

# Space, Memory and Transformation in Early Modern Literature

SAA 2016

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## Suggested Preliminary Reading:

Owain Jones and Joanne Garde-Hansen, 'Introduction', in *Geography and Memory: Explorations in Identity, Place and Becoming*, ed. by Owain Jones and Joanne Garde-Hansen (New York: Palsgrave, 2012), pp. 1-18

## Reconsidering the unlocalized stage: street and house in *Romeo and Juliet*

Emma Katherine Atwood, Boston College

For decades, Shakespeare scholars like Alan Dessen, Bernard Beckerman, and Leslie Thompson have championed “the chameleon-like flexibility of the open stage” (Dessen 20), arguing that this quality of early modern dramaturgy naturally blurred the boundaries between different fictional locations. This influential theory posits that one fictional location easily becomes another because of theatrical preconditions—in other words, the unlocalized stage is simply par for the course. However, I argue that specific domestic locations were actually called to the audience’s attention with regular frequency in early modern plays, and their specificity significantly shapes the plots of these plays. In particular, we see Shakespeare engage this localized dramaturgy quite self-consciously as he frequently collapses one scene into another for dramatic effect, not merely because of a contemporary staging convention.

Moments of dramaturgical spatial confusion, I contend, are actually productive moments of spatial negotiation that reveal the cultural tensions shaping the practice of early modern domestic space. In this paper, I will explore *Romeo and Juliet* as a case study. Specifically, I will examine 1.4 in which Mercutio delivers his “Queen Mab” speech. The scene begins outdoors—the men carry torches and discuss the wind and the stars on their way to Capulet’s mask. Without breaking the scenic continuity, Capulet enters to welcome the maskers to his house. With this entrance, the party is suddenly indoors. The uninvited Montagues are thus incorporated into the unfolding mask scene without any trouble. But instead of reading this scene, as J.L. Styan does, as an accident of the “unlocalized” stage convention, I contend that the distinction between the street and the Capulet household is purposefully collapsed in order to critique the opposition between these two modes of social engagement—the violence of street culture and the insularity of family culture. These are the larger social tensions that shape the action of *Romeo and Juliet*. So in this way, reading the spatial dramaturgy of the play allows us greater insight into the larger social tensions at stake in the play. The stage may not always represent a particular “place,” but it is not just an empty platform, either. These moments of spatial transformation are productive and purposeful.

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**“A Place Sometime Called Ravenspurre”:**

**Marking and Commemorating Place in *Richard II* and *Henry IV part 1***

**Robin E. Bates, Lynchburg College**

In the 14th and 15th centuries, Ravenspurgh was a harbor on the Spurn, a spit off the Holderness Coast that coastal erosion has caused to shift and disappear over time. The Spurn erodes and reconstitutes itself in approximately 250-year cycles, shifting westward in each iteration. Towns on the Spurn are necessarily short-lived, and Ravenspurgh was no exception. While it existed, it served as the landing place for two kings: Henry IV and Edward IV. Holinshed reports that Henry chose Ravenspurgh because on a long, slow journey past the entire southern coast of England and up the eastern coast towards Yorkshire, he wasn't certain of a warm welcome at any of the coastal towns until he reached the tip of the Spurn, where he could be met by Northumberland and others who were sufficiently exhausted with King Richard to rebel against him.

Shakespeare takes his information of Henry IV's landing at Ravenspurgh almost direct from Holinshed, having Northumberland repeat nearly verbatim the details of Henry's journey from Port le Blanc in Brittany to Ravenspurgh in Yorkshire. Repetition of the name Ravenspurgh, which is spoken seven times by various characters through *Richard II* and *1 Henry IV*, elevates the place from mere landing site to an historical site fraught with significance for those connected to Henry's return from exile and the alliances he made with the Northumberland faction. But by the time Shakespeare wrote the plays, Ravenspurgh had been under the North Sea for probably nearly a hundred years. Hotspur, a character often connected with a lost chivalric past, references Ravenspurgh four of those seven times, using the name to refer to the beginnings of his family's rebellious association with Henry, and to sentimentalize the moment of Henry's vow to seek only his dukedom and nothing further. Even King Henry invokes Ravenspurgh as a place of rebellion. The audience hearing these invocations were hearing the name of a place that was lost to them.

My project will explore how the naming of a place contributes to the creation of an historical site, and the way that a mythology can be created around a place by invoking it poetically. But my project will also explore why, despite Shakespeare depicting landings in other plays, Bolingbroke's landing is only ever referenced and never shown, so that the site itself remains one which is memorialized but lost.

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## Eden Reimagined:

### Deploying Paradise in *Richard II*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and Contemporary Garden Books

Claire Eager, University of Virginia

This paper, drawn from my final dissertation chapter, examines how “Eden” as a remembered cultural space figures in two plays and in contemporary horticultural books that focus on similar concerns, refracting them through a more practical lens. In *Richard II* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, the paradisaical garden both appears as part of English cultural memory and is reimagined for the purposes of the characters at hand.

*Richard II* features competing political characterizations of an English Eden. In the garden scene, Richard’s Queen identifies her present surroundings as paradisaical, as a place for sport, not labor. But they have ceased to function so for her, even before the gardeners enter and reveal the twin falsities of such a perspective, first lifting the veil of class that hides their all-too-real labor from the elites that enjoy its fruits; subsequently exposing the consequences of those elites’ failure to perform their own assigned labor of governance. For these gardeners, the quotidian labor of their place of work appears to override any such automatic association with paradise. They run a hard-won commonwealth rather than enjoying Eden’s shade, assessing their own government in earthly rather than heavenly terms. Later the Gardener cedes to the Queen authority to redefine the site as that of the Fall, but the play allows both accounts to stand.

That most English and most contemporary of Shakespearean plays, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, infuses its intensely local (and patently false) fairies with paradisaical flavor. The play’s closing swindle, the fairy masque in Windsor Park, presents an Edenic scene: a deceiver infiltrates a pastoral space of royal dominion whose central symbol is a tree. The fairies claim to create a sort of vernacular paradise, manipulating the desires of their witting and unwitting accomplices. Falstaff’s transgression of (pseudo-)sacred space and subsequent punishment and forgiveness chimes with the masque’s goals of asserting order through the authority of the fairy queen. Indeed, Falstaff’s comeuppance offers a mini *felix culpa*. No lasting harm is done, and the knight is invited to break bread with the Pages, celebrate everyone’s mutual hoodwinking, and rejoice that all’s well that ends well. Yet Falstaff also imports a commercial language of colonization into the play, threatening to despoil paradise by other means. Such transformations of the paradise idea to meet local circumstances and serve present needs echo nationalist discourses of Eden found in contemporary horticultural publications, which in turn reveal the practical correctives actual gardens inevitably put to such vaulting ambitions. The notion of island Britain as walled Eden appears famously in *Richard II*, but also as a commonplace of contemporary horticultural treatises claiming that any desirable plant would thrive there. The same books, however, acknowledge limitations in a cold climate and uncertain soil. Likewise, the violence inherent in Shakespeare’s paradisaical visions mars their potential and, I find, suggests recourse to more practical alternatives. The plays’ negotiations test and balance the promises and the risks of our own ambitions to master the material world.

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**Translating the Stars:  
Celestial Memorialization and Celebratory Astronomy in Edward Sherburne's Manilius**  
**Marie Hause, The Florida State University**

In Edward Sherburne's *The Sphere of Marcus Manilius Made an English Poem* (1675), the translation of the first book of Latin poet Marcus Manilius's *Astronomica* is accompanied by maps of the constellations, the sun, and the moon and overshadowed by a lengthy appendix updating and expanding on Manilius's subjects. The work as a whole presents a complex view of political and scientific concerns through its transformation of its poetic and astronomical material. Politically, Sherburne's stellification of Charles I, dedication to Charles II, and association of the two to Manilius's Julius and Augustus supports Sherburne's lifelong royalism and the nation's emerging claims to empire. Scientifically, Sherburne's recruitment of Manilius as a proponent of more recent astronomical tenets (fluid heavens, unequally distant fixed stars which produce their own light, a Milky Way composed of stars), serves to bolster the validity of these claims associated with the new astronomy, and through them to promote modern scientific efforts in general. Sherburne's celebration of astronomers, both in his historical catalogue of their lives and throughout the work (as in his replication of Riccioli's selenographic lunification of famed astronomers), works to a similar end, even as it also attempts to elevate Sherburne's own intellectual status. Yet in both areas, Sherburne's emphasis on irenic synthesis, perhaps influenced by his experiences of exclusion as both Catholic and royalist, complicates any straightforward reading. The literary translation theory of close imitation for which Sherburne is known, and which he applies to Manilius, calls for the creation of a new work through the seamless joining of the original poet's meaning and the translator's added meaning. The theory here finds a parallel in the work's merging of scientific and poetic truth, in the compendious inclusion of and tolerance for conflicting viewpoints on astronomical theories and data, and in the correlation of the earth to celestial bodies through plural-world theory. While certainly not diminishing Sherburne's royalism or his admiration for scientific learning and discovery, such elements create the impression of skepticism toward too eager a claim to possess singular, universal truth. The work subtly questions the validity of national or partisan assertions of power through violence, and it paints a picture of cyclical rather than teleological scientific "progress," providing a glimpse of the multi-faceted nature of the early modern integration of astronomy and poetry.

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## The Sonnet Collection as Commonplace Book: Shakespeare and Wroth

Amanda Henrichs, Indiana University

In several of his *Sonnets* (especially 24 and 122), Shakespeare refers to the “tables” he has exchanged with the young man. Scholars including Colin Burrow have identified those tables as allusions to commonplace books; and on the subject of commonplace books and their historical context, several scholars have discussed humanism as an attempt to manage information. These tables, then, are perhaps Shakespeare’s injunction to his beloved to treat his love as seriously (or not) as the other information recorded in his tables. In this paper, I argue that Mary Wroth and William Shakespeare engage with the humanist project by granting the past a literary shape; I propose that Shakespeare and Wroth represent their relationship to the passage of time as an accretion of literary allusions, thereby creating an imagined landscape which represents for them their relationship to the humanist education program of reading and writing the Greek and Latin classics. Wroth does so by piling up literary allusions; but Shakespeare absorbs these allusions so thoroughly it looks like they don’t exist.

As these two authors negotiate humanism, they are attempting to give a wide-ranging intellectual movement a poetic form that will make the proliferation of textual information more manageable. The difference between each poet has to do with the thickness (for lack of a better word) of the accreted literary allusions. In other words, while Shakespeare *references* the humanist tables in which a writer would record helpful excerpts or memorable quotes, Wroth enacts them.

To be more specific about the arc of my argument: Shakespeare reads the tables of the past, but always finds them *antique*, which puns aurally on the potentially *antic* nature of those texts. Then, the *Sonnets* attempt to balance the poet’s private memories of the past with cultural memories he has imagined (or actually found) in old texts. After this attempted balance fails, the poet transfers his own perceptions to his culture in an effort to re-incorporate the old texts he has already found wanting. In other words, he repeatedly seeks to integrate cultural memory as represented in his literary predecessors, despite the fact that integration has never yet succeeded. In Wroth’s collection, on the other hand, readers have traced multiple influences for her sonnets, including a French rhyme scheme; Italianate form; Petrarchan contraries such as fire and ice; and familial and coterie models like Philip Sidney, Robert Sidney, William Herbert, and Fulke Greville. The multiple and highly-visible influences on her poetry have led some critics to dismiss Wroth’s work as an inferior attempt at English Petrarchism; yet I argue that the multiple influences visible in Wroth’s poetry are her effort to represent humanism as a spatial phenomenon. In accreting so many literary allusions, Wroth’s text enacts the reading process that Shakespeare simply references. Ultimately, because both authors write their sonnet collections well after they were popular, comparing these belated collections positions the humanism of the first quarter of the seventeenth century as increasingly a material and spatialized artefact, in contrast to the dynamic textual reading processes of earlier decades.

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**Reimagining a New St. Paul's Cathedral**  
**Roze Hentschell, Colorado State University**

In 1561, the spire of London's St. Paul's Cathedral was struck by lightning and destroyed by the ensuing fire that also caused major damage to the church. This event coincided with reformation injunctions that reorganized the space of liturgical practices within the church itself. In the subsequent years, the church was further transformed from its medieval glory through human neglect and abuse. By the end of the sixteenth century, the roof leaked and several sections of the masonry were cracked. The cellars of the shops and homes in the churchyard compromised the church's foundations. The church interior and exterior was besmirched by smoke from the chimneys of the churchyard structures; several windows were broken; the stairs at the south door were badly damaged; and the church was foul with human urine and animal waste. Such dramatic changes to the cathedral that had dominated London's skyline and everyday sacred and secular life forced the crown, clergy, and laypeople to come to terms with what St. Paul's *meant*. Was it a Norman papist cathedral? Was it a London parish church? Was it a symbol of the sovereign, the Supreme Head of the Church of England? The lack of organization surrounding renovation efforts was a symptom of a lack of a cohesive narrative about the church, the precinct, and their significance to London and the nation at large.

In the early years of the seventeenth century, a pious London scrivener named Henry Farley expressed concern for the cathedral's fabric in his *The Complaint of Paules to All Christian Soules*. Initially presented as a petition to Lord Mayor John Jolles in 1615, Farley published it in 1616, by which time he had already been an avid proponent of repairing Paul's. Additionally, Farley commissioned a triptych of Paul's from the artist John Gipkyn to accompany the *Complaint*, one panel of which is well-known to early modern scholars (see below). The *Complaint* and the triptych are the subject of my paper. I argue that, taken together, *The Complaint* and the panels echo the problems surrounding Paul's: its disrepair, its neglect, and the lack of clarity about responsibility. But I also argue that Farley presents a cohesive *vision* for repair, one which relies on two important factors: a multilateral effort on the parts of the king, the clergy, and laypeople *and* a repositioning of the Cathedral as primarily God's house, one worthy to reflect the piety of the Christian monarch. In addition to offering close readings of Farley's text and Gipkyn's painting, I will consider how attending to the imaginative work of a lay commoner helps us to nuance our understanding of the role civic and church officials had in reimagining a new St. Paul's. I also hope to interrogate how a lack of scholarly attention to Farley's eccentric text and a decontextualized view of the painting further blur our own historical memory of the space of the cathedral.



## **Alehouse Rhetoric and the Politics of Reduction in the *Henriad*: Metonymy**

**Matthew Kendrick, William Paterson University**

My paper approaches the trope of the alehouse as a central social space in the construction of a transitional and transformational early modern working-class identity, arguing that the metonymic representation of alehouse culture functions as an effort by state and moral reformers to delimit and maintain class boundaries. Drawing from Kenneth Burke's influential formulation of metonymy as a mechanism of conceptual reduction, the paper will show how the alehouse metonymy enabled an ideologically reductive depiction of the lower classes. Workers and the poor were caricaturized through alehouse rhetoric, reduced to immoral degenerates and criminals. However, the paper will show that this metonymic trope was highly unstable and open to interpretive contestation. Shakespeare's *Henriad*, in particular, complicates the reductive rhetoric in the process of dramatizing it in the figure of Hal and his drinking companions. Whether intentionally or not, the plays humanize the lower-class patrons who populate the alehouse scene, drawing out the complex socioeconomic reality underpinning class circumstances. In particular, these plays tap into a nostalgic moral economy grounded in feudal social relations and expectations. The paper surveys the tensions that shape alehouse rhetoric before turning to an examination of the *Henriad*, certainly Shakespeare's most sustained engagement with the alehouse. By drawing on key rhetorical tropes associated with the figure of the alehouse, Shakespeare's dramatization of Hal's political maturation offers a critical intervention into the efforts by state and moral authorities to reduce lower-class discontent deriving from complex economic conditions to something as simple as drunken disorder and misrule.

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**The Sea in *Pericles***  
**Bernhard Klein, University of Kent**

The geography of Shakespeare and Wilkins's *Pericles* (1608) ranges in its critical assessment from the figurative and emblematic to the factual and historic. For some, the play's locations are exotic, extracted from a largely symbolic geography and animated by metaphorical ships and voyages; for others, the play is set in a Mediterranean landscape well known to a Jacobean audience familiar with the scripture and aware of the classics. The six Levantine cities in the play (Antioch, Tyre, Tarsus, Pentapolis, Ephesus, Mytilene) epitomize the divide, as they alternate in recent scholarship between thin placial signifiers used only to ground the characters momentarily in relation to the events of the plot, and sites with such cultural resonance in early modern England that to assume their mere instrumentality would be to miss the significance of the setting entirely.

Contemporaries might have encountered these six locations in at least three different historical guises: first, as forming part of the ancient Hellenistic kingdoms that followed the reign of Alexander the Great; second, as part of the biblical past and landscape, referenced frequently in the New Testament; and third, as the destination of contemporary voyages by English merchants trading into Constantinople, Aleppo, northeast Africa and the Aegean Sea, mainly (though not exclusively) under the auspices of the recently chartered Levant Company.

The aim of this paper is to suggest that *Pericles* can be usefully read in terms of the third of these historical contexts, especially when attention is focused on the maritime. Several critics have noted that the sea is less the play's background setting than its "second protagonist" or even "principal character", often highlighting the many symbolic uses to which the maritime is put in the play. Yet the dramatic framing of the sea in *Pericles* is also key to a spatial design that partakes in contemporary English endeavours in the Levant as much as it taps successfully into biblical learning and ancient geographical myth.

When viewed in the light of contemporary concerns relating to the conditions of seafaring, oceanic trade, and navigational practice, the sea in *Pericles* becomes visible not as a symbolic realm but as a mercantile blueprint, a space facilitating transport and easy access, which is overlaid by maritime myth, romance motifs and existentialist metaphysics, but whose core properties – free directionality, open entry, unconstrained movement – provide the single most important resource enabling long-distance trade, "connection".

Among plays with a maritime focus in the Shakespearean canon, *Pericles* thus interrogates the meaning of the maritime more radically than plays in which the sea is a major scene of political action, such as *The Tempest* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, and integrates it more decisively into its plot than plays that use shipwreck as a central framing device, such as *Comedy of Errors* or *Twelfth Night*.

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## Human Styling: Wit, Laughter, and the Art of Transformation

Samuel Kolodezh, University of California, Irvine

Baldassarre Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* is a manual for fashioning the ideal courtier that is often perceived to be a frivolous manual for deceit and political manipulation. In this paper, I imagine it otherwise as a political and philosophical manual for fashioning an ideal human so far as a courtier might be conceived as the ideal human within the socially and culturally constrained framework of the court. Further, I argue that the text is agential as a technical repository for memory, which exists independently from and interdependently with the human, ultimately producing the courtier rather than only functioning as a tool used to fashion the courtier. It does so by acting as a type of generative memory that creates reality through what is traditionally understood as fiction. Drawing on the works of Jacques Derrida, Jean Luc-Nancy, Gilles Deleuze, Rebeca Helfer, and Ian Munro, I make my argument by examining the short introductions to each of the four books and contextualize them within the larger segments they preface. Together they form a witty machine that articulates the way a courtier and his/her court can be fashioned into a materializing utopian future. The four sections address memory, measurement, death, and wit. Reading these sections in conjunction with Castiglione's borrowings from *Pythagorus*, *The Symposium*, and *De Oratore*, I trace the progression of Castiglione's argument as such: Memory is spatialized in material things, which are then folded into what Deleuze calls the virtual to generate virtue. Virtue can be evaluated by human and nonhuman networks of spacetimes, and creates the possibility of a future by performing the present from the non-place of the past. The future is enacted through the materiality of wit that produces the imagined out of the material while contextualizing what is imagined in that same material. Wit then becomes an agent of transformation of space through memory that is always immanent within a network of relations and actively generates futures that are imagined but still contextualized within concrete and material spaces and times. In other words, wit creates a new spacetime where the ideal courtier, prince, and court, can exist.

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**“Drowning the Earth to Profit it”: Natural Disaster, Agricultural Innovation, and Poetry in Early Modern  
England**

**Ian MacInnes, Albion College**

Our current quest for renewable energy will alter our landscape in profound and often unsettling ways. In some places it already has. Yet today the utopian discourse of sustainability cloaks huge wind and solar farms and vast wave-energy projects in a kind of golden glow of optimism. This kind of utopian response to environmental change is nothing new. Poetry devoted to the early modern English rural landscape was flourishing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but this poetic imagination had to contend with radical changes at work in that landscape. The traditional rural world, with which so many early moderns strongly identified and to which so many owed a living, was threatened by both natural and human forces, from population pressure and natural disaster, to incipient agricultural innovation. Southwest England in particular was the site of several natural disasters including the deadly Bristol Channel floods of 1607. This area was also on the verge of rapid agricultural development in the early 17th century. Ironically, early modern English writers, especially poets, repeatedly described the area as an unchanging pastoral paradise, a place where natural fertility was enhanced by idealized human action such as the invention of the water meadow (in Herefordshire), a productive “drowning” of land. Drawing on early modern maps, prose accounts, and on the poetry of John Davies, Michael Drayton, and others, I argue that the changing rural landscape in Herefordshire is memorialized by poetry and prose in ways that obscure the disturbing similarities between natural disaster and agricultural change, creating a sunny pastoral vision. Early modern English poetry seeks to mask profound changes with utopian language that was every bit as powerful and deceptive as our current discourse of sustainability.

## History Unchained: John Leland, John Bale and the Memory of Protestant England

Anne M. Myers, University of Missouri

“They much deceyve Christen Prynces,” wrote John Bale to Edward VI in 1549, “that disswade them from vertuose studie of the sacred scryptures, and Chronicles, as the uprulent papystes have done” (Aiii<sup>v</sup>). In this preface to *The Laboryouse Journey and Serche of John Leland, for Englandes Antiquitees*, co-authored by Bale and John Leland, Bale has already impressed upon the King, “what profyte aryseth by continuall readinge of bokes, specially of aunceyent hystories, after the necessaryre searche of the Byble scryptures” (Aiii<sup>r</sup>).

These quotations expose several interesting connections that form the basis of my argument in this paper: in the wake of the Dissolution, antiquaries such as Bale and Leland advocated searching monastic libraries in two ways. The first was a physical search, a “laboryouse journey” over the landscape of England to the sites of the libraries, which often lay, as Bale says “in . . . desolate places” (Bi<sup>r</sup>). The second though, consisted of the reading and preservation of the recovered manuscripts themselves, the “Chronicles” and “aunceyent hystories” he mentions above. In both quotations, studying the history of England is placed in parallel with the reading of scripture as an important Protestant activity.

Their goal was twofold: the description of cities and landscapes and topographical features, alongside the discovery of a kind of proto-Protestant history for the nation. John Leland had promised Henry VIII “thys your worlde and impery of Englande . . . sett fourthe in a quadrate table of sylver” (Dv<sup>v</sup>) while Bale suggests that Leland’s manuscript discoveries ought not to be “clothed in purple” (Ciii<sup>r</sup>) or “changed into a more eloquent stile” but allowed to “apere first of all in their owne symplycyte or native colours without bewtie of speche.” To return to a history “tyed up in cheanes, and hydden undre dust in the monkes and fryres libraryes” (Ciii<sup>r-v</sup>) is, in Bale’s imagination, something like returning to the truths of a primitive church. Leland’s “laboryouse journey” was intended to map both spatial and historical realms of knowledge.

Leland and Bale’s short treatise thus engages the terms of the seminar “Space, Memory and Transformation” by suggesting a correspondence between spatial and intellectual labor, the searching of monastic libraries and the searching of history. This history is presented as a national memory that will otherwise be lost. Through these dual modes of searching, England’s history will be transformed and brought from the “deadly darkeness” of the Catholic past to the “lyvelye lyght” (Bviii<sup>r</sup>) of a new Protestant understanding.

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## Space, Memory and Transformation in the 1540 and 1554 Versions of *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*

Eleanor Rycroft, Bristol University

Courtly revels during the sixteenth century invariably enter into a dialogue with their places of performance and the people associated with those places. It is impossible, for instance, to read the so-called ‘New Moon’ speech of John Heywood’s *The Play of the Weather* (1532, ll. 793-814) - which tells of how Jupiter is fashioning a new moon that will make “a thing spring” because old moons are “leaky” and “all the goodness of them is wasted” - without imagining its relationship to the immediate political context of the King’s Great Matter and probable performance in front of the newly, secretly married Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn during the Christmas of 1531/2. The spaces in which courtly drama is performed therefore transform texts, and are, in turn, transformed by them. This paper will focus on two performances of Sir David Lindsay’s *A Satyre of the Thrie Estates*, one of only two surviving theatrical texts from the Scottish Renaissance and one performed in front of some of the key political players of Stuart Scotland: James V, Gavin Dunbar, Mary of Guise, and Lindsay himself. Its first performance took place in the Great Hall of Linlithgow Palace in 1542 before the young, successful King James, his retinue, and his new bride, Mary of Guise. While this version does not survive, a report of the performance delivered to Thomas Cromwell reveals how James used the occasion of the play and its commentary on the ‘naughtiness of religion’ to launch an attack on his clergy and demand that they reformed ‘their factions and manner of living’. The other version of the *Satire* was performed in 1554 on the Greenside at Edinburgh before the widowed Mary, who had just taken over as Scotland’s regent. This longer and more complex version reflects on Scotland in the years following James’ death, robustly critiquing the polity and its relationship to the commons. The connections and tensions between civic and monarchical power that underlie this performance in Edinburgh will be shown to inflect and transform the meaning of authority in the play. This paper will examine these dramatic productions with a focus on when and where they occurred, and how their places of performance help us to understand their politics. In the differences between these two versions – where they were performed, before whom, and how the play’s concerns changed between performances - an unparalleled view is afforded onto mid-sixteenth century Scottish politics. It will suggest that through the differing venues, auspices, and textual transformations between Linlithgow and Edinburgh, it is possible to discern much about the shifting and unstable landscape of Scotland during her turbulent years of regency.

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## In Memory of Gilded Monuments: Memorials to Memorials in Jacobean St Albans

Philip Schwyzer, University of Exeter

Like many of his contemporaries (Spenser, Daniel, and Drayton among them), Shakespeare could not resist the odd bit of gloating over fallen monuments and ruins. How much more enduring language is (especially verse, especially the poet's own) than mere marble or gilded tombs! Although the vaunt can be traced back to Horace (*Exegi monumentum aere perennius*), the evidence to back it up was often derived, explicitly or implicitly, from the destruction of monuments in the course of the English Reformation. Whilst not necessarily celebrating the damage done by Reformation iconoclasts, poems in this tradition participate in the Protestant valorization of the word over the visual spectacle and the material object.

Yet monuments do not appear in early modern verse only to be mocked. This essay will explore a special class of poems which sought to commemorate vanished monuments, doing so most effectively (and paradoxically) when they were displayed in the very place where the monument had stood. A clutch of such verses appeared painted on the walls and columns of St Albans Abbey in the early seventeenth century, commemorating the lost tomb of Sir John Mandeville and the demolished shrine of St Alban himself.

The language and prosody of the St Albans wall poems suggests specific indebtedness to Shakespeare's sonnets, Spenser's *Ruines of Time*, and Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*. Like these predecessors, the verses note the transience of all material constructions, and attribute their fall to the workings of "time." Yet the conventional relationship between ephemeral monuments and enduring verse is complicated by the fact that the memory these poems seek to commemorate is that of the lost memorials themselves. In order to do so most effectively, they must relinquish several of the key advantages of textuality, namely that texts can normally be copied, memorized, and exist in multiple places at once. Instead, the meaning of the verses depends entirely on their physical location. It is ironic but unsurprising, then, that (with one exception) these poems have vanished as utterly as the monuments they once commemorated. They survive today only as recorded by the antiquaries John Weever and Elias Ashmole – not the poems themselves, it is tempting to say, but only textual shadows of poems that are gone.

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## Reading the Roots of Modernity in the Ruins: Kenilworth Castle in Shakespeare's Plays

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In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Oberon reminds Puck about a time that they “sat upon a promontory” and watched a scene in which a mermaid, sitting on a dolphin’s back, sang a song, whilst Cupid shot an arrow at a “fair vestral throned by the West”. The arrow missed and hit a little white flower which it turned “purple with love’s wound” (2.1.149-67). The juice of this flower causes many of the transformations in the play and helps to bring about the climatic turn towards a comedic ending. Scholars know that this scene is most likely sourced from a real event – a water pageant organised by the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth Castle for Elizabeth I’s visit during her summer progress of 1575. I am interested in the relationship between the fictional setting of Oberon’s story and the actual location of the source inspiration for the story. Through comparing Oberon’s lines to reports of Elizabeth’s progress at Kenilworth Castle in July 1575, I have located where the events alluded to in the story took place in the ruins of the castle and its surroundings. That it was eleven-year-old William Shakespeare who sat upon the promontory can only be suggested from the evidence. Secondly, I am interested in the symbolic weight that this scene set in Kenilworth Castle – the space that Leicester renovated as a means to capture Elizabeth’s heart and hand in marriage – carries in the play. Leicester built Elizabeth an entire building in one corner of Kenilworth Castle. His new building included various chambers, a bedroom, a dancing room and, optimistically, a nursery. Elizabeth’s rooms were connected to Leicester’s apartments via a passageway. For his art gallery in the Norman Tower across the courtyard, Leicester commissioned a pair of similarly-set paintings: one of Elizabeth and one of himself, as if they were already the royal couple. The water pageant depicted in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was part of a series of pageants meant to convince Elizabeth to marry Leicester. They did not work. The progress at Kenilworth Castle culminated in a failed comedic ending. Reading the play through the symbolism of the scene at this location allows one to read the significant economic and social changes of the Elizabethan period. A significant shift in the relationship between wealth, power and place occurred when feudalism gave way to capitalism. Leicester’s efforts to woo the queen through building works and pageants proved anachronistic. This was how John of Gaunt ruled from Kenilworth Castle in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, but it would not capture the queen in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. Like the new form of power, exchange-value - abstract and unconnected to place – Elizabeth passed on, fancy-free, never to return to Kenilworth Castle. After she left, no one ever lived in her building again.

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## Perambulatory Pastorals: Reading the Geographies of Genre in Milton's Garden of Eden

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Inspired by Certeau's concept of walking as a form of rhetoric for experiencing and defining space, this paper explores descriptions of greenery from the vantage point of movement, specifically perambulatory movement. While Certeau uses urban areas to explore the activity of walking as an "art," suggestively signaling the "turns" and "tropes" of language practice, I will use the green spaces of Milton's *Paradise Lost* to demonstrate how Milton employs the perambulatory features of pastoral commonplaces to "insinuate difference" or modify convention in order to construct a new kind of pastoral poetics. Approaching the garden of Milton's Eden from this perspective reveals a distinct shift in focus from the green space of the *locus amoenus* as a means of evoking pastoral topics (such as love, the beauty of the human body, or poetic composition) to the green space as a pleasurable end in itself. By offering Satan as guide, whose vision of paradise matches the fallen vision of his readers, Milton's place-writing can anticipate the "future" pastoral traditions of a fallen world. Furthermore, these proleptic representations of pastoral scenes allow his readers to engage critically with contemporary views of the environment in ways that retain both a pastoral idealism and a georgic urge to improve and protect. They indicate a garden-acclimated readership—one not only familiar with the perambulatory perspectives of chorographical works and gardening manuals but also one keen on comparing present and past descriptions of nature. Ultimately, Milton's adapted pastoral conventions, particularly those that involve walking, lead readers through a step by step description of the imagined spatial environment in a way that encourages multiple perspectives—not just of time and place but of creation and reception as well. Furthermore, the interpretive improvisations they generate serve as a reminder of Certeau's claim that any verbal attempt to reflect spatial orientation produces a continually shifting terrain of meaning for the reader, who can make the text "habitable" only through "mutations" drawn from memory. With each successive literary commonplace, the reader encounters a chance to reposition the work and themselves within a complex synthesis of past experiences, both real and literary.

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