse the East and South Shores, till I come to the limits betweene this Shyre and Sussex: then to ascend Northward, and to visit such places, as lie along the bounds of this Diocese and Rochester, returning by the mouth of Medway to Tanet again, which is the whole circuit of this Bishopricke: and lastly, to describe such places, as lie in the body and midst of the same. [13]

Here, the different parts of the county illustrate the order of travelling as well as the ordering of the narrative. And in Thomas Westcote's representation of Devon, the landscape functions to display visually the county that Westcote sought to describe:

> Be now therefore pleased, as you now stand upon Great Vennicombe top, (that we leave nothing unseen worthy note,) to cast your eye westward and you may see the first spring of the river Exe, which, welleth forth in a valley between Pinckerry and Woodborough, which runneth far to make itself famous by giving denomination to a more famous city. [14]

However, Drayton's use of the landscape is altogether very different from that of these two antiquarians. In the preface, 'To the General Reader', Drayton writes:

> to walk forth into the Tempe and Feelds of the Muses, where through most delightfull Groves the Angellique harmony of Birds shall steale thee to the top of an easie hill, where in artificiall caves, cut out of the most naturall Rock, though shalt see the ancient people of this Ile delivered thee in their lively images: from whose height thou mai'st behold both the old and later times, as in thy prospect, lying farre under thee; then convaying thee downe by a soule-pleasing Descent through delicate embrodered Meadowes, often veined with gentle gliding Brooks; in which thou maist fully view the dainty Nymphs in their simple naked bewties, bathing them in Crystalline streames ... [15]

The landscape that Drayton represents visually for the reader to see is an ideal one, where historical and contemporary senses of time are conflated, 'from whose height though mai'st behold both the old and later times'. Furthermore, far from the landscape being inhabited by

the 'Nobility, and Gentrie' as Drayton has promised, in this introductory preface, it is the 'ancient people of this Ile', 'the dainty Nymphs in their simple naked bewties'. In fact, this ideal and Edenic landscape is the subject for all the sections in Poly-Olbion. In each of these songs, history, culled mainly from Camden's Britannia, is set against a personified and an ideal landscape. In 'The eighteenth Song', the description of Kent, for example, the female personified landscape acts as the basis for the narrative. It provides not just the context for the history of the nation but the 'origins' of a country to which the history of the later 'Britaines, Saxons, Normans, and the later English' impinged.

The complexity of Drayton's Poly-Olbion manifests itself, therefore, in the way that it employs antiquarian and cartographic sources, and at the same time offers an interpretation of the land that interweaves ideal descriptions with historical ones. The study of this topographical poem obviously merits a thesis in itself and further research, based upon the issues within my thesis, could demonstrate the way in which Drayton formulated a sense of nation and Englishness. It would reveal, too, the way in which Drayton was influenced in his employment of different kinds of textual and pictorial strategies, strategies that were an intrinsic part of antiquarian and cartographic texts. For all these depictions of land, topographical, antiquarian and cartographic, provided for the readers of the Renaissance period and for us the readers today, alternative 'pictures' of the region and of the nation. What this thesis has illustrated, is the significance of representations of land as crucial elements of Renaissance culture. It has shown how the representation of land functioned to express the geographical, social, political and economic dynamics of the county or country, and

simultaneously, to represent the cultural preoccupations of the individuals involved in those representations. As a result, these representations of land 'mapped' both the land and the writer in the process of articulating an emerging sense of national and regional consciousness and identity. The interdisciplinary nature of English studies today has faciliatated the focus on antiquarian and cartographic texts, a method of enquiry that, appropriately, was such an important component of this material. This thesis opens up the possibility for recontextualizing the concerns of very different kinds of texts, antiquarian, cartographic and topographical poetry; furthermore, it is the connections between those different kinds of texts that reveal their underlying concern with the gentry, with the vernacular and with Englishness. And it is all of these issues that were generated by writing the land.

CONCLUSION: NOTES

1. Robert Arnold Aubin, Topographical Poetry in XVIII-Century England, James G Turner, The Politics of Landscape: Rural Scenery and Society in English Poetry 1630-1660.

2. James G Turner, p2.

3. ibid., p1.

4. See Germaine Greer (et al), Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of Seventeenth Century Women's Verse, pp44-6.

5. Ben Jonson, 'To William Camden', Ls 3-4; Ls 1-2.

6. ibid., L9.

7. Michael Drayton, Poly-Olbion, edited by J William Hebel, Vol. IV, 'To the General Reader'

8. Thomas Westcote, A View of Devonshire, p31.

9. Michael Drayton, 'To any that will read it', p391.

10. ibid.

11. Thomas Westcote, p31.

12. Michael Drayton, 'To any that will read it', p391.

13. William Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent, pp87-8.

14. Thomas Westcote, pp93-4.

15. Michael Drayton, 'To the General Reader'.

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