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Renaissance Geographies: space, text and history in early modern England

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Abstract

In examining the relationships between space, text and history in the early modern period, this thesis reads sixteenth and seventeenth century texts in the context of the new geographies and the shifts in spatial awareness that accompany the arrival of the early modern period. In doing so, it also employs a 'spatialised' mode of criticism that, rather than privilege any one kind of text, seeks to view all texts alongside one another, within what Foucault calls the 'space of a dispersion'. This situates the thesis within a developing interest, in renaissance studies, both in early modern spatialities, as exemplified by the work of Richard Helgerson, John Gillies and others, and in postmodern approaches to the renaissance.

It is the starting point of this thesis that space is produced, rather than a vacuum waiting to be filled by the actions and actors of history. It is also a contention of this thesis that this production of space takes place on a variety of fronts. It is neither limited to the visual or plastic arts, nor the result, solely, of changing economic and political situations. The texts covered include, therefore, plays as well as political pamphlets, poetry as well as maps, scientific treatises as well as portraits.

It is organised around three successive 'moments' in sixteenth and seventeenth century England - Elizabethan imperialism reign following the defeat of the Armada, the union project of James VI and I, and the immediate aftermath of the English civil wars. Rather than being seen in a chronological narrative of cause and effect, these moments 'haunt' each other, living on beyond themselves, structuring the representation of space in new contexts. Understood as anachronism, this kind of effect is one result of using 'space' alongside 'history' as the horizon against which textual analysis is performed.

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1. Introduction

> The single, homogenous point of view, that sense of perspective and critical distance, born in the Renaissance and triumphant in colonialism, imperialism and the rational version of modernity, is what we are now called upon to question and undo. (Chambers 1994: 24)

In recent years, across the broad field of renaissance studies, there has been a steady realisation that cartography and map-making played an important part in the processes of self recognition and discovery that constitute the renaissance itself. Or rather, as we create our late twentieth century versions of the renaissance, or of the early modern period, or even of the early colonial period, maps and mapping form an increasingly important sector of our understandings.[1] In turn, the development of cartography as a specific practice has increasingly been viewed not just as a positivist narrative of progress, but has been placed within wider contexts of social history and the history of ideas. The single most important project in this new history of cartography is the *History of Cartography* project, originally jointly undertaken by J.B. Harley and David Woodward, until Professor Harley's untimely death. The aim of the projected six volumes of this history, two of which have already been published, is to extend a history of cartography beyond the traditional parameters, to incorporate non-Western forms of cartography, as well as older non-traditional forms of western mapping. This extension of some of the traditional disciplinary boundaries of the history of cartography has necessitated a re-definition of what a map might be.

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[1]The term 'early colonial' is taken from the introduction to the collection of essays, *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture* where the editors write it into their project to interrogate the 'subject' - driven traditions of Renaissance studies, post Burkhardt, to allow, instead, for a subject - object dialectic. 'From the moment of its mid-nineteenth-century inception as subject-oriented, the Renaissance as Early Modern has given short and limited shrift to the object. In the wake of such a tradition the recent tendency to periodize around the concept of the "Colonial" rather than the "Modern" seems an improvement. The period division "Early Colonial" at least assumes the presence of colonized as well as colonizer, object as well as subject." (de Grazia et al. 1997: 5)

> Maps are graphic representations that facilitate a spatial undersanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world. (Harley and Woodward 1987: xvi)

This fresh definition of what a map might consist of implies a different kind of cartographic history that pays more attention to the cultural and social contexts of the map, and less to their technological developments in a unitary line of progressive achievement. The attempts of the project to open out cartography to non-Western traditions is, however, not completely unmarked by some old assumptions about what a history of cartography might entail. It is significant that volumes 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6 contain histories of Western cartography strictly periodised - from prehistoric, ancient and medieval, through renaissance, enlightenment and nineteenth century until we reach the twentieth century. Volume two is split into three section which are organised spatially between non-Western locations in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Pacific countries. Characterising the west as having a history, and the non-West as 'spatial' betrays a tellingly colonial attitude towards the world's territory.[2]

Developments in such apparently diverse fields of activity as land ownership, the emergence of national self-awareness, drama, poetry, the writing of history, visual technologies and painting techniques are all seen to interact with numerous other discursive fields to mark an ongoing shift in spatial awareness and the understanding of spatial relationships in the early modern period. Cartography plays just one part of this process, albeit a significant and defining one.

These developments have been accompanied by a ballooning of interest in all things 'spatial' throughout the human sciences generally. Edward Soja's call for 'the reassertion of space in critical social theory' seems, on the face of it, to have been answered. (Soja 1989) His attempts to 'compose a social ontology in which space

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[2] See Young 1990 for an extended analysis of the ways in which 'writing history' has coincided with the development of the idea o f western cultural superiority.

matters from the very beginning' (7) have been met by the expansion of geography as a discipline beyond its traditional terrains. Cultural geographers are everywhere, asserting the 'spatial' as a key critical term in all aspects of cultural studies. By the same token, work within the fields traditionally ascribed to literary studies has not only begun to address spatial matters as an object of study, but has employed 'spatialised' modes of criticism. As I will go on to argue in this introduction, two of the dominant modes of contemporary literary criticism, postcolonialism and the new historicism, privilege the spatial both as something they are interested in as an object of study, and as a way of renovating their own critical practices.

At the 1997 'Paper Landscapes' conference, held at Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, a conference devoted to the interdisciplinary examination of maps and mapping in the early modern period, Richard Helgerson illustrated this shift in our understanding of the renaissance by referring, in his paper, to the cover of the recent Norton edition of Shakespeare's complete works, edited by Stephen Greenblatt. The cover illustration is a 1590 print of a Flemish world map, encapsulated in a fool's cap (Greenblatt 1996; Helgerson 1997). This edition, central to current pedagogical practice surrounding the early modern period, can be taken as an indication of how crucial questions of geography have become in renaissance studies. Another indication of this shift in our understanding is the inclusion in the influential Penguin collection of Renaissance verse of a section entitled 'Topographies' along side the more expected sections on 'Images of love' or 'The public world'. (Woodhuysen and Norbrook (eds.) 1992) The choice of 'Topographies' as a subtitle, rather than, say, 'pastoral' or 'landscape poetry', indicates the critical direction of this collection towards situating the poetry within contexts wider than purely literary traditions, as well as the currency of the spatial in the study of renaissance literature. It may also indicate the convergence of these two trends. A concern with the spatial may necessitate a movement beyond standard disciplinary boundaries.

As the interdisciplinary nature of this area of study would indicate, this interest is not necessarily restricted to what has been called a 'sub-discipline' of 'literary cartography', although literary studies have had both a significant and a dominating impact on the general field. (Bath 1996) At the 'Paper Landscapes' conference, the majority of participants were from their respective universities' English literature departments, with a handful of historians of cartography and still fewer traditional historians proper. The impetus for this paradoxical position in which interdisciplinarity is developed not necessarily in the spaces between university departments but within the English department itself must surely have been determined by the popularity, or at least the influence, of new historicist approaches to renaissance literature over the last twenty years. New historicism and the new interest displayed by students of literature in questions of geography and space are not necessarily related in any clear cut and direct way, but there is some shared history and a sense in which the two are closely linked. Part of the function of this introduction will be to show how a 'spatially aware' criticism may both deepen and diverge from the project of the new historicism. Many of the abiding concerns of the new historicism, which are here represented as a series of related binaries - text/context, power/dissidence, subversion/containment, literature/history, subject/object - are all read anew through the study of maps, mapping and spatial awareness.

It is significant that one of the pivotal texts in the development of literary studies' interest in maps and mapping was first published in a collection of essays edited by Stephen Greenblatt, the chief exponent and practitioner of new historicism, and subsequently in the journal that has been largely associated with the development of new historicism in America, *Representations*, before being incorporated as a chapter in the author's own book with the distinctively new historicist title, *Forms of Nationhood* (Helgerson 1992). This essay, article, or chapter, entitled, 'The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography and Subversion in Renaissance England', although not markedly 'new' in its own historicism, does however mark a flash point at which new

theoretical developments in the history of cartography meet up with the interdisciplinary energies of the new historicism. Drawing largely on the groundbreaking work of the historian of cartography, J. B. Harley, Richard Helgerson builds on the post structuralist analyses of maps that Harley attempts in order to forge meaningful links between the cartography, the poetic chorography and the antiquarianism of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century England. The narrative of English nationhood which he brings out in those links tends, ultimately, to validate a Whig history of liberal social development, rather than continue in the trenchant new historicist tradition which might rather seek to analyse power in such a way as to break apart such teleological, self-validating historical narratives. However, the juxtaposition of maps with literary texts has itself had a radical impact on our understandings of renaissance culture, of the development of histories of space, and on the way in which we might conceive of a 'space of literature'.

Whilst Helgerson's article might well be seen as the focal point for the resurgence of interest in all things spatial within renaissance studies in general and new historicism in particular, there is both a longer history of interest in this interdisciplinary area and more meaningful reasons behind the relationship between spatial awareness in literary study and the new historicism.[3] Published as far back as 1975, Steven Orgel's *The Illusion of Power* can be seen as the advance guard, or the scouting party, of the new historicism. Although it is less theoretically informed than later specifically new

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[3]The importance given to Helgerson's essay, as the focal point and catalyst for spatially oriented studies of the early modern period, has been constantly reinforced for me by the amount of times that it has been suggested as something that I either 'should read' or that I 'must have read' whenever I have attempted to explain the nature of the thesis to fellow students of the renaissance. It seems to have had a substantial readership and impact beyond the immediacies of maps and chorographies. For my own part, I have long since forgotten the narrative of origin which might suggest which came first - the egg of my incipient interest in the field or the chicken of Helgerson's article. I read it during a course in 'Renaissance Travel Literature', as part of my MA at the University of Sussex, and I suspect that one of its influences on me was to persuade me away from the exoticism of travel narratives towards more domestic interrogations of place and space. The furthest I travelled for my term paper then, and have travelled since, has been across the seas to and from Ireland. That is not to say that the domestic is not made foreign to itself through processes of misrecognition during the early modern histories of nation formation, empire building and discovery, both spatial and temporal, geographical and historical.

historicist writing, it introduces many key new historicist concerns - notably, of course, power as spectacle and the theatricality of power - themes developed later in work more clearly designated as new historicist. (see particularly Goldberg 1983; Tennenhouse 1986) However, Orgel's earlier text develops, alongside the characteristic concern with the intertwined relationship of theatricality and power, a specifically spatial understanding of the professional theatres of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. He begins by remarking that it was only towards the end of the sixteenth century that the theatre was ever located in a specific place; that it was only then that it was 'located and embedded in architecture'.

> All at once theater was an institution, a property, a corporation. For the first time in more than a thousand years it had the sort of reality that meant most to Renaissance society: it was real in the way that "real estate" is real; it was a location, a building, a possession - an established and visible part of society. (Orgel 1975: 2)

Orgel contextualises the literary artefacts that he wishes to analyse - the masques of the Stuart court - by placing them within the shifting geographies of early modern London, emerging not only as the centre of court culture but also as a centre of capital. He acknowledges that it was the financial interest in a fixed audience which encouraged James Burbage to set up 'The Theatre' as the first permanent professional theatre building in England. What is interesting for me is that in order to explicate the function of theatre in the production of power under the Stuart monarchy, Orgel insists on theatre's locatedness as an essential part of that production. It is not that the plays' or masques' locations provide one more context amongst many, but that it is an active player in the production of meaning.

Orgel's book is transitional in that it is both Foucaultian in the way it is 'descriptive' rather than 'interpretive', and yet curiously old-fashioned in its expressivist models of meaning. Sometimes he seems to insist on the discursivity of the texts he is analysing, locating their meaning in their complex relations with a wider cultural field. That is what is meant here by 'descriptive'. At other times he interprets the text in a way that

suggests their meaning has been wholly 'authored' - 'interpretive'. Nevertheless the influence of Foucault can be seen even this early on in the development of new historicism, although Orgel never once cites him in the book. The effect of this is that the geographies in which Orgel places the early Stuart theatre are not always just a backdrop to interpretation, nor are they discovered *through* their representations in the works of art but are instead both productive of, and produced by, the theatrical productions under discussion. In this he develops the key new historicist concern to place literature within a wider cultural field, not as an isolated cultural artefact, or as the passive reflection of society, but as an active participant. Although Orgel has not yet developed the later new historicist strategy of placing seemingly disparate texts, discourses or genres in juxtaposition, it is implied in his argument that the only reason that literature is afforded a privileged location in his discussion is because of its importance to the Stuart monarchy, not because of any essential qualities of 'literariness'. 'Literariness' is not reified in any way, but rather seen as a product of, or rather as participating in, the baroque power structures of the Stuart court. In the opening pages of his study Orgel seems to be interested in the way in which the new theatres both reflect the changing geographies of the city as a centre of consumption and, at the same time, play their own part in producing those new spaces. Moving away from the discussion of the new city theatres at the start of the book, Orgel turns to the real concern of the book - Stuart court culture in England. Here again though it is the space of the stage which provides it with its defining features. The configurations of the private stages of monarchy are used to produce a space of absolutist monarchy. With the king at the centre, commanding the best view of the illusionistic, perspectival stage settings, the ideals of James and Charles Stuart are both expressed and produced at the same time.

> In a theater employing perspective, there is only one focal point, one perfect place in the hall from which the illusion achieves its fullest effect. At court performances this is where the king sat, and the audience around him became a living emblem of the structure of the court. (10-11)

Whilst, as here, Orgel seems to be moving towards an understanding of theatre's potential role in the production of new spatial configurations, he ultimately comprehends the Jonsonian masque, his main concern, as an expression of the royal mind.[4]

Steven Mullaney's *The Place of the Stage* was published in 1988 after nearly a decade of the new historicist onslaught on renaissance studies. If Orgel was the advanced guard, Mullaney was part of the massed infantry. His book develops this interest in the locatedness of theatre still further. He moves beyond Orgel's basic reliance on an expressivist model of literature and theatre. He develops the notion of theatre's locatedness to encompass the developments of the new historicism from the 1980s. In *The Place of the Stage* Mullaney produces an argument around 'the cultural conditions that made possible' the popular theatre of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century London. For Mullaney, the popular stage is systematically oppositional, marginal to the central concerns of power, whether of the court or of the city. Part of his argument then locates the theatre within a geography of the city which is, at one and the same time, symbolic and material.

> Popular drama in Renaissance England was born of the contradiction between a Court that in limited but significant ways licensed and maintained it and a city that sought its prohibition; it emerged as a cultural institution only by materially embodying that contradiction, dislocating itself from the confines of the existing social order and taking up a place on the margins of society. (Mullaney 1988: vii)

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[4]At times he writes as if the amazing feats of ingenuity and engineering that were a feature of the Stuart royal masques were achieved as a matter of will power on the part of the monarch.

'The full force of Caroline idealism, the determination to purify, reorder, reform, reconceive a whole culture, is here fully realized in apparitions and marvelous machinery. The most complete *expression of the royal will* in the age lay not in the promulgation of edicts, erratically obeyed, nor in military power, inadequately furnished, but in Inigo Jones's ability to do the impossible.' (87 my italics)

Inigo Jones's authorship is collapsed into the authoity of the king, the product of which is the ultimate expression of his will. Earlier in the monograph, Orgel's discussion of the locatedess of theatre works against this expressivist model of authorship.

Mullaney is of course right that the Elizabethan theatre was located in the marginal spaces of the city- in the 'liberties' alongside other marginalised activities - bear baiting, prostitution, executions and the housing of Jews and lepers. For Mullaney, this location has a symbolic importance within theatrical practice. This critical move places his work clearly within a main stream of new historicist writing which refuses to acknowledge metaphor as non-material, as totally idealised.[5] Instead there is a focus on negotiations, an important new historicist trope, and on the exchange of 'symbolic value'. The figurative is neither divorced from the material whilst at the same time the material world does not exist anterior to any discursive formation. The space of the theatre has proved a particularly fruitful area of discussion for the development of this schematics of cultural exchange. The locatedness of theatre and of the theatrical event help focus new historicism's concern to distance itself from both old historicist and Marxist models of mimetic reproduction. The theatre is seen to be actively participating in the production of culture.

> ... drama, unlike poetry, is a territorial art. It is an art of space as well as of words, and it requires a place of its own, in or around a community, in which to mount its telling fictions and its eloquent spectacles. (Mullaney 1988: 7)[6]

Whilst Mullaney is right to suggest that theatre could be defined by a particular relationship to the spatial, he is perhaps wrong to suggest that poetry, or any other discursive formation, plays no part in the formation in spatial relationships. One of the things that this thesis will hope to demonstrate during the course of its arguments will

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[5]There is a sense in which Mullaney does not fall in with some of the common assumptions of the new historicism. His insistence on the oppositional stance of the popular theatre works against the 'containment' model, common to much new historicist work and which argues that any opposition is always already accounted for within the dominant ideology and is therefore 'contained'. Whilst Mullaney's popular theatre does find itself firmly fixed in place within the politico-geography of early modern London, it is afforded some measure of independence from both court and city.

[6]The history of the early modern commercial theatre that is sketched out at the beginning of Orgel's *The Illusion of Power* carries with it the implication that theatre is not *necessarily* 'territorial', as Mullaney suggests,but that its 'locatedness' is a feature of particular cultural phenomena - market driven capitalism, the rival claims on the city of the court and the commercial classes. That is, theatre has an older tradition that did not 'require a place of its own', but was rather itinerant. (Orgel 1975: 1)

be that poetry, amongst other generic categories, *is* territorial. The representation *and* production of space is not restricted to the visual or plastic arts. Poetry itself demands and produces its own spaces of circulation and exchange. Its representations of the landscape are part of the processes which help produce that landscape. Its relationship with the shifts in spatial awareness of the early modern period may be just as complex and productive as that of the theatre. It, too, can borrow from technological developments in optical sciences just as surely as stage machinery did. When this thesis comes to discuss Marvell's *Appleton House*, for example, it will argue for some common generic ground between mathematical instruments and panegyric poetry. Modes of publication and reading practice could also be seen to participate in producing organisations of space which come to define the public from the private.

Stephen Greenblatt, like Mullaney, also refers to theatre's particular spatiality in his *Shakespearean Negotiations*. To describe the demarcation of artistic practices from other kinds of social practice he enlists a number of spatial metaphors.

> We can think up various metaphors to describe the process: the building of walls or fences to separate one territory from adjacent territories; the erection of a gate through which some people and objects will be allowed to pass and others prohibited; the posting of a sign detailing the acceptable code of behaviour within the walled territory; the development of a class of functionaries who specialise in the customs of the demarcated zone; the establishment as in a children's game, of ritualized formulas that can be endlessly repeated. (Greenblatt 1988: 13)

Different cultural practices are signalled as separate by distinct social behaviours. It is interesting that all of Greenblatt's supposed metaphors for these processes allude to specific spatial practices. He goes on to argue that these metaphors are indeed made concrete in the creation of early modern theatrical practice, thus giving the theatre a privileged position in the analyses of culture undertaken by the new historicist.

> The literalization and institutionalisation of the place of art makes the Renaissance theater particularly useful for an analysis of the cultural circulation of social energy.(13)

So, for Greenblatt, it is not that theatre is the only 'territorial art' (Mullaney 1988: 7), but that in its physical presence and in its spatial practices, it actualises the spatial metaphors which new historicists have habitually used to describe the workings of culture and the complex of relations they uncover between history and text.

New historicism, in its own critical practice has often made use of spatial metaphor in its own understandings of the workings of culture. This is in part a feature of its rejection of a 'depth model' of analysis in which the text is taken to be reflective of a meaning beyond its own immediacy, whilst at the same time reifying the literary text as somehow above and beyond its own contexts. Instead, in new historicism, texts are located alongside each other. For Claire Colebrook, in her 'genealogy' of new historicism, this is exemplified in Stephen Greenblatt's use of the metaphors of circulation and exchange in his attempt to understand the relationship between different cultural artefacts. This relationship built up in contingent systems of exchange which are both symbolic and material is given the name of 'resonance' by Greenblatt. Colebrook glosses that concept in a specifically spatial way.

> The vicissitudes of this process of circulation are charted by new historicist criticism which focuses upon aspects of performance, printing, framing, consumption, institutionalisation, binding, reading - anything, in fact, which is *contiguous* to the text. (Colebrook 1997: 215 my italics)

The several different practices and artefacts listed by Colebrook do not provide background against which a text is foregrounded, but they are 'contiguous' to each other. Colebrook is quite right to relate this aspect of new historicism quite specifically to Michel Foucault's 'archaeology'.

> Just as Michel Foucault's notion of archaeology sought to disrupt the linearity of history and show the multiple series of connections and discontinuities which could prevail over any single phenomenon, so the idea of resonance can reveal any number of events, icons and exchanges which can bear upon the meaning of a work. (215)

This critical practice is very clearly linked with Foucault's conception of what would constitute a 'general history', liberated from the grand historiographical project of 'total description', and as it is defined in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*.

> A total description draws all phenomena around a single centre - a principle, a meaning, a spirit, a world-view, an overall shape; a general history, on the contrary, would deploy the space of a dispersion. (Foucault 1972: 11)

In Foucault's 'general history' it becomes possible for the various cultural practices, listed as 'contiguous' to the text by Colebrook, to enter into a general description of cultural exchange. Foucault's 'space of a dispersion' can be seen to underwrite the new historicist practice of refusing to see one text as the background context for another, and which replaces that with a description of a dynamic cultural field, in which it is possible for any text to exist in a meaningful relation to any other. Greenblatt makes a revealing aside in relation to new historicist methodology in *Marvellous Possessions*. As he tells the story of his profesional interest in *Mandeville's Tales* in relation to his larger, original project - an investigation of the voyages of Columbus - he finds the older book staking more of a claim, and writes, 'But as I often find, the background refused to be subordinated to the voyage.' (Greenblatt 1991: 26) Background and foreground are not recognised as such within new historicism. The 'real' journeys of Columbus can be overshadowed by the textual journeys of the medieval con-man. It is a type of historiography that is specifically written against a historicizing trend to unify all phenomena under a single narrative of development that hierarchises events within a rigid system of cause-and-effect.

> Total, or elsewhere, global, history assumes a spatio-temporal continuity between all phenomena, and a certain homogeneity between them insofar as they all express the same form of historicity ... whereas in general history the problem is precisely to determine the relation between different series: whereas a total history draws everything

> together according to a single principle, a general history analyses the space of dispersion and heterogeneous temporalities. (Young 1990: 78)

Young's description of Foucault's attempts to wrest control of historicity from out of the hands of historicism is pertinent for much of the work of the new historicists. The 'space of dispersion' operates as a flexible tool for the ordering of historical phenomena, but which refuses to coalesce into a single narrative - History.

In looking to theatre as a specifically spatial form of cultural practice, new historicists find then a ready made metaphor for their own spatial modes of analysis. Whilst this could be understood as the tautologies of a literary criticism yet again finding its own theories already present in its objects of study, I believe that here there is something perhaps more complex and certainly less naively narcissistic going on. The production of space takes place within this 'space of a dispersion'. It is not necessarily isolated to the more obviously 'spatial' modes of cultural production. All forms of cultural practice work to produce the space of that culture. Those modes which are more obviously 'territorial' may, however, operate in a metacritical fashion, commenting on developments in spatial awareness whilst at the same time taking part in those same developments. Theatre may be one such practice, but it is by no means the only one. There are, in fact, more obvious practices, disciplines and genres which function in a metacritical relation to spatial develpments - land laws and legal decisions, maths and cartography.

In looking at the relationships between space, text and history in early modern England, it is this 'space of a dispersion' which will form the theoretical framework for the ways in which individual texts (plays, paintings, maps, poems, essays, pamphlets, mathematical instruments, journeys and movements) interact with each other. The developments in spatial technologies and new visual economies will not be seen as a background to the literary text. Rather these developments will be seen as both productive of and produced by the texts under discussion. Whilst, like Mullaney and

Greenblatt, I acknowledge theatre's individual role within the field of literature in shaping and forming our geographies, and commenting on them at the same time, the interactions of the 'space of a dispersion' that I wish to employ preclude any such privileging move. Theatre may be 'a territorial art', but it is not the only text and/or practice to exist in the kinds of relationship with territory that is implied in using the term 'space of a dispersion'. Neither is it the only cultural practice to play a metacritical part in relation to ongoing shifts in spatial relationships in the early modern period. The only theatrical text that will be covered in any great detail in this thesis will be Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*. However, the questions raised by new historicism's interest in the locatedness of cultural practices will inform my analysis of all non theatrical texts.

The thesis takes as a starting point, then, the notion that the production of space is a practice which is not necessarily confined to the most obviously 'spatial' forms of cultural production. It is not confined to the map any more than it is to the theatre, although of course both these forms have had a significant material and symbolic impact in the production of the space of modernity. Within the critical 'space of a dispersion', parliamentary speeches will have as much precedence as public ceremony, the writing of history as much as the imagining of geography, monographs on the use of geometrical tools as much as political pamphlets, portraits as much as atlases, poetry as much as cartography. All of these texts and/or practices will be seen to be involved in the complex networks of representation and practice involved in the production of space. Whilst some of these texts or practices have a more obvious metacritical function, all of them play their part in those developments.

I acknowledge that in the new historicism it has been the relationships between history and text, and the unrelenting questioning of those relationships and boundaries, which have been the key questions powering this critical movement forward. I shall seek to supplement this by looking at the concept of space. Rather than replacing history with

space, however, as the critical horizon against which to perform textual analysis, I will be interested in the ways in which a spatial awareness may complicate our understanding of 'the historicity of texts and the textuality of history.' This notorious phrase is, of course, taken from Louis Montrose's influential essay, 'Professing the Renaissance: the poetics and politics of literature'. (Montrose 1989) I would like not merely to replace this with 'the spatiality of texts and the textuality of space' but allow the three terms - space, text and history - to interrelate in a way that might prohibit such simplistic, yet seemingly inescapable, binaries. As a third factor in this equation, the spatial is able to encompass the disruptions to typical historiography which have been not only the focus of the new historicism, but of Foucault's radical historiography and of postmodern reactions to the writing of history in general. What has largely been missing however has been the development of an understanding of the spatial. It is for this reason that I wish initially to turn, with some reservations, to the Marxist writer, Henri Lefebvre, and his seminal study, *The Production of Space*.

Lefebvre's key insight is his insistence that '(Social) space is a (social) product' (Lefebvre 1991: 26). The implication of this is that space is *produced*. It is not an already given stage on which life is played out, but is produced by the activity of social life. As Lefebvre himself comments, 'To speak of "producing space" sounds bizarre, so great is the sway still held by the idea that empty space is prior to whatever ends up filling it.' (15) It is not anterior to practice though, but part of and subsequent to it.

> Vis-à-vis lived experience, space is neither a mere 'frame', after the fashion of the frame of a painting, nor a form or container of a virtually neutral kind, designed simply to receive whatever is poured into it. (94)

Rather, the space of any given society is 'secreted' by its 'spatial practice', its daily movements and interactions. (38) Beyond this, he argues that it is necessary for ideology, understood as any given set of social, cultural or economic relations, to reproduce itself in space if it is to exist at all.

> What is an ideology without a space to which it refers, a space which it describes, whose vocabulary and links it makes use of, and whose code it embodies?(37)
>
> More generally speaking, what we call ideology only achieves consistency by intervening in social space and in its production, and by thus taking on body therein. (44)

Space then, after Lefebvre, is far from neutral. It is produced within what Marxist theory would understand as the reproduction of the means of production. Lefebvre's model for the production of space is, to some extent, co-extensive with an Althusserian theory of ideology - that 'in order to exist, every social formation must reproduce the conditions of its production' (Althusser 1971: 124).[7] An important implication of Lefebvre's argument is then that the domination of space, and of the representation of space, is of primary importance in the ways in which social power gains control over peoples' lives and over the ways in which they represent those lives to themselves. (Harvey 1990: 226)

For human geographers after Lefebvre, notably David Harvey and Edward Soja, *The Production of Space* has been read as revitalising the tradition of Marxist human geography. The space being reproduced, for them, is the uneven development of capitalist accumulation. However, whilst Lefebvre does write clearly within a Marxist tradition, his work leaves open the possibility of other spaces in the future and, most interestingly for my purposes, both in the past and in other cultural formations. His histories of space are not necessarily limited to the space of capitalism, although that is

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[7]Lefebvre's understanding of the word 'ideology' is, however, not the same as that of Althusser. Instead of seeing it as the all encompassing law into which we are all born and only through which we can achieve meaning, Lefebvre's notion of ideology is more limited. Lefebvre seemingly believes that ideology can remain separate from knowledge, and is characterized as 'rhetoric'. To the extent that ideology and knowledge become imbricated, they do so as 'representation'. One example that he gives of this is the pertinent one of classical perspective which as a representation of space, an encoding and ordering of spatial practice, encompasses knowledge of space and ideology. (Lefebvre 1991: 44-5) This complex theoretical formula explains Lefebvre's concentration on modes of representation on the one hand, whilst on the other he insists on the limits of any purely epistemological approach to the study of space. His 'unitary theory' is a striving to bridge the gap between 'mental space' and 'that social space wherein language becomes practice.' (5) The importance of the concept of production lies then in its ability to make sense of that gap.

obviously the main focus. It is in this area - in the possibilities of a history of space(s) - that I find his work most rewarding, and where it may be rescued from a narrow Marxist and expressivist paradigm for the understanding of cultural production. It is here that it becomes available for a reading of space more attuned to the difficult ontological questions surrounding the nature of representation that have been a feature of late twentieth century critical theory in general, as well as the new historicism of the English renaissance in particular.

If space is understood as a product, this implies a process of production. Although the spatial is always in the present, the 'synchronic', it only achieves its contemporary configurations and significations through historical processes, the 'diachronic'.

> The historical and its consequences, the 'diachronic', the 'etymology' of locations in the sense of what happened at a particular spot or place and thereby changed it - all of this becomes inscribed in space; time has its own script. Yet this space is always, now and formerly, a *present* space, given as an immediate whole, complete with its associations and connections in their actuality. Thus production process and product present themselves as two inseparable aspects, not as two separable ideas. (Lefebvre 1991: 37)

Space only becomes meaningful in the present if it is at the end of a long historical process. It takes time for a society to produce the space which it inhabits and which is also readable as an expression of that society. It is for this reason that at one point Lefebvre says that rather than thinking of space as a text to be read, he would prefer to think of it as 'texture' (118).[8] In this preference Lefebvre is opening up his analysis of space to the concept of change, and to time in general.

> Time and space are not separable within a texture so conceived: space implies time, and vice versa. These networks are not closed, but open on

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[8]Lefebvre's aim in using the word 'texture' in direct opposition to the word 'text' is clearly an attempt to rescue the concept of space from what he sees as the narrow epistemological concerns of French post Saussurean critical thought. I am re-using the word 'texture' in order to complicate, though not to dismiss the epistemological approach to space. To that extent I am reading Lefebvre against the grain.

> all sides to the strange and the foreign, to the threatening and the propitious, to friend and foe.(118)

He is dismissing the descriptive nature of what he sees as a narrow textualism, for the analytical nature of an approach attentive to processes of production. At the risk of recovering Lefebvre for just such a narrow textualism, I would like to focus on the way in which his understanding of space as both constantly *present*, and yet produced over time, might open up any spatial understanding to the concepts of anachronism and irony. Anachronism is somehow the inevitable result of these frames of reference. The 'etymologies' of locations can never be reduced to space 'given as an immediate whole', in the present. There will always be an excess of meanings, bits left over. Process and product may, for Lefebvre after Marx, be two parts of an inseparable whole, but that is not to say that their conjunction can be assumed with ease.

In a review essay on Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*, Andy Merrifield has written that most approaches to Lefebvre have concentrated on the two key figures influencing the text - Hegel and Marx. In contrast, he wishes to stress the importance of opening up our readings of what is a difficult text to the third influence on Lefebvre - Nietzsche. (Merrifield 1995) The twin towers of Marx and Hegel have, of course cast the longest shadow over David Harvey and Edward Soja's readings of Lefebvre. As Merrifield points out, Lefebvre himself returns again and again to Nietzsche as a key influence. This is even embedded, he claims, in the structure of *The Production of Space*. Time and again, Lefebvre sets himself apparently systematic, rigid, typologies, within which he claims to be producing his critical analyses of given spaces. The most notable of these is the division between spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces. Merrifield is right to point out both the unworkability of these rigid divisions and Lefebvre's subsequent abandonment of them. Having introduced them in the introduction to the book, they are not retained as the structural determinants of his subsequent histories of space. His own practice exposes the limits of his desire to complete a total 'science of space' (Lefebvre 1991: 7) The notorious

difficulties in separating representations of space from representational spaces, or as some translators would have it, 'spaces of representation'[9] is, for Merrifield, a Nietzschean moment in the text. Inconsistencies and irresolutions are exposed at the expense of the smooth developments of the Hegelian dialectic as it is realised in historical space - space as the resolution of the conflicts of the historical process. Instead space is open to the ironies which accompany the inadequation of representation to practice. Space is never complete(d) and a total theory of space, whilst it may be a laudable desire is not, in the end, achievable.

In Lefebvre's account of Hegelian space, time becomes 'solidified and fixed within the rationality immanent to space.' (21) This space is the space of the state.

> According to Hegelianism, historical time gives birth to that space which the state occupies and rules over. History does not realize the archetype of the reasonable being in the individual, but rather in a coherent ensemble comprised of partial institutions, groups and systems (law, morality, family, city, trade, etc.). (21)

In this space what disappears is history, and what is left behind is a memory of the historical processes that have come to form that space. To describe this process, Lefebvre borrows from Marx the concept of commodity fetishization. Hegelian space, as Lefebvre describes it, is fetishized space. That is, it is divorced from historical process. It is for this reason, Lefebvre writes, that Marx reinstated time as the necessary driving force of the dialectic - revolutionary time would work to undo space as a commodity, as a fetish. Instead though, of merely turning to Marx in order to

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[9]In another review essay, Lynn Stewart makes the following note on her choices of translation. 'In the English translation representational space is used but I prefer spaces of representation, not only because it is less confusing but also because it is more suggestive, subtle and closer to the French.' (Stewart 1995: 610n.2) Although Stewart does not go on to elaborate her variance from Nicholson-Smith's translation in any more detail, I take the difficulty she is having over the translation to be a symptom of the difficulty of the ideas into which Lefebvre is attempting to introduce his typology. His typology is clearly an attempt, on some level, to resolve the insoluble conundrum of the relationships between space, practice and representation. His failure to actually use this typology when it comes to the bulk of the book in which he writes his histories of space indicates this insolubility.

revolutionise Hegel, Lefebvre plays Hegelian space against Nietzschean concepts of space as disruptive, or anachronistic.

> Only Nietzsche, since Hegel, has maintained the primordiality of space and concerned himself with the spatial problematic - with the repetitiveness, the circularity, the simultaneity of that which seems diverse in the temporal context and which arises at different times. In the realm of becoming, but standing against the flux of time, every defined form, whether physical, mental or social, struggles to establish and maintain itself. Yet Nietzschean space preserves not a single feature of the Hegelian view of space as product and residue of time. (22)

Rather, in Nietzsche, there is such a thing as an absolute space, which is brought into shape on both cosmic and social level through the work of force. Nietzschean space does not share with Hegelian space the sense in which space is at the end point of a historical process. Rather it works against chronology. It refuses the idea of an origin.

> The relationships between force (energy), time and space are problematical. For example, one can neither conceive of a beginning (an origin) nor yet do without such an idea. As soon as that (albeit essential) activity which discerns and marks distinctions is removed from the picture, 'The interrupted and the successive are concordant.' (22 Lefebvre is quoting from *The Will to Power*)

Lefebvre ultimately applies all three of these theories of time and space to a sketch of the situation of the world in late capitalism. He sees the space of the state, Hegelian space, as solidifying in ever stronger ways, concretising the homogeneity of capitalism on a world stage. This is the end of history that has been talked about so much in relation to late capitalism.[10] This, though, provokes a Nietzschean counter-action. The 'tragic negativity' of permanent revolt is brought into being by the overwhelming nature of the state's consolidation. However, within this situation new class alignments are brought into being which will not necessarily fit in with Marx's scheme of class struggle. However, to think about the possibilities of class opposition, and to refuse to

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[10]The standard statement of the neo conservative creed that the global cpaitalist expansion of the end of the twentieth century marks an end to historical process and change is Fukuyama's *The End of Histtory*. For a convincingly dismissive reply see the opening chapters of Derrida 1994

acknowledge the benefits of the global market, is to retain a sense of Marx's revolutionary time. As Lefebvre writes, 'Merely to consider the possibilities is to realize that Marxist though has not disappeared, and indeed that it cannot disappear.' (24)

A moment in which Lefebvre allows the complexity of these three strands of thought to confront one another is in the use of a wonderfully irreverent and disruptive simile in which he tries to encapsulate the problems of the relationship between time and space. He collapses his attempts to negotiate the complicated relationships between space, representation, practice and history into a moment of playful troping. In understanding space as texture, rather than text, Lefebvre uses the metaphor of *mille feuille* pastry. In the development of space over time, one space does not totally eradicate another, but rather there are traces left over. Whilst the abstract structures of a given social and cultural system have their own particular logic, in practice they do not exist in isolation. Hegelian space is not always so coherent, but is haunted by the ghosts of its history.

> Thus social space, and especially urban space, emerged in all its diversity - and with a structure reminiscent of flaky *mille-feuille* pastry rather than of the homogenous and isotropic space of classical (Euclidean/Cartesian) mathematics. (86)

Space is layered. Its histories are anachronistically available in its present configurations. Because of this, the homogeneity of a given set of spatial configurations is never complete, and the boundaries it sets up (private/public, national/international, same/other, sacred/taboo) are never fully discrete.

In these complicated relationships in which Lefebvre is playing Hegel's historical space off against Nietzschean notions of an eternal present, the achieved space of history, dialectically arrived at in the nation state is rendered ironic by the invocation of Nietzschean genealogy. The homogeneity of the space of the present is rendered

inconsistent once it becomes clear that time has a part to play in its production. One could say that the past haunts the present. It is in this overlapping that one might wish to locate the anachronistic and the ironic. The location of that haunting is space, produced.

> [First suggestion: haunting is historical, to be sure, but it is not *dated*, it is never docilely given a date in the chain of presents, day after day, according to the instituted order of a calendar. ...] (Derrida1994: 4)

In *Specters of Marx*, where this is taken from, one of the questions which Derrida is dealing with is the afterlife of a historical moment beyond itself.[11] In the English translation, this afterlife, or haunting, comes to be called 'anachrony' - a sort of generalisation from the particularities of any given anachronism. For me, space becomes the location for this 'anachrony' in any historical narrative. The ruins of the past go on to form the foundations of the space of the present. At the same time they render any notion of the present as a completed or fully achieved place inconsistent. There are always bits left over. The *mille feuille* pastry leaves crumbs behind it which are never fully cleared away.

The English early modern writers most concerned with questions of the leftover, the remains of the past in the present, were the body of writers - largely amateurs - who came to be known as antiquarians. D. R. Woolf has described the principal difficulty facing the development of antiquarian chorography in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in terms of a dilemma - '... how to describe the past without writing a history.' (Woolf 1990: 20). He then goes on to give a rare example of an antiquarian's self consciousness about this methodological impasse. In his 1576 *Perambulation of Kent*, William Lambarde digresses from the tedious detailing of Kent's territorial attributes to provide a list of the Anglo Saxon kings of Kent.

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[11]In this particular case, it is the afterlife of Marxism beyond the fall of eastern bloc communism.

Realising that he is straying outside his self imposed disciplinary boundaries, Lambarde stops himself from providing any further historical interest.

> Now, although it might heere seem convenient, before I passed any further, to disclose such memorable things, as have chanced during the reignes of all these forenamed kings: yet ... 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 one can not fully bee performed without enterlacing the other) ... (quoted in Woolf 1990: 20)

It is interesting to note the coincidence between Lambarde's realisation that 'topographie' 'can not fully bee performed without enterlacing' 'chronographie' and Lefebvre's insistence that, 'Time and space are not separable within a texture so conceived: space implies time, and vice versa.' (Lefebvre 1990: 118). Because Lefebvre is writing about the production (over time) of a social space, a history of space is implied. One cannot exist without the other. Both antiquarians and Lefebvre are concerned with the 'etymology of locations' (37). Lambarde's nervous defence of his disciplinary boundaries and his hapless sojourn beyond them demonstrate an awareness of this interrelationship. Just as you can not know what happened when, if you do not also know where it happened, so knowledge of location seems to demand a knowledge of the history of that location. However, as Woolf points out, the chorographers of the late sixteenth century, and the famous William Camden in particular, were at pains to distinguish their mode of writing (*descriptio*), from that of the historian (*narratio*). History writing implies, for the early modern period, a structured narrative of cause and effect, based principally on the Aristotelian four causes with God as a first cause before and beyond the material, efficient, formal and final causes of human action. Or else, it has a clear tautological framework of providential narrative in which it is the end of a sequence of events which guides the preceding actions, rather than the other way around. The antiquarians were aware that their work did not fit into these moral and political frameworks and so, in order not to set themselves up as rivals to the great historians (Tacitus, Caesar *et al.*), they reject

chronology as the ordering principle for the assembling of their evidence, in favour of spatially motivated systems - county divisions etc. (Woolf 1990: 21). This is why developments in cartography and chorography are closely linked in methodology and in personnel to the antiquarian movement in this period. The discovery of ancient artefacts seems to belong on, or alongside, a map rather than in a history book at this time. History rather was confined to structured narratives of the actions of great men, intended as exemplary or instructive.

The most influential antiquarian of the period, William Camden, who will be a shadowy presence behind most of this thesis, only occassionally emerging into the foreground, was himself aware of the difference of his writing style. In the 'Preface to the reader' of the English translation of *Britannia*, he writes of 'the silly web of my stile, and the rough hewed forme of my writing.' (Camden 1610: 'Preface to the Reader) This is a disavowal of the self consciously 'literariness' of conventional text-oriented history writing. The 'web' like nature of his style sprawls across space, with scant concern for the contingencies of a time based narrative. Whilst this thesis is not 'about' chorography or antiquarianism, these are both central to its concerns in as much as they provide an alternative to history conceived purely in terms of the temporal. They provide for alternative histories which are not necessarily authorised, not already written. It is within these fields of inquiry that the battle of 'Britaine' took place. It is antiquarianism that opened up the possibilities that the originary narratives of 'Britaine', founded by Brut, descendant of Aeneas might not be true. No longer reliant on prior narratives, opening up history to questions of space and the existence of ruins and artefacts, antiquarianism and chorography negotiate anew the space of the nation, opening up ironies in its tautological narratives of origin. (see Kendrick 1950)[12]

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[12]This battle of 'Britaine', as played out in the controversies over the term following James I's accession to the English throne, will be the focus of the central section of the thesis, entitled 'Union'.

If these claims for the new disciplines of chorography and antiquarianism coincide with claims for the new historiographies of the new historicism, this is no accident. As I have attempted to argue, one way of thinking about the radical impacts on traditional historiography that accompany the new historicism, would be to talk about the spatialisation of its frames of reference; its critical horizons displaced into the 'space of a dispersion'. This is a project that is, of course, not restricted to the studies of the English renaissance which have been grouped under the rubric of the new historicism, but is a feature of much new work in the 'brave new world' of late twentieth century cultural studies. Post colonialism, understood as an academic discourse, has most notably opened up the narrow time-boundedness of traditional historiography to a potentially disruptive examination of culture that is part of a reinvigorated awareness of spatiality. In post colonialism, the progress of western thought, the march of time and the unity of the *grand récit* are interrupted by the displacement of these narratives elsewhere, beyond the boundaries of the homogenous west. Iain Chambers has linked this critical shift with 'migrancy', the aberrant movement discouraged and effaced in the western movement towards stable locations within the map, the nation and within language.

> It is the dispersal attendant on migrancy that disrupts and interrogates the overarching theme of modernity: the nation and its literature, language and sense of identity; the sense of centre; the sense of psychic and cultural homogeneity. (Chambers 1994: 23-24)

This thesis will also draw on ideas and terms that have been developed under post colonialism. This is not to disregard the specificities of the post colonial experience, but to take seriously its claims to rethink the concept of origins in the narrative of the nation. If early modern England sees the beginnings of both modernity and 'England' as a nation, then insights from post colonialism and post modernism may help us to identify the ironies attendant on those beginnings, the moments of misrecognition that escape from the homogenous stories of nation formation. This thesis will turn upon

moments wherein it is possible to see that the space of the nation has no 'homogeneity'.[13]

One of the early modern texts that has come most famously to be analysed within a postcolonial framework is Shakespeare's *The Tempest.* Its supposed relationship to accounts of colonial travels has prompted critics to examine the relationships between colonised and coloniser as they may be played out between the various characters of the play. For the purposes of this introduction I want to look briefly at one of the moments in the play that seems most to be 'about' the experience of the new world encounter. In the last scene Miranda, Prospero's daughter, sees the Italian visitors to the island for the first time. In saying that this is somehow 'about' the new world, I am not making any claims about the setting of the play, or about the playwright's intentions *vis a vis* America - this conundrum seems to me to be obviously insoluble - but I am rather using it to illustrate what it is I mean by the ironies that can be produced in the 'spatialisation' of an analysis of the past.

> [MIRANDA] O wonder!
> How many goodly creatures are there here!
> How beauteous mankind is! O brave new world
> That has such people in't!
> [PROSPERO] 'Tis new to thee. (5.1.181-184)[14]

Often played for laughs in performance, Miranda's misrecognition of the nature of her 'discoveries' is profoundly ironic. Having now watched the whole play, we know that these characters are far from 'beauteous'. Prospero's cutting one liner can be played as

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[13]I am aware that historians of the nation state may not recognise its origins stretching as far back as the sixteenth century. However I believe that the term 'nation' is not stable and can be taken to indicate a wide variety of political systems and developments that are not necessarily confined to the modern nation state. At the same time the modern nation state is not itself hermetically sealed from its past configurations in either feudalism or centrist monarchy. The discourses surrounding nationhood have been much discussed in the field of renaissance studies. Richard Helgerson and Claire McEachern have both argued for a sense of the nation that is broader than that encompassed by traditional historiography. I find their arguments to be compelling. (Helgerson 1992; McEachern 1996)

[14]This quotation is taken from Steven Orgel's new Oxford edition of the play (1987).

either sarcastic or as despairing. In both cases it would serve to underline the ironies of misrecognition that are involved in this encounter. These ironies are of course deepened by the fact that it is Miranda herself who is to be the rightful inheritor of the civilisation that she is recognising in the others. She is as much, if not more, a part of the 'brave new world' of civilised Europe than any one. The ironies of misrecognition that converge on Miranda in this scene are the product of a dispersed spatiality meeting up with the homogenous histories of western development. That the old world can be new, and the new world old, indicates the existence of different horizons of understanding which interrupt the linear narratives of a 'straightforward' history. Miranda has failed to learn the lesson of history - she cannot remember the details of her ancestry and falls asleep in the middle of her father's history lesson - and consequently has a horizon of understanding that is divergent from Prospero's sharp call to facts and the proper relations of history. The importance of these ironies has not necessarily to do with the fact that the play may be about the new world, although the discovery of America clearly has a large part to play in the developments in historiography and spatial awareness in the early modern period, but in the ways in which it illustrates the breaks in historical narrative that may come about in the 'space of a dispersion'. Miranda is Milanese, not a native American. The play is English, not Carribean. The disjunctions and misrecognitions that attend the early formation of the space of the nation and of the space of modernity do not take place just on the peripheries but return to the centre.

That the early modern period marked a shift in spatial awareness and in spatial technologies is, I believe, self evident from the wealth of material that we still have available to us as evidence - perspectival painting, neoclassical architecture and monuments, and, of course, maps. Not only that, but the changes are all interrelated. Samuel Egerton has shown how Italian renaissance perspectival painting was at least in part dependant on the discovery of Ptolemy's atlas, the *Geographia*. (Egerton 1976) Lefebvre writes that the development of perspectival art was dependant on the

new organisations of capital in the landscape, providing the artist with ready made perspectival lines in the form of trade routes between country and city. (Lefebvre 1991: 41) I believe it would be more accurate to say that there was no determining factor in this slow and uneven development in spatial understanding and production. It may be more helpful, rather, to relate it to what Foucault would call an 'epistemic shift'. These new understandings of space could be seen as part of the 'essential rupture in the western world' which, for Foucault, marks the transitional patterns of thought in the early modern period. (Foucault 1970: 50) He goes on to characterise this shift by saying that 'what has become important is no longer resemblances but identities and differences.' (50) An older *episteme*, dependant on analogy and similitude is replaced by new forms of understanding which work in terms of difference and identity. Although Foucault does not mention this in *The Order of Things*, maps are one of the clearest examples of the new developments away from analogical thinking towards thinking in terms of differentiation. As the old T-O form of world maps and the medieval *mappae mundi* are replaced by the disparate space of the geometrically projected cartography, space no longer operates in a way that might be thought of as 'analogical'. In analogical space, or the space of 'similitude', everything is fixed in a firm relation to everything else. There is no allowance for change. Jerusalem is the centre of the world. All other places exist in relation to that unitary force. Things relate by means of an interplay of sympathy or antipathy, instead of in terms of their differences and identities. Foucault gives the examples of a sunflower turning towards the sun because of their resemblance, and fire rising into the air because of its warmth and light. Everything becomes mingled in this interplay, nothing having its own 'individuality'. Everything is 'rivited' into its place within this system of analogy.

> By means of this interplay, the world remains identical; resemblances continue to be what they are, and to resemble one another. The same remains the same, riveted onto itself. (25)

In the new space of geometrical cartography, there is no necessary centre. Places are not linked by analogy, but rather on a grid of proximity and distance. Jerusalem is no longer the centre of the world, as it is conceived on the space of the map. In this epistemic shift, Foucault remarks on a shift away from seeing the world as infinitely connected as a chain of 'similitude' towards the 'enumeration' of the world. Instead of 'drawing things together' the mind is now more apt to discriminate between discrete entities and place them in an order, or as in a map, on a grid. (55-56)

Foucault places this epistemological shift, not in the renaissance itself but between the renaissance and the 'Classical Age'. It is possible, however, to understand Foucault's historiography to be suggestive, rather than verifiably accurate. It is true that Foucault did not see his notion of the 'epistemic shift' as simply transferable to traditional historical periodisation. This would merely have repeated the historicising trend to collapse all phenomena into one narrative and which Foucault sought to write against. Instead, the epistemic shift relates directly to the looser notion of 'the space of a dispersion.' Within this space, local moments of transformation occur.

> They [the local moments of transformation] allow us to describe, as the *episteme* of a period, not the sum of its knowledge, nor the general style of its research, but the deviation, distances, the oppositions, the differences, the relations of its multiple scientific discourses: the *epistemic* is not *a sort of grand underlying theory*, it is a space of *dispersion*, it is an *open field of relationships and no doubt indefinitely specifiable*. ... *The episteme is not a* general stage of reason, it is a complex relationship of successive displacements. (Foucault, 'Politics and the Study of Discourse' (1978), quoted in Young 1990: 76-7)

If it is the case that the 'space of a dispersion' does not necessarily have to conform to any given periodisation but rather to sets of relations, localised and yet still 'an open field of reationships', the developents in cartography that occur at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century could be seen to herald the later arrival of a more fully worked out classical *episteme*, providing a model (a grid) within which all knowledge could be placed. These changes do not have to be commensurate with

wider social changes in any direct way. Rather, they are part of the 'complex relationship of successive displacements'.

This can be further inferred from Foucault's discussion of the changes that occur to 'the sign' in this epistemological shift. In the Classical Age, the sign no longer refers back to a pre-existent, eternal text, but rather functions as a way of ordering the world within space. (Foucault 1970: 62) As such, it contains acknowledgemt of its own referentiality within itself. It acknowledges its own existence within a sign system.

> It is characteristic that the first example of a sign given by the *Logique de Port Royal* is not the word, not the cry, nor the symbol, but the spatial and graphic representation - the drawing as map or picture. This is because the picture has no other content in fact than that which it represents, and yet that content is made visible only because it is represented by a representation. (64)

Whilst Foucault would clearly not share David Harvey's terms of reference - the epistemic shift could never have, at base, an economic determination - Harvey has remarked on just this kind of development in the early modern map.

> Maps, stripped of all elements of fantasy and religious belief, as well as of any sign of the experiences involved in their production, had become abstract and strictly functional systems for the factiual ordering of phenomena in space. (Harvey 1989: 249)

It is undoubtedly true that the renaissance period witnesses many changes in an epistemology of space. How we paint, think, write and represent space all undergoes a vast re-appraisal. For Foucault this reappraisal exists within the epistemological realm itself - as faultlines in the old *episteme.* For Lefebvre and Harvey, it is dependant on the ultimate determination of economic factors. I believe it is impossible to negotiate between these two positions. The chicken and egg relationship between materialism and representationalism will continue to be the life blood of critical theory and cultural history until we, too, experience a vast and as yet unseen epistemic shift. That is not to say that this thesis will not address the vexed question of what came first - the map or

the territory.[15] Rather, no solution will be found. Foucault's epistemological bias can no more be dismissed than the narrow materialism of Marxist cultural geography. The production of space operates on many levels. As I have already suggested, when Lefebvre discusses the process in relation to representation, he finds it impossible to stick to his rigidly demarcated materialism. Changes in the economic and political division of land neither precede, nor proceed from, shifts in epistemolgies. Changes in the way we represent the land are no more the result of, than they are the sole determining factor in, changing economic circumstances. The two go hand in hand.

This may sound like having your cake and eating it. However, as I have been keen to stress, the impact of the 'spatial', as a key term, on the critical human sciences may well be a re-evaluation of traditional parameters of analysis. Anachronism is the most obvious feature of this. Outside of purely time based modes of analysis we may no longer need to find an answer to questions of cause and effect, although those questions will not necessarily disappear. For this reason, I am also keen to stress the unevenness of change in the shifts in spatial awareness that I have been discussing. The homogenous space of modernity, characterised by the map as a geometrically determined projection, does not arrive all at once. Older systems of thought continue to inhabit these new spaces. John Gillies has written about this in relation to Shakespeare in *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*. He suggests that, although Shakepseare, at moments, acknowledges the existence of the new cartography, he retains a sense of the world based on classical notions of the *oikumene* - the homeland. This leads him into adopting a view of the world which is more analogical than differential. He calls this 'poetic geography' the results of which, he writes, 'persist like the footprints of some prehistoric beast in the sediments of modern geography'. (Gillies 1994: 38) Historians of cartography have also shown not only how older categories of thought lived on into the production of supposedly

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[15]This is borrowing from Baudrillard's little postmodern soundbite - 'Henceforth it is the map that preceds the territory.' (Baudrillard 1983: 2) I will return in more detail to this rather facile formulation in the chapter on Speed's county maps.

scientifically determined maps, but how modern claims to ideological innocence cover up ideological biases on the part of the maps' producers and audiences. Europe is the centre the world in most cartographic projections. Africa, Antarctica, Asia and America are often drastically reduced in size as a result. These decisions betray hidden ideological agendas. Sometimes, in propaganda maps, or in maps which are deliberately subversive of dominant world pictures, the ideologies are not so hidden. These ideological biases are generally true of all maps, including even modern photographically based projections. (Wood 1992) The very idea of mapping, positioning yourself outside of the space of the world, can have an ideological inflection.

In early modern maps, at the birth of the space of homogenous modernity, there can be detected the ironic survival of older typologies. Within the new differentiated space of the map, one can locate the concerns of the culture of which that map is a product. These factors render the homogeneity of the space of the map as inconsistent. In order to examine these inconsistencies, this thesis will examine spatial tropes which reveal the gaps in the space of homogenous modernity - gaps in the space of the nation, gaps in the space of linear perspective and gaps in the spaces of private property. To return to the epigraph to this introduction, taken from Iain Chambers' postcolonial manifesto, *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*, these gaps will work in this thesis to partially undo that 'homogenous point of view' that Chambers associates with the new visual technologies of the Renaissance. Whilst it is beyond the scope of a single Ph.D. thesis to unravel the perspectives of 'rational' modernity, the spatial tropes that are the focus of the thesis will show both a more pluralistic side to the period designated 'renaissanace' and will indicate the possibility of seeing around the back of the homogenous grid of modernist space. These tropes and topoi include the ruin and translation, the exposed boundary and the space of the other, the anachronism of history in the space of the present and anamorphosis as an alternative to linear

perspective. These various topoi necessitate the interdisciplinary nature of the material covered in the thesis, as they themselves are no respecters of boundaries.

The concept of space as a kind of 'mille feuille' pastry, as diachronic 'texture' available in, but not reducible to, the synchronic text, is reflected in the organisation of this thesis. It has three distinct sections which correspond to three moments in the cultural history of early modern England. I have labelled the first section 'Spenser', in that it is concerned with the moment of late Elizabethan imperialism that followed the defeat of the Armada and which is so much a motivating force in the poetry of Edmund Spenser. His name designates the complex relations between text, space and history that are at stake in this imperial moment. The ironies of England as an imperial state are available in his constructions of the space of the nation. Spenser's ironic stance is not isolated however, but endemic to the production of England as imperial island nation, 'this sceptr'd isle'. Whilst we may be able to trace a strand of opposition in Spenser's attitude to the Elizabethan official line, neither is that official line wholly self consistent. Central to this argument will be Spenser's poem, 'The Ruines of Time'.

'The Ruines of Time' is implicated in the processes of translation that produce the reformations of the sixteenth century. Itself a development of Spenser's earlier translations of du Bellay, it also comments on the status of England as inheritor of the *translatio imperii*, the imperial crown. Translation in this poem can then be re-read spatially. It is also a poem which is involved in the construction of a British or English national geography, especially when read alongside contemporary chorography and antiquarianism - William Camden in particular. To understand this process as 'translation' and to refer to this new English or British imperial nation space as a 'translated geography' is to highlight its status as figurative, inadequate to any idealised or discrete nation space.

The key trope investigated in this inadequate metaphorical formation of the imperial nation space will be that of the ruin. If translation marks a movement beyond spatial boundaries, then the ruin is the embodiment of anachronism - a movement beyond temporal boundaries. Whilst the ruin seems to offer a location for the moment of England's imperial inheritance in the late sixteenth century, the irony of anachronism undermines the linear narratives of the *translatio imperii*. If the production of the space of the nation involves a moment of self recognition, both of history and geography, the trope of the ruin and the troping mechanism of translation render such a project as ironic.

I have labelled the second section, 'Union' as it centres around James VI of Scotland and I of England's failed project for the union of the two kingdoms. It uses his arrival on the throne of England as the focal point for new developments in the depiction of the nation state in terms of its geographies. James's own speech on the occasion of the opening of the 1604 parliament, with its use of the trope of the island nation is used as a starting point. The failed project to unite the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, which uses this idea of the island nation as its ideological focus, is examined through its reflection in Jacobean representations of the land - Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, Camden's *Britain* and Speed's atlas of county maps, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, in particular. The island nation, together with James's 'Roman style' will again be seen as involved in narratives of invasion and difference that serve to undermine the unifying force of his arguments. The presence of Roman ruins on the Scottish-English border in Speed's atlas and in the 1610 English translation of the *Britannia* will be a focus for this analysis. The narrative of union between Britain and Rome in *Cymbeline* will also be taken as a trope of the union project. This time, the complicated origins of the 'British' monarchy in Wales will add to the Rome/England story in a way that undermines the status of the nation as it is imagined in the trope of the island nation - unified and without internal contradictions and incoherences. Haunting the present of the early days of James's reign are the ironies of empire

developed in the later years of Elizabeth. Again, the trope of the ruin indicates a disarrangement in the regularity of a linear narrative. The presence of ruins in the map questions the status of the map and its ability to control the space that of which it is a representation.

The third section I have entitled 'Digging'. The process of digging, of unearthing histories from their fixed locations in the national map, works as a metaphor for the thesis in general and also as a frame for understanding the practices of Gerard Winstanley and his fellow 'Diggers' on St. George's Hill. This section sees a shift away from national geographies towards looking at the ways in which the representation of the land is affected by the developments in agrarian economics and particularly the move from feudalism to the market and the changes in forms of land ownership towards more 'private' owning of land. Winstanley's pamphlets of the 1650s, written as a defence of the Diggers' project to reclaim common land, are seen to undermine the space of enclosure in their uses of language and of history. The closed space of private property is opened out both literally and metaphorically by the project of the diggers on George's Hill.

Marvell's *Appleton House* is placed within the same problematic as Winstanley's pamphlets - the development of an agrarian capitalism, the debates surrounding which are heightened during the civil wars and interregnum. The way that the poem 'sees' the land is examined, particularly in terms of the development of new technologies of surveillance and measurement - telescopes, triangulation, surveying and mapping - and alongside landscape painting. Again, the closed space of the country house will be seen to open out, this time in an explosion of traditional perspectival space into the anamorphic space of the map. Contemporary treatises on geometry provide an important context for reading Marvell's poem. *Appleton House* will also be seen as a haunted house - the location of the narratives of nation that retell themselves in the present, reinterpreting history. It too, is a location defined by its relationship to the

ruin, understood both figuratively and literally. Winstanley might be seen as an exorcist as well as a Digger, attempting to rid the land of its hauntings, its restructurings via the complex of relationships between past and present.

Whilst these three moments are obviously chronological, no attempt is made to link them in the orderly narrative of 'cause and effect' history. Rather the constructions of space and of history which are identified within one are seen to haunt the next, to remain present in such a way as to work against the logic of narrative history, whilst retaining a clear idea of the historical. As was seen in Lefebvre's discussion of Hegelian space, the historical is not necessarily historicised. If space is seen as the cynosure of historical process then it becomes divorced from those processes, reified and fetishised. To retain a sense of the historical in relation to space, one must rather pay attention to the anachronistic and the disruptive. 'Haunting is historical, to be sure.' (Derrida 1994: 4)

2. Spenser

i. 'The Ruines of Time' and William Camden

> ... to restore Britain to its Antiquities, and its Antiquities to Britain, to renew the memory of what was old, illustrate what was obscure, and settle what was doubtful, and to recover some certainty in our affairs.[16]

In the introduction to the *Britannia*, William Camden gives the above as the motivations behind his antiquarian project. These are, in other words, to present Britain or England with an image of its past on which to base a more certain national future, to secure a coherently British identity by way of searching into British origins. Of course what we are more likely to find in such excavations, and Camden is no exception, is precisely the lack of any firm foundation. Camden's etymologies of the nation are always unsure and the antiquarian project is never quite finished. The ruins and fragments of the past may live on into the present but the stories that they provide us with are never wholly consistent. Early modern antiquarianism, whilst it sets out to discover the truth, to bring the nation's origins to light, is in fact constantly embroiled in refutations and counter refutations of various accounts of the nation's ancient past. That Camden is restating an *English* national identity by referring to 'Britannia' is itself indicative of the ironies and inconsistencies that are present in the antiquarian project.

To some extent, Spenser's poem, 'The Ruines of Time' shares Camden's aims as he states them. It is a reworking of contemporary English history in the light of an older

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[16]This translation of the original 1586 Britannia is from Parry 1995: 25. Camden repeats these sentiments in his introduction to Philomel Holland's 1610 English translation of the *Britannia* - 'I hope that it shall be to no discredite, if I now use againe by way of Preface, the same words with a few more, that I used twenty foure yeeres since in the first edition of this worke. Abraham Ortelius the worthy restorer of Ancient Geographie arriving heere in England, above thirty foure yeares past, dealt earnestly with me that I would illustrate this Ile of BRITAINE, or (as he said) that I would restore antiquity to Britaine, and Britain to its antiquity, which was as I understood, that I would renew ancientrie, enlighten obscuritie, 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.' (Camden 1610: 4)

Roman-British inheritance. In fact, in 'The Ruines of Time', Spenser celebrates Camden's contribution to the national culture in the very terms with which Camden himself presents his own project. '*Cambden*, the nourice of antiquitie', he calls him

> And lanterne unto late succeeding age,
> To see the light of simple veritie,
> Buried in ruines, through the great outrage
> Of her owne people, led with warlike rage,
> *Cambden*, though time all moniments obscure,
> Yet thy just labours ever shall endure.[17]

Camden's claim that he will 'illustrate what was obscure' is echoed in Spenser's description of him as the 'lanterne unto late succeeding age'. Camden's claim, in his own 1610 translation of the original text, to 'recall home Veritie by way of recovery' makes the same claim that Spenser had attributed to him - that he will enable Britain 'to see the light of simple veritie, /Buried in ruines'. That this had indeed been buried in ruins is attributed by Camden to 'the negligence of writers and credulitie of the common sort'. (Camden 1610: 4) This may be what Spenser's poem claims as 'the great outrage of her own people.'

Also, by the same token, Camden does mention the location of the poem, Verulamium in the *Britannia* and it is likely that Spenser would have used Camden as a kind of source. Camden's initial assessment of the site matches the sentiment of Spenser's complaint poem.

> ... there remaineth nothing of it to be seene, beside the few remaines of ruined walles, the checkered pavements, and peeces of Roman coine other whiles digged up there. (Camden 1610: 408)

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[17]Spenser 1989: ll. 170 - 175. Line numbers will be printed within the text from now on. I have used this particular edition because it is the most convenient printing of Spenser's shorter poems also to include the poems he wrote in his early career from the *Theatre for Worldlings*, alongside the emblematic illustrations. I have used this edition whenever quoting from Spenser's shorter verse.

However it is, I believe, significant that in 'The Ruines of Time', Spenser fails to pick up on what, for Camden, was the chief interest of the location.

> ... it was famous for nothing so much as bringing forth *Alban* a citizen of singular holinesse and faith in Christ, who when *Dioclesian* went about by exquisite torments to wipe Christian religion quite out of the memory of men, was the first in Britain that with invincible constancy and resolution suffered death for Christ his sake.(Camden 1610: 409)

The transformation of Roman Verulamium into British St. Alban's is not alluded to in Spenser's text. This seems particularly odd when placed alongside the other thematic concern of the poem - a celebration of England's latter day martyr - Sir Philip Sidney. St. Alban's might have been the perfect setting for a resurrection of Sidney's fortunes, *post mortem*. However, the broadly nationalist project of something like the *Britannia* is, I will argue, opened up by two ironic movements in Spenser's poem. To resolve the difficult hermeneutic problems posed by the Roman ruins which, in both Camden and Spenser, are reduced to nothing and yet are memorable at the same time, would be to resolve the complex ironies that cut right through 'The Ruines of Time'. Retelling the story of St. Alban was perhaps too easy a way out for Spenser's rather uneasy relationship with the nation.[18]

The two ironic movements that I want to talk about in relation to 'The Ruines of Time' are the trope of the ruin and the troping mechanism of translation. In turn, both these movements will be looked at in relation to the Elizabethan development of a national geography. One way of performing that interrogation of translation within a

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[18]In P*oly-Olbion*, Michael Drayton does include the story of St. Albans into his chorographical presentation of the area. In the illustrations to Book XVI he writes, 'As under the Romans, so in Saxon times afterward it [Verulamium, which Drayton calls Verlamcestre] endured a second Ruine: and, out of its corruption, after the Abbey erected by K.Offa, was generated that of Saint Albons; whither, in later times most of the stone-workes and whatsoever fit for building was by the Abbots translated.' Drayton then quotes Spenser's Ruines of Time - 'Now remaines no Memorie,/Nor any little moniment to see,' (Drayton 1961 [1613]: 323). Even though it seems that, for Drayton, there is an end to the processes of translation in the formation of St. Alban's, a monument to the first British martyr, he still operates in the no man's land occupied by Spenser and Camden in which national history is both obliterated from the landscape, and available to memory at the same time.

nationalist context is to rethink translation in spatial terms. Homi Bhabha has written on this in a postcolonial framework in his essay, 'How Newness Enters the World'. There he talks about 'the disjunctive temporality of translation' which 'reveals the intimate differences between genealogies and geographies.' (Bhabha 1994: 235) The movement of a translation across borders reveals the ironies of the nationalist project, rooted in heredity - the ancient history of the nation. Translation's 'disjunctive temporality', crossing and marking the borders of time and space, renders ironic a national history based on self recognition and continuity. The spatial implications of the word 'translation' of course have a history that extends beyond postmodern critique, and this section of the thesis will also look at the functioning of the early modern *translatio imperii* in Spenser's poem.

Accompanying this movement I want to look at the visual trope of the ruin. Whilst apparently representing a firm indication of the nation's ancient credentials - its eternal presence in the land - it rather opens up new ironies of interpretation. Anne Janowitz writes about this in her *Ruins in the Landscape*,

> Though the spectacle of ruins in the landscape offers evidence of a nation possessed of a long history, the materials that ruinists draw on to make figures may produce different meanings within some other group's imagination. The detritus of a Scottish castle may remind the Scottish viewer most powerfully of a defeat suffered, while Martello towers assert to the Irish the continuous and material presence of English domination. (Janowitz 1990: 3)

For Janowitz, ruins are no firm foundation on which to build a unified nation. They invite competing and contradictory narratives of national origin. Both ruins and translation then indicate movements beyond borders, spatial and temporal. Living on into new contexts, they are both anachronistic and ironic. If, as Richard Helgerson says, it is the nation's 'fundamental sense of its distinguishing and enabling self-likeness' (Helgerson 1992: 301) that is at the heart of any project of national affirmation, then both translation and the ruin disrupt that process of self recognition.

The narcissism of national identification is revealed as ironic. The nation's heritage - its old buildings as well as its works of literature - are revealed as sites of possible invasion, rather than the location of the nation's self-affirming triumphalism. The ruin places under question the notion of history as a sequential narrative, whilst at the same time insisting on its own historicity. Like translation, the ruin is something which moves beyond its immediate contexts, inviting endless interpretations. If translation crosses spatial borders but inscribes itself in language as a kind of temporal replacement - one text for the other - then the ruin inscribes itself in space as the disturbances attendant on temporality. In forming the space of the nation, the ruin marks and crosses its temporal boundaries, just as translation crosses geographical borders whilst, at the same time marking those borders. They both 'pose the question' of the border, interrogating the nation at its supposed origins and in its apparent self-identification.[19]

At the beginning of 'The Ruines of Time', the narrator comes across a weeping woman by the side of the Thames and fails to recognise her. She appears to be either a nymph of the river weeping for a lost love, one of the three fates or, alternatively, the *genius loci* of the ancient city of Verulamium, which is whereabouts on the Thames that the narrator is standing. The position of the narrator is itself an interestingly 'translated geography', a term I shall come to use in relation to the poem as a whole. The Thames does not flow through where Verulamium stood, something which Spenser must have been aware of through Camden's research in the *Britannia.* Camden suggests that the Thames may have changed its course since Roman times, although he eventually rejects this theory. Spenser alludes to it later in the poem claiming that the Thames has deserted the old Roman city as it faded in glory.

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[19]It is from the work of Derrida that I take the idea of 'posing the question of the border'. In his essay, 'Living On: Borderlines', which is explicitly concerned with translation, he writes, 'I wish to pose the question of the bord, the edge, the border, and the bord de mer, the shore.'(Derrida 1991a: 256) Britain's shore line, as available in Elizabethan England, is an interesting location in which to place Derrida's spatial figurations of translation, especially as he characterises the defining borderlines of translation as a coastline. The relationship between land and sea is, as I will demonstrate, both constitutive of, and disturbing for, an English/British national unity.

> Seemes that that gentle River for great griefe
> Of my mishaps, which oft I to him plained;
> Or for to shunne the horrible mischiefe,
> With which he saw my cruell foes me pained,
> And his pure streames with guiltles blood oft stained,
> From my unhappie neighbor hood farre fled,
> And his sweete waters away with him led. (141-147)

The shifting river seems to imply a comparison between the ancient and glorious city of Verulamium and modern London. Whereas previously, Verulamium had surpassed Troynovant (London) the situation is now reversed, not necessarily for the better. Where the narrator is standing is unclear - he is both by the Thames, and at the place which it has long deserted. His position is linked then to the ruins of the Roman past in the English present - they are both obliterated and yet memorable. The *genius loci*, for that is what she turns out to be,[20] then takes over the narration for the majority of the poem up until a final section which consists of a series of visionary tableaux in the *contemptus mundi* tradition found in 'The Ruines of Time', 'The Visions of Bellay' and 'Visions of Petrarch', and of course at the start of Spenser's publishing career in Jan van der Noot's *Theatre for Worldlings* (1569).

As part of the lament for her fallen, ruined city - the central and main part of the poem - the genius figure repeats some of the *contemptus mundi* topoi of the other poems in the *Complaints* volume, anticipating also the emblematic set pieces at the end of the poem. In doing so, the notion of the *translatio imperii* becomes included within an encompassing vision of ultimate ruin and decay.[21]

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[20]The identity of the weeping woman is in fact not so fixed as this simple identification suggests. She exceeds the boundaries of her city to encompass alternate identities - the weeping woman in Jerusalem from the Psalms, Petrarch's mournful and lovelorn sonneteer, a Babylonish representation of Rome, Empire or Church. This is part of the way in which the poem is the production of the translating processes that I want to illustrate. The weeping woman's constantly shifting identity emerges from the confluence of many textual traces in 'The Ruines of Time'.

[21]The *translatio imperii* is, in origin, a medieval idea, developed after the transfer of temporal power, away from Rome to the emperor, under Charlemagne in the ninth century. Its chief theorist was the twelfth century Otto von Friesing. This was re-activated by numerous writers in the renaissance, but most notably around the figure of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. See F. Yates 1975: passim. Also see Stierle (1996) for a discussion of the *translatio imperii* that relates it to the humanist

What nowe is of th'*Assyrian* Lyonesse,
Of whome no footing now on earth appeares?
What of the *Persian* Beares outragiousnesse,
Whose memorie is quite worne out with yeares?
Who of the *Grecian* Libbard now ought heares,
That overran the East with greedie powre,
And left his whelps their kingdome to devoure?
(64 - 70)

The standard transfer of temporal power westwards that forms the notion of the *translatio imperii* is rehearsed here - from Assyria, through Persia and on to the Greeks and then, of course, to Rome. Spenser moves on to Rome in the next stanza, but the language is conventionally ambiguous as to whether it refers to the Roman Empire of antiquity or to the fallen Roman Church.

And where is that same great seven headded beast,
That made all nations vassals of her pride,
To fall before her feete at her beheast,
And in the necke of all the world did ride?
Where doth she all that wondrous welth now hide?
With her own weight down pressed now shee lies,
And by her heaps her hugenesse testifies.
(71 - 77)

This is clearly written within a Reformation tradition which conflates the Roman Empire with the Church of Rome, associating them both with the imagery of the 13th chapter of the Book of Revelation. These connections have already been indicated in the animals associated with the other empires. The notes to the Geneva Bible make the same identifications between animal and empire that Spenser repeats here. These identifications between animal and empire are also made in the Old Testament of the Geneva Bible in Daniel 7:3-7.[22]

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retrieval of classical knowledge and the development of a specifically renaissance understanding of translation.

[22]The context in which these comparisons are being made is in Daniel's vision in chapter 7. The Geneva Bible makes it explicit that the monster that he sees is the Roman Empire, 'which was a monster, and could not bee compared to any beast, because the nature of none was able to expresse it.' It is the mark of the distance between the protestant project of the Geneva Bible and the nationalist protestant contexts of Spenserian verse that in 'The Ruines of Time', Spenser is a little more ambivalent about the status of Rome than the vehement commentaries in the Geneva Bible.

As well as this though, it is an example of what I want to call a 'translated geography', a term which I use to indicate the irony of a location which lives on beyond its boundaries - boundaries which are both temporal and spatial. The ruins of the Roman empire are the foundations for the Roman church. And yet, as the next stanza of 'The Ruines of Time' makes clear, these ruins can always be interpreted differently, leaving an ironic gap in the poem's treatment of the trope of the ruin. The *contemptus mundi* tradition encapsulates a lament for worldly failing, a regret for the passing of time, as well as an invocation to look beyond the worldly and the temporal towards the spiritual and the eternal. From implicit criticism of Rome's vainglory then, the narrator moves on to express regret for the passing of the Roman empire in the next stanza, bringing that regret within a specifically British context.

> O *Rome* thy ruine I lament and rue,
> And in thy fall my fatall overthrowe,
> That whilom was, whilst heavens with equall vewe
> Deignd to behold me, and their gifts bestowe,
> The picture of thy pride in pompous shew:
> And of the whole world as thou wast the Empresse,
> So I of this small Northerne world was Princesse.
> (78 - 84)

The paradoxical movement in the sentiment of *contemptus mundi* between a regret for the passing of worldly splendour and the denigration of worldliness is analogous here with the attitude towards Rome in the poem. The Roman Empire is seen as the origin of and justification for the inheritance of the *translatio imperii* on the one hand and in that guise its passing is mourned. On the other, Rome is seen as the opposition, the antichrist and something to be eschewed as worldly dross.

The *genius loci* of Verulamium links her own city's fate with that of the Roman empire, whilst at the same time in the final analogue of this stanza, there is an ironic play in the relationship between the two locations. Although within the movement of the poem, Britain is seen here to be part of the *translatio imperii* as it moves

progressively westwards (Syria - Persia - Greece - Rome - Britain/England), that is also undermined at the same time by the *difference* there is between an empress and a northern princess.

As Frances Yates made abundantly clear in her book, *Astraea*, the adoption of the *translatio imperii* was clearly part of Elizabeth's ongoing imperial pretensions and projections. This northern princess, as well as being the *genius loci* of Britain's greatest Roman city is easily identifiable as Elizabeth at this point in the poem. The idea of the northern Princess is underwritten here by Elizabeth's imperial Astraean imagery. It has clear links with an example used by Frances Yates in her catalogue of Elizabeth's Astraean imagery - this time from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The fact that the reference in that play to 'a fair vestal, throned by the West' is so readily understood as Elizabeth is an indication of the all-pervasiveness of Astraean imagery in Elizabethan culture. (Yates 1975)

In conventional usage the *translatio imperii* is understood in genealogical terms, over and above the geographical shifts westwards that are also encompassed within its development. It is a temporal 'translation', one empire replacing another as the mantle of empire is *inherited*. And yet, when we come to the stanza that directly compares the city of Verulamium to Rome, we have a marked spatial displacement - the movement northwards and westwards of the *translatio imperii* is exaggerated as it arrives in the island nation of England, cut off from the rest of the world. At the same time, though, Verulamium is *within* the Roman Empire.

It is in the context of a disjunction between temporality and spatiality that I want to understand the island nation as a 'translated geography'. In the complex formulation of England and/or Britain as an imperial island nation, those boundaries are always found to be elsewhere, both temporally and geographically. As much as the trope of the island nation helps form the enclosed space of a triumphal national or even imperial

unity, it is also already implicated in histories of invasion and of translation. It is the sense of anachronism that is attendant on translation that is important here - England/Britain is an *anachronistic* Rome. It does not quite fit. Homi Bhabha's 'intimate differences between genealogies and geographies' are all too obvious in England's inheritance of the imperial crown at this stage of 'The Ruines of Time'. Translation's 'disjunctive temporalities' cannot accommodate such an inheritance. It is belated. Thomas Greene's work in *The Light in Troy*, which discusses Renaissance *imitatio* as an anachronism is relevant here. (Greene 1982) The sense of historical relativism engendered by the renaissance awareness of anachronism, itself produced in an inability to adequately match a classical inheritance, is what facilitates the kinds of ironies in Spenser's poem. Translation is one branch of renaissance *imitatio* - an attempt to recover the past for the present which always fails before it starts. For Greene, the distance between antiquity and the fifteenth century made of Petrarch a 'double exile'. (Greene 1982: 8) At the same time as the renaissance discovers itself in the past, it realises the impossibility of making good on that discovery in the present. The work of *imitatio* was to recover identity from the irony of that 'double exile'.

> Renaissance imitation at its richest became a technique for creating etiological constructs, unblocking - within the fiction of the work - the blockages in transmission which created humanist pathos. (19)

In Spenser, the emergent sense of national identity that is the stuff of *imitatio*, is heavily ironised in its failure to materialise. The anachronism of the humanist project receives more weight here than its commitment to stabilising the word in the present.

It is then in the area of anachronism that we might want to link the trope of the ruin to translation - they are both structures which live on beyond their proper contexts and in the process they open up opportunities for a critique of the here and now - the self evident presence of the present. They undermine the teleologies of the national narratives of self recognition and arrival. In England, the British Roman past lives on in its ruins - inadequate monuments though for an imperial future.

'The Ruines of Time' does seem to display a particular anxiety around the idea of missing physical reminders of a past national history. These anxieties centre on the poem's use of the word 'moniment'. The word 'moniment' is an archaic form of the current word, 'monument', but which also encompasses the sense of 'admonishment' - a warning sign or guidance. It is also a word that Spenser seems to prefer over the more common 'monument' throughout his writing. 'The Ruines of Time' makes use of this word throughout the poem, almost as a kind of motif. The initial narrator complains that there is nothing left of Verulamium - 'Nor anie little *moniment* to see'.(5) In telling the story of her invasion by the Saxons, the figure of Verulam talks of the killing of the Saxon general, 'The *moniment* of whose sad funerall, / For wonder of the world, long in me lasted; / But now to nought through spoyle of time is wasted.'(117 - 119) The figure goes on to complain that her fame has died as no one recalls her name any longer, except, she says, one man - William Cambden, 'the nourice of antiquitie' - '*Cambden*, though time all *moniments* obscure, / Yet thy just labours ever shall endure.'(174 - 175) The next stanza goes on to compare the fate of Verulamium with the fate of the Dudleys and Sidneys, also unfairly forgotten.

> But whie (unhappy wight) doo I thus crie,
> And grieve that my remembrance quite is raced
> Out of the knowledge of posteritie,
> And all my antique *moniments* defaced?
> Sith I doo dailie see things highest placed,
> So soone as fates their vitall thred have shorne,
> Forgotten quite as they were never borne.(176 - 182, my emphasis)

This refers explicitly to Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester's demise and death. Leicester's downfall is treated two stanzas later with a level of hyperbole and kitsch that even this poem rarely reaches.

> I saw him die, I saw him die, as one
> Of the meane people, and brought forth on beare,
> I saw him die, and no man left to mone
> His dolefull fate, that late him loved deare:

Scarse anie left to close his eylids neare;
Scarse anie left upon his lips to laie
The sacred sod, or *Requiem* to saie.(190 - 196)

Annabel Patterson has written that it is possible to identify two different types of nationalism in Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calendar*. One is the whole hearted celebration of Elizabeth of the April eclogue. The other expresses the 'anxieties of Protestant activists grouped around Sidney, Leicester, and Walsingham' who at the time of that earlier cycle of poems were feeling isolated from court during negotiations for the proposed French match. (Patterson 1988: 123) Following on from Sidney's death and Leicester's 'disgrace' and death, the cause of the 'Protestant' activist might look even more isolated, particularly when viewed from the perspective of Spenser's estate in Ireland. In a poem dedicated to Lady Pembroke and specifically addressed to the problem of revivifying the reputations of Sidney and Leicester, these anxieties surrounding the lack of surviving 'moniments' to past histories of the nation must allude obliquely to the failure to include Sidney properly within the image of the island nation, and perhaps more specifically the failure to commemorate Sidney with an actual monument.[23]

It is also a part of the ironic displacements that I have associated with the idea of translation. The two nationalisms identified by Patterson are articulated together in 'The Ruines of Time'. If the figure of the 'ruin' in Spenser's ruin poems - 'The Ruines of Time' and 'The Ruines of Rome' is intended as a metaphor or metonymy of the world's destruction, then the 'moniment' is an attempt to transcend the temporal by

[23]In his book on the early modern English death ritual, *The Art of Death*, Nigel Llewellyn says of Sidney's funeral, 'Such was its success and so powerful were the images produced by de Bry that a permanent monumental body in the form of a sculpted tomb was never erected.' (Llewellyn 1991: 68) However, as Nigel Llewellyn's work on the death ritual indicates, both here and elsewhere, the funeral is not really a sufficient replacement for the overwhelming importance of the monumental body in the form of the tomb and I do not really follow his logic in relation to Sidney's missing tomb. In his essay on Tudor and Stuart royal tombs he is keen to highlight the importance of the monumental body in the repairing the damage done to the fabric of the state by the fragmentary experience of death (Llewellyn 1990). Sidney's lack of a permanent tomb would not necessarily be compensated for by the ephemera of print and a funeral.

re-establishing those ruins as a firm part of the contemporary setting, to avoid the ironies and anachronisms that attend the ruin. Whilst of course in the monument as 'moniment' or 'admonishment', some of the functions of the ruin are contained within the monument itself - the warnings of the *contemptus mundi*. Unlike the monument, the 'moniment' has a temporal inflection.

This secular movement, if we are talking about the desire to monumentalise Sidney, is understood in 'The Ruines of Time' within a religious framework as indicated by the very last sonnet of the poem, 'the envoy'.

> Immortal spirite of *Philisides*,
> Which now art made the heavens ornament,
> That whilome wast the worlds chiefst riches;
> Give leave to him that lov'de thee to lament
> His losse, by lacke of thee to heaven hent,
> And with last duties of this broken verse,
> Broken with sighes, to decke thy sable Herse.
>
> And ye faire Ladie th'honour of your daies,
> And glorie of the world, your high thoughts
> scorne;
> Vouchsafe this moniment of his last praise,
> With some few silver dropping teares t'adorne:
> And as ye be of heavenlie off spring borne,
> So unto heaven let your high minde aspire,
> And loath this drosse of sinfull worlds desire.
> (673 - 686)

The 'broken' moment of mourning at Sidney's funeral, is transcended here not by the erection of a physical monument in the form of a tomb but in the monument of Spenser's verse. Sidney is celebrated within the framework of the *contemptus mundi*, in a way that also echoes the *momento mori* tomb. Such tombs would be split so that underneath an effigy of the buried person there would be a skeletal reminder of 'this drosse of sinfull worlds desire'. The monumental body of the tomb, which is an attempt to repair the ironic disjunctions of death and grief, is revealed as inevitably moving towards decay and anonymity. By the same token, the 'drosse' of desire is displaced, placed undeneath, with the funerary monument transcending the vulgar

materiality of the rotting body. Just so in Spenser's poem the 'high minde' of Phillisides aspies to transcend the 'sinfull world'. This final stanza in 'The Ruines of Time' bring its themes of complaint and celebration together in an attempt to contain the awful moment of Sidney's death. Here again we are reminded though that it is precisely a monument to Sidney that is lacking. Instead Spenser is giving us 'this moniment'. Inasmuch as a Spenserian 'moniment' is not a monument, but a warning, an admonishment, Sidney is not laid to rest in the poem. Like the *genius loci* of Verulamium, he is left to demand justice. His ghost, like that of Hamlet's father, insists that the time which is 'out of joint' be repaired.

If the ruin embodies the anachronism of a structure that lives on outside its immediate context - a temporal anachronism in space, then the 'moniment' in Spenser's poem is an attempt to repair this disjunction. In 'The Ruines of Time', however, we get a constant anxiety over an inability to read the monuments of past ages - they are no longer there, or they are nameless - they are not a firm foundation. In this way the poem underlines the ironies of England's position as the inheritor of the *translatio imperii*. Camden's stated intention in the *Britannia*, 'to restore Britain to its Antiquities, and its Antiquities to Britain, to renew the memory of what was old, illustrate what was obscure, and settle what was doubtful, and to recover some certainty in our affairs,' may in some senses be shared by 'The Ruines of Time'. However, instead of restoring stability, Spenser's poem seems to disturb the foundations of the nation. Camden is seeking a *recognition* between the nation and antiquity, yet as we saw at the beginning of the poem the narrator is unable to recognise the *genius loci* of the nation's greatest ancient city - he does not know who she is. The space of the contemporary nation does not match up with the locations of antiquity - even the rivers have moved. The ironic movements in the poem that I have tried to describe - the irony of the isolated western kingdom as the new Rome and the irony of the failure to monumentalise Sidney - seem to illustrate the futility of this nationalist project.

ii. Translated geographies in 'The Ruines of Time'

In looking at Spenser's 'The Ruines of Time', I have sought to outline a relationship between the spatial trope of the ruin, and another process of metaphorisation - translation itself. Their dual and related roles in constituting the space of the nation as ironic, rather than self evident, becomes available in Spenser's treatment of the *translatio imperii* and in the uses he makes of the antiquarian, chorographic project associated chiefly with William Camden. The relationship between these two concepts or structures - translation and the ruin - is self evident to most readers within a Judaeo - Christian tradition, harking back as they do to the narrative of the fall of the Tower of Babel in Genesis, chapter 10. Since that narrative, the Tower of Babel has come to signify two largely contradictory notions - a striving for some kind of unity in communication - a universal language, and also, of course, the inevitable failure of any such venture - unity and dispersal.

Unsurprisingly, as a writer engaged constantly with the problems of translation, it is Jacques Derrida who has begun to think again about the connections between the ruins of the fallen tower and translation.

> Telling at least of the inadequation of one tongue to another, of language to itself and to meaning, and so forth, it also tells us of the need for figuration, for myth, for tropes, for twists and turns, for translation inadequate to compensate for that which multiplicity denies us. In this sense it would be the myth of the origin of myth, the metaphor of metaphor, the narrative of narrative, the translation of translation, and so on. (Derrida 1991a: 256)

The story of the Tower of Babel, then, is not one figure amongst others but can be seen as the condition for figuration itself, whilst indicating at the same time the inadequacy of any act of figuration. Inadequation, or inadequacy - the inability of language to be consistent with itself - is perhaps the condition for language *as*

metaphor. In this way then for Derrida, translation is itself one way of 'translating' deconstruction. In his 'Letter to a Japanese Friend', in which he is trying to think through for his friend and colleague, Toshiko Izutsu, how one might translate deconstruction into Japanese he writes - 'I do not believe that translation is a secondary and derived event in relation to an original language or text.' (1991c: 275) Instead he is suggesting in his work the *primacy* of translation. This is what the 'originary' moment of Babel is mobilised to signify in Derrida's work - the non-commonsensical notion of an original translation. It is an extension of Benjamin's notion of 'translatability' beyond the realms of the purely literary translation (Benjamin 1973). Individual words, and language itself are always in translation - their meanings not inherent but extrinsic, elsewhere. Although translation is 'inadequate to compensate for that which multiplicity denies us', it is nonetheless inescapable - it has already happened.

Translation indicates a movement beyond the word as a location for signification in itself. Translation, thought in this way, questions the ability of any language, or any speech act, any piece of writing, to maintain its own integrity and as such it can be brought to bear on ideas of nationality and nationhood that rely on the integrity of a national language. Translation reveals only the fraught nature of the boundaries between languages, the inability of a language to close itself off from the rest of the world. No language is an island.

At this stage I want to borrow a phrase from Edmund Spenser, and, more recently, from Richard Helgerson. In Spenser's question to Gabriel Harvey - 'Why a God's name, may not we, as else the Greeks, have the kingdom of our own language?'[24], there is already available the model of a *national* language that is always in translation. That is, translation is not a secondary event here, but something that is a condition for

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[24]In his *Forms of Nationhood*, Helgerson uses the phrase, 'The Kingdom of Our Own language' as the title heading of his introduction and this question of Spenser's as an important introduction to his discussion of what he sees as a 'generational project' to re-invent England/Britain within the 1590s.

the existence of English itself as a national language. English is not self - sufficient just as England is not an island. It can only be *figured* as a national language through the imported metaphor or simile of another language - ancient Greek, just as England can only be figured as an island nation by importing various troping mechanisms - Virgil's famous formulation in the first eclogue of 'et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos' (and the British quite cut off from the whole world) as well as the *translatio imperii* itself. As English is inaugurated as having its own kingdom, at the pen of its resident Virgil, the borders of that kingdom are displaced/translated. They are elsewhere.

Spenser's *Complaints* volume becomes interesting then as it brings together the two notions of ruin and translation. It is the interconnections between the two troping mechanisms that I am interested in - perhaps particularly at the moment that it is published. In terms of a position within Spenser's production of his own career, the volume sits uncomfortably between the two halves of the *Faerie Queene*.[25] It is also published in the aftermath of the Armada which saw Elizabeth at the height of her imperial pretensions, pretentions which were ironically indifferent to calls for greater imperial practice in terms of overseas expansion.

It is a volume that is certainly concerned very much with translation. Spenser's sonnet sequence, 'The Ruines of Rome', published as part of his *Complaints* volume, is itself a translation from the French - Joachim du Bellay's *Les Antiquitez de Rome*. Du Bellay was a principal member of the *Pléiade* group of French poets who, from the mid sixteenth century onwards attempted to promote the vernacular French as a viable language for poetry. In 1549, du Bellay published his *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoyse*, a French equivalent to Sidney's later *Apology*. His subsequent work, which consisted of the first sonnet sequence in French, entitled *L'Olive*, as well as *Les Antiquitez* and a sequence of fifteen 'visionary' sonnets, which Spenser also

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[25]See Richard Rambuss's *Spenser's Secret Career* for an elegant and involved discussion of the ways in which Spenser's texts produce a career for him, and how his position as colonial official in Ireland interrupts at the same time as it strengthens that career. (Rambuss 1993)

translates, is an attempt to fill out this programme of rewriting the vernacular as a literary language. This is more than a straightforward nationalist project however, an attempt to re-invent the nation. Like Sidney in English after him, this is a concerted attempt to place the role of the poet in an important position within the formation of the burgeoning nation state. Du Bellay enacts this programme, however, as a kind of translation. His two terms of reference are the Rome of Virgil and the Petrarchan Italian Renaissance. These are two 'types' of the national poet which the *Pléiade* group look to for a model. Again like Sidney then, the *Pléiade* project does not build on existing domestic traditions but rather rejects those in favour of the invention of a new tradition that takes its impetus from a humanist version of antiquity. Spenser's involvement in these developments is indicated in the complex publishing history of his translations and adaptations from du Bellay.

Spenser's first published work appears in the *Theatre for Worldlings* in 1569. This work itself has a complicated publishing history. The original text was Dutch, published in 1568 but appeared almost simultaneously in French translation. The English version, as well as containing the long prose piece by the original Dutch author, Jan van der Noot, and a dedicatory epistle to Queen Elizabeth, contained three different sets of translation by a young Edmund Spenser. There are seven 'Epigrams' which are translations from Petrarch's *Rime* 323, but which rely on Clément Marot's French translation of the same verses. Clément Marot, slightly older than the Pléiade group, was known to have possible protestant sympathies and despite close involvement with the French court, was also often in exile in Italy and Geneva. There are eleven sonnets which are translations of du Bellay's *Songe*, and then a further four sonnets which are adaptations of the Book of Revelation. The 'Epigrams' are reprinted in the 1591 volume of *Complaints* as 'The Visions of Petrarch', and the eleven sonnets in the same volume as 'The Visions of Bellay'. In fact, as the poems in the *Theatre* are anonymous it is only this later publication in Spenser's own volume that has allowed identification of the earlier published work, leaving the adaptations in

sonnet form of the Book of Revelation open to question in terms of authorship but conventionally attributed to Spenser. The poem 'The Ruines of Time', published for the first time in the *Complaints*, is in no sense a direct translation from any of these sources but clearly borrows a lot from them in terms of its form, its theme and its language . It, too, is a meditation on the transience of the material world and the ability of poetry to transcend mortality in its function as a memorial or monument. It is a working out of some of the themes of the *Theatre for Worldlings* within a narrative of the British nation. As such, it enacts some of the contradictions of the English protestant nation, separated from the continent but, in that separation, implicated in the ongoing Reformations and Counter Reformations of the sixteenth century.

The complex editorial task of sorting out a chronlogy for these translations and adaptations, whilst clearly important in order to establish these cross cultural connections does not fully do justice to the complex relationships between the texts involved.[26] Translations like this demand to be seen in contexts other than mere equivalence in language. One way of looking at them would be to see them in the light of a growing tradition of poetry, written within a context of religious reformation, and also of exile. The destructive imagery of the Book of Revelation haunts all the texts, not just Spenser's four sonnets. The authors involved were also all involved in some sort of exile, all precipitated either directly or indirectly by the reformations of the sixteenth century. The theme of the world's transience is then endlessly translated between the texts and between languages as the protestant Reformation and Catholic counter Reformation make their various impacts on different national religious cultures. The Reformation can be seen here as an important vehicle for translation, reliant as it is on interpretation and re-interpretation of the written word. Luther's commentaries on the bible could be seen as 'translations' and the translation of

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[26]I am indebted to the editors of the Yale edition of Spenser's shorter verse for their account of the complex publishing histories of these poems. See also Bath 1988 for a discussion of the some of the translating impulses that impact on Spenser's poetry, with particular reference to the transmission of emblematic images through the various editions of the *Theatre for Worldlings*.

scripture into the vernaculars of Europe was an important feature and motivation of the Reformation. Walter Benjamin draws on this in 'The Task of the Translator', where he remarks that, 'The interlinear version of the Scriptures is the prototype or ideal of all translation.' (Benjamin 1973: 82).

As well as seeing equivalence in all these translations one might look for difference. That is to say that although all these texts were commonly involved with the processes of Reformation, the particular national and cultural contexts in which they were produced would result in differing attitudes to the biblical text, to Rome, and to the act of translation itself. In du Bellay's *Antiquitez*, the lost mistress of Petrarch's sonnets becomes the city of Rome itself which is imagined as an 'imperial mistress.' The translation of this into an English context has fresh implications for England's religious separation from the mistress of Rome, causing Spenser to characterise Rome as 'decidedly sleazy' in the words of the Yale editors. For example, in sonnet 28, which compares Rome to an aged oak, du Bellay stresses the positive qualities of age - majesty and dignity. In Spenser, the oak is ravaged and debauched.

> But halfe disbowel'd lies above the ground,
> Shewing her wreathed rootes, and naked armes,
> And on her trunke all rotten and unsound
> Onely supportes herselfe for meate of wormes. (383 - 386)

This particular depiction of Rome is clearly part of an English protestant tradition of depicting the church of Rome as the whore of Babylon. To look at translations, I would then argue, demands a sense of anachronism - an awareness of the way texts survive into alien contexts, moving beyond their original moments and boundaries. The cultural exchanges unleashed by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation move across borders of time and space in constant re-interpretations of western history, of both Classsical and Biblical inheritance, as well as the more immediate medieval past.

In England, the establishment of a state religion under the Tudors moves to separate England from the continent - a move that underlies the alterations in the Spenser translation of du Bellay given above. There is then a radical tension in the formation of the English protestant nation state in the sixteenth century in terms of its relationship with the continent. If the Reformation can be experienced as a mode of translation, of re-interpretation and cultural exchange, then the English secession from the Roman Catholic church can equally be experienced as a form of closure - a cutting off from the cultural influences of outside, the wider continent beyond the 'sceptr'd isle' protected by the sea. Helgerson is identifying this anxiety when he discusses Samuel Daniel's version of the trope of England as an 'island nation'. Whilst, he says, that he can find no English author willing to depict the English as barbaric outsiders - 'a vile race deservedly confined to their island rock' - Daniel displays an awareness that other nations could perceive the English in this way. Helgerson, in *Forms of Nationhood*, quotes from Daniel's *Poems and A Defence of Ryme* the following words from the mouth of the cynical character, Philocosmus.

> Is this the walk of all your wide renown,
> This little point, this scarce discerned isle,
> Thrust from the world, with whom our speech unknown
> Made never any traffic of our style?
> And is this all where all this care is shown,
> T'enchant your fame to last so long a while?
> And for that happier tongues have won so much,
> Think you to make your barbarous language such?
> Poor narrow limits for so mighty pains. (from Helgerson 1992: 35)

The little world of England scarce seems able to contain the large scale project of inventing a national language through poetry - a kind of nationalist poetics - and yet it is precisely this geographic image of the island nation, 'thrust from the world', that sustains England's claims to a separate(d) national identity.

The footnotes to the famous John of Gaunt 'This England' speech in the Arden edition of *Richard II* indicate the extent to which England as an 'island nation' was both a

popular concept and a useful way in which to imagine the nation, England *as* nation, in the early sixteenth century, although the use of this trope clearly extends well beyond this period. Each line from this speech almost needs a page to itself in order for the editor to indicate and explicate the numerous possible sources of the various tropes contained within the speech. Of course, as we have come to expect from Shakespearean textual scholarship, not one of these sources is decideable. The usual doubts surrounding the chronology and the availability of texts, which render impossible the task of discovering who might have read what and when, are exacerbated in this particular instance by the wealth of material available. The Arden editor, Peter Ure, is quite right not to resolve any of the relationships between the parallel texts, but to leave questions of chronology and influence open, stating instead that 'In one of its aspects, the relation of England to the sea, the speech is part of *a growing tradition* which pictured England as Queen of the Seas.'[27] His footnotes, at this point, tend rather to list analogous texts with their individual uses of the various tropes used within the text including the dominant trope of the island nation. This is a more 'spatial' mode of editorial practice than the customary 'temporal' insistence on the importance of chronology and provenance although Ure might, of course, understand this spatiality in terms of a failure in the editorial project in search of origin. The bottom-heavy pages, where editorial material overshadows the famous speech, are clear testimony to the over-determined nature of these metaphors, metonymies and similes. Their meaning is endlessly displaced beyond the boundaries of the text and outside the playhouse. It also shows that we are, ourselves, still part of a Reformation culture, that understands texts in ways which demand further texts. The modern scholarly edition of a Shakespeare play bears a striking resemblance to the Protestant annotated scriptures. As well as being produced within a culture swamped by variant exegeses of the Word, it is in just such a culture that these lines are received. What has

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[27]His conflation of England with a female ruler is, of course, illuminating as this chapter will go on to connect the island nation trope, borrowed or 'translated' form Virgil's first eclogue with the messianic Astraea of the fourth eclogue. England, in Ure's formulation, contains both these Virgilian inheritances.

changed is that there is now an indeterminacy about the very existence of that Word, lost beyond exegesis. Although modern editorial practice has often sought to locate the meaning of the Shakespearean text in some imagined depth beyond the printed text, the techniques employed only ever reveal the impossibility of that task, as they expose more and more how the meaning of any given text is not located beyond it or behind it but elsewhere. The boundaries of the text are always permeable. The 'sceptr'd isle' of the Shakespearean word is open to textual invasion, the less happier lands of 'source' materials and alternative texts always prepared to make their presence felt.

More than ever, in this instance, the source-led task of the editor seems to be inappropriate. The image is so extensively in use in the period that to limit it within precise attributions and to identifiable borrowings and adaptations between authors would be failing to see the way in which the trope in question works. The broad metonymic trope of the island as nation (and the nation as island), protected by the sea and divided from the rest of the world was seemingly available for any literate person to use, regardless of where they read, heard, or even saw it. It is the dynamic relationship between exterior and interior in the trope which becomes an important focal point for the imagining of the space of the nation. Of course context is important in any particular reading of an individual instance of the trope but that context cannot be limited to narrow matters of intertextual borrowings between authors but should rather be understood within a wider conception of intertextuality that refuses to acknowledge the borders between text and context. As this thesis will make clear, an understanding of the formation of the space of the nation cannot be restricted to textual matters in the strict sense of the word. Rather, other forms of spatial representation and organisation all have a relevant role to play including, perhaps most importantly, cartography as well as other visual imagery, defensive programmes and visual technologies. For example Marvell's late use of the island nation image in *Appleton House* is predictably different in tone and implication to the 1590s version in

Richard II, but an interrogation of the differences cannot be limited to traditional editorial concerns surrounding literary provenance. Marvell's belatedness, indicated by the emphatic nostalgia at this point in the poem and by its positioning within the interpretative structures of the story of the Fall ('Oh thou, that dear and happy isle / The garden of the world ere while / Thou paradise of foúr seas, / Which heaven planted us to please, / But, to exclude the world, did guard / With watery if not flaming sword; / What luckless apple did we taste, / To make us mortal, and thee waste?'), cannot be explained only as a point in the history of this trope within a literary heritage - a purely literary artefact. Rather, the discourse of the island nation is here being framed by specific events - the civil wars, Fairfax's retirement, Marvell's own self fashioning as a renaissance poet *après* la lettre. That is not to say that former uses of the trope do not impact on later instances but rather that they themselves are implicated in framing the wider contexts of imagining the space of the nation, the demise of which project Marvell seems to regret in the 1650s whilst at the same time attempting to write himself and Fairfax into it.

We can, however, recognise an ur-text for this trope of the island nation. Discovering this does not, though, help locate the nation within the island in a way that is any more decided. The originary moment of this trope already marks the island out as a 'translated geogrpahy'. As every scholarly text of *Richard II* will point out, the origin for this understanding of either England or Britain as a nation divided from the rest of the world comes from Virgil's first eclogue.

> et penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos
> (And the Britanni quite cut off from the whole world) (Virgil 1980 (c.42BC): 32-33)

The island geography of England is then, always in translation - it is not indigenous but rather marks histories of invasion. Neither is it 'natural' or self-evident - it is written. In locating this trope's origins in Roman pastoral poetry, there can be no recourse to a

commonsensical plea that Britain just *is* an island. Whilst this might be the case, its status as an unified island nation has always been in dispute. The representation of the space of the nation as an island cannot be said to conform in any way to a simple model of mimetic representation, but rather the complex dialectical process whereby the space of the nation is produced within discourse.[28]

In Virgil's *Eclogue*, the soldier Meliboeus is regretting his exile from the land and in his description of possible destinations, Britain is linked with 'thirsty Africa', Scythia and somewhere called the Oaxes, which might be a conflation of two different rivers, one in Armenia and the other in Syria. Scythia was, of course, synonymous with barbarity. Britain's island is a location characterised by barbarous extremity and isolation. The 'whole world' that it is cut off from is the proximate world of the Roman empire, and what the Greeks would have called the *oikumene*, the world as it centres on the Mediterranean.

In a recent book, Claire McEachern has talked about the anxieties behind the nostalgia of the Gaunt speech in *Richard II*. She notes the shifts between 'this' and 'that'.

> For all England's proximity, however, Gaunt must admit that the presence he conjures is not near to him. It is not 'this' but 'that' : "That England that was wont to conquer others,/ Has made a shameful conquest of itself." (McEachern 1996: 6)

These temporal shifts in the nature of the nation and Gaunt's apparent belatedness, can also be seen in spatial terms, missed by McEachern at this point in her argument. She glosses 'this' and 'that' only in terms of temporal differences in England's situation. To see it rather in spatial terms would relate to the ability that Helgerson identifies in

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[28] I would like to come back to this later in a discussion of the relationship between cartography in the period and other visual representations of the 'island nation'. The technological achievements in sixteenth century cartography may in some way be seen as one of the means by which the representation of the land as an island nation comes to produce the space of the nation as such. The new status of the map as an accurate representation of the real cannot be removed completely from the histories of invasion and of nation building that the map is implicated in. These are the same histories that are involved in the metonymic trope of the island nation.

Daniel - to view the island from outside. The trope of the island nation, so important for the formation of the space of the nation as such, is then also a location wherein the relationship of the nation to the outside world could be formulated. It announces, at the same time, England's vulnerability to invasion as well as its impregnability. The translation of the text of the island nation enacts these differences. As English supremacy is announced, the location of that announcement is shifted elsewhere - beyond the text, beyond the island, outside of the nation. Instead of being a typological heir to Rome, England might have an alternative origin in Scythia, or else in Virgil's northern Italian fields scarred by civil war - a bleak stopping off point before a life of exile.

An ironic rewriting then of the western movement of the *translatio imperii*. It does not celebrate an imperial triumph in the one island nation - the triumph of the Tudors - but rather complicates it, renders it ironic, by writing the triumph into the continental protestant *contemptus mundi* tradition - a tradition whose stock in trade was translation and exile. The ruins of the translated empire do not necessarily stand as the foundations for a new Rome, a new imperial England under Elizabeth, but indicate the gaps concealed under the unity of the new imperialism.

Here I am helped by the primary meaning of translation in the *OED*, which is not the attempt to match one language for another, but is a physical movement from one place, person or condition to another. (The example which they give is from Brerewood (1612) 'The translation of the imperial seat to Constantinople'. In this the word 'translation is clearly referring to the *translatio imperii*). In this process of physical movement, as it is illustrated in 'the Ruines of Time', we may encounter a further related inflection of the word 'translation' which is to do with change and alteration, transformation ('Bottom, thou art quite translated'). The definition given in Thomas Cawdrey's 1604 dictionary is simply, 'altering, chaunging' (Cawdrey (1604) 1976: 124). It is in the gaps between these variant meanings of the word 'translation'

that we may wish to situate the irony of the *translatio imperii* as it refers to England, that world outside the rest of the world. Translation means both equivalence and alteration at the same time. It is as impossible to disentangle one inflection of the word from the other as it is to write a perfect translation.

These gaps in meaning are the gaps indicated already in the story of the Tower of Babel - the difference between congruence and alteration, between a process of recognition and what Derrida calls 'inadequation'. In playing with these different and sometimes opposing definitions of 'translation' I am helped yet again by one further definition of translation. In the scholarly language of renaissance rhetoric, translation indicates metaphor itself, or figurative language in general. In 1538, Sir Thomas Elyot defined 'metaphora' in his Latin/English dictionary as 'a translation of wordes frome their propre synifycation' (another *OED* example). One of Cawdrey's definitions of metaphor in 1604 was 'the putting over of a word from his proper and naturall signification to a forraine or improper signification.' (Cawdrey 1976: 82) Translation indicates the movement outside the proper, the indigenous, the 'kingdome of our own language'. The ironic space of the trope, inadequate to its referent.

As recent work along the interdisciplinary borders between human geography, literary studies and critical theory has made us aware of the uncertainties of representation as it relates to space, we might want to pay attention to the representational strategies of the period in which modern conceptions of space and geography were only just being formed. Historians of early modern cartography have made us aware of the status of the map as rhetorical rather that as transparently mimetic.[29] It has been the work of this section of the thesis to place the new geographical and spatial understandings of the early modern period, one aspect of which was Camden's chorographical antiquarianism, within the contexts that might have informed that rhetoric of

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[29]I am of course thinking primarily of the extensive work of J.B. Harley. His understanding of maps as discursive is developed with specific reference to early modern maps in the essay, 'Meaning and ambiguity in Tudor cartography' in Tyacke 1984.

geographical representation. The new geographies of the sixteenth century are implicated in the processes of translation and Reformation that also frame Spenserian poetics. That Spenser could employ them in the production of his own space of the nation is not then a deliberate, ideologically informed misreading of a blank map of the nation. Rather, it is one intervention amongst others in the continuing interactions between politics and religion, literature and geography. To refer to these interactions as 'translations' is to highlight their status as figurative, inadequate to any idealised or discrete nation space.

iii. Maps and the English Reformation

In 1501, at the very beginning of the new century, Katherine of Aragon arrived in Britain from Spain. The intention was that she marry the heir to the throne and so establish an important dynastic link between Spain and England. The heir to the English throne at that point in time was Henry VII's first son, Prince Arthur who was to die just five months after Katherine's arrival. The symbolic importance of this marriage was underwritten by its position in the consolidation of Tudor power. Marriage had already featured as a key strategy in the maintenance of credible rule for the first Tudor king, Henry VII, in his marriage to Elizabeth, the daughter to the Yorkist Edward IV.[30] A series of spectacular civic pageants was organised to celebrate Katherine's entry into London, her marriage to the young heir to the throne and the success of the new Tudor dynasty, now guaranteed by this propitious union between England and Spain. This celebration has been called 'the supreme masterpiece of English civic pageantry.' (Anglo 1969:97) It was highly elaborate, involving heraldic display, stage machinery and various speaking parts played by actors. The fourth station of this extended pageant featured Katherine's betrothed, Prince Arthur.

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[30]Geoffrey Elton points out that this marriage was not essential to the foundation of the Tudor line, but rather consolidated it. Henry made sure he was firmly in place as the new king in his own right, following Bosworth, before he married Elizabeth as a kind of final seal on the event. (Elton 1962: 19) Notwithstanding this order of events, the marrage remained important retrospectively as a key moment in the settlement of the English succession in the Tudor line, bringing an era of harmony after the chaos of the Wars of the Roses.

He was positioned at the centre of what would appear to have been a map of the cosmos, taking the form of a large wheel. Looking up to this were two astronomers armed with contemporary instruments for measuring the heavens - a 'tyrangell' and a quadrant. Above the wheel God the Father was accompanied by two angels. The wheel itself displayed the various constellations, 'as they be appropred and namyd in bokys of astronomy, having lynys, sume red, sume whight, deducte from iche sterre, planet, and signe, and after the aspect that naturally iche of them hath unto other.'(quoted in Anglo 1969: 77) At the epicentre of this grand scheme, accommodating astrological prediction as well as astronomical measurement, was the image of Prince Arthur in full armour, seated on a golden throne. This figure has been interpreted as a representation of *Sol Iustitiae*, incorporating images of Christ as Redeemer, of the Universal Catholic Church and the notion of the just ruler.[31] These grandiose claims for Arthur's place in the scheme of things would have been readily understood by the foreign visitors, if not in detail then certainly in spirit. In his exhaustive account of the pageants, Sydney Anglo asks how much the Spanish visitors would have understood of the pageants arranged for their benefit and comes to the conclusion that even if the doggerel English verse of some of the performances was inaccesible to them, the visual language of the displays was part of their own cultural vocabulary.

> ... the astral display of the fourth pageant, with its bears, lions, horses, serpents, fishes, mermaids, bulls, virgins, naked men, and rams 'stikked full of sterrys', was based upon the planispheres with which all cultivated men would have been familiar.(Anglo 1969: 95)

The network of exegetical possibilities contained in this map of the cosmos was part of the wider medieval world, accessible to the Catholic communities of Europe as a whole. Looking at these cross cultural connections within the framework of translation set up in the previous section, it might be said that the ironies of translation were not

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[31]See Anglo 1969: 77 - 85 for an extended analysis of the complex of images achieved in this one pageant.

yet foregrounded within this pre-Reformation context. That is not to say that the frames of reference of visitor and native were wholly synchronous but that they were recognisable, and that the processes of cross cultural transformation were not then experienced as translation, in an ironic sense. Knowledge of geography and cosmography was subsumed within traditions and systems of exegesis that were not yet overdetermined by the cultural and national divisions of post Reformation Europe.

Katherine of Aragon was of course to play a crucial, if unhappy, role in the long story of Reformation that involved the break up of this common symbolic language. After Prince Arthur's death, just five months after Katherine's arrival, she married the new Prince of Wales, the future Henry VIII. Their divorce in 1532, and Henry's resultant excommunication a year later are the focal points for the initiation of the English Reformation, and the transformation of England from being a participant in the wider Catholic community of Europe into a country marked by factionalism, religious and political, both internal and external.

At the end of the sixteenth century, after a century of division and controversy, Reformation and political upheaval, maps of the cosmos were, however, still being used within an iconography of power associated with the Tudor monarchy. They formed an important part of the wealth of symbol involved in what has been called the cult of Elizabeth. Increasingly in her reign, the armillary or celestial sphere is taken as an image of the power of the Tudor monarch. Its position as a conventional *impresa* in the Renaissance is of religious significance, as an image of the eternity of God's universe. In portraits of Elizabeth, or associated with the cult of Elizabeth, as in William Segar's portrait of Sir Henry Lee, the organiser of the accession day tilts, the celestial sphere comes to signify Elizabeth as defender of the faith. (Strong 1987: 138-40) One of the more striking instances of this image as it becomes encompassed within the cult of Elizabeth as virgin empress is in the portrait which has come to be known as the 'Ditchley Portrait', painted in *c.*1592 by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. [*fig.*

1] The Queen wears an armillary sphere as an earring, an accessory. In this portrait, I will go on to argue, her temporal power is no less decentred than this rather trifling reference to her spiritual authority. Although within the fictional space of the portrait she apparently stands on a globe, what we actually see is a foreshortened view of the south of England, concentrating on the coastline. Roy Strong is undoubtedly right in his interpretation of the intended interpretation of this imagery - 'in the 'Ditchley' portrait Queen, crown and island become one. Elizabeth is England, woman and kingdom are interchangeable.' (Strong 1987: 136) The armillary sphere in her ear is a quick reminder, if one were needed, of the spiritual source and justification of her temporal and imperial control of the island nation. And yet, this is a far cry from Prince Arthur's position at the centre of the cosmos. It is a mark of the distance covered by the English Reformation, in the intervening century that Elizabeth is found, not in place of the sun, but with her feet planted firmly in Oxfordshire.

In their article on Elizabeth's portraiture, Belsey and Belsey discuss Elizabethan imperial iconology in relation to contemporary cosmology. They claim that there is a marked difference between the temporal power invoked for Elizabeth in paintings like the 'Ditchley' and 'Armada' portraits and the incredible ambitions of some of the woodcuts of Elizabeth, like the frontispiece to John Case's *Sphæra Civitatis* in which she is displayed as God, 'the unmoved mover commanding the affairs not just of the realm, not just of the earth but of the cosmos.'. (Belsey and Belsey 1990: 31) Whilst it is right that the paintings concentrate on developing an image of Elizabeth as inheritor of the temporal mantle of imperial power, the *translatio imperii*, this power is always underwritten by a typology of rule in which God in heaven is linked with the monarch on earth in a way that fits in with what Foucault would recognise as 'similtude' or analogy and which Belsey and Belsey rightly see in the Case frontispiece. That typology is also present in the 'Armada' and 'Ditchley' portraits, if the stress is placed the other way around. [*figs. 1 and 2*] Analogical thinking depends on the ability to reverse the analogy completely. I am not then arguing against their article in as much

as it outlines the iconographical project of Elizabeth's portraiture. I am however claiming that in the break up of the order of similitude, alongside the arrival of the English Reformation and the new cartography, the analogical processes in which it is possible easily to identify Elizabeth as a type of the 'prime mover' become increasingly strained. Belsey and Belsey claim that it was possible to move easily between Ptolemaic and Copernican organisations of the cosmos, whilst retaining a sense in which the cosmos is still in place, still organised according to an ultimate 'mover', whether external or internal to the concentric circles of the universe. Again this is true, but it is also the case that an awareness that it might be possible to decentre power, to change who or what the cosmos is organised around, invites the very notion of difference into the heart of analogical claims to power.

This shift is involved in the same translated geographies of the *translatio imperii* that are ironically present in Spenser's 'The Ruines of Time'. That the south coast of England comes synechdochally to stand for the nation as a whole, and for Elizabeth's position as inheritor of the *translatio imperii* specifically, is the result of the intervening narratives of Reformation and translation, of invasion and defence, of the birth of the English protestant nation and its accompanying imperial projections. The moves northwards and westwards, that position Elizabeth as a 'northern princess', result in Elizabeth wearing the cosmos as an earring rather than appearing at its centre. Alongside the epistemic breaks that characterise the Reformation, the conflicts over exegetical frameworks and the attendant ironies of translation, occurs another epistemological development that is apparently unrelated - the development of a modern notion of cartography. In this section of the thesis I would like partially to examine the ways in which these developments may be related. If Camden and Spenser were related within the broad framework of a discourse of antiquarian chorography, this is only one instance of the interrelatedness of all texts in the production of national space. James Duncan and David Ley have written that in the interpretation of landscape it is necessary to have 'an imbrication of, among others, cultural, economic

and political processes.' (Duncan and Ley 1993: 12) Cartography and chorography are not unaffected by wider processes of societal change. In their turn, the development of these epistemologies has its impact on the birth of early modernity alongside the Reformation, the cultural translations of renaissance humanism and the long development of the nation state.

In his book, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, John Gillies has argued that the 'new' geographies of the European renaissance were not the only mode in which it was possible to imagine the spatial organisation of the world and the heavens. The older 'medieval' traditions like the *mappae mundi* existed alongside and in some cases overdetermined the interpretations of the modern atlases. That is, the breakthrough in knowledge signalled by increased interest in cartography in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not necessarily, or evenly across space and time, supersede older traditions. (Gillies 1994) I am not arguing therefore that with the onset of the Reformation the older 'symbolic' cartography is discarded to be replaced by a new accurate, objective cartography. Rather that these two developments are articulated with each other. The 'new' geography of accurate cartography, of empire and exploration is as overdetermined by events, texts and histories outside of cartography per se, as were the medieval *mappae mundi*.

In his essay on the use of cartography in the courts of the early Tudors, Peter Barber makes the point that the above mentioned pageant featuring Prince Arthur is one of only two surviving references to maps being used in the court of Henry VII. (Barber 1992: 27)[32] This situation changes under Henry VIII and maps become more and more popular both as administrative tools and as artefacts in their own right. This situation is further augmented in the 1530s as a direct effect of the English Reformation. Throughout the early part of his reign maps were used in court

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[32]The other instance which Barber cites is when John Cabot shows Henry a 'caart' as part of his argument to persuade the king to fund a voyage to Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.

pageantry as previously, but their practical use was fairly dormant in comparison with the continent.[33] However, following on from the events of 1529, England came under ever increasing threat from its Catholic neighbours and the potential for invasion was ever present. The traditional tactics of the English monarchy of relying on one or other of France or Spain in order to ward off the potential hostitilities of the other was no longer available to a country that had severed its links with the Catholic Church. This sparked off numerous projects to map the coastlines of England in preparation for the potential threats. These maps concentrated particularly on those areas most at risk and most in need of defence - the south coast. These chiefly took the form of manuscript maps detailing the dangers of the coastlines and also the potentials for the construction of fortifications along England's coasts.[34] In 1539 the intermittent production of maps of the south coast was augmented into a large scale project organised by Thomas Cromwell which was to commission 'sadde and expert men of every shire in Ingland [and Wales] beyng nere the see ... to view all the places alongest the secost wher any daunger of invasion yslike to be and to certifie the sayd daungers and also best advises for the fortification thereof.' (quoted in Barber 1992: 34) These maps, and mapping programmes, whilst intended for what we would call practical purposes - defence and in some cases administration of the king's estates - could also be quite decorative as in the surviving long views of the south west coast of England. [*fig. 3*] The long views of the south west coast commissioned by Henry VIII reveal the duality of the island nation. Concerned primarily with the defence of key strategic coastal points the map contains many details of coastal fortifications. Plymouth in particular is shown to be highly fortified in the face of the threat from the sea. Also the rivers and estuaries leading down to the channel are exaggerated in size, indicating the map's concern with the possibilities of invasion. By the same token however, the foreground of the map is

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[33]Barber makes the point that there was a programme in place that insisted on their practical usefulness, particularly in Thomas Elyot's *The Booke Named the Governour*, but the actual instacesof map use were slow to catch up on this apparent awareness of their possibilities.

[34]See Barber 1992 for an extensive rehearsal of the various maps produced in this period. From his account it seems that the majority of the maps produced, or at least those that have survived were indeed of the south coast.

dominated by two large war ships, replete with the English flag, an indication of the island nation's indestructibility.[35] So, at the same time that the very existence of the maps indicates an awareness of England's vulnerability and isolation, written into these maps is a version of England's isolation as triumphant and impregnable. In an important sense, a tradition of English cartography was born alongside the Reformation. If, on the continent, it had been the voyages of discovery which had promoted a wider 'map-consciousness', in England it was an awareness of a new sense of identity, a new sense of location in relation to Catholic Europe.

The imagining of the south coast of England as a location for invasion and defence, its position as England's interpenetrated border, is an image of the post-Reformation protestant nation. The ironic nature of this geography of the island nation which I attempted to outline in relation to the *translatio imperii* in the previous chapter, is available here in the early maps produced under the auspices of Henry VIII. Portraits of Elizabeth I were later to make use of the coastline of the south of England as part of the celebration of her as the Western heir to the *translatio imperii*. [*fig. 4*] The ironies attendant on that inheritance, pointed out in my discussion of the Spenser poem, are part also of this other context of defence and invasion, the separation of the isolated island nation from the mainland of Catholic Europe. The complicated development of the trope of the island nation has contexts that extend then beyond intertextual borrowings. The construction of the space of the nation as an island, and the metonymic concentration of that space into the south coast of England are clearly implicated in these wider histories of cartography, of defensive programmes and visual technologies. As Elizabeth is represented standing on the south coast of England in imperial splendour, she is being located not only within the simple equivalences that Strong insists upon - 'Elizabeth is England, woman and kingdom are interchangeable'

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[35]These very large ships have not been reproduced in *fig. 3*. These manuscript maps are so large that it is near impossible to see the whole thing all at once. (BL MS. Cotton Auustus I.i.35-38)

- but within the anachronistic histories of translation and invasion that characterise the English Reformation itself.

Portraits and engravings of Elizabeth which develop the idea of her inheritance of the *translatio imperii* make frequent use of the map of the south coast of England. This was occasioned in some ways by the English success over the threat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Depictions of that momentous confrontation frequently use maps in the same way that the imperial portraits of Elizabeth seem to do. William Rogers' engraving of 1589 has Elizabeth wearing an imperial crown, standing between the two imperial posts with a map-like depiction of a coastline extending behind her. This is repeated in Crispin van der Passe the Elder's engraving, produced seven years later in 1596. [*fig. 4*] The timing of this particular engraving means that it is not certain whether the coastline behind the queen represents the south coast of England or the English military victory of that year over the Spanish at the port of Cadiz . However I would argue that as this is undecideable - the map is in no way an accurate depiction of any particular coastline - it is still the south coast of England that most powerfuly represents the Tudor monarch, and so is in some ways the most likely reading of the image without wishing to diminish the topical importance of imperial imagery emerging after the battle at Cadiz. At least it is a reading that appears to me to be more powerfully available than placing the Queen in Spain. That, I think, would be iconographical nonsense. The queen's imperialism is, however, already associated with the coastline prior to the Armada victory as is shown by the frontispiece to John Dee's 1577 *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Art of Navigation.* [*fig. 5*] This places the queen on a boat just off the coast. The book itself has been seen as instrumental in the idea of building up an image of the imperial power of the Tudor monarchy, placing the arts of navigation at the service of an apparently expanding, but as yet imaginary, empire. (Belsey and Belsey 1990: 15)

Larger portraits of Elizabeth also refer to the Armada directly. Although they do not use maps, the way in which the land is represented on these portraits is clearly dependant on the techniques of cartography. In some senses the Armada was experienced as a cartographic multi media event. Immediately after the defeat of the Armada there was a flurry of artistic actvity, depicting the battle at sea.[36] One of the most notable productions was the *Expeditionis Hispanorum in Angliam vera descriptio Anno Do: MDLXXXVIIII* (1590). This contained detailed maps of the south coast, depicting details of the battles alongside an account written by the Florentine historian Petruccio Ubaldini. Lord Howard, the Lord Admiral, had given his own account of the battle to Ubaldini, making this account the official version of events. In turn these maps were translated into more perspectival views for a series of tapestries, again commissioned by Lord Howard, to be hung in the House of Lords[37]. The 'Armada' portraits of Elizabeth are clearly part of this activity, although they more obviously celebrate the providential nature of the victory over the Spanish, containing allusions to Elizabeth's status as imperial. They are linked to the other depictions of the Armada through the use of panoramic views of the coastline, in the 'windows' behind Elizabeth. There is also the wide panoramic painting of the speech at Tilbury. Here Elizabeth is shown giving her famous speech before the battle, dwarfed by the white cliffs of the south coast of England. Both these portraits of Elizabeth make use of the new technologies of map making and surveying in the celebration of Elizabeth as 'mistress of the seas', the heir to the imperial crown, especially in the light of God's providence revealing itself in the miraculous defeat of the Spanish Armada. That the Spanish fleet ran to ground on a British coastline was all the more useful for this kind of celebration. That it was not an English coastline was unfortunate of course, but entirely possible to ignore.[38]

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[36]See Rodriquez-Salgado 1988, especially chapters 14 and 16, for evidence of the full impact of the Armada on artistic activity.

[37]Destroyed by fire in 1834, the only record of these tapestries is a series of eighteenth century engravings. See Armada 1988: 243 and 252

[38]I will return to this slippage in my discussion of James's adoption of the island nation trope in his project for the union.

The map is perhaps an important place in which it is possible to see the extension of the trope of the island nation beyond the purely literary. The visual image of the coastline of England does not exist only in a dependant relationship to the prior formulation of England/Britain as 'island nation'. It is involved in texts and contexts that extend beyond the Virgilian inheritance that is always invoked when a literary critic comes across some version of the 'sceptr'd isle'. What can also invoked are the complex histories of defence and invasion, of imperial expansion and internal division; the mapping of the nation.

Complicating the written trope and its relationship to the visual image of the island nation, is the map and its relationship to 'the real'. Whereas the use of the island nation trope in poetry, drama, 'literature' can easily be understood as figurative, and therefore open to numerous translations - adaptations, twists, ironies and anachronisms - this is not so clear in the map which insists on a particular relationship between land and representation. Recently, a lot of work has been done on the ideological significances of mapping and on the conventional, as opposed to essential relationship between any one map and the land of which it is intended to be a representation. Historians of cartography, particularly J. B. Harley and David Woodward have been seeking to place their discipline within wider debates on the status of representation, through engaging with poststructuralist theory. In his essay, 'Deconstructing the Map', Harley argues that recent increases in technological ability in the field of cartography have led to 'a new arrogance in geography about its supposed access to reality.'(Harley 1992: 231) Harley's project is to disillusion geographers and cartographers about the status of their knowledge and to implicate that knowledge in wider social significances. Maps are no longer to be seen as representations innocent of social interference or of involvement in wider practices of representation.

> We should begin to deconstruct the map by challenging its assumed autonomy as a mode of representation. From the viewpoint of human geography, maps are perhaps better understood - and used - not so much as discrete or 'unique' images but as accents within a wider system of representation. (Harley 1992: 232)

The early modern map has proved a particularly fertile ground for this kind of move in the interpretation of cartographic images.[39] Their obvious 'inaccuracies' to the twentieth century eye, the decorative matter surrounding the actual map, the accompanying texts and the maps' and atlases' obvious involvements in systems of patronage all make it easy to recognise how the cartographic image might be implicated in the wider systems of representation that Harley wants us to look at, as well as the ideological nature of mapping in itself. The maps themselves direct the viewer to the outside contexts, seemingly absent from a more straightforward map. In part, Harley's project is to read this obviousness of ideological implication in the early modern map into the more opaque maps of the twentieth century which eschew the decorative in favour of the brutalist style of a scientific modernity. But as Harley points out himself in his essay, the western map, at least from the seventeenth century onwards, cartography as a kind of knowledge, or as a discourse in the Foucaultian sense of that term, makes particular epistemological claims, that have lead up to the scientific map as we now have it.

> From at least the seventeenth century onward there was an epistemic break in activities such as cartography and architecture, and European map makers increasingly promoted what we would describe today as a standard scientific model of knowledge and cognition. The object of mapping is to produce a 'correct' relational model of the terrain. Its assumptions are that the objects in the world to be mapped are real and objective, and that they enjoy an existence independent of the cartographer; that their reality can be expressed in mathematical terms; that systematic observation and measurement offer the only route to cartographic truth; and that this truth can be independently verified. (Harley 1992: 234)

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[39]See in particular Harley 1984. Coming from the other angle is, of course, the ground breaking essay by the literary scholar, Richard Helgerson, already referred to in the introduction. (Helgerson 1992)

The early modern period saw then the origins of a discourse of cartography, or rather what Foucault might call a 'discursive formation', a system governing its own conditions of existence. Foucault's discursive formations define more than a related set of texts but rather, as he puts it, 'characterize a discourse or group of statements by the regularity of a practice.' (Foucault 1972: 74) The long history of cartography in the western world then encompasses a positioning of practices in relation to each other which insist on the accuracy of its own particular world view. These practices involve the development of more and more accurate measurement tools, increased 'transparency' in the map image itself - to the extent that modern maps are now often modified aerial photographs, bypassing the traditional graphic skills of the cartographer and the denigration of what Harley calls 'a "not cartography"'.

> ... the primary effect of the scientific rules was to create a 'standard' - a successful version of 'normal science' - that enabled cartographers to build a wall around their citadel of the 'true' map. Its central bastions were measurement and standardization, and beyond there was a 'not cartography' land where lurked an army of inaccurate, heretical, subjective, valuative and ideologically distorted images. Cartographers developed a 'sense of the other' in relation to non-conforming maps. (Harley 1992: 235)

Harley's deconstruction of the map attempts to denaturalise the relationship between the map and the land, to effect a relationship between the two that is no longer essential or inevitable, but rather positioned within wider networks of texts and social practice. However, his misreading of deconstruction leads him to return to a rather conservative understanding of the relationship between text and context. In juggling with the two figures of Foucault and Derrida, Harley is clear about what each one is useful for, within the demands of his argument. In his essay, he moves between three clearly defined stages in his argument. In the first section he relies on the early work of Foucault in *The Order of Things* to describe cartography as a discourse with its own rules of formation. In the second section on 'Deconstruction and the Cartographic

Text', he attends to the rhetorical nature of all sign systems and in the final section he moves 'outside' the text again to position the map within social organisations facilitating the exercise of power, using some of Foucault's later, more 'political' work. In these shifts, Harley oversimplifies the implications of deconstruction for our understanding of the nature of representation.

> For the final stage in the argument I return to Foucault. In doing so I am mindful of Foucault's criticism of Derrida, that he attempted 'to restrict interpretation to a purely syntactic and textual level', a world where political realities no longer exist. Foucault, on the other hand, sought to uncover 'the social practices that the text itself both reflects and employs' and to 'reconstruct the technical and material framework in which it arose'. Though deconstruction is useful in helping to change the epistemological climate, and in encouraging a rhetorical reading of cartography, my final concern is with its social and political dimensions, and with understanding how the map works in society as a form of power-knowledge. (Harley 1992: 243)

In Harley's essay deconstruction is nothing more than an interpretative tool, and encouragement to see the norms of cartographic practice as a type of rhetoric. Early on in the essay he makes this clear when he states that, 'Deconstruction urges us to read between the lines of the map ... .' (Harley 1992: 233)This is no more, nor less than a model of all forms of literary criticism, a model which deconstruction places under a radical questioning. Deconstruction rather tells us that there is nothing between the lines; not that we can make sense of the main body of the text by looking at the margins, but rather that the text is itself marginal. To 'read between the lines' is to be involved in the very metaphysic of presence that deconstruction puts under erasure. As a result of this misunderstanding of what Harley clearly sees as the limited usefulness of deconstruction, Harley falls back on precisely the model of representation that he is at the same time attempting to eschew. Whilst he succesfully insists that the map is never a 'mirror of nature' but rather a construction with its own, overdetermined rhetoric, he replaces this scientific model with the idea of the map as mirror of social context. There is a clear dynamic in the final section of his essay in

which there is an internal/external relationship between text and context. Here he is involved in a misreading of Foucault.

> A mapless society, though we take the map for granted, would not be politically unimginable. All this is power with the help of maps. It is an external power, often centralized and exercised bureaucratically, imposed from above,and manifest in particular acts or phases of deliberate policy.(Harley 1992: 244)

Although he goes on to modify this slightly, placing maps as 'thoroughly enmeshed with the larger battles that constitute our world [...] not external to these struggles to alter power relations.', there is a sense in Harley's essay in which the map is seen as a tool of power rather than really being involved in the kinds of multiplications of power that Foucault talks about in, for example, *Discipline and Punish* - the miniscule disseminations of power relations into the smallest details and practices of social life. Foucault's work on power seeks to eliminate the subject as agent of power and/or dissent.

> Foucault's point is simply that 'there is no single locus of great Refusal, no soul of revolt, source of all rebellions, or pure law of the revolutionary.' Resistance does not operate outside power, nor is it necessarily produced oppositionally; it is imbricated within it,[...] (Young 1990: 87)

What is true for Robert Young's 'resistance' is true for all discursive formations and their relationship to power in the work of Foucault. Power does not exercise control from above, organising discourse according to a preordained set of ideological tenets. Rather it is the other way around - power is produced within practice.

If Harley's work tends to maintain the difference between text, or map and (social) context, these are precisely the kinds of differences that are questioned in deconstruction. Harley's claim that ultimately he is interested only in a social history of the map does not hold up to the radical challenges of deconstruction which refuse to

characterise any given text as *determined* by external forces but rather place the question of the borderline between internal and external under a question mark. In my readings of maps in relation to other texts, both other maps and other kinds of text, I want then not to be seen as concentrating purely on a rhetoric of cartography or on a vocabulary in which it becomes possible to represent the land but rather to place these intertextual relationships beyond the binary oppositions of real and representation, the literal and the metaphoric. For me, the map is emblematic of the difference between the ideal and the material, the representational and the real. The visual technologies that are involved in the processes of cartography - measuring tools, optical instruments and drawing tools - organise and delineate our social spaces at the same time as they represent them. Maps are not so much determined by their contexts, as they interact with them in an way that is engaged rather than passive.

A better model for Harley's social histories of cartography then could be Bourdieu's fields of cultural production, which deny any cultural artefact, or any discursive system, any real autonomy from a social context, whilst also avoiding a deterministic view of the cultural artefact which relates it either to a narrow economism or the concerns of a hegemonic interest. The development of any field of cultural production, of which cartography might be one, is seen as related to wider developments - what Bourdieu might call the field of power - but can never be reduced to an absolute homology with that field. (Bourdieu 1993) The development of cartographic knowledge as it occurs in early modern Europe is then developed in relation to a social context, rather than as an autonomous discursive system, as Foucault would describe it in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. It cannot, however, be reduced to being solely determined by those relations. Rather cartography contributes to the ongoing processes of change and epistemological shift that the events known as the Reformation and the renaissance are also part of. It is the ways in which these two fields of cultural production interract in the particular instance of particular Elizabethan mappings of the island nation that I am interested in here.

iv. Maps and the 'Ditchley' portrait

If the image of the virgin empress standing on the south coast of England is one of the supreme images of Elizabethan imperialism, that image does not only exist within purely literary or artistic systems of signification but is also placed within other contexts in which the space of the nation is produced. It takes part in the production of the space of the nation. The most obvious text in which to locate this development is in the sixteenth century county atlas produced by Christopher Saxton. It is on the strength of this achievement as well as the literary development of the trope of the island nation, that the images of Elizabeth on the south coast are able to achieve their significances.

Christopher Saxton's atlas of county maps was first published in 1579. It was the culmination not only of Saxton's own work in the field but also of an increased administrative use of maps. The most notable collector of these maps was William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Prior to the publication of the printed atlas Burghley had already started to collect maps together in a proto atlas format. The most famous of these collections is known as the Burghley-Saxton atlas, acknowledging Saxton's many contributions to the collection. (Tyacke and Huddy 1980: 26-7) In some of these maps the emphasis was on defence, following on from the concerns of the 1530s plats ordered under the authority of Henry VIII. [*fig. 3*] The map of the Humber, reproduced in Sarah Tyacke and John Huddy's book, is clearly a survey intended to help with the improvement of coastal defences. It is also the prototype of Saxton's eventual county map of Durham, as printed in the Atlas. When the atlas did arrive in 1579 it was emphatically announced as an Elizabethan project, stamped with the authority of the monarch. The frontispiece features an imperial reprsentation of Elizabeth, flanked by figures representing the new technologies of surveying and

cartography. Each of the county maps in the following pages of the atlas make a prominent feature of Elizabeth's coat of arms. The order in which the maps are organised within the atlas is also interesting. They go from south to north, the maps of the south coast of England given prominence as the first maps in the atlas. Later atlases, such as Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Greate Britaine*, were to work within a roughly alphabetical system. The principles of organisation employed in Saxton's atlas clearly betray a gradation of importance, in which greater emphasis is placed on these vulnerable parts of England, which also come to be an accoutrement of Elizabeth's imperial imagery. In the 'Ditchley' portrait of Elizabeth, the connected interests of cartography, imperialism and the defence of the coastlines rendered necessary by the English Reformation are brought powerfully together. [*fig. 1*] In this portrait, as already desribed, she stands over a map of England which borrows heavily from Saxton, and that only has the south coast showing. Concerns with invasion and the (im)pregnability of the island are being depicted here at the meeting point of the English Reformation, the development of visual technologies associated with early modern cartography and the peculiarly insular imperialism of the Tudor monarch. This southern emphasis so clearly marked in the map as it appears on the 'Ditchley' portrait is also apparent in Saxton's wall map of England and Wales printed in 1583. Although the map is in a straightforward cartographic projection, the ships that surround the coastline of the island are looked at from south to north. They are also depicted as larger and in more detail around the south coast, the largest and most detailed ship hovering around the Isle of Wight. The apparent naturalness of this pictorial organisation hides an ideological concern with the south coast as the site of potential invasion, the emblem of the imperial nation and the marker of English separation from the continent.

The 'visual economy' of the 'Ditchley' portrait also bears closer examination, as it too betrays some of the anxieties centering on the trope of the island nation and its synechdochic condensation in the white cliffs of the south coast. In the later years of

Elizabeth's reign, one of the principle ways in which her imperial pretentions were both signalled and embodied was in the royal portrait. It is also the embodiment of Elizabethan power that is still most powerfully available to us. The image of Elizabeth that is with us still in the late twentieth century is that of the stylised Byzantine portraits of the latter end of her reign, her body flattened out into surfaces of encrusted jewellery, her ghostly white face impossibly ageless. Perhaps one of the most comprehensive and demonstrative of these statements of Elizabethan imperialism was the portrait that has come to be known as the 'Ditchley' portrait. As Sir Roy Strong says of it - 'in the 'Ditchley' portrait Queen, crown and island become one. Elizabeth is England, woman and kingdom are interchangeable.' (Strong 1987: 136) In this portrait, Elizabeth is depicted standing on a two dimensional map, obviously dependant on Saxton's maps of England and Wales, although here it is projected onto a kind of broad globe so that the country recedes until the north of England is completely invisible, or would be if we were able to see 'behind' Elizabeth to the end of the globe. Her feet appear to land on the map at Ditchley in Oxfordshire which has led to the conclusion that it was a portrait commissioned by Sir Henry Lee, the organiser of the tilt celebrations, who lived in Ditchley. (see Yates 1975) To the right of the picture is a piece of writing, the fragment of a poem which seems to explain the symbolism of the painting. It is a metatextual commentary contained within the painting itself, referring to the mixed weather conditions over the queen's head as well as to the map below her feet.

The prince of light. The Sonne by whom thin[gs]
Of heaven the glorye, and of earth the [grace?]
Hath no such glorye as [...] grace to go [...]
Where Correspondencie May have no plac[e]

Thunder the Ymage of that power dev[ine?]
Which all to nothinge with a worde c[]
Is to the earthe when it doth ayre r[]
Or power the Scepter, not of wr[]

This yle of such both grace [...] power

> The boundless ocean [...] em []
> P[...] p[rince?] [...] the [..] ll []
> River of thankes retourne for Springes []
>
> Rivers of thanckes still to that oc[ean...]
> Where grace is grace above, power po[wer.] (quoted from Strong 1987: 137)

This sonnet does appear to make the analogical connections that Roy Strong wants it to - linking queen, country and cosmology. The poem also seems to make reference to the process of representation itself as it pertains to the power of the monarch's visual presence - 'Thunder the ymage of that power dev[ine]?'. It is inviting a certain way of looking at the collection of images available on the surface of the painting, drawing them in to queen herself. It is heraldic in intention. Everything becomes a symbol of the divine power of the Tudor monarchy, and of Elizabeth in particular. Although when it comes to the representation of the queen as the sun or the prince of light the poem tells us 'Correspondencie May have no plac[e]', the poem seems to be all about 'correspondencie' - the positioning of metaphor in relation to the central image of the queen herself. In fact then, the poem is closing off interpretation - its ability to read the weather as an image of royal majesty renders any position outside of this interpretative scheme untenable. Everything is the queen, including clouds, rain, sun and coastlines. This is the collapsing of categories that attends analogical thought.

Yet a question persists as to how we are to read this fragmented sonnet, to read the sonnet as fragment? It is in ruins, a fragmentary map of Elizabethan England, of Elizabeth's England. To attempt to reconstruct it, to fill in the gaps would be to engage in a similar project to those who have recently reconstructed Shakespeare's map of Elizabethan England - the Globe theatre. Like them it would be possible to infer the gaps in our knowledge from other fragments of Elizabethan England that we

do have, creating our own palimpsestic text with a spurious unity.[40] Roy Strong has obviously made a valiant attempt to do just this in his transcription of the poem. It seems to me, however, that this text refuses to be reconstructed. It is resistant to any attempt to resolve it with reference to an authored intention beyond the marks on the canvas. One cannot get beyond the space in between the letters - the letters are just not there, they have been erased. The whole point of this heraldic style of painting is in its ability to be seen, to present itself. Authorial presence is not required. Nor is it implied, or asked to be inferred. The imperial nation is in ruins, no longer available to us as a coherent whole. One might be able to look through the paint, to x-ray the canvas to find some original mark but it is this very notion of looking through that I want to put under question in looking at this portrait.

One reason why I feel that the poem is resistant to this kind of analysis is perhaps because of the 'economy of vision' in which it is participating. Although the poem invites us to look beyond the visual symbols in one sense, the painting is itself part of a visual culture in which looking beyond, or through is to a large extent anachronistic. Lucy Gent has written that it is inappropriate to judge most sixteenth and early seventeenth century English painting by the classical standards of linear perspective.

> Italianate classicism correlates with visual and spatial models, associated with the familiar regime of fixed-point perspective, that are robust to the point where they can look like norms and be treated as norms.[...] Such a criterion, the hybrid product of Plato and Alberti, is scarcely appropriate for Albion's visual arts circa 1600 ... (Gent 1995: 378-9)

English art of the period cannot be looked through like an Albertian window, the window of fixed point perspective. Surface is more important. The spatial relations

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[40]For a discussion of the newly rebuilt Globe theatre as the extension of the long term project to locate a single 'authentic' Shakespeare, allied to the seach for a single Shakespearean text see Holderness and Banks 1997. They argue here that the rebuilding of the Globe is misguided if it is an attempt to find the single authoritative lcation for the performance of Shakespearean drama, not least because of the paucity of material evidence on the form the playhouse took, but also because of the indeterminacy and multiplicity of the plays' material and ideological locations.

between the elements on the surface of the painted board are given priority over the creation of an illusionary space. Gent points out that, in this economy of vision, writing is often placed directly onto the surface without any border. Whilst this is not the case in the 'Ditchley' portrait which contains the sonnet within a cartouche, I feel the effect to be much the same. The cartouche is clearly fictional in relation to the other visual economies available in the portrait. Unlike say, a Bellini portrait, it is not possible to assimilate the framed piece of writing into the realism of the space depicted. Its frame is not part of a larger fictional setting for the portrait. The illusionary space proper to the perspectival oil painting is not being attempted. Rather than a looking through, we have a looking across. The writing on the board and the juxtaposition of two or more viewpoints on the one surface, destroy any sense in which the frame of the painting might be seen as a window, through which one is looking on to a real scene. This allows for such things as the symbolic mixture of impossible weathers behind Elizabeth - it appears to be both sunny and stormy at the same time. It is in some senses the visual economy of anachronism. Fixed point perspective with its links to linear narrative, to a realism reliant on the unities of a linear narrative, the possibilities of a 'realistic' time and space, cannot contain the anachronistic in the same way as this visual economy of juxtaposition and surface.[41]

The 'Ditchley' portrait is clearly a painting within this type of visual economy. The queen dominates the painting but is not positioned in real space. Rather she is operating symbolically in conjunction with the map that she is apparently standing on.[42] What it does do, however, is bring into question the categories by which Lucy

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[41] It reminds me of the peculiar symbols that BBC weather forecasters use, seemingly only when they are desparately trying to account for the vagaries of the Scottish climate. Frequently they have a dark cloud, underneath which is both a raindrop and a snowflake, and over which are rays of sunshine. This collection of symbols is presumably intended to suggest the changeability of the weather, collapsing all probable manifestations into a single moment. Whilst this occasionally seems to occur in reality whilst walking around Glasgow, this is also the visual economy of anachronism. Linear time collapsed into an atemporal set of spatial relations, rather than translated into the *historia* of fixed point perspectival art.

[42] In describing the painting it is difficult to avoid the spatial model of fixed point perspective, according to which the queen is standing on a map of England, the globe receding 'behind' her. It is possible to infer that this kind of attempt at a naturalistic description of the spatial relations of the

Gent divides native Albion traditions from the rationalisation of Albertian perspective. As she herself is careful to stress, the period in question is one of transition but rather than setting up an opposition between the two traditions, the 'Ditchley' portrait might be seen as articulating them in more complex ways. In her essay Gent marks the difference between pre and post perspectival art as that of an increased rationalisation of space in the fixed point perspective, the movement from 'likeness to measurement, from description to science' (Gent 1995: 389) In discussing the mathematician, John Dee's valorisation of the new economies of vision afforded by the new geometry, Gent says that, 'The close looking that intercepts the grainy textures of things has a very lowly status compared with the panorama afforded by sight that has been rationalised.' In the 'Ditchley' portrait, seemingly a part of the older tradition of English painting, all surface and no geometry, we do however have the supreme example of the Italianate 'rationalisation' of space - the map. The map, as an object, disturbs the relationship between the two economies of vision as Gent explains them. Since Samuel Y. Egerton's 'rediscovery' of linear perspective, it has been apparent that the techniques of projection that are involved in both mapping and perspectival painting developed alongside each other. The technical geometrical skills overlap to a great degree. Also the principle of organising the chaos of three dimensional space within Euclidean planar geometry is also shared between the two. Both are involved in what Gent has characterised as the movement from likeness and description to measurement and science. Although of course in contemporary language, maps were often referred to as 'descriptions'. In the practice of early modern cartography there was an increased emphasis placed on the accuracy of the representation in the artifact of the map in terms of its supposed geometrical coherence with the land represented. This is mirrored in perspectival art by the increase of emphasis placed on the coherence between the angles on the surface of the painting and the relative distances between

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painting would not be as relevant to a contemporary audience as the symbolic significance of their positioning. The painting remains the same but, in our descriptions, we see it differently. The overwhelming norm of fixed point perspective renders our attempts to make this differentiation, to see differently with the eyes of a stranger, difficult and seemingly perverse.

the objects depicted. Of course, whether there is an actual referrent in 'real life' is insignificant in achieving the 'effect' of a real depiction in terms of a coherent geometry, whether on a map or on a painting. That is, it is possible to create a map or painting which is logically coherent in terms of its geometry but does not necessarily correspond to what can be understood as the real world. The meticulously worked out perspectival settings for many paintings of the Italian High Renaissance are often fictional architectures in which mythological events, or events from scripture, which cannot have been 'observed' are shown to be taking place. In early twentieth century art, the empty settings of the Italian surrealist, Georgio de Chirico, hint at the haunting fantasies that inhabit linear perspecive - the unreality of its depth, its pretence to mirror a space of the real. The logical coherences of the two related economies of vision - cartography and linear or fixed point perspective, are self affirming, without any necessary relation to the 'outside' organisation of objects in a wider space. They have an interior logic that is not necessarily or straightforwardly referential. In both forms of geometrical projection it is the internal coherence that is important, although it is a coherence that is achieved as such by its epistemological status as the truth about vision.

In the 'Ditchley' portrait then the queen has a powerful new tool at her disposal. The ordered space of the map speaks the truth about the land and that truth is that she dominates the land, she stands above the map. However the complexities of the visual economies as they are available on the surface of the painting work to undermine this reading. She is not part of the map of *her* country. The land disappears from under her, as she floats above it, like the archetypal detached signifier. The words of the explanatory sonnet cannot be directly mapped onto the iconography of the painting in any straightforward move of correspondance or recognition although nether is the 'weather' in the painting readable *without* this commentary. The narratives of nationhood cannot be told in these kinds of visual technology which resist linear narrative, that deploy their meanings in uneasy spatial relationships. Rather, as I will

go on to argue in the next section, the spaces opened up, both by the new spaces of cartography and the translated geographies of the Reformation, are able to contain powerfully ironic critiques of the centralising forces of Elizabethan imperialism, an imperialism revealed as already ironic in one of its supreme expressions - Elizabeth/Astraea standing on the map of her kingdom. The map belongs to a different epistemological order from the overall effect of the painting, which is heralic and analogical. It is for this reason that I see it as escaping from beneath Elizabeth, eliding her domination.

v. Essex in Ireland

In an engraving of Robert Devereux, the second earl of Essex, produced c.1599-1600 by Thomas Cookson, the earl is depicted as leader of the English troops in Ireland. [*fig. 6*] He is astride a horse and behind him, in the immediate background, is a battle enacted along a coastline. This is presumably a representation of the suppression of the Irish rebellion. The image is a celebration of Essex's success in Ireland, itself part of the increased push fully to colonise Ireland that is associated with the later part of Elizabeth's reign. That this celebration of military glory in some way achieves its authority through the sponsorship of the crown is ackowledged in the cartouche in the top left hand corner. In this list of Essex's titles and offices, he is called by his recently acquired title, 'her Majesties Lieutenant and governor generall of the Kingdom of Ireland'. The 'governor generall' was effectively the queen's representative in Ireland, embodying all the symbolic and executive powers of the monarch. Of course, militarily, Essex's presence in Ireland had been far from an unqualified success, and at the same time as there were doubts in London as to his effectiveness, or even his loyalty to the crown, reports were reaching Phillip II of Spain that Essex may, at some time, have considered an alliance with Spain. It was suggested that he might have been open to colluding with Spanish interests in Ireland (Hume 1899: 656). To represent Essex as present in Ireland is to invoke more than a simple, unitary model of political representation, in which his authority derives directly from the English crown. The

rumours and counter rumours that surrounded him at this point render any visual representation of his authority, however carefully couched, highly unstable.

Beyond the coastline of Ireland lie two other maps which also depict military endeavours undertaken by Essex, at least nominally on behalf of the queen. To the right of the engraving, underneath Essex's coat of arms is a map of the port of Cadiz, here clearly dated 1596. The ships surrounding the port on the map are the English fleet sent out to intercept the Spanish Armada, scuppering its attempts to attack the English coastline before it had even started. Though this was ultimately unsuccesful in as much as the Armada still managed to attack in the following year, within its own terms the endeavour was considered a relative success; a number of Spanish ships were sunk, the town of Cadiz occupied and held to ransom and the wages of the sailors were covered by the profits made. This measure of success was rare at this point in England's naval history. Essex was celebrated for his important part in the success of the mission and, although the queen herself expressed misgivings about the outcome, typically ambivalent about any military success achieved abroad, the terms within which the victory was celebrated were set up in Essex's own words. The venture had been fought, wrote Essex, in support of Elizabeth as 'mistress of the seas, which is the greatness that the queen of an island should most aspire to.' (quoted in Cheyney 1914: 63) Essex is working here within the broad frame of refernce belonging to the trope of the island nation. His particular interpretation of the trope produces a slightly different form of imperialism to that produced in the images of Elizabeth associated with the Armada, and available also in Spenser's 'The Ruines of Time.' The peculiar insularity of the sceptr'd isle, the separateness of the imperial island, is reread here as the island becomes a focus for an expansion across the seas. The 'queen of an island' is also 'mistress of the seas' or, importantly, this is what she '*should* most aspire to.'.The gap between the two different uses of the imperial island nation topos is available as an implicit warning in Essex's use of the conditional. The ambivalence that I have already identified with the trope, as it calls attention at one and the same

time to England's vulnerability and her impregnability, is foregrounded in Essex's implication that Elizabeth is not *yet* 'mistress of the seas'.

The other maps take Essex further afield to the expedition to the Azores that followed on from the defeat of the Armada. It was an attempt to cripple the rest of the Spanish navy in order to prevent them from mounting such an attack again. This time the mission was not nearly so succesful. It may even be possible to read this comparative lack of military success into the two different projections used in the maps. The map of Cadiz captures the port clearly. Its defences are laid bare and the positioning of the English fleet around the harbour indicates their military precision. In its detail it resembles the maps prepared in the defence of England's own coasts. In the Azores the fleet, here clearly named, float somewhat ineffectually underneath a series of nondescript lumps in the ocean, differentiated only in the labels attached to them. The most tactically important island, Trecera, is unavailable at the back of all the other lumps, hidden from the English fleet and barely available even to us in retrospect, as the readers of this engraving. Whilst the islands expedition was also heralded as somewhat of a success, the Queen was understandably even more equivocal in her gratitude, as the ostensible mission was completely ignored, and the Spanish fleet were left largely unscathed by the episode. Essex returned to some measure of disgrace, and it was following this, and the unrest at court occassioned by his return, that he was sent to Ireland, a punishment disguised as promotion, exile disguised as authority.

These maps, and the engraving as a whole, circle around the central event of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, whilst not making any direct reference to it. The plethora of coastlines surrounding Essex both echo and rival Elizabeth's own coastline - the south coast of England. If, after the Armada, the south coast of England was increasingly made a part of the celebration of Elizabeth as an Astraean empress of the northern island, then its displacement here in favour of Spanish, Portuguese and Irish coastlines, the sites of Essex's endeavours, marks a barely perceptible shift in the authority of the

image. Essex's status as representative of the monarchy in Ireland might ensure that the ultimate authority for the power of the image may rest with the Queen. However, this portrait seems to shift uneasily between representation and replacement. It is difficult to read this image without acknowledging that it was produced around a year before his eventual rebellion, when he attempted precisely to effect such a move from representation to replacement. Willy Maley and Andrew Hadfield have discussed the peculiar position of the vice regal figure in early modern colonialism, with specific reference to Ireland, and to one of Essex's predecesors, Sir Henry Sidney.

> Was Sidney standing for the absent power of the crown, or a manifestation of its necessary displacement? Or was he seeking to usurp the authority of the English prerogative based at Westminster by claiming greater legal power for the office of a vice-royalty in Ireland? The question could be rephrased; was the vice-royalty a representation of the English Crown or an alternative to it?(Bradshaw et al 1993:13-14)

In Maley and Hadfield's terms, the word 'alternative' indicates the potential for disagreement in the English imperial moment. The colonial project in England is not represented in the literature handed down to us as a monolithic narrative of conquest and reform, but is rather run through with disagreement and conflict. For me, the word which is still more resonant than 'alternative', is 'displacement'. This spatial metaphor for the disagreements between English courtiers and Irish colonisers, between colonisers and colonised, between different ideas of colonisation, attends to the translated geographies of the English imperial island as it is reread and rewritten in colonial Irish contexts.

Astride his horse, Essex is imperial. The stance echoes earlier portraits of Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, which in turn had made explicit reference to the iconography of Marcus Aurelius (see Yates 1975: 22). Whilst Essex may be 'Graces Servant' in the list of his virtues at the bottom of the engraving, he is also 'Gods elected'. The relationship set up between Essex and the absent monarch is, at best,

ambivalent in this image. At worst, he embodies, in this engraving, the displacement of English nationhood in the colonial context. If are able to identify ironies in Elizabeth's position as inheritor of the *translatio imperii*, and in the translated geographies of the island nation, then this engraving of Essex is pointing to these ironies, however obliquely.

If the theme of the imperial nation is restated in this engraving, its locations are shifted. The defensiveness of the Elizabethan inheritance, building on the defence projects of Henry VIII, the maps of the south coat of England, is here translated. The maps in the engraving present English imperialism with its pressing concerns - the twin Catholic threats of Spain and Ireland. Spain is next to Ireland, vividly presenting the nightmare possibilities of a collusion between the Irish chieftains and the Spanish monarchy. The acheived space of English nationhood, the defended island at the time of the Armada, is absent, and is instead replaced by the locations that most threaten that achieved space. That replacement is no simple substitution however as the coastlines mimic the protestant imperialism and transcendent isolation of the sceptr'd isle itself. The coastlines of Spain and Ireland are not so much a rival for the coastline of the south coast of England, but rather its doubles. As well as celebrating the usefulness of Essex, within the context of an English protestant imperialism and in the service of the English crown, this engraving also reveals the possibilities for that project's ruin. It places Essex in a position to combat these problems, but only at the cost of shifting the emphasis of the coastline away from the insularity of the south coast, and onto the sites of a more expansive conflict. This engraving does not admit the achievement of victory in the defeat of the Spanish Armada as the various Armada portraits of Elizabeth might do, but rather stresses the need for a continuous struggle against Catholicism - Spanish, Irish, or both. At the same time as this however there is the disturbing possibility that these are not just the sites whereon the imperial Essex can effect a protestant victory over the threat of international Catholicism, but that it is precisely from these locations that he might be setting up an alternative site as a power

base - one that, with its coastlines, disturblingly echoes Astraea's northern realm. The ironies of that translated geography, as made evident in my reading of Spenser's 'The Ruines of Time', are transferred here into a possibly more threatening 'should' - the geographies of English imperialism *should* be located elsewhere, and *should* acknowledge its status as translation, as having its origins elsewhere. The oblique suggestions of Spenser's ironic poetry that the geographies of England are always located elsewhere, are here transformed into a more insistent statement of English inadequacy.

vi. Spenser's at home in the Atlantic

Around eight years prior to the production of the Essex engraving, Spenser wrote the poem *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, a text which similarly disturbs the transcendence of the English island nation as the location of imperial virtue, questioning the 'original' status of that island nation. It too was produced in the context of an Irish rebellion. In 1589, Spenser had left Kilcolman, his estate in Ireland, as it was under attack. His journey to and from the English court and his Irish 'home' form the backdrop to Colin's journey and return in the poem.

In the texts that I have examined so far, I have tried to show how the developments in the mapping of the nation are implicated in other socio-historical developments of the sixteenth century - the English Reformation, the construction of Elizabeth's reign as the inheritance of the *translatio imperii*. These have been examined in relation to the tropes of ruin and translation, in which the status of the map as *representation* can be seen to be ideologically overdetermined, involved in particular constructions of the space of the nation. As England develops an imperial identity under Elizabeth, and after the Reformation, the trope of the island nation becomes an important topos in which that construction can come into effect. The figure of the map, on the Armada portraits, the 'Ditchley' portrait, the Essex engraving, and in the Saxton atlas itself becomes an important tool in the construction of national identities. However, its

histories of Reformation and division, ruin and translation present the trope of the island nation, and the map of the nation as a potential site for irony, as can be seen in my readings of the *translatio imperii* in Spenser's 'Ruines of Time' and in the replacement coastlines of the Essex engravings. In *Colin Clout's Come Home Againe* we can read one more way to read irony into the trope of the island nation. As in the Essex engravings, there is a curious doubling of locations and of coastlines in particular, but here the contexts of Elizabethan colonialism are brought much more to the fore. It is not simply that Ireland provides us with a particularly troubling double for the island nation, but that within the pastoral of the poem, the locations of exile and of home are never fixed. If, as Annabel Patterson suggests, pastoral is the language of exile, forever rewriting Virgil's first eclogue, then *Colin Clout* is one of its clearest examples (Patterson 1988: 118).

To use a term from psychoanalytic and, more pertinently, postcolonial theory, Colin Clout is one of the most 'unhomely' of pastoral exiles. To return home may suggest a resolution to the movement beyond the boundaries suggested by exile, and by the unhomely, but to come home 'againe' suggests the restlessness which defines the exile. In 'The Ruines of Time', the narrator did not recognise the *genius loci* of Britain's greatest city. It is this idea of misrecognition in the formation of nationhood that attends the need to return 'againe'. Nationhood is all about representations coming home.[43] For them to have to come home 'againe' suggests that there is nothing inevitable about the relationship between the nation and its idealised representation.

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[43]The most recent of these teleological moments of recognition which work to form the idea of the nation is the English football team's song, 'Three Lions', performed by the comedians, Frank Skinner and David Baddiel. Football's metonymic relation to the English nation is being projected into an ideal future in which the two - football and England - are no longer separated. The chorus continually repeats the phrase, 'Football's coming home.' Even here, in this triumphalist mode, there is a sense of misrecognition. Football is having to return home. It was not always there already. This misrecognition is transposed into a deliberately nostalgic register. The song begins with the far off sounds of a football crowd, getting ever closer. The chorus that insists that 'We can dance Nobby's dance / We can dance it in France' alludes to the former glories of English football being brought about *again* - at the World Cup in France. This telescopes an idealised past into the possibility of a glorius future, leaving the present moment of the nation in serious doubt as to its ability to sustain the myth of national prowess on the football pitch.

For Homi Bhabha, the reconceiving of the Freudian '*unheimlich*' within a postcolonial frame encapsulates 'the estranging sense of the relocation of the home and the world - the unhomeliness - that is the condition of extra-territorial and cross-cultural initiations.' (Bhabha 1994: 9) Although the moment of early colonialism does not involve the same degree of cross cultural confrontation as the post colonial, the same effect of estrangement may be witnessed. To read Bhabha's 'unhomely' back into the 'early colonial'[44] period of England's involvement in Ireland is not to ignore the histories of violence and repression that accompanied the formation of the British Empire, but to acknowledge its lack of firm foundations - 'uncanny' and radically dissociated from any essential ontological status even before it even began. By rereading the unhomely, Bhabha is able look at the effects of the radical displacements of cross cultural conflicts in terms which interrogate the status of 'home' as homeland. The home is that which becomes invaded.

> The recesses of the domestic space become sites for history's most intricate invasions. In that displacement, the borders between home and world become confused; and, uncannily, the private and the public become part of each other. (Bhabha 1994: 9)

Loius Montrose's reading of Spenser's poetry, and of *Colin Clout* and *Epithalmion* in particular, sees it as setting up a 'domestic domain'. He sees the poems as setting up 'a thematics of property, marriage and lineage' which enhances the poet's authorial voice (Montrose 1996: 95). For Montrose, this domestic space becomes more than the simple 'private' as opposed to public, but is instead an articulation of a contemporary ideology of 'the household' through which the new gentry of the sixteenth century would come to understand themselves. The interesting thing about Spenser's poem is

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[44]As cited in my introduction, the term 'early colonial' is taken from the introduction to the collection of essays, *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*. (de Grazia et al 1996: 5) Although elsewhere in the thesis I have stuck with the traditional forms, 'Renaissance' and/or 'Early Modern', the thrust of my project accords with the project of this collection of essays as it is set out in the introduction, in that I also want to pay attention to the 'object' and to material culture as equally important to the development of a 'Modern' subjectivity in the period. The term 'early colonial' seems paticularly appropriate then as I attempt to situate Spenser's verse in a wider cultural production of the space of England as imperial.

that he articulates this new mode of thinking in a courtly context. Colin's travels back and forth are linked figuratively with the oscillations of his rhetoric between courtly address and the forging of the domestic domain in the unprecedented location of the colonial estate. Montrose then is right to suggest that, 'In more senses than one, then, *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* is a poem of place', that is 'the literary inscription of a lived contradiction that is indissolubly social and subjective.' (102). However, the poem does more than simply rewrite the experience of pastoral in a colonial context, but uses these shifts in perspective to question the ontological status of the homeland, the island nation itself. That there are two locations and two homes in the poem, one centering on Cynthia and the other on the pastoral poet, Colin himself, is undoubted, but what will interest me here is the way in which these two dis-located locations together articulate a critique of the island nation, undermining its status as the chosen location, the inheritor of the *translatio imperii* , the world without the world. Its position *within* the world is precisely what the poem interrogates. I am not then so much interested in Spenser's 'experience' of Ireland, than in the construction of alternative perspectives from which to view the formation of the English nation state.

Colin Clout is written around the disgrace of another advocate of a more expansive foreign policy - Sir Walter Raleigh. Like Essex, Raleigh's plans for world domination were continually undermined by the careful strategies of the queen and her advisors. The poem's late publication, in 1595, four years after Spenser claims he wrote it, has been taken to be an indication of embarassment at Raleigh's 'disgraceful' marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton in 1592. The deliberate advertisement of this gap between writing and publication only succeeds in drawing attention to the problems between the Queen and Raleigh of course. The poem deals with the triangular relationship between transparent, though far from uncomplicated, allegorical representations of Spenser, Raleigh and Elizabeth I.[45] *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* was published

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[45]Jeffrey Knapp has suggested an alternative motivation behind the 'double dating' of this poem. (I am not sure whether or not Knapp intends 'double dating' to be an ironic comment on Raleigh's two lovers - the two Elizabeths.) He suggests that it might indicate the consistency of Spenser's

in a volume alongside 'Astrophel' and 'The Doleful Lay of Clorinda', two elegies for Sidney. In this long pastoral, or extended eclogue, Spenser has his shepherd/poet, or alter ego, Colin Clout tell, in conversation with other members of the 'nation' of shepherds (17), the story of his journey to Cynthia's court, enticed away from his pastoral location by the shepherd of the Ocean, and of his return to the pastoral location of the poem itself - 'home'. What might be expected from this narrative outline is something similar to the September eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender* in which the ambitious shepherd, Diggon Davie, gets his comeuppance for moving away from home and driving 'his sheepe into a farre countrye.'[46] The connections between the poems are evident in the relationships between the characters. In E.K.'s gloss to the September Eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calendar*, Hobbinol, Diggon Davie's interrogator in the poem, is described as the 'especiall good freend' of Colin Cloute. There is also a verbal echo of *Colin Clout*'s title in the September eclogue. Diggon Davie tells Hobbinol that in deserting his pastoral location for the 'farre countrye' he has suffered almost as much as his 'seely sheepe'.

> Hardly my selfe escaped thilke payne,
> Driven for neede to *come home agayne*. (66 - 67 my emphasis)

Colin Clout does, in its central section satirising Cynthia's court, eventually conform to this version of the journey and return narrative. Colin claims that the satire of court life in the second half of the poem is, like the September eclogue before it, intended as a morality tale.

> Cause have I none (quoth he) of cancred will
> To quite them ill, that me demeand so well:
> But selfe-regard of private good or ill,

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disapproval of the way in which the Elizabethan court functioned, and Raleigh within it, both pre and post disgrace. (Knapp 1991: 183) This might certainly account for the complicated ways in which it is possible to read Colin Clout's obvious anti-court satire back into the earlier text, *The Shepheards Calendar*.

[46]References to *The Shepheardes Calender* and *Colin Clout* will be given as line numbers in the text from now on.The edition used is the same as for 'The Ruines of Time', the Yale editionof Spenser's shorter poetry.

> Moves me of each, so as I found, to tell
> And eke to warne yong shepheards wandering wit,
> Which through report of that lives painted blisse,
> Abandon quiet home, to seeke for it,
> And leave their lambes to losse misled amisse. (680 - 687)

As in the September eclogue, the 'farre countrye' in this passage is associated with danger, with the possibility of losing, or leading astray, one's flock of sheep. It is also a place of vanity, of 'painted blisse', echoing the type of moral overtones that are available in 'Diggon's Embleme' at the end of the September eclogue - '*Inopem me copia fecit.*'[47] - and E.K.'s glosse on it which gives the reference as the story of Narcissus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Although, E.K. informs us, Diggon has not, like Narcissus, fallen in love with his own reflection, he uses this as his emblem 'as who that by tryall of many wayes had found the worst, and through greate plentye was fallen into great penurie.' Colin is similarly bereft on his return 'home'. He seems to have given up all hope of ever successfully wooing Rosalind. The poem ends with a lengthy meditation on the trials of love.

However, in the later poem, this pattern is not simply repeated. Although *Colin Clout* does contain a satire on the sinfulness of the 'farre countrye', the narrative of travel and eventual return to the safety of pastoral retreat is here disturbed by questions of geography and the location of the monarch. In the poem's dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh, Spenser makes explicit the parallel between the narrative of the poem and his own recent movements.

> The which [referring to the poem] I humbly beseech you to accept in part of paiment of the infinite debt in which I acknowledge my selfe

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[47]The Yale editors translate this as 'Plenty made me poor', taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 3.466. In the *Metamorphoses*, Narcissus says this just as he realises the impossibility of his love for himself. He continues, 'How I wish I could separate myself from my body! ... I could wish that the object of my love might outlive me: as it is, both of us perish together, when this one life is destroyed.' (Ovid 1955: 86) This disturbing narrative of reflection and mutual destruction seems to comment on the moment of colonialism between the two islands - the impossibility of either their separation, or their complete congruence with each other.

> bounden unto you, for your singular favours and sundrie good turnes shewed me at my late being in England, ... (Spenser 1989: 231)

This, and references within the poem to 'the foote of Mole' and 'Mullaes shore' lead us to read the 'home' of the title, not merely as Ireland, but as Spenser's own estate at Kilcolman. In this particular narrative or journey it is the 'farre countrye' - England and the Elizabethan court - that is the location of virtue, and home that could, or should, be considered the more suspect location. A central part of the poem is concerned with praise, both for Cynthia/Elizabeth and for her land, which compares favourably with the 'barrein soyle' of 'home'.

> ... that same land much larger is then this,
> And other men and beasts and birds doth feed:
> There fruitfull corne, faire trees, fresh herbage is
> And all things else that living creatures need.
> Besides most goodly rivers there appeare,
> No whit inferiour to thy *Funchins* praise,
> Or unto *Allo* or to *Mulla* cleare: (296 - 302)

Even in praising the land of Cynthia however, any simple oppositional model - home and abroad, cultured virtue and barenness, court and pastoral - is always undermined. It is impossible in this poem to decipher with any conviction, the moral and political topographies of Colin's journey.

Colin's glowing description of Cynthia's 'fruitfull' land comes as a response to Cuddy's incredulity that anywhere should exist at all outside the home land, the pastoral location of the poem itself. 'And is there other, than whereon we stand?', he asks (291). The relationship of England as coloniser and Ireland as colonised is, if not reversed, then certainly not simply apparent. At this moment it seems as if Ireland were the old world, figuring England (Cynthia's land) as a kind of undiscovered new world. It is, after all, 'much larger' than this land. In a poem that deliberately disturbs the relations of home and abroad, coloniser and colonised, the larger country can be

read as America rather than England, especially when, in the interchanges between the shepherds we are allowed to see conflicting points of view, different lines of sight.

> What land is that thou meanst (then *Cuddy* sayd)
> And is there other, then whereon we stand?
> Ah *Cuddy* (then quoth *Colin*) thous a fon,
> That hast not seen least part of natures worke:
> Much more there is unkend, then thou dost kon,
> And much more that does from mens knowledge lurke. (290 - 295)

The undecidedness of the poem's locations result in England being unusually figured as a *terra incognita*, somewhere whose limits are not yet known, 'unkend'. The colonial relationship between Ireland and England is re-imagined in Colin's journey eastwards, although of course with no implication that the shepherd is there to conquer. Colin's subsequent description of Cynthia's land as a kind of paradise then becomes part of the discourse of 'wonder' that Stephen Greenblatt has associated with early European encounters with the new world (Greenblatt 1991). It is the 'fruitfullness' of the potential colony that is often used as an advert to potential investors. Michael Drayton's poem, dedicated to the 1603 voyage to 'rediscover' the failing Virginian colony contains the following lines, borrowing from some of Hakluyt's accounts of the colony.

> VIRGINIA,
> Earth's onely Paradise.
>
> Where Nature hath in store
> Fowle, Venison, and Fish,
> And the fruitfull'st Soyle,
> Without your Toyle,
> Three harvests more,
> All greater then your Wish.(23-30 in Woodhuysen and Norbrook 1992: 432)

It is easy to see from this how descriptions of the newly discovered earthly paradise borrowed from conventionalised descriptions of the *locus amoenus*. In *Colin Clout*, that translation of conventions - the pastoral *locus amoenus* becoming the location of

colonial wonder, is brought back from the new world, and ironically re-applied to the home country of Cynthia's land. The name, Cynthia's land, does not serve to stabilise the identity of the island. The English colony in the new world was called Virginia, another typological identification with Elizabeth. Cynthia's land does not necessarily have to be England. It could equally be identified with a proposed colony, the dream of an England elsewhere. Stephen Greenblatt talks about how 'wonder' translated itself, in early colonial texts, into desire for and expectation of possession. Such desire is absent from Colin's description, perhaps indicating the limits of Elizabethan colonialism.

Cuddy's next naive question to Colin indicates further the reversal in the relationship between Ireland and England, in terms of coloniser and colonised, home and 'farre countrye'.

> But if that land be there (quoth he) as here,
> And is theyr heaven likewise there all one?
> And if like heaven, be heavenly graces there,
> Like as in this same world where we do wone? (304 - 307)

The irony of the reversal that Spenser is effecting in this short dialogue is brought to the fore here. Cuddy's question seems to allude to the ways in which, on voyages of discovery, sailors were lost because of their lack of understanding of the southern skies. It is as if Cynthia's land is truly a 'farre countrye'. Cuddy's ironic naivety enables Colin to praise Cynthia's land, poets and courtiers as if they are just discovered. However, at the same time, this effects an uncomfortable distancing between the two islands. Although, having been there, Colin is able to praise Cynthia and her land, the other inhabitants of the 'shepheards nation' are scarcely able to believe she exists, having never been there or previously even heard of her. To them, it is unknown territory, their very own Virginia. Whilst the praise of Cynthia's land, comparing favourably to the 'barrein soyle' of home sets up a hierarchy of desirability between England and Ireland, the fact that the Irish shepherds had no prior knowledge

of Cynthia betrays their lack of dependence on England as a central, dominating location. That they are able to imagine England, however ironically or naively, as the paradise of a new world further distances the two islands from each other. In Shakespeare's *Richard II*, when Bolingbroke is banished he is able to console himself with the idea that the very same sun that shines in England, will be shining on him.

> ...this must our comfort be,
> That sun which warms you here, shall shine on me,
> And those his golden beams to you here lent
> Shall point on me and gild my banishment. (I.iii.144-147)

The terms in which Bolingbroke is able to understand his exile are firmly patriotic - centred on England. The exile of the nation of shepherds has no such firm point of reference, but rather exists in a state of ignorance as to the truth of the world's organisation - that it really does centre on the 'sceptr'd isle', England - Cynthia's land.

This short dialogue also then effects an ironic comment on England's status as a 'world without the world', the Virgilian island 'et penitus toto divisos orbe'. Cuddy's ignorant isolationism mimics the impregnability of the sceptr'd isle. At the same time, the actual location of this triumphant isolation - England or the land of Cynthia - experiences the return of the topoi of exploration, expansion and colonialism. The ironies of the translated geography of the island nation are, as in the Essex engraving and letter, more fully worked out and deliberate than they are, either in the 'Ditchley' portrait, or 'The Ruines of Time'. This 'displacement' is rendered even more thorough when, by the end of the poem, Colin has replaced his adoration of Cynthia with the more usual mourning for his lost love, Rosalind. Cynthia/Elizabeth is not the only possible occasion for verse.

Colin Clout is taken over to Cynthia's land by 'the shepherd of the ocean'. This is not merely a simple representation of Walter Raleigh, who, as all good editions inform the reader was punningly called 'Water' by Elizabeth, but one which clearly refers to his

ambiguous status at court, following the marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton. The 'lamentable lay' that he performs in the singing competition between him and Colin clearly refers to Raleigh's own manuscript poem, 'The 21st Book of the Ocean to Cynthia', probably written whilst he was imprisoned in the tower after his marriage had been disclosed to Elizabeth.[48] It is in the relationship between land and sea, further developed in Raleigh's poem, that we can see a further way in which Cynthia's island becomes a new world utopia - a kind of ideal no place. The two shepherds' journey is no simple sail across the water, but a journey which involves a radical displacement.

> So to the sea we came; the sea? that is
> A world of waters heaped up on hie,
> Rolling like mountaines in wild wildernesse,
> Horrible, hideous, roaring with hoarse crie. (196-199)

Travelling by sea is a step into the 'wildernesse', the unknown.

> And yet as ghastly dreadfull, as it seemes,
> Bold men presuming life for gaine to sell,
> Dare tempt that gulf, in those wandring stremes
> Seek waies unknowne, waies leading down to hell. (208-211)

These bold men could well, of course, have included Raleigh himself, or Essex. However, when it comes to their journey across to Cynthia's land, Colin's own journey into the unknown, he is mystically transported by a benevolent sea monster

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[48]To call the two songs which they sing a competition is something of a misnomer. It is less of an agonistic competition in the way that such singing matches are set up in *The Shepheardes Calendar* and more an illustration of homosocial bonding in the absence of the queen. 'He pip'd, I sung; and when he sung, I piped,/ By chaunge of turnes, each making other mery,/ Neither envying other, nor envied,/So piped we, untill we were weary.' (76 - 79) If one were to extend this further, one might say that the implication is that without the queen's attention to vie for, everyone would be much more likely to get on. It is noticeable that Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland* is in the form of a dialogue between two men - a form of discourse more readily associated with masculinist republicanism than a monarchy headed by a woman. The homosocial congress between Colin and the shepherd of the Ocean stresses their equality in the way they play for each others' songs. Such congruence would be unthinkable in the agonistic atmosphere of Cynthia's court, where any competition between men is always an attempt to get neare to the centre of power.

who has no fear of the waves. The journey however is still represented as a transportation into the unknown, a journey to a 'farre away' place.

> The same [the monster] aboord us gently did receave,
> And without harme us farre away did beare,
> So farre that land our mother us did leave,
> And nought but sea and heaven to us appeare. (225-228)

Although Colin comes to no harm, the poetry here mimcs the kind of utopian journey experienced in *The Tempest* or in More's *Utopia* itself. There is a discrepancy between the precision of the destiny's location (somehere in the Atlantic) and its unavailability on any map. It is both a specific place and nowhere, a little like Spenser's Verulamium in 'The Ruines of Time', obliterated yet memorable. When Colin arrives at the other end of his journey he clearly arrives on the southwest coast of England, and yet the journey there seems to have taken forever.

> ... at length we land far off descryde:
> Which sight much gladed me; for much afore
> I feard, least land we never should have eyde. (265-267)

That land turns out to be 'Lunday', a real island off the Devon coast. Spenser, in this journey, seems to move between the mythic and the real, the obviously representational and the real. In this, his account of the relationships between Ireland and England resemble nothing so much as a map. The map, as an object, intercedes between the real and the representational. Whilst maps are clearly figurative, they are figures of the 'real' land. It is this apparent slippage between the two that allows them such a powerful ideological hold, but also what allows a space for irony in their interpretation. Neither is it accident or mere necessity that it is the south west coast where Colin arrives. As we saw in the maps developed for Henry VIII, it is this location which most powerfully signifies the duality of the island nation - its vulnerability and its natural defensiveness.

Whilst still at sea Colin asks the shepherd of the ocean who the country they are in, i.e. the sea itself, belongs to. His reply is that it belongs to Cynthia. The waves are her mountains, and the fishes her sheep. That she commands at sea and on land is only proper according to the shepherd of the ocean.

> For land and sea my *Cynthia* doth deserve
> To have in her commandement at hand. (262-263)

That Cynthia/Elizabeth 'doth deserve' the sea is not quite the same thing as giving her positive ownership however, and it echoes with Essex's letter justifying the Cadiz enterprise in which he said that to be 'mistress of the seas' was something that 'the queen of an island *should* most aspire to.' (Cheyney 1914: 63). Although the shepherd of the ocean's suggestion that dominance of the land and sea is something that Cynthia deserves does not open out the difference between imaginary and real domination in quite the way that Essex's more emphatic phrase does, it still renders that dominance as depicted in *Colin Clout's Come Home Againe*, as ironic. This further underlines the ironic distances between reality, the real England that has Lunday off its coastline and the far away place, the Atlantic Utopia that Colin is apparently sailing to on board a magical sea monster.

When the monster passes Lunday and 'England' comes into view, again the description encompasses the mythic and the real. The island that they arrive at is clearly identifiable as the sceptr'd isle of Virgilian tradition.

> From thence another world of land we kend,
> Floting amid the sea in jeopardie,
> And round with mightie white rocks hemd,
> Against the seas encroaching crueltie. (271-274)

Again the dual nature of this island is stressed - its vulnerability and its defensiveness. It is 'in jeopardie' in the middle of a cruel sea but is 'hemd' in with its natural defences - the white cliffs of the south coast of England. This is the very same island that

features as part of Elizabeth's Armada mythology. The mythological gives way to the cartographic, or the chorographic at least, as the description becomes more detailed and as the coastline comes into focus.

> The first to which we nigh approched, was
> An high headland thrust far into the sea,
> Like to an horne, whereof the name it has,
> Yet seemed to be a goodly pleasant lea:
> There did a loftie mount at first us greet,
> Which did a stately heape of stones upreare, [...] (280-285)

The land resembles a horn from which Cornwall is supposed to have got its name. Here the close proximity between the land and its name is being insisted upon. Likewise the 'loftie mount' that the poem means is St. Michael's Mount. Like much of Spenser's verse then this description moves rapidly and seemlessly between the allegorical, the mythological and the 'real'. In doing this it insists upon the integrity of its particular vision of the lanscape, and of the nation. Again the poem shares some of the functions of the map in its strategies of representation.

The much commented upon shifts in the central section of the poem between praise and satire are then anticipated in the earlier part of the poem. They are anticipated moreover in a particularly spatial way that seems to dislocate Ireland and England. They are dislodged from their normal relations. At the same time as the primacy of England is insisted upon, it is presented as a new world, undiscovered, not at all the place of 'culture' that Spenser insists upon elsewhere in his work. (Woolway 1996) At the same time as the island nation is presented in its traditional guise, its status as trope is subtly indicated in the positioning of it as an Atlantic Utopia, a 'land far off' (265), impossible.

Like the Saxton atlas, the Essex engraving, the 'Armada' portraits and Spenser's earlier poem, 'The Ruines of Time', *Colin Clout Comes Home Againe* exists in the interstitial spaces between a variety of discourses - the new cartography of the

European renaissance, the English Reformation, the cultural translations of humanism, the imagining of England as imperial nation, the colonial project, the court disputes between Essex, Raleigh and the Queen. What this conjunction insists upon is the translated nature of all geographies and all landscapes. In the competing descriptions of the landscape that have been examined - the different ways to restate the trope of the island nation, the different ways in which it is possible to imagine the relationship between internal and external in the island nation - an ironic space is opened up in which it is possible to locate both the postmodern, twentieth century insistence on the primacy of representation over the 'real' and the 'dissident' positions associated with Essex, Raleigh or Spenser who reinterpret the English imperial island form within its own borders, borders that their, and our translations call into question.

3. Union

i. Locating 'Great Britaine'

When was there contract better driven by
Fate?
Or celebrated with more truth of state?
The world the temple was, the priest a
king,

> The spoused paire two realmes, the sea the ring. (Jonson, 'On the Union' [c.1604] in Woudhuysen and Norbrook 1992: 145)

On the 20th October, 1604, James VI of Scotland and I of England issued a declaration that he was changing his 'style' of address and assuming the title, 'King of Great Britaine'. (Bindoff 1945; Larkin and Hughes 1973: 18) This placed him in the anomalous position of being king of a country that did not legally exist. His declaration was issued at a time when there was considerable opposition to the nominal union of the two kingdoms under the one name of Britain. These objections were aired with a notable vehemence in the English parliament, and in certain sections of the House of Commons in particular. In the first parliament of James's reign there had been considerable debate surrounding the king's own wish that such a nominal union take place. However, despite the fact that discussions were still underway to bring about a union in practical matters related to law and to trade, by the time of the king's declaration the union in name had been rejected by the House of Commons, and that rejection echoed in the House of Lords. His action seems already rather belated, a parting gesture towards a cherished project that had been a notable public failure, just a year into his accession to the English throne. Although seemingly trivial, this difference over what to call either the crown or the country may well mark the beginnings of the divisions between the Stuart royal family and the English parliament that were to inform the long histories of constitutional conflict and reform in the seventeenth century. The constitutional issues surrounding the politics of the seventeenth century, and which are the joint concern of early modern political theorists and modern constitutional historians, can never be wholly extricated from a concern with the 'British question', or with where to locate 'Great Britaine'. (Stevenson 1991) As this section of the thesis will go on to argue, a greater understanding of the ironies and inconsistencies involved in James's attempt to resurrect the *translatio imperii* within the project of union and under the name of 'Great Britaine', can be achieved by paying

due attention to the spatial discontinuities that emerge in mapping the Jacobean space of the nation.

The English objections to this union in name were first listed in parliament on 19 April, 1604. One major feature of the argument against the innovation was that to change the name before effecting union in other matters would be to prejudge the matter. It would be a purely nominal change that would, however, bring about changes in actuality that had yet to be fully worked out, or agreed upon. If James's declaration to change his own style of address was belated, his initial demands were judged to be pre-emptive. His union project never managed to determine the politics of the moment. There was never a moment under James when the two kingdoms could emerge as 'Great Britaine'. Despite all efforts to the contrary, the name of 'Great Britaine' does not attach itself to the political make-up of the kingdoms, newly brought together under James. The celebration of James after his death, notably in the Whitehall ceilings painted by Rubens, in which he is portrayed as a judicious Solomon, uniting the two kingdoms, as *rex pacificus*, ruling over a marriage of peace, have a basis in James's own mythologising - they are part of the ongoing Stuart myth making machine - but they cover up the fact that this had never really happened.[49]

The other main objection was to the possible loss of the name 'England'. To accept the name 'Great Britaine' would be to lose contact with a glorious heritage - '.... we should lose the ancient Name of England, so famous and victorious.' (*JHC*, vol 1: 142)[50] This last objection was allied to the apprehension that with the new name there came a tacit acceptance of Scotland's equal status with England. On the 28th April, Francis Bacon,

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[49]See Strong 1980 for the most detailed account of the iconographical scheme of the Whitehall ceilings, arguing for a central role in the organisation of the ceiling for Inigo Jones, and placing the ceiling within its Stuart contexts, rather than within Italian art historical contexts.

[50]Details and quotations from parliamentary debates will be taken from the relevant volume of the *Journal of the House of Commons*, which will be referred to within the text by the abbreviation '*JHC*', followed by the volume number and the page reference.

reporting the proceedings of the joint house committee on the union question, gave the following as one of the objections raised -

> ... that where as now England, in the Style, is placed before Scotland, in the name of Brittaine that Degree of Priority or Precedence will be lost. (*JHC*, vol.1: 188)

This betrays what was perhaps an underlying reason for the objections to a change in name - a paranoia that any specifically English interests would become overshadowed within the union. This is more vividly displayed in the objection reported on the 25th April, that there would be 'A Deluge of Scotts, being animated by this Name: - *Ne forte sufficiat vobis et nobis.*' (*JHC*, vol.1: 184) Jenny Wormald highlights the anti-Scottish feeling that characterised much of the debate in her essay, 'James VI and I : Two Kings or One?'.

> The debate over the name 'Britain' brought contempt for the Scots clearly into the open, a contempt heightened by the embarrassing failure of the English ever to conquer this inferior race. (Wormald 1983: 206)

I am not sure that embarrassment is quite the word to describe this English reaction to the proposed union, but I think Wormald is quite right to highlight the problems involved in a union between the two nations that had not been the result of a Scottish defeat at the hands of the English. Defensive paranoia might be a more suitable characterisation of their emotional response. A simple nominal union did not seem adequate to contain the histories of conflict and of traditional English dominance, especially if it was felt that English dominance was to be effaced in the change.

The only real precedent for the reinstatement of the supposedly ancient name of 'Britain' had emerged with the proposed marriage between the newly born son of Henry VIII, the future Edward VI, and the young Mary, Queen of Scots. If that marriage had come to fruition then the name for the new united kingdom was going to be Great Britain. However, what did result was the flaring up of the long standing

Anglo-Scottish conflict in what has come to be known to historians as the 'rough courtship', or 'Rough Wooing'. Henry VIII's ambitions to make peace with a belligerent Scotland following the death of James V, which itself had arrived on the back of a period of increased military action between the two kingdoms, were understood by the Scots as Anglo-centric arrogance and an attempt at furthering the cause of English domination in the islands. (Elton 1962: 196 and 204; Mason 1991: 56-57) That it was the son of Mary Stuart and the grandson of James V who was attempting to give fresh life to the name of 'Britain' underlines his ironic position in relation to his dual inheritance. The name 'Great Britain', though clearly in some way significant as a site of union between the several nations contained within the island, is also the site of controversy. As much as the term has connotations of union and inclusion, harmony and agreement, it also carries connotations of conflict and contested histories.

The name has multiple and contested interpretations. Those interpretations have, over the long history of this island's internal differences, been a focus for disagreement, resentment and violent conflict. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the intellectual site of contestation for the validity, or otherwise, of the name was carried out in the related fields of antiquarianism, chorography and history. This intellectual contestation over the name of the various political configurations of the kingdoms of the islands took place at the same time as the almost constant border skirmishes between England and Scotland, along the Welsh Marches and in the colonised areas of Ireland.

The responses of the English parliamentarians to the proposal to adopt the name of Britain points to the ironies and inconsistencies within which the term relates to the land which it is supposed to name. In many ways it might seem odd that the English members of parliament should have objected to 'Britain' on the grounds that its adoption would entail a loss of English privilege. As Roger Mason points out in his

essay, 'Scotching the Brut: The Early History of Britain', the Brutus myth of national origins, the supposed source for the name 'Britain', is itself highly Anglo-centric. It is a myth which focuses on an *English* domination of the islands. He argues that the Brutus myth as it became known through the chronicles of Geoffrey of Monmouth, written in the twelfth century, 'insisted that Scotland was and always had been a dependency of the crown of England.' (Mason 1991: 49) This English bias is embedded in the structure of the story of Brutus as it is applied to the origins of the several 'British' nations. In the story, Brutus is taken to be the great grandson of the Trojan warrior and founder of Rome, Aeneas. Brutus subdues the now 'British' nation and becomes its sole ruler. On his death, however, he divides his kingdom up between his three sons. The eldest son, Locrinus, inherits England, the second son, Kamber, inherits Wales and the third and youngest son of Brutus, Albanactus, inherits Scotland. England's superiority is assured through this uneven distribution, binding the relationship of these three nations within the hierarchy of primogeniture. England is the big brother within the wider familial relationship of Britain. Scotland is, of course, that most dangerous of relations, the youngest son. Disinherited, this runt of the litter would always be trouble.

From a slightly different perspective there is also evidence to suggest that Anglo-centrism existed within a more strictly Roman account of the name, 'Britain', as well as in the semi-mythical Trojan version. An account of these origins as they impact upon the union debate is given in Sir Henry Spelman's 1604 tract, 'Of the Union'.

> .... the Romans, not medling with Irelande, first called the whole isle by the name of Brytane, and after erecting a province, devided it into *Brytania prima* and *Brytania secunda*, according to some *Maior* and *Minor. Brytania prima*, which they comonly called *Britania* without any other addition, conteined the parte afterwardes called Anglia and *Brytania secunda* was Scotland, so that when they intended the whole islande they used Britaniae in the plurall number ... (Spelman 1604 from Galloway and Levack 1985: 168)

Spelman was actually using these rather involved arguments to oppose the adoption of Britain as a name for the whole island. His convoluted attempts to account for a

division of the two kingdoms under Roman rule at the same time as uniting them under the one name, appear strained as a result of the complex ideological overdeterminations that attend any attempt to name the nation(s) at this point in time. He was writing from within the movement of English antiquaries that had, post Camden, refuted the accuracy of the Brutus myth of origins. It is clear from his account though that Britain is a term that can relate to England on its own, but only to Scotland through a relationship with the dominant partner, England. Scotland, within the '*Britaniae*' is either '*minor*' or '*secunda*'. England can simply be substituted for '*Britania*'.

Refutations of the term's accuracy had already been produced by Scottish chroniclers. As Roger Mason points out, John of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, written as far back as the 1380s denies that Brutus ever ruled over the entire island. It was a counter argument that, Mason insists, was meant to revise what was perceived in some parts of Scotland as Geoffrey of Monmouth's arrogant imperialism and the biased legacy that his version of ancient history had left. After John of Fordun, Scottish antiquarianism reacted in divergent ways to the Brutus myth. The famous writer, Geoffrey Boece, took the history seriously at a time when most English authors were starting to question its validity. Later Scottish antiquaries, and George Buchanan in his *Rerum Scoricarum Historia* in particular, were, though, to refute the Trojan myth of British origins as nonsense peddled by the credulous English. (Kendrick 1950: 85; Mason 1991: 52) The English parliament's fears that specifically English interests would be lost in the general term 'British' would then appear to be founded on suspect grounds and flavoured with more than a hint of wilful paranoia. From Scotland, it looked as though England had been trying to impose the term on them for quite some time.

The reluctance on the part of the English parliament to accept the name is part of the deep irony that was present in the situation, and that I have suggested is more generally present everywhere in the renaissance attempts to relaunch the *translatio imperii*, in new nationalist contexts. Jenny Wormald has written of the 1603 union of

the crowns that it was 'a long-cherished English dream realised in a profoundly ironic fashion: it was a Scottish king who linked the kingdoms.' (Wormald 1983: 187) The irony, however, is not, as I think Wormald is suggesting, in the ability of hindsight to see a joke at the expense of the English, but rather in the presence of inconsistencies within a project that was seeking to eliminate difference. It is not purely a traditional, time-bound dramatic irony - we can see the joke but they can not - but one in which the dialectical relationship between geography (place) and histories comes into play. The development of the Jacobean idea that 'Great Britaine' can be located in the 'island' cannot remain consistent with itself. The complexities of rewriting the island nation of 'England' as imperial, the focus of the previous section of the thesis, have nothing on the complications involved at the birth of Jacobean Britain as the next stage in the translation of empire. Not only do we have the dangerously liminal figure of the island nation, the 'world without the world', to account for within the translation of empire, but the divisions within the empire are only further emphasised by the inability, and reluctance, of the kingdoms to resolve themselves under the one title - 'Great Britaine'.

In the previous section, I argued that the trope of the island nation, the 'sceptr'd isle', came to be closely associated with the *translatio imperii*. Already present in the production of England as an imperial island nation, the idealised location of a new protestant imperialism, it was at the moment of the English defeat of the Spanish Armada that the island nation metaphor came into its own as the focus for these imperial designs and desires. The visual culture surrounding the Armada was the culmination of a variety of different strands of English culture - the mapping of the island that had begun under Henry VIII, the island nation trope itself, the development of Elizabeth's Astræan iconography. As such it played a full part in the contestations over the status of this imperial island nation that I have identified as 'translated geographies'. Whilst for a brief moment in the early 1590s, after the defeat of the Armada, England may well have for once felt justified in its superiority, the trope of the island nation is still left unstable. It bears traces of its antecedents in Henry's concerns

with invasion, in Virgil's dismissal of England as the barbarous location of exile, in its isolated location in relation to the main stream of European Catholicism. The 'Armada portrait' of Elizabeth I, of which there are several versions, reproduces the fortress island trope visually. In these pictures Elizabeth is seated in front of two windows - the left window opens on to a battle scene and the window on the picture's right shows the Spanish fleet crashing against the cliffs of the coastline. Elizabeth herself is pictured as empress. Her hand points to South America on a globe which is placed below the closed imperial crown. Imperialism and the defeat of the Armada have already been connected in the House of Lords tapestries where the royal coat of arms is headed by a closed imperial crown. In the Armada portrait, having defeated the Spanish, Elizabeth is ready for world domination. However, the rocks on which the Spaniards meet their ultimate downfall are not hers. They are not part of the Elizabethan 'sceptr'd isle', although they are clearly represented as such. They are part of the rugged coastline of Scotland and not the gleaming white cliffs that are more normally associated with the fortress island of England. The concentration on the south coast of England in the developing visual tradition surrounding the trope of the island nation - a process which amounts to a kind metonymic displacement - is given the lie by these rugged Celtic rocks. Whilst the crashing of the Armada on the shores of her empire might, in one reading, suggest that God and fate are on the side of this reincarnated Astræa, another reading might want to reveal the island nation as being radically dislocated by the irony of the shipwreck's location. Elizabethan imperial desires demand that the whole island stand unified, a gleaming fortress against the ill winds of continental Catholicism. Instead the internal divisions of the island, the Catholics and other enemies at Elizabeth's back door, were a constant reminder of the way in which Elizabethan imperialism was little more than an elaborate iconology, a trope with precious little grounds and a vehicle vulnerable to the threats of ironic attack.

It might be thought that if James were to inherit the throne of England, as well as Scotland, the ironies of the island nation as a translated geography might disappear.

The apotheosis of protestant imperialism in the island nation is to be achieved under this new king. That is, as we shall see, clearly the motivating force behind James's own spatial metaphors in his opening speech to the English parliament. However, to return to Lefebvre's culinary metaphor for the way in which space is present as 'texture' rather than text, as process rather than finished product, the flakes of the *mille feuille* pastry left over from Elizabethan imperialism are still there to dirty the plate of Jacobean assertions of British unity. The seemingly easy solution to the difficulties posed by the *translatio imperii* as it applied to the islands of Britain - the arrival of the latter day Solomon in the guise of James VI and I - was never succesful. James's demands, in the early part of his reign, that parliament comply with the union project became increasingly hysterical in proportion to the realisation that the project was simply not acceptable to the English members of parliament. Just as the name 'Great Britaine' fails to take hold despite James's clear wishes, so a unity between the nations was never the necessary corrolary to the arrival of this new single monarch. This section of the thesis will be interested in several cultural manifestations of the inadequacy of the union project to produce a correlative united space of the nation.

This elision of the differences between England and the island of 'Great Britain' is what enabled James to hijack this vision of England as an island fortress for 'Great Britaine' in his opening speech to parliament and in his justifications for the Union. The Union is seen to be something that already exists in geographical fact.

> Yea, hath he [God] not made us all in One Island, compassed with One Sea, and of itself by Nature so indivisible, as almost those, that were Borderers themselves on the late Borders, cannot distinguish, nor know or discern their own limits? These Two Countries being separated neither by Sea nor great River, Mountain, nor other Strength of Nature, but only by little small Brooks, or demolished little Walls; so as rather they were divided in Apprehension, than in Effect,... (*JHC*, vol.1: 142)

Although James may have been ill advised to have referred to that famously factious set of people, the 'borderers', in this speech, its clear intention is to ground the nominal union in some kind of physical reality. It is of course true that the borderers could not distinguish where Scotland ended and England began, and *vice versa*. This, of course, did not stop them using military action in order to find out. This theme of geographical integrity for the new kingdom(s) was picked up by Francis Bacon, supporter of nominal union, as well as the convenor of the parliamentary committees dealing with the union question. In his 1603 'A Brief Discourse Touching the Happy Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland', he writes, ignoring the Brutus myth, that James is the first king to have united Scotland and England.

> And yet there be no mountains nor races of hills, there be no seas nor great rivers, there is no diversity of tongue or language, that hath invited or provoked this ancient separation or divorce. (quoted from Spedding 1868: 92)

Again there is a concentration on geographical details and the union of Scotland and England is situated in the 'island'. Bacon uses the fortress-island trope even more explicitly in his 'Draught of a Proclamation Touching His Majesty's Stile' -

> [The Union] is the great and blessed work of Almighty God, that these two ancient and mighty realms of England and Scotland, which by nature have no true but an imaginary separation, being both situate and comprehended in one most famous and renowned island of great Britany, *compassed by the ocean*, without any mountains, seas, or other boundaries of nature, to make any partition wall or trench between them.(236; my emphasis)[51]

The location of 'Great Britaine' in the 'island' is a clear case of the way in which ideologies naturalise themselves, ground themselves in the obvious, or that which is

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[51]Again, as in the previous quotation, Bacon goes on to say that neither is there any division in language within the island, betraying both a singular ignorance of contemporary antiquarian writing, and the innate Anglo-centrism of this type of fortress island description.

understood as 'common sense'. In *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre privileges the production of its own space as necessary for the naturalisation of any ideology.

> What is an ideology without a space to which it refers, a space which it describes, whose vocabulary and links it makes use of, and whose code it embodies? (Lefebvre 1991: 37)

The idea of naturalising ideology within the landscape was picked up by two geographers, J. and N. Duncan, in their 1988 article, '(Re) reading the landscape' in which they write, 'it can be argued that one of the most important roles that landscape plays in the social process is ideological, supporting a set of ideas and values, unquestioned assumptions about the way a society is, or should be, organised.' (Duncan and Duncan 1988: 123)[52] The organisation of space, and the representation of space, within any given culture work to maintain the structures of dominance within that society. However, in one of their examples - that of the establishment of a monarchical space in the nineteenth century Kandyan kingdom in Sri Lanka, they show how this can be problematised. They write, '[it] is clear ... that the politics of the Kandyan kingdom were inseparable from the politics of reading the landscape.' (121) That is, how the landscape is represented, talked about and organised were indications of different political sympathies. The overthrow of the last Kandy king by a noble man called Ahalepola with the help of the British, justified itself by alluding to a traditional textual model for a monarchical Buddhist city and showing how the last king had diverted from this. Ambiguities between the representation of space and its interpretation were exploited in the realignment of power relationships during this time. Conflicting readings of a highly textualised landscape drove the conflict and justified its ends. The two Duncans are suggesting that to '(re)read' the landscape is to de-naturalise it. This de-naturalisation takes two forms - the reading at-a-distance of the

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[52]The way in which they employ the word 'landscape' in the article is not historicised in any way. It rather refers to any culturally mediated representation of space, or to that culturally determined space itself. Landscape is a word that only arrives in the English language in the seventeenth century and can be undestood in particular terms as referring to the space of private property in the wake of the agricultural revolution, as well as in the Duncans' more general usage.(See Turner 1979)

academic, that reveals the ideologies which have produced a given landscape or social space, and the reading that is involved within the landscape itself and in the spatial practioces of those involved within that culture - the internal conflicts of the codes that the landscape embodies. For me this approach, from anthropological cultural geography, can be appropriated to help understand the postmodern realignment of historical epistemologies in taking account of the 'space of a dispersion', whilst at the same time focusing on a culture in the past that bears witness to the shift in spatial and historical thinking that marks the beginnings of the modernity from which the new historical epistemologies diverge.

In an analysis of an historical space the Duncans' 're-readings' can be seen to produce each other. It is the conflicts and the blanks in the ideological production of space that allow the analyst in, but equally the analyst's perception of those *aporia* is a product of the history that they are writing about. In my case, it is through the gaps in the process in which Great Britain is produced as an island that I am allowed to write about it. I am myself a product of that project's failure and so my reading of the sixteenth and seventeenth century spaces of the nation is a challenge to the processes of naturalisation, but one which is over-determined by the failures of that process. It is a localised challenge, both in terms of time and place, and one which exists within the terms of the project it is writing about. I have already used the far from neutral terms 'island' or 'islands' on occasions in order to indicate a supposedly neutral space, prior to any such cultural determination. As we have seen, the notion of the island in relation to the space of these islands is overdetermined by a whole host of cultural assumptions.

The geographically involved ironies and inconsistencies that are involved in the slide from England into Britain, and which the Jacobean adoption of the sceptr'd isle discourse is an example of, remain current. The John of Gaunt speech from *Richard II* has recently been used in a television commercial, advertising Ty-Phoo tea. An actor with a Newcastle accent reads the speech out over footage of the white cliffs of a

southern English coastline - Dover presumably - and a soundtrack of the hymn 'Jerusalem'. After the gradual crescendo of the speech, ending in the famous climax - 'this *England*', the advertising tag line comes in with 'Ty-Phoo - Putting the "T" back into *Britain.*' English nationalism and British national identity are fused together in a vision that encompasses the borderlands of the north of England (the Geordie accent), the 'golden age' of the English renaissance (the poetry), protestant nationalism or English public schools/Oxbridge ('Jerusalem') and the second world war nostalgia often associated with the white cliffs. It is a wonder Dame Vera Lynn did not find herself dragged in singing, 'There'll be blue birds over the white cliffs of Dover' in what would have been a suitably kitsch finale. The quick change from England into Britain is, in the advertisement, left in the air, no comment thought to be necessary. That elision of difference was precisely what James was reaching for in his opening speech and in his version of the union project. Neither then, nor now, is this project anywhere near as simple as either King James or the advertising men at Ty-Phoo tea would have us believe. My (re)reading of the advert is produced by the fact that the differences between the several nations were not subsumed within the unified space of the island as 'Great Britaine'.[53]

I would now like to return to James's opening speech of the 1604 parliament and examine another trope of his accession to the throne of England. In the speech, James

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[53]In fact, the advertisement for Ty-Phoo builds on this elision for its striking novelty value. It is the disjunctive juxtapositions of England and Britain, high and low culture, that make the advert work as a promotional tool whose sole aim is to grab the viewer's attention. These juxtapositions are, nonetheless, resolved into a homogenous, and Anglo-centric, Britishness incorporating tea, Shakespeare and the singing of apocalyptic Protestant hymns. They are not allowed to call into question the inevitability of Britain's relationship with tea. Not even the Indian sounding name of the product - 'Ty-Phoo' - is allowed to betray the origins of the British obsessive fascination for tea in its colonial past, and post colonial present. Lisa Jardine has also drawn attention to this advertisement as an example of contemporary Britain's plunder of Shakespeare as a legitimising strategy. She remembers the advertisement slightly differently from me. In her version, the actor replaces 'this *England*' with 'this *Britain*' within the speech itself. Whilst I am prepared to accept my error, the point remains the same - that the elision from England to Britain has been effected without any comment. In Jardine's version this is still more striking in that 'England' does not even get mentioned. The character of the advertisement's appeal to a sense of surprise remains the same however, as the speech is so memorable that most viewers would automatically assume that 'England' will end the speech - the source perhaps of my own error. (Jardine 1996: 159-160 n. 20)

thanks his new English subjects for their welcome, and draws attention to his journey from Scotland to London.

> Or shall it ever be blotted out of My Mind, how, at My first Entry into this Kingdom, the People of all sorts rid, and ran, nay, rather flew, to meet Me; their Eyes flaming nothing but Sparkles of Affection; ... (*JHC*, vol.1: 142)

This journey is central to much writing about James's reign. In a way, he himself sets up an organising structure for his own historiography. In the influential *James I and the Politics of Literature*, Jonathan Goldberg marks James's entry into London as a central, defining moment in the symbolism that was to surround James's reign. Likewise, the revisionist historian, R.C. Munden, uses this narrative of a triumphant journey to contrast the expectations that accompanied the beginnings of James's reign with the disillusion that had set in by the end of the 1604 parliament. (Goldberg 1983; Munden 1978) I would like to suggest that this movement from Scotland to England, the fact of the journey, disturbs the location of 'Great Britaine' in the island. For James to begin his speech by referring to it undermines the completed nature of the proposed nominal union. Just as Elizabeth's imperialism is undermined by the picture of the Scottish coastline that is not quite under her thumb, so James's allusion to his journey undermines the project to produce the space of the nation as 'Great Britaine'. In this new imperial Britain, you need always to be looking over your shoulder. In both of these instances, division in the nation(s) is drawn attention to at the very moment of triumphant unity. In the terms of this project James's movement is one from margin to centre. That is, within 'Great Britaine', Scotland is, as we have seen, already marginalised. At the same time that the revival of the ancient name for the kingdom(s) can be seen as effacing the individual names, it also re-inscribes English dominance onto the space of the nation. This is consolidated by the Anglo-centrism of the fortress island discourse. As I have noted, Jenny Wormald calls this situation 'ironic' and I think that she is right. James exists in an ironic relationship to his own kingdom(s). His movement from north to south, from Scotland to England, and so from margin to

centre, is indicative of his doubleness, as are his two names. The declaration to resolve this doubleness under the one title 'King of Great Britaine' says nothing about whether he will be the first or the sixth king of this newly ancient kingdom to bear the name of James. That he still insisted on the new name after parliament had rejected the proposal for nominal union of the two kingdoms, indicates further the gaps that are present between the translated geography of the island nation and the political situation of the island's nations.

In the poem by Jonson cited at the very start of this section, James is seen as the priest overseeing the marriage of the 'two realmes'. As Woudhuysen points out in his notes to the poem, James himself was fond of talking about the relationship between monarch and subject nation in terms of a marriage and he quotes James - 'I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is my lawfull Wife.' (Woudhuysen and Norbrook 1992: 769) This is, however, a different wedding. In the Jonson poem, England and Scotland are getting married. In the quote from James, he is himself marrying the whole kingdom - 'Great Britaine' presumably. What we have then is a rather awkward and unmanageable ménage-a-trois. The attempt to resolve the irony of the situation into the geographical entity of 'Great Britaine', the island, founders on its own histories. The dialectical relationship between the history of the nation(s) and the geography of the nation, as it is represnted in the figure of the island, catches up with itself. James's journey from margin to centre is part of an historical narrative that de-naturalises the ideological construct of the 'island' geography.

I would now like to turn to three texts in which the Jacobean 'Great Britaine' is produced on its own margins. In Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* there is a rewriting of the Tudor and Stuart myth of origins, and of the island nation, that is useful for a discussion of the geographies of Jacobean 'Britain'. Speed's atlas, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* is in many ways an attempt to inscribe royal authority on the land, but it also reveals the inconsistency of the king/country relationship, again

through the complex contradictions involved in the dialectical relationship between geography and history. This will be read alongside Camden's successive versions of his *Britannia*, which are seen to mount an ongoing interrogation into the putative Roman origins of the British isles. Delving amongst the debris of British history, antiquarianism reveals a different side to James's Roman style.

ii. 'I have the placing of the British Crown' : the geographies of *Cymbeline*

Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* is, emphatically, set in Britain. More than *King Lear*, Shakespeare's other canonical 'British' play,*Cymbeline* continually draws attention to its own historical and geographical setting in ancient Britain.[54] The stage directions mark the location of Cymbeline's palace as 'Britain' each time, in distinction to 'Wales' and 'Rome', the other two named locations in the stage directions. The word 'Britain', or related words, are mentioned constantly in the dialogue, whilst they are barely mentioned in *Lear*. [55] I am starting then with an assumption that *Cymbeline* is self consciously concerned with the idea of 'Great Britaine'. The problematic and contested location of 'Great Britaine' that I have traced in the period immediately following James VI of Scotland's accession to the English throne will frame the geographies of the play. That is, its setting is informed by the re-mapping of the space of the nation that is entailed in James's accession. By the play's geographies I include both the topographies and cartographies within the play and the location of the performances of the play on stages in Jacobean London. I will be particularly concerned then with the locatedness of the play in relation to wider Jacobean concerns with the space of the

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[54]The other possible Shakespeare play to be set in 'Britain', and also to be concerned with Wales is the apocryphal *The Birth of Merlin*, sometimes attributed to Shakespeare and William Rowley. It is equally emphatic about its setting, both historically and geographically. Its more obviously pro British stance is interesting in comparison to the often more difficult attitudes displayed in relation to nationhood in *Cymbeline*. (Dominik 1985; Brooke 1908)

[55]The Oxford concordance to the folio text of the play lists one mention of 'Britain', thirty four mentions of 'Britaine', thirteen mentions of 'Britaines', one each of 'Britanie' and 'Brittaine' and a further two mentions of 'Brittish', making 52 in total. (Howard-Hill 1972: 40-41)

nation, and the place of the stage.[56] *Cymbeline* will be understood as part of the discursive field developing around the idea of the union of Britain, subsequent to 1603. A major part of that discursive field was the contribution made by cartography. This is not to say that Shakespeare is somehow responding directly to John Speed's Jacobean atlas, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, but that the two texts taken together reveal some part of the dynamics of the Jacobean project for union. The locatedness of the theatre, both its insistence on precise geographical, political and historical settings, and its own material and symbolic positions within a map of the nation, will contribute to *Cymbeline*'s intervention in the union debate.

Where 'Britain' actually is in the play is somewhat undecided, despite the play's almost paranoiac reminders to the audience that this is 'Britain'. What 'Britain', as a political entity, is able to include, and what it excludes are issues which are not resolved, even though it is precisely these questions around which the dramatic action of the play circulates. The nature and position of 'Britain' in the play exists in unresolved relations with three other locations - Wales, Rome and contemporary (Renaissance) Italy. The other named location - Lud's Town (London) - also plays its part in the cartography of Britain in *Cymbeline*, as does Britain's unnamed shadow in the play - England, the missing term. In *Cymbeline*'s Britain, the worst fears of the English parliament are retrospectively shown to be the case. England has lost its honourable name, and the prior claims of the political entity, 'Britain', are brought into focus.

a. <u>Wales</u>

[INNOGEN:] Accessible is none but Milford Way (III.ii.83)[57]

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[56]I have already discussed the particular 'locatedness' of theatre as a cultural practice in my introduction to the thesis.

[57]All quotations from *Cymbeline* are from J.M. Nosworthy's Arden edition of the play (1969). All references will be contained, in brackets, within the text.

It is the presence of Wales as the major location of the play that has been chiefly responsible for our reading of it as somehow about the union question. As Emrys Jones's seminal article, 'Stuart *Cymbeline*' pointed out in 1961, the specific use of Milford Haven in the play must have some importance as it is not mentioned in any of the play's chronicle sources for the story of Cymbeline's reign, and the connection that must be made is with the 1485 landing of Henry, Earl of Richmond, later Henry VII, at Milford. This, together with the Tudor monarchs' careful exploitation of their Welsh ancestry in building up an Arthurian aura around their ascendance to power, marked Milford Haven as an almost sacred location in Tudor myth making. Jones says that in the use of Milford Haven in *Cymbeline*, 'the transcendentally national ... and the topical are here indivisibly one; the transcendental is grounded in the particular, and loses by being divorced from it.' (Jones 1961: 93-94) What Jones is getting at here is that in Milford Haven, part of the national geography is being privileged so that it becomes a shorthand for Tudor legitimacy. In *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, referring directly to the Emrys Jones article, John Gillies calls this a 'form of geographic moralisation' or 'typo-geography' wherein locations are given specific moral or political significances because of their associations. (Gillies 1994: 48) That is, specific locations become available for appropriation as they become a kind of symbolic shorthand for certain concepts. This, I think, could be one way of providing an explanation for the peculiar cartographies of *Cymbeline* wherein Wales is separated from Britain, despite the fact that the latter is a term that is ordinarily taken to be inclusive of Wales. Wales must by necessity be set apart from the main body of 'Britain' if it is to function as a source of legitimacy for a British monarchy. Wales, in the stage directions, is then included in the same location as Cymbeline's palace, in that the palace is not in 'England', or some other political entity that is clearly demarcated from Wales, but at the same time it is isolated, its specificity insisted upon. In the play, 'Britain' manages both to include and to exclude the location of 'Wales'. It is clearly under the jurisdiction of Cymbeline, the King of Britain, but it is, as we shall see, radically demarcated in various ways from the space which his court inhabits.

This could be considered as particularly odd in the light of the fact that Wales was traditionally thought of as the last location of the Britons in the British archipelago. Nowhere could be more British than Wales, to the extent that it was possible in some circumstances to effect an elision between the two terms in much the same way as Anglocentric namings of the nation space frequently elide England and Britain as virtually synonymous. In the introduction to the translated *Britannia* in 1610, William Camden wrote of his need to delve beyond the modern English language in his pursuit of that ever elusive goal of the early modern antiquarian - the origins of the British nation(s).

> I thereupon in Etymologies and my conjectures have made recourse to the British, or Welsh tongue (so they now call it) as being the same which the primitive and ancient inhabitants of this land used, and to the English-Saxons tongue which our Progenitors the English spake.(Camden 1610: 'Preface to the Reader')

For Camden, at least here, Britain and Wales are synonymous, to be both replaced and displaced by the 'English-Saxons'. The contemporary 'Britannia' of Camden's title, the late sixteenth, early seventeenth century Britannia, replaces the old Britain that was synonymous with Wales. Now it is synonymous with England, or at least stands in place for a nation which is clearly dominated by the English race and tongue. That this involves a displacement is also covertly acknowledged in the Camden quote. The phrase in parenthesis, 'so they now call it', reveals a history of difference, underlining the fact that the term 'Britain' is a site of conflict, and that to map the British nation would be to invite narratives of the past to invade the homogenous space of the present. They might call it the Welsh tongue *now*, but the political boundaries of the present are not ratified in Camden's, or Shakespeare's, excavations of Britain's ancient political configuration.

The Birth of Merlin, the apocryphal play supposed to have been written by Shakespeare and Rowley, deals with the relationship between 'Wales' and 'Britain' in a way that is more ambiguous than this, and also rather more confusing. The king of Welsh Brittain, Vortiger, sides with the heathenish invading Saxons against the King of Brittain proper, Aurelius. Aurelius is clearly the hero of the play in that case. In making the differentiation between a Britain that is just Welsh, and a Britain that is clearly proto-English, Aurelius is able to be British and yet not Welsh, the perfect solution to the ironic conundrums invoked by Camden's 'so they now call it'. The differences over time in the political makeup of 'Britain' are rendered as a stark opposition in this play. Like *Cymbeline*, the play's geographies seem to involve Wales being both included and excluded from the political borders of Britain, but in *Cymbeline*, this relationship is not worked out as a blatant opposition between Wales and the rest of Britain.

In *Cymbeline* it is Milford Haven's position as 'typo-geographic' that enables it to be appropriated as a location of Stuart legitimacy as well as Tudor. 'Typo-geography', in Gillies's argument, works through parallel as much as through direct connection. That is, once a location has accrued some kind of symbolic importance, it is a matter of who is able to appropriate this cultural capital for their own purposes. The Tudor-Stuart familial relationship enables this appropriation, in the case of James. As Emrys Jones points out in the essay, James was keen to emphasise his Tudor ancestry with Jacobean panegyric drawing close attention to the fact that Henry VII was James's great - grandfather. Of course, these links could also appear very strained at times, as in James's project to erect a tomb to his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, right next to the tomb of Elizabeth I in Westminster Abbey. The juxtaposition was clearly meant to draw James's conflicting histories together and reveal the two families as destined to union in his own person. (Llewellyn 1990) That very juxtaposition now looks highly perverse and it is conceivable that it would have been possible to have understood it as such at

the time.[58] Here, again, the 'typo-geography' of Westminster Abbey as a locus for legitimacy is being relied upon, but the histories are too powerfully invoked to provide an easy naturalisation of James's legitimacy. Memory is a double edged sword. As much as it may function to legitimate a current state of affairs, it can also unearth uncomfortable histories.

I would like to put forward the contention that these tombs could be understood as a form of map, as Harley and Woodward define the map in their *History of Cartography*. As I quoted in my introduction to the thesis, Harley and Woodward understand maps to be 'graphic representations that facilitate a spatial undersanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world.' (Harley and Woodward 1987: xvi) Positioning his two ancestries next to each other in this way, James is effecting a new spatial undertanding of the kingdoms' political relationships, one which attempts to move across borders, and to unite the previously disparate parts of the new united Britain. In *Cymbeline*, and elsewhere, this project is both played out and undermined in a displacement onto Wales. Rather than deal directly with the difficult problem of the Scottish/English border, the Wales/Britain relationship becomes a vehicle through which to examine the newly proposed union.

Milford Haven is interesting as a choice of location, not just for its symbolic associations however, but also because of its more recent histories. In 1603, a Catholic conspiracy was discovered that had sought to replace James with his cousin, Arabella

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[58]When I first saw the two tombs, I had not yet read the article by Nigel Llewellyn which outlines the ideological project that is the obvious motivation behind them. Instead I experienced them as a bizarre anachronism, thinking that they must have been placed together at a much later date as part of some more recent reconstruction of Elizabethan England, put next to each other for the ease of telling the famous story of their rivalry during a heritage tour of London. It was as if Bette Davis or Glenda Jackson were buried there in place of the 'real' Elizabeth who must surely have been turning in her grave. It appeared to be a historical reconstruction more appropriate to Madame Tussaud's than Westminster Abbey. Now it is possible for me to understand the tombs as being in many ways similar to those endings of early modern drama that incorporate the defeated into the victorious - Henry IV washing his hands and weeping for Richard at the end of *Richard II*, Edgar at the end of *Lear* incorporating all past conflicts into a single lament for the time that has past, Henry marrying Katherine at the end of *Henry V*, even Horatio settling down to tell the story of *Hamlet* to Fortinbras, present as the enemy until the very last scene when he appears as redeemer.

Stuart. The conspiracy was spilt into two - the 'Main' and 'Bye' Plots - both of which had the same goals, which were reconciliation with Spain, and Catholic tolerance. Inexplicably, the man who had made a career from anti-Spanish Protestant imperialism, Sir Walter Raleigh, was implicated in the Main plot. Milford Haven featured as the possible location for the conspirators' landing of their foreign allies. The existence of a large number of Catholic recusants in Wales lent credence to this hypothesis, as did the physical position of Milford Haven itself.

> The notion that a distant but naturally-endowed haven like Milford was admirably suitable for the disembarkation of foreign invaders was not a chimerical one. The place had been regarded as a weak link in the chain of littoral defences of the kingdom by the Elizabethan government, and this fear was to lose none of its force until the middle of the seventeenth century. (Dyfnallt Owen 1988: 69-70)

It is, perhaps, this reputation as a vulnerable spot for invasion, as much as Milford's associations with Tudor heredity, that led Shakespeare to choose it as the location for his own narrative of invasion. If he needed his Romans to land in a credible spot in the British isles, then Milford would, perhaps, suggest itself automatically. Milford, with this dual image, operates then in a similar way to the south coast of England in the development of the discourse of the island nation - both vulnerable and impregnable, both idealised and in need of constant vigilance at the same time. Milford Haven is the location in which the Protestant imperialism of the Tudors, and of James, has to be fought for. It is here that the battle over the Catholics at the back door can be won. It is the perfect location for a 'British' romance. Poised at the very brink of disaster, Britain's fortunes can be turned around, rescued and redeemed; British legitimacy is produced at the site of its possible downfall.

In John Speed's 1611 atlas, *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, published at about the same time as the first performances of *Cymbeline*, there are included, as well as the famous county maps, four maps of the separate nations that constitute this

'empire' of Great Britain.[59] On the map of England, Wales is not distinguished from its larger neighbour. [*fig. 7*] It is part of the 'Kingdome of England', a political accuracy since Henry VIII's Act of Union in 1536. Unlike the outlines of Scotland and Ireland on this map, it is fully mapped in, with as much detail as the rest of 'England'. However, on the map of Wales, England is not mapped in. [*fig. 8*] Although part of the kingdom of England, its separate nationhood is acknowledged on its own map. Not only is it acknowledged, its status as 'other' to England is emphasised by the map's setting. All around the margins of the map of Wales are illustrations of the famous Welsh castles, indicating, of course, a history of Anglo-Welsh conflict, and the intractability of the Welsh despite English military endeavours. On the map of Ireland, the west coast of 'Britain', most of which consists of Wales on this map, is clearly marked 'Part of England', the 'England' being confidently inscribed on the map of Wales. [*fig. 9*] Wales is both included and marginal in this imaginary empire. This inclusion or exclusion seems largely dependant on perspective - that is whether you are looking at Wales from within, or from England. It depends on whether you want to concentrate on English dominance, or on England's ability to enclose the several nations under its imperial wing. The map of Ireland, so clearly part of a colonial project, can be said to view Wales from a larger, imperial England. It is when Wales comes to be considered in itself that its potential to split off from its larger neighbour comes into its own.

If it is part of the project of the Speed atlas to produce an empire for James that does not in fact exist, then Wales is an uncomfortable or liminal location in the atlas. It exists in an unstable relation to the imperial inclusivity that is implied in Speed's title. If, as I have suggested, the name of 'Great Britaine' implied, in some instances at least, an implicit English superiority, Wales's seeming ability to exist both within and outside

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[59]For ease of reference, there is a modern facsimile of Speed's T*heatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, which does also contain these national maps. It goes by the erroneous title of *The Counties of Great Britain: A Tudor Atlas*. Why the title contains this mistake is a mystery, given the clearly Jacobean focus of the atlas that it is based upon, and also the fact that the British Library are named as part of the project. (Speed 1613; Speed 1988)

the boundaries of England suggests that its incorporation into an Anglo-centric British imperial island might prove problematic. It might at least be underwritten by an irony that refuses the simple closure, or the happy ending, of the theatrical empire. This is doubly strange if it is remembered that Wales was a place that offered some measure of support for James's project for a nominal union of the two kingdoms, unlike its somewhat frosty reception in England. In many ways it is precisely *in* Wales that the union is born.[60]

I have already indicated that this uncertain cartography is echoed in the stage directions where Wales is separated within Britain. Although Cymbeline's court is in 'Britain', 'Wales' is somewhere else. In terms of stage directions, the characters of the play seem to travel out of Britain in order to arrive in Wales. If we were to draw a map of *Cymbeline's* Britain, it would perhaps be just as ambiguous about inclusions and exclusions as the Speed atlas. Cymbeline's ancient kingdom has the same problems with its borders as James's new, unified kingdoms. It is in this context that the contemporary account of the play by the diarist, Simon Forman becomes interesting. This account has traditionally been used by editors to date the play, but I think it could equally be used to *locate* the play. Throughout his account, Forman refers to 'Cimbalin king of England'. [61] As my reading of the play as emphatically located in Britain would suggest, it would be possible to take this as a wilful misreading, a prototype of the typically English conflation of Britain with England. England is never mentioned in the play. Forman, like so many after him, just hears England when it is Britain that is being mentioned. It is a misunderstanding on

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[60]In a recent essay on the situation of Milton's *Masque Presented at Ludlow Castle* (more commonly known as*Comus*) in relation to the political situation of the Welsh Marches, Philip Schwyzer has written of the Welsh support for the British project.

'As the living remnant of the ancient British race - displaced from England and from Scotland by foreign invasions - the Welsh could claim to have kept the flame of Britain alight through long ages of division, subjugation, and marginalization. To some Welsh writers, the union of the kingdoms spelled nothing less than an end to marginality ...' (Schwyzer 1997: 27)

In this context, it is perhaps not so peculiar that an English author writing for the London stage should wish to re-marginalise Wales in the new context of the union debate, and the reinvention of Britain as both Jacobean and 'Great'.

[61]printed in Nosworthy's introduction to the Arden edition: xiv-xv

Forman's part that is, however, written into the play. England is noticeable by its absence in *Cymbeline* but Wales is so clearly demarcated as elsewhere that it becomes difficult to understand Cymbeline, the king, as the king of a whole, or unified Britain. These are the ironies and inconsistencies of anachronism, past configurations of 'Britain' placing under question the unity of the present kingdom of 'Great Britaine.' Forman's account of the Romans landing in England in the play is a little more difficult to understand, however, as they clearly land at Milford Haven, somewhere notorious for nothing if not for being on the south west coast of Wales. It could, however, be taken as part of Wales's doubleness in the play. In the typo-geography of Milford it is constitutive of a British legitimacy, that for all its Welsh styling, is Anglocentric in its working out. That is, in the British tradition which *Cymbeline* is drawing upon, Milford as a location has a lot more to say about the legitimacy of a monarchy based in England and which trades on the elisions between British imperialism and Anglocentrism in government, than it does about Wales *per se*.

The doubleness of Wales's location in terms of a map of the play's setting is repeated again within the dramatic action. Wales has to be travelled to - Innogen worries about its distance from the court and cannot find her way when she wants to be with Posthumus, who has just sent her a note, via Pisanio, saying that he has arrived there.[62] It is not a location that she is expected to be familiar with, having to get Pisanio to look it up in a book, or even perhaps an atlas.

> [Innogen:] He is at Milford-Haven: read, and tell me
> How far 'tis thither. (III.ii.50-51)

Innogen's keenness to get to Milford, lead her to adopt a kind of cartographic perspective in that she imagines she is already there.

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[62]I will arrive at an explanation of my substitution of the customary 'Imogen', as she is called in the First Folio, with the name 'Innogen' in due course. Although the first folio is our only extant text for *Cymbeline*, it is probable that this name is an error.

> [Inno:] I see before me, man,: nor here, nor here,
> Nor what ensues, but have a fog in them,
> That I cannot look through. Away, I prithee,
> Do as I bid thee: there's no more to say:
> Accessible is none but Milford way. (III.ii.79-83)

That you might need a map to get to Milford is mentioned by Cloten later on, when he follows Innogen across the country. He uses Pisanio's instructions to follow Innogen to where she is to meet Posthumus. 'I am near to th'place where they should meet, ' he says, 'if Pisanio have *mapp'd* it truly.' (IV.i.1-2 my italics) Even if Pisanio has not actually drawn him a map, which would in fact be a useful prop at this moment in the play, the written description he has given must be imagined as map-like in that it comprehends Wales as somewhere else, somewhere far away where the members of the British court might, unaided, become easily lost.

In Innogen's move towards effecting the reconciliations of the play, all roads lead to Milford Haven. Her experience here of imagining herself already somewhere where she is not is reminiscent of early modern experiences of map reading. Later, during her journey, when Pisanio has left her to her own devices, Innogen finds that it is farther than she had thought and Milford continues to be an ever elusive goal.

> [Innogen :] Milford,
> When from the mountain-top Pisanio show'd thee,
> Thou was within a ken. O Jove! I think
> Foundations fly the wretched ... (III.vi.4-7)

Wales, and Milford, are separated from the court of Cymbeline cartographically. They may be visible from an English mountain, but that same cartographic perspective separates them and refuses them an inclusion within England. When Innogen had looked at Wales from the mountain top it had seemed to have been included within Britain, or at least it was 'within a ken'. As the journey through Wales progresses, it seems an unreachable goal. Rather than being inclusive, that cartographic perspective,

looking down from on top of the mountain, now seems to be alienating. The perspective of the map depends, of course, on your exclusion from the territory itself. It is precisely a 'bird's eye view'. In order for you to read the map successfully, however, you must attempt to place yourself, or orient yourself, within its grid of markings. If you want to use the map to travel, you have to find out where you are. Many modern plans of urban space help you with this by providing arrows instructing you that 'you are here'. This double process of alienation and inclusion that are fully a part of the cartographic experience are reproduced here in Innogen's inability to locate herself precisely in relation to her Welsh destination. This, I would suggest is an analogy of Innogen's position as Britain's mistress within the perilous topographies of Wales. She is both part of the landscsape, at home there, and in danger of losing her identity completely.

The doubleness of Wales in the play can be seen in its local topographies as well as its contradictory cartographies. As the cradle of legitimacy and an education in nobility for the lost sons of the king, the wild landscape has its own part in the unifying project of the play. That wildness is also shown to be potentially dangerous, however. The pastoral here is not a tame agrarian pastoral, but something much more disturbing. Unlike the pastoral in *The Winter's Tale* which, for all its pursuing bears and its isolation from the court of Sicilia, is fairly tame stuff, Wales is truly primitive. There are no shepherds here, only hunters. The setting is in the mountains and the caves of Wales. It is the pastoral of epic romance, an amalgam of the mythic and the georgic. In practice, the castles that surround the map of Wales in the Speed atlas had been made necessary by the danger and the inaccessibility of this Welsh terrain. The mountains of Wales are inaccessible to the English. Even now, most people travelling through, to and from Wales have to skirt around its edges. The harshness of the Welsh terrain may have literary precedent, but it also echoes a particularly English experience of Wales's impenetrability.

As Phyllis Rackin points out, the Elizabethans had a contradictory image of Wales.

> In addition to the liminal location at England's geographical borders that makes Wales a constant military threat and the liminal attributes that make it psychologically disturbing, Wales also acts as the repository of true legitimacy in the person of Edmund Mortimer. (Rackin 1990: 170)

Terence Hawkes has also noted this doubleness in Elizabethan depictions of Wales in a recent essay. As the place of origin for the Tudor royal family, Wales and the Welsh achieved a new prestige in the sixteenth century, with many Welsh people obtaining important posts in London, the centre of power. Nevertheless, Wales remains utterly foreign to the English, not least, Hawkes argues, because of its claims to occupy the same island as England. (Hawkes 1998) This, in *i Henry IV* is figured in the use of the Welsh language on the London stage.

> When Welsh erupts onto the stage in that play, its evident complicity with an occluded but horribly violent reading of the past, present and future is what ensures its capacity to sap the claim of English to be the transparent, fully referential transmitter of a new-minted Britishness. (127)

Although Rackin and Hawkes are both writing about Shakespeare's chronicle plays, the doubleness that they identify does continue into the later Jacobean play, perhaps with an even greater contemporary intensity - James's marginal ancestry was that much more recent than Elizabeth's. As daughter to Henry VIII, however illegitimate, she had achieved some measure of genealogical stability through her inclusion in Henry's Act of Succession. James's ancestry was still recently suspect from an English perspective. His mother a well known adulteress, James even had the stigma of possibly being the illegitimate son of Catholic parents. It is small wonder that he sought to justify his claims to the throne through allusions to Arthurian myth and Roman style. Wales, in the play, is as disturbing and as full of danger as it is in the Elizabethan play *i Henry IV*. Just as 'Britain' is born and restored in Wales, it is also

brought into great peril. It is the troubles of Innogen, 'Britain's mistress', that again most clearly illustrate that dynamic.

I have continually referred to 'Imogen' as 'Innogen', not only because Forman's contemporary account does this, but also because that was the name of Brutus's wife in Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of Britain's origins. As I am trying to argue that the play is somehow about 'Britain', the name has a special relevance. She can be read as a personification of the idea of 'Britain'.[63] As well as being re-united with her brothers and her lover in Wales, she also 'dies' there. Leonatus bemoans the fact that he has killed her by saying, 'Britain, I have kill'd thy mistress.' (V.i.20) Of course she is revived again, but that does not fully cancel out the perilous nature of the Welsh location. Her revival is horrific, waking up next to the headless body of Cloten, whom she presumes to be Posthumus Leonatus, her destined husband. Here the possibilities for a tragic outcome that Shakespeare's late romances often entertain, only ultimately to transcend in their miraculous endings, can be used to illustrate the potential for disaster contained *within* the play's idealised vision of a united Britain. If Innogen is to be taken as a metonymic representation of Britain, as 'Britain's mistress' then her loss of identity in Wales opens up questions about the integrity of Britain as a political entity.

The 'Second Lord' of the play, Cloten's sardonic associate, seems to be aware of Innogen's status as a type of 'Britiannia', and also of the danger to the idea of 'Britain' posed by the plots of the play. He bewails Innogen's situation at the hands of her

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[63]The editors of the Oxford *Complete Works*, Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, also make this substitution, stressing that the name of 'Innogen' was also common to the play's sources. (Wells and Taylor 1986) It is also interesting to note that in the first Arden edition of the play, edited by the eminent Irish Shakespearean scholar, Edward Dowden, attention is drawn to the fact that in calling her 'Innogen' rather than 'Imogen', Simon Forman's précis makes its '*only* divergence from the play as we have it.' No mention is made of Forman's substitution of 'Britain' with 'England' for the name of Cymbeline's kingdom. It is tempting to think that this must be an ironic comment on the part of Dowden, intended to reveal that from Dublin, England and Britain do appear synonymous, but I fear that all that it does in fact reveal is the Anglo-centric blindness built into the institution of 'English literature' as a university subject. (Dowden 1903)

father, governed by the wicked Queen, the Queen herself plotting against her, and Cloten with his unwanted attentions.

> [Sec. Lor.:] The heavens hold firm
> The walls of thy dear honour, keep unshak'd
> That temple, thy fair mind, that thou mayst stand,
> T'enjoy thy banish'd lord and this great land! (II.i.61-64)

In this prayer, the final union in marriage between Posthumus and Innogen is imagined in national terms. In enjoying her lord, so 'this great land' will once again become 'great.' Her 'honour', meanwhile, is understood in similar terms to the 'sceptr'd isle' of the island nation discourse, as a temple, intact, walled in, 'unshak'd'. The machinations of the plot put that integrity, both of Innogen as Britain's mistress, and of Britain itself under question. In Wales, Innogen loses her identity. She travels as 'a franklin's housewife' (III.ii.78) and, once there, disguises herself as Fidele, a youth. In Wales, Britain is not quite itself.

Cloten is the character who is, however, most obviously at peril in the Welsh mountains. His death in Wales clearly forms part of the rediscovery of the court's legitimacy in the pastoral location. However, his vision of Wales remains a powerful one and cannot be ignored or dismissed as not, in the end, according with the play's alternative vision of Wales as the cradle of legitimacy. The way in which he seems to look at Wales, echoes in some important respects the way in which Wales is looked at, in the play as a whole. When he thinks that he is about to kill Guiderius, one of the king's lost sons, he makes plans for his triumphant return to London.

> When I have slain thee with my proper hand,
> I'll follow those that even now fled hence:
> And on the gates of Lud's town set your heads:
> Yield, rustic mountaineer. (IV.ii.97-100)

Cloten sees Wales from London, even when he is there. His projected victory over the rustic cave dwellers is, as he understands it, the victory of civilisation over barbarity, a

barbarity constructed from Lud's town, mirroring to a large extent what is actually occurring at least in part of the staging of Wales either at the Blackfriars theatre or at the Globe in London.[64] This vision also accords with Innogen's sighting from the hill. It is the mark of her redemption however that brings her into a new perspective as she goes to live in the caves and hills of Wales. Cloten is not redeemed; he dies in the landscape. In their differing fortunes lies an examinaion of two different versions of 'Britain', as understood through the location of Wales - one that is able to be inclusive, Innogen's, and the pathological insularity of Cloten's image of Britain.

Welsh pastoral is not merely identified as dangerous and inaccessible. As the site for the proper raising of the two lost princes, Guiderius and Arviragus, disguised as Polydore and Cadwal, it is a location which also contains the beginnings of the new future towards which the narrative of the play reaches, beyond the conflicts of the present. Cymbeline's lost sons are brought up here to be perfect gentlemen, and their behaviour compared favourably to that of the court -

> [Belarius :] O, this life
> Is nobler than attending for a check:
> Richer than doing nothing for a robe,
> Prouder than rustling in unpaid-for silk. (III. iii.21-24)

Like much anti-court, retirement discourse, though, what happens is the re-discovery of the court's legitimacy in the pastoral location, its supposed antithesis.

> [Belarius :] They [Cymbeline's sons] think they are mine, and though train'd up thus
> meanly,
> I'th' cave wherein they bow, their thoughts do hit
> The roofs of palaces, and Nature prompts them
> In simple and low things to prince it, much
> Beyond the trick of others. (III.iii.82-86)

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[64]What is significant for me, at this point, is the staging of Wales in London generally. I will return to the possible differences between a staging of the play at either Blackfriars or the Globe.

The pastoral topographies are distanced from those of the court but at the same time they teach the young princes, not to be savage, but to be truly noble.

> [Bel]: A goodly day not to keep house with such
> Whose roof's as low as ours! Stoop, boys: this gate
> Instructs you how t'adore the heavens; and bows you
> To a morning's holy office. The gates of monarchs
> Are arch'd so high that giants may jet through
> And keep their impious turbans on, without
> Good morrow to the sun. (III.iii.1-7)

The narrative of the princes' return to court and their reconciliation with the king, their father, is then one of a restoration of legitimacy to a kingdom that, in the persons of the Queen and Cloten, her usurping son, had lost its way. Their 'origin' in Milford Haven confers on them a deeper legitimacy that links their restoration with the restoration of peace to the nation under the Tudors and the restoration of a supposed 'union' under James.

It is interesting to note at this point that a parallel story of peasants coming to the rescue of the king in battle is found in Holinshed, but not in the section on Cymbeline, or 'Kymbeline.' It is in volume two, Holinshed's *History of Scotland.*, where a ploughman and his two sons come to the aid of King Kenneth against the invading Danes,

> For, as it chanced, there was in the next field at the same time an husbandman, with two of his sons busy about his work, named Hay; a man strong and stiff in making and shape of body but endued with a valiant courage. This Hay, beholding the King with the most part of the nobles fighting with great valiancy in the middleward, now destitute of the wings and in great danger to be oppressed by the great violence of his enemies, caught a ploughbeam in his hand and, with the same exhorting his sons to do the like, hasted toward the battle, ... (quoted from Hosley 1968: 6-7)

Hay, of course, becomes instrumental in beating back the Danes, against all the odds.

The pastoral location here is a different one from the caves and mountains of Wales.

The name, Hay, and the farming work, the ploughbeam, all place this story in a more

agrarian tradition of pastoral. The story of Hay and the Vikings has particular relevance for James in that it is part of the family legend of one Alexander Hay, the ninth Earl of Errol, one of the Catholic Northern Earls who, in 1594, rebelled against James's agreement with the Protestants. After the rebellion was quashed and a brief period of exile, Alexander Hay was reconciled to the king and the whole episode signalled a move to the kind of stability and peace broking that characterised James's policies both in Scotland, and later in the Union project. [65] Another connection though is that both these stories are written on the Celtic margins of 'Britain'. In many ways 'Britain' *has* to be produced on its Celtic margins, as it is precisely that which distinguishes it from England. This is not, however, a straightforward move but one in which 'Great Britaine' may become dis-located. What is included, and what is excluded, from the term 'British' becomes problematic.

b. Lud's Town

Cymbeline, the king also sees the peaceful unity achieved at the end of the play as justified in a final triumphant march 'through Lud's town' to 'the temple of great Jupiter' where 'our peace we'll ratify.' (V.v.482-484) Like Cloten, the mark of imperial triumph for the king is in the return from margin to centre. This echoes the Queen's earlier celebrations of the British victories over Julius Caesar. The ancient British king, Cassibelan, 'Made Lud's town with rejoicing-fires bright,' she says, 'And Britons strut with courage.' (III.i.33-34) There is, of course, the important difference that Cymbeline is to end his victory parade at the temple of Jupiter, a Roman god. At the end of the play, he significantly never quite makes it back to London, however, the return to the centre forever deferred. The return is postponed beyond the time scope

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[65]I am grateful to Mike Bath for drawing my attention to the contemporary relevance of this story beyond its resonances with the pastoral in *Cymbeline*. There is an illustration of this episode on the ceiling of the ancestral Hay home, the castle of Delgaty in Aberdeenshire which Mike found as part of his study of the iconography of the ceilings in Scottish castles.

of the play rather than completely cancelled, like Octavius's parading of Cleopatra at the end of *Antony and Cleopatra*, but it is nevertheless, never staged. The view of Wales in the play is *from* London, but in the deferred victory parade this is re-imagined as a return of the margin to the centre, the ultimate inclusion of Wales within the kingdom of Great Britain. This is the difference between the two projected victory parades of Cymbeline and Cloten. Cloten's is a triumph of conquest in which the defeated enemies are dragged through the streets. Cymbeline's triumph is less gladiatorial and more inclusive. This imagined return mimics James's movement on his accession to the throne of England, from margin to centre. These two movements produce the Celtic margins both as alien or other and as a source of legitimacy at one and the same time, locating Britain not in the island but in a constant shift of emphasis between margin and centre *within* the island. The legitimacy of the crown is projected onto this other, faraway land at the same time as that land is necessarily constructed as perilously other. The other of Wales returns to the centre of the London stage and its disturbing qualities, its very marginality, haunts the reconciliation of the legitimate ruler with his land.

The projected return to the ceremonial stage of London at the end of the play may be of particular relevance to a staging of the play at Blackfriars theatre, itself located within the city walls behind St. Paul's, the finishing post of any royal triumph through the city and a location that finds its analogue in 'the temple of great Jupiter' in the play. The location of the Blackfriars private theatre would match the location of any projected triumph through the streets of Lud's town. The Globe's staging of the play may have involved a different perspective on the relationship between margin and centre, itself being marginal to its own city.[66] As Steven Mullaney has pointed out, the

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[66]The differences between the Globe and Blackfriars in this instance might be made more complicated, however, if we are to take on board Frances Yates' important arguments around the cosmic significance of the Globe. In her argument, the Globe theatre may well have been more of an analogue for 'the temple of great Jupiter', than St. Paul's and/or Blackfriars, if it were indeed modelled on Vitruvian ideas of classical theatre, which were easily transferrable to ideas of ancient temples, as Yates argues in her discussion of Inigo Jones's Stonehenge reconstruction. If we realise that Jones also played a large part in the reconstruction of St. Paul's under James I, and Charles I,

popular public stage shared a fascination in its own right along with the staging of the exotic 'other' that it represented on stage, itself marking the limits and boundaries of state power. I would then like to extend Mullaney's analysis of *Macbeth*, *i* and *ii* *Henry IV* and *Measure for Measure* to include *Cymbeline*.

> These are critical histories of the contemporaneous moment, anamorphic genealogies of power : they need to be viewed from more than one perspective and cannot be comprehended from any single vantage point, no matter how privileged or dominant. (Mullaney 1988: 129)

Although Wales is looked at *from* London/'Lud's Town', it is an 'anamorphic' perspective that fails to locate its object in one single view. The constant travelling from margin to centre in the construction of a 'Great Britaine' blurs the easy distinction *between* margin and centre. Just as Wales has difficulty being included within 'Britain' so then the critical position of the public theatres on the south bank of the Thames, like the Globe, is not wholly in accord with a centralised Jacobean order. Like Wales itself, the south bank is a marginal location. The two locations share a status as being slightly off-centre, included and excluded at the same time. The same can not really be said of the Blackfriars. To look at Wales from Blackfriars one might look with the eyes of Cloten - a straightforward binary relation of same and other. The Globe may share the more difficult perspectives of Innogen and the two princes - all of them both lost and found in the Welsh landscape.[67]

c. <u>Rome</u>

If Britain's legitimacy is brought in and out of focus through the location of Wales in the play and through the relationship between Britain and Wales, then something similar also happens in the relationship between Rome and Britain. The popular image

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using similar ideas to those found in his theatrical work, and his work on Stonehenge as a Roman temple, the connections and analogies become still more complex. (Yates 1969) I return to Inigo Jones's work on Stonehenge below, in the section of the thesis on Camden and the Picts Wall.

[67]In this argument I am assuming that the play would, or at least *could*, have been performed at both these locations.

of Britain as a world without the world, an island nation, originates in Virgil's first eclogue - 'et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos' (the Britons quite cut off from all the world). In discussing the part played by Wales in the play, I highlighted the difficult cartographies of the play's settings. I would now like to suggest that there are ways in which Britain's island status, its justification through a 'natural' geography, can be examined as part of its relationship with ancient Rome, as well as with a (contemporary) Wales.

As I have suggested throughout the thesis, it is an irony that this kingdom in the west, this world without the world, has its most potent geographic image of itself as an impenetrable island always referring back to Virgil, the national poet of its principal invaders, and to a poem that links Britain, not so much with Augustan Rome, but with barbaric Scythia. Under James, the monarchical style and the ways in which he presented himself, and was represented, came to be increasingly 'Roman' in style. James was the new Augustus, ruler over a peaceful empire.

> From the start, then, the king who declared his marriage to the nation, proclaiming himself the peacemaker and uniter of Scotland and England into Great Britain, restorer of pristine unity to the realm, presented himself in the Roman image, stamped with the Roman stamp. (Goldberg 1983: 46)

Goldberg explicitly links the adoption of the Roman style with the union project and, in reference to *Cymbeline* and beyond, Augustus comes to be a key figure in the representations of James. A history of invasion was being used in service of an image of Britain as impossible to invade. In *Cymbeline,* James has been associated with the king as well as with Augustus. His doubleness as ruler of internally divided kingdoms is supplemented by a doubleness in which he is both Roman and British, defender and invader, the moral descendant of both Arthur and Augustus. More than this, the plot of *Cymbeline* seems to entail a dramatic working out of British national identity in relation to the Roman trope of the 'world without the world.' It too is a story of isolation and invasion; inclusion and recognition. The ironies identified with this trope

become the motivating force behind the play's dramatic action. The romance ending of the play, in which Britain is reconciled with its Roman enemy, seeks to gloss over the ironic potential of the Rome-Britain relationship as it is worked out through the rest of the play.

In *Cymbeline*, the island nation discourse is initially taken up by Cloten and the Queen, when they are re-emphasising Britain's refusal to pay taxes to Rome. Cloten's characterisation of Britain as a 'world by itself' is obviously a direct paraphrase of Virgil's first eclogue. Here though the tables are turned. Cloten is stressing Britain's right to a self rule, in opposition to a Virgilian and Roman imperialism.

> [Clo :] Britain's a world by itself, and we will nothing pay for wearing our noses.
> Queen : That opportunity,
> Which they had to take fro's, to resume
> We have again. Remember, sir, my liege,
> The kings your ancestors, together with
> The natural bravery of your isle, which stands
> As Neptune's park, ribb'd and pal'd in
> With rocks unscaleable and roaring waters,
> With sands that will not bear your enemies boats,
> But suck them up to th'topmast. A kind of conquest
> Caesar made here, but made not here his brag
> Of 'Came, and saw, and overcame:' with shame
> (The first that ever touch'd him) he was carried
> From our coast, twice beaten: and his shipping
> (Poor ignorant baubles) on our terrible seas,
> Like egg-shells mov'd upon their surges, crack'd
> As easily 'gainst our rocks. (III.i.13-30)

The Britain that the Queen is here locating in the island is one that is constructed in opposition to Rome. Out of the paraphrase of Virgil that Cloten uses, the Queen develops the British (or rather English) notion of the fortress island. Here Shakespeare revisits the protestant imperialist moment of the Armada, and even further back, its long history in the development of the English nationalist reformation that I have associated with the defensive cartographies of the reign of Henry VIII. In going back he rewrites it, placing it into the mouth of the play's villain. If, in doing this, the notion

of the imperial island nation, the 'sceptr'd isle', is not completely discredited, it is, at least, brought under question.

Philip Edwards has written an interesting, but I think flawed, account of the position of this speech in *Cymbeline*.

> Shakespeare is here playing a double game. He is reaping the harvest of an appeal to the cruder emotions of national pride and self-assertion, but he is insuring himself so that he can reap the harvest of an appeal to the nobler emotions of international co-operation and national self-denial. (Edwards 1979: 91)

It is clearly true that there is a peculiar double game being played in allowing the villain such a speech, with all its traditionally positive connotations for an audience who we must presume to have had some investment in English, if not British, national identity. I do not think, though, that it is the game that Edwards says it is, however. *Cymbeline* is an odd play in that we are asked to withhold a thorough endorsement of a British victory. This is not necesarily because the play is seeking to endorse a form of internationalism but because British nationalism must learn to include its imperial legacy from Rome. Ancient Rome is constitutive of 'Britain' rather than opposed to it, or separate from it. The speech must not be seen in isolation and deployed merely as a token in the play of the two villains' characters. Rather, it must be read intertextually with the whole island nation discourse, which itself cannot be discredited through this one instance. What is available in this instance of the island discourse, however, is an insight into its deep ironies, as a 'Roman' trope is being employed in opposition to the Romans themselves. In *Richard II*, John of Gaunt did not have any particular enemies in mind that the sceptred isle would keep at bay, but by James's reign it was certain that any particular enemies could not include imperial Rome, and it is that which makes these speeches 'wrong'.

Patricia Parker has helpfully written about this relationship between Britain and Rome, in the play, as a type of anachronism. For Parker, Britain, in *Cymbeline*, is positioned at

the precise moment of translation, in which the empire moves ever westwards. (Parker 1989) The backwards glance of tribute to Rome, in the close of the play, is what she calls a 'temporal exchange and double vision' (204), as Britain looks backwards only to assume a new mantle as an imperial nation in its own right. The narrow nationalism of Cloten and the Queen is rejected to be replaced, not by an internationalism, but by a greatly expanded new imperialist nationalism. This is not really the 'national self-denial' which Edwards associates with the play's ending, but rather a nation refusing to deny itself anything, including an spurious imperial heritage. The moment that Parker picks from the play to encapsulate this is the kneeling of Iachimo, the Roman, in front of Posthumus who, throughout the play has, through allusion, been closely associated with Aeneas. Here the Roman empire, defunct, pays homage to the new British empire in the person of Posthumus. (206)

In her recent essay Jodi Mikalachki also seeks to set up a rigid division between the type of nationalism achieved in the resolution of the play and the Queen's use of the island nation discourse. This is part of her attempt to associate what she calls 'early modern *English* nationalism' with masculinity and the exclusion of femininity, figured in the 'masculine' embrace of Rome and Britain. She associates the Queen's use of the island nation, not with Virgil and a mainstream of 'English' nationalism but with a discredited female position and specifically with the suspect figure of Boadicea. Using Holinshed as a source, Mikalachki writes,

> ... like the wicked queen, she [Boadicea] was famous for her nationalist stance, especially her great speech on British freedom and resistance to tyranny, where she opposed the payment of tribute to Rome and invoked the same topoi of the island's natural strengths and the glorious history of Britain's people and kings. Ultimately, Boadicea, too, suffered condemnation for her ruthless defense of this position. (Mikalachki 1995: 309)

Whilst it is certainly true that in *Cymbeline*, the feminine is excluded from the forging of the nation, it again does not necessarily mean that the tenor of the Queen's speech

can be wholly discarded as not forming a part of that project. Rather she is making an inappropriate *use* of it by deploying it against this masculinist, imperial meeting of Rome with Britain. The trope of the island nation must come to *include* a meeting between Rome and Britain that is not one of confrontation. It might be more appropriate to say that the spectre of Boadicea disturbs the discourse of the island nation as it is used in this instance, but that the opposition is never so fully worked out as Mikalachki would suggest. The island nation discourse is not completely passed on to the feminine and, as a result, excluded from the nation. Whilst I think she is right to say, as she does later, that 'in early modern England an originary engagement with Rome was necessary for the formation of an autonomous national identity'(316), I do not believe that this identity excludes the idea of the nation as an island fortress.[68]

This leads Mikalachki to what I believe is a misreading of Innogen's speech in Act III, scene iv. Mikalachki, like Williams, reads the speech as a movement completely away from the isolationism of the Queen's speech to a type of internationalism.

> Rather than lauding this separation, as would Boadicea or the wicked Queen, Imogen suggests that there is a world outside Britain where she may fare better than she will at the hands of the queen and her son. (317)

This reading is based on an understanding that in her speech Innogen rejects entirely the idea of Britain as island nation, isolated from the rest of the world. However, I do not believe that the speech can offer up this clear cut rejection.

> [Innogen :] Hath Britain all the sun that shines? Day? Night?
> Are they not but in Britain? I'th'world's volume
> Our Britain seems as of it, but not in't:
> In a great pool, a swan's nest: prithee think
> There's livers out of Britain. (III.iv.138-142)

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[68]I am challenging here Mikalachki's misreading of the island nation in *Cymbeline*. However, she also seems to fail to realise that the play is about Britain rather than England and it is that specifically Jacobean project which is feeding off a Roman heritage.

There is not a wholesale rejection of a separate Britain here. The swan's nest in a pool, given here as a description of Britain that is produced by, and within, the trope of the nation as island, is not refuted in the speech. It is not rejected as an inaccurate description of Britain's geographical and ideological location in relation to the outside world. As Innogen exhorts us to imagine people living outside of Britain, Britain is itself left intact. It *is* a swan's nest in a pool.[69] The stress on identifying the island *as* Britain is also particularly marked in this speech with the constant repetition of the name. There may be a tension between Britain as an isolated island, and Britain as part of a wider Europe, but that tension is not resolved. The origins of that tension would be the project to unite the kingdoms as 'Great Britaine' and to figure that union in the image of the island nation. That image requires the separation of the island from the rest of the world, something that I have suggested was useful for the Jacobean union project in its attempt to naturalise the nation in an island geography, and which James and his supporters drew upon in their defence of the scheme. The heritage of that image though, is one in which 'Britain' is both revealed as a fiction (the island nation discourse being highly Anglocentric) and as being open to invasion from outside (its origins in a narrative of invasion). Innogen's speech, unlike the Queen's in Act II, scene i, contains these tensions internally. The Queen's speech is inappropriate because it lacks Innogen's ambiguity and externalises the tensions in an actual conflict between Britain and Rome. Innogen's speech, along with the rest of the play, sets the balance straight by carefully including them within a *British* nationalism that incorporates its Roman past within itself rather than confronting it as an outsider.

As Heather James has argued however, the development of a broader imperialist British nationalism in the play is not without its obstacles. She identifies the central image of

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[69]I am accepting the Arden editor, Nosworthy's understanding of this metaphor as, on the whole, a positive description of the island nation. In his notes to this line, he rehearses the argument of Horace Howard Furness that this line must be non-Shakespearean because of the negative and 'degrading' implications of comparing Britain with a pile of twigs. Nosworthy rightly dismisses this editorial absurdity, on the grounds that Shakespeare was more likely to have been thinking about the swans than the twigs at this point. (96)

the play as the waking up of Innogen next to the headless body of Cloten. Innogen initially assumes this to be her exiled lover, Posthumus, as Cloten is deliberately wearing his clothes in a misguided attempt both to seduce Innogen, and to discredit her and Posthumus. This image, as James rightly suggests, brings Virgil and *The Aeneid* forcibly into the play as an important frame of reference for its negotiations around the British inheritance of the *translatio imperii*. (James 1997: 161) The immediate reference is to the fall of Troy and to Priam's decapitated body left by the victorious Greeks on the shore of his fallen city - 'a corpse without a name'. (Virgil 1990 [c.29B.C.]: 47) The secondary implication of the image is a reference to Aeneas himself. Dido, on being abandoned, wishes Aeneas the same fate as Priam if he ever succeeds in his journey west to found the city of Rome.

> When Imogen confuses Cloten's headless body with Posthumus, Britain's fated emergence as a nation, backed by the combined authority of Troy and Augustan Rome, hangs in perilous suspension. (James 1997: 162)

The complex borrowings and typological identifications which James brings out in her analysis of this moment in the play work to undo a simple reading of *Cymbeline* as celebrating a new Jacobean British imperial moment. For example, it places Innogen, as the heroine of the play, in the difficult position of occupying the role of a contemporary Dido, a character not without her problematic overtones in relation to any narrative of empire building. If, in his project for union, James is inheriting the *translatio imperii*, then *Cymbeline* reveals any such project as bedevilled with ironic inconsistencies and liable at any moment to collapse into inconsistency. This is indicated, not only in the play's own position within the translations of empire, its own borrowings and rewritings of classical sources, as James argues, but also in its anachronistic geographies.

d. Italy and anachronism

So far then I find myself only partly in agreement with Jonathan Goldberg's explanation of the play's ideological position as stated in his tailpiece to *James I and the Politics of*

Literature. Here he sees *Cymbeline* almost as a precursor to Charles I's programme for the ceiling of the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall in which Roman gods and goddesses join ancient Britons in a celebration of James's peaceful reign. (Goldberg 1983: 240-241) Although Goldberg is careful to point out that the play does not share the same 'aims' as the ceiling, he does emphasise the culmination of the play in the word 'peace', choosing to end his own book about the Jacobean Roman style of kings with this last speech in *Cymbeline.* Of the play's resolution he writes , '... the Italianate machinations of Iachimo and the primitivistic retreat of the king's sons in Wales are encountered and subsumed in the figure of Imogen, who bears the name of Brute's wife.' (240) Whilst I think that it is clearly true that Innogen functions as a focus for unity and that her name is no coincidence, I have also tried to argue that at certain moments the disturbances within the Jacobean project are revealed in the play, notably in the relationship between Wales and a larger 'Britain' as it relates to the ideological geography of the nation as an island and within the trope of the island as it relates to its Roman histories.

I would now like to pick up on that other location that Goldberg sees Innogen as containing - contemporary Italy - and suggest that here, too, the containment of the entire map of the play's settings (Wales, Britain, Rome, Italy, Lud's Town) within the island nation discourse of British (English) nationalism, is never fully achieved. In *Cymbeline* the Romans are rarely presented as they are in Shakespeare's and other contemporary playwrights' more obviously Roman plays - that is as a masculinist political community with high ideals, embodying the heights of militaristic virtue and gravity. This role is rather taken on by the virtuous British characters - the two lost princes, Guiderius and Arviragus and, when he is not being influenced by the machinations of foreigners, Posthumus. The dominant image of the Roman characters, as they appear on stage in *Cymbeline*, is of a community with loose morals, a nation of idlers and philanderers.[70] When Leonatus leaves Britain for ancient Rome, he arrives in

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[70]There is just one scene set in a recognisably Roman location, and the authenticity of that scene (III.viii) is strongly disputed. It is however set in what the stage directions call 'a public place', in distinction to the private location that features in the previous Roman scenes - Philario's House. The

Renaissance Italy instead. It is an Italy that is immediately recognisable as a contemporary English fiction, taken from the pages of such works of contemporary fiction as Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller*. Here, and in these fictions, it is perceived as a land where the virtuous English man may get into all sorts of trouble at the hands of unscrupulous foreigners. This is, of course, precisely what does happen to Leonatus. He is all too easily persuaded into the highly suspect game set up to test Innogen's virtue. His Roman styled virtue, and status as a latter day Aeneas, is abandoned in the heat of the moment, and in the dissolute climate of Italy.

This contrast between the ancient and the modern in the portrayal of the Romans in the play serves to underline, and further develop, the ironies that I have indicated in the play's development of a British imperial nationalism. It certainly disturbs an easy containment of Rome within 'Britaine'. It reveals that the inclusion of Rome within British nationalism is not an open internationalism - a masculine embrace of a brother nation - but something that may even be resistant to a contemporary involvement with foreign countries. The divergence between the image of Roman imperialism and the 'real' Italians encountered in the machinations of the plot, highlights Britain's contemporary self reliance. When the Romans in *Cymbeline* arrive in Britain they are, with the exception of Philario, more Roman than they are in Italy. Roman history is a British rather than an international history. The contrast between the main plot of the play in which two noble nations do battle and eventually come to terms and the play's sub-plot of intrigue and sexual betrayal is part of the translation of empire which the play attempts to portray, with Britain as the new Hesperides, the destination of Aeneas. The plots intemingle however and the character of Posthumus illustrates the easy slide

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public virtues associated with Romanness do not flourish in the domestic situation, but in the senate. It must be remembered though, that even in the one public Roman scene of the play, we are not witnessing the masculinist, agonistic discourse of the virtuous republic, but the senate under the emperor Augustus, a willing and obedient servant. 'We will discharge our duty,' as the third tribune says. (III.viii.16) Perhaps the masculinist values are transferred, in *Cymbeline*, to the caves of Wales, the scene of Belarius's stoic and righteous dissent against Cymbeline's heavy handedness (iii.iii.65-107) and of the male bonding between Innogen, as the male Fidele, and the two princes, her brothers, Guiderius and Arviragus.

between ancient Rome and contemporary Italy. His Romano-British virtue is all too easily brought down in the modern world of lax morality and factious nationalism. The context for his acceptance of Philario's challenge is a nationalist argument between a Spaniard, a Frenchman, a Dutchman, two Italians and himself. If James's policies are associated with the move towards an inclusive imperialist Britishness in the play, then that move, and those policies, are shown to be in grave danger when they come across the real world of contemporary Europe as it is here portrayed as argumentative and beligerent. This, in some way echoes James's real foreign policies which sought to broker a peace between the several nations in continental Europe, but which were often coming unstuck when faced with the harsh realities of Europe's emerging nation states.

What this anachronistic portrayal of the Romans also manages to reveal is that this Romano-British heritage is not real, that the 'Roman' is a discursive construct which does not necessarily refer to any 'real' Rome but to an English/British imperialism that is filtered through Rome. In turn, an awareness of this anachronism tends to render any identification of Britain with the inheitance of the *translatio imperii*, as necessarily unable to escape an ironic subtext. Phyllis Rackin has written about anachronism in Shakespeare's English chronicle plays.

> ... any invocation of the present in a history play tends to create radical dislocations: it invades the time-frame of the audience, and its effect is no less striking than that of a character stepping off the stage to invade the audience's physical space or addressing them directly to invade their psychological space. (Rackin 1990: 94)

The idea of history as a linear narrative is destroyed by the presence of anachronism within that narrative. What is revealed in place of this illusion of accuracy, created by a linear history, is history as discourse. The renaissance Italians in *Cymbeline* reveal that the (British) Roman history, that the Jacobean project of union would wish to see inscribed on the space of the nation, is not a 'real' history but a history being staged. Anachronism here functions as a Brechtian moment in which the stage is revealed as a construction rather than a representation.

In the final scene the soothsayer places Britain and Cymbeline in a geographical context - 'the radiant Cymbeline, / Which shines here in the west' (V.v.476-477) but this geography is the geography of the island nation, the Virgilian 'et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos', the British 'Empire' encompassed within the wingspan of the Roman Imperial Eagle. Just as in the relationship between Britain and Wales, the space of the nation as 'Great Britaine' is produced on the margins, so it is also deferred onto an ancient Rome that is non-existent. 'Great Britaine' again produces itself in a location that is both liminal and revealed as purely discursive. This discursivity de-stabilises the production of the nation space in its island geography. Its location within the island is produced within discourse, not on a 'real' piece of land. Like Innogen looking into Wales from the top of a mountain, it is hard for us to see exactly where Britain is in the play, and still harder to comprehend how such a place might be arrived at, with or without the aid of a map.

It is difficult to speculate on the precise ideological locations of this Shakespeare play, or on the institution of the theatre and the King's men in particular, in relation to the royalist union project. *Cymbeline* clearly plays its part in this project, bringing to light the British past of the nation, rediscovering roots for the union project in older stories. However, once it brings these older histories to light, they do not coincide comfortably with James's desire for an imperial nation reborn. The romance genre would seem to be a perfect vehicle for such royalist purposes, and *Cymbeline* clearly announces itself as a romance. The doctor, Cornelius, is commissioned by the Queen, right at the start of the play, to make some poison. In an aside, he tells the audience that, not trusting her motives, he has not made poison but something that will seem fatal, but not ultimately will kill those who drink it. This is what Innogen takes as Fidele, so that the two princes assume that she is dead. In describing the effects of the potion, Cornelius gives a classic definition of Shakesparean romance.

[Cornelius:] ... there is

No danger in what show of death it makes,
More than the locking up the spirits a time,
To be more fresh, reviving. (I.vi.39-42)

The processes of renewal and revival, recognition and rememberance, which all of Shakespeare's romances are involved in, are here prefigured by Cornelius, and ultimately worked out in the narrative just as he predicts. Britain is rendered whole again; the main players in the royal drama are to return to the ceremonial centre, London, away from the dangers of Wales; Rome is both defeated and incorporated into the newly peaceful nation. However, along the way, we have been made aware that it is possible to tell different stories about Britain which do not sit so comfortably within this translation of empire, and also that the space of the nation is not necessarily left intact in this resurrection of the name of 'Britaine'. However revived she is feeling after her exploits, Innogen never does make it back to London from Milford Haven.

iii. Camden, antiquarianism and the Picts Wall

In *Cymbeline*, we see the commercial theatre making its own response to the network of imagery and mythology surrounding the Jacobean project of union, as it is understood within the formula of the *translatio imperii*. The production of the space of 'Great Britaine' is brought into question in that play, just at the very moments that its location is given emphasis by the play's historical and geographical settings. James's Roman imagery is not disseminated in quite the uniform manner which has sometimes been suggested.[71] 'Britain', as I have argued, is a site of conflict, as well as

[71]The classic statement describing the 'Romanness' of Jacobean ideology, as it attaches to the absolutist tendencies of James's reign, is of course Jonathan Goldberg's *James I and the Politics of Literature*. (Goldberg 1983) I have already indicated in my discussion of his reading of *Cymbeline* that I only partly agree with his position. Whilst there is a clear sense in which James, on his accession to the English throne, is produced as a latter day Augustus, and that the neo classical framework of much contemporary culture serves to underline this, this is not a monolithic statement, and there can be other readings of the relationship between James and empire, Britain and Rome,

of union. The relationship of Rome to the territory of Great Britain is the guiding question of the play, motivating the dramatic action. It does not leave unquestioned the notion that 'Britain' may serve as a latter day Hesperides, inheritor of the *translatio imperii*. It clearly plays a part, in some way, in James's project to fashion himself as a belated Augustus, rescripting the *pax romana* as the union of the two crowns under the one title of 'Britaine'. However, in providing its audience with a slightly anamorphic perspective on the project of union, it does not merely ventriloquise an idealised official position. Whilst the play's comedic, or even mystical, resolution leaves this image of James as *rex pacificus* intact, the deferrals and digressions of the romance narrative work against the simple assimilation of the play as a piece of Jamesian propaganda. It is clearly in some way restating the Jacobean reclamation of British unity, but at some cost to the integrity of that project.

If the play presents the union of the two kingdoms through the looking glass of anachronism, partly as a result of its mixed generic status as both romance and history, this may well save the play from a direct confrontation with official disapproval. At the same time, it is, of course, this mix of genres which enables its anamorphic critique of official history.[72] The Society of Antiquaries, a much less marginal concern than the

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King and country, that work alongside the official *translatio imperii studii* of the early seventeenth century, but also serve to highlight its ironic application to the divided kingdom(s) of 'Great Britaine'. This is what I will be attempt to illustrate in these sections on William Camden and John Speed.

[72]Censorship raises itself as an issue in relation to *Cymbeline*, not only in that censorship must be generally thought of as a determining factor in regard to all early modern drama, but also in its local conditions. 1608 had marked a turning point in the relationship between authority and drama. Following complaints from the French ambassador about a performance of one of Chapman's *Byron* plays by the Children of Blackfriars, James responded by disbanding the company. The subsequent years must have featured an increased wariness touching any drama that might deal closely with matters of authority and representation. The historical/pastoral romance/ Roman play of *Cymbeline*, the first performance of which is most usually assigned to 1609-10, might then be seen as a suitable vehicle through which to deflect any direct allusions to James's authority that might have given cause for offence. (See Stewart 1998: 7-8; Dutton 1991: 158.) As Stewart points out, Dutton believes this incident to be a one-off, rather than a determining factor in all subsequent productions. I am inclined to follow Stewart in saying that whether or not it marked a substantive change in censorship policy, it must still have had a crucial effect on the modes of representation available to writers wishing to address matters of authority. The satirising, on stage, of the Stuart court had been one of the features of the 1608 decision. This must surely have had some impact on subsequent representations of royal authority, however mediated they may have been.

commercial theatre, did not escape such official censure. The Society had been founded in 1589 by William Camden, Robert Cotton, James Ley and Henry Spelman, chiefly on the back of the publication of the first edition of Camden's *Britannia*. This informal group grew to contain all the leading antiquarians, cartographers and chorographers of the age. Already denied a royal commission under Elizabeth, they re-applied to James in 1607, only to be told that the King did not wish them to meet at all. This effectively curtailed their ongoing discussions into the origins of British society, culture and language. Although no specific reason can be found for this decision on the part of James, it can be inferred that he did not wish any one else to control the semantic field surrounding one of his key trade marks - 'Great Britaine'. If the business of the society was the matter of Britain, it might prove potentially damaging to the myths of origin in which James was attempting to surround himself. The Society, in its later years had also begun to concern itself less and less with the minutiae of archaeological ephemera, and started instead to concern itself seriously with the world of contemporary politics. The privileges of parliament, the position of the Commons and the rights of the monarch had all come under the antiquarian and etymological scrutiny of the Society's exhaustive discussions. (Sharpe 1979: 30) Considering James's own position on the privileges and rights of monarchy, such discussions could hardly hope to escape his notice, and his disapproval. If the origins of the country were dug about in too much, all manner of things might be unearthed which would not necessarily agree with the Roman ideologies being built up around the Jacobean throne and court.

Camden himself pointed out the potentially controversial nature of his and others' work in the areas of chorography and antiquarianism.

> For I see judgements, prejudices, censures, reprehensions, obtrectations, detractions, affronts and confronts, as it were, in bataille array to environ me on every side: some there are which contemne and avile this study of Antiquity as a back-looking curiosity; whose authority as I do not utterly vilefie, so I doe not overprise or admire their judgement. (Camden 1610: 'Preface to the Reader')

Defending his work against critics whom he claims would deride all historical work, Camden also manages to paint a vivid picture of the potential for dispute that such work might cause. As the dispute over the name of the kingdom(s) reveals, the concerns of antiquarianism, such as the etymology of ancient names, could have serious political implications. In this case the antiquarian concern over the etymology of names, as they apply to the political division of territory, played a part in the wide ranging discussions of the relevance of 'Britaine', both inside and outside parliament. This quotation reveals Camden's awareness of the overdetermined nature of his supposed search for the light of truth, the search praised by Spenser in 'The Ruines of Time'. This search is not undertaken in a vacuum, but within a context of competing ideologies and historiographies, 'prejudices' and 'censures'. The confrontations and 'obtrectations' provoked by the project seem to give the lie to the complaint that 'this study of Antiquity' was a 'back-looking curiosity'.[73] Rather, the concerns of antiquarians intersect with the re-formations of the space of the nation throughout the early modern period, but perhaps particularly in the years following the accession of James.

Not only is Camden conscious of the overdetermined nature of his research, he is also aware of its seeming interminability, and the way in which it invites a proliferation of further work, in answer to the controversies that have been stirred up. Antiquarianism seems unable even to reach any firm conclusions about its object of study - the origins of the nation.

> For I am not ignorant that the first originalls of nations are obscure by reason of their profound antiquitie, as things which are seene very deepe and farre remote: like as the courses, the reaches, the confluents, and the

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[73]'Obtrectations' may seem like a harmless Latinate neologism on Camden's part, but as its entry in the *O.E.D.* will confirm, its history of usage is associated with the religious conflicts documented by Foxe in *Acts and Monuments*. Foxe, in fact seems to be the writer who first coins the word.The word, in this light, would seem to carry more weight than a slight reference to a minor point of discussion.

> out-lets of great rivers are well knowne, yet their first fountaines and heads lie commonly unknowne.' ('Preface to the reader')

It is interesting here that Camden is re-imagining an historical narrative in spatial terms. As I indicated in my introduction to the thesis, if there is any guiding principle for chorographical and antiquarian work in the early modern period, it is its spatial organisation of knowledge, such even that a genealogy of the nation becomes a river or a site on the horizon. The emergence of the historical in the space of the present is precisely the grounds on which antiquarianism is able to site its discoveries and its controversies. It is this which marks it out from the text-dependant nature of traditional chronicle history. The unfathomable origins of Camden's rivers, as they meander across the landscape mirror the format of the *Britannia*, which has no strict chronological structure, apart from in the opening sections on the Romans, and Britain's other invaders. The rest of the book, in all editions, is structured around a survey of each individual county within 'Britannia'. Of course what constitutes 'Britannia' varies between the Elizabethan editions and the Jacobean editions, which include lengthy new sections on Scotland and Ireland. The historiography embodied in this spatial structure is one of indeterminacy. It is ruinous in the way that I discussed the ruin in relation to Spenser. It marks the anachronism of history located in a present space. The controversies and 'obtrectations' that are a feature of the work of the antiquarian are part and parcel of its inability to fix a coherent narrative of origins onto the dispersed space of its object of study.

In this quote from the preface to the 1610 translation of *Britannia*, Camden portrays an antiquarian project that is endless. It is perpetually involved in a search for its own object of study - the origins of the nation. In fact, this search may constitute the generic boundaries of antiquarianism. If it were to succeed, then antiquarianism as such would die out. As long as those origins remain in dispute - and Camden seems to see no end to the 'obtrectations' that he might encounter - then the project will go on. At one point he claims that 'the studies of Antiquity' 'is [sic.] alwaies accompanied

with dignity, and hath a certain resemblance with eternity.' ('Preface to the Reader') This strange aside, self-reflexive and almost poetic in tone, identifies antiquarianism with the kinds of memorialising assigned to Camden's work by Spenser in 'The Ruines of Time'. As in that poem, however, where the eternity of fame is brought under pressure from the *momento mori* sentiments of a fundamental Christianity, the eternal here is not totally unsurcumscribed.[74] It can instead be linked to the impossibility of closure in an historical narrative. The eternal can have no end. Its beginnings are unidentifiable. Chorography seeks to spatialise historical narrative, rendering visible the past in the present space of the nation. As such, it attempts a kind of narrative closure - 'This happened here, this happened there etc' - but the slippery relationship between 'when' and 'where' can never be fixed. An attempt to fix it may be the motivation behind Camden's ever expanding project. Its expansiveness testifies as much to its inevitable failure, as to its continuing successes. Eternity invokes anachronism, whilst anachronism is a marker of the historicity of present space.

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[74]See Brown 1998 for a detailed discussion of the relationship between the humanist impulses of panegyric poetry and the *momento mori* sentiments of a radical Christian faith. I am not inclined to accept Brown's argument in this essay that the poem ultimately, through the use of Sidney as a central figure, transcends that conflict, appeasing 'the strife not only between 'eternizing' poetry and Christian transcendence, but also between pagan and Christian religious imagery.' (63) Whilst his arguments surrounding competing typologies of Orpheus and their Christological significance in relation to the apotheosised figure of Sidney are indeed convincing, I am reluctant to abandon so easily the sense of competition that clearly exists between these two ideologically different mind sets. I am reminded here of Alan Sinfield's conception of the early modern '*puritan humanist*'.

'Pagan writing had bothered earlier Christians ... but the co-occurrence of the Reformation with humanistic enthusiasm for classical letters posed the problem with enhanced intensity. ... This disturbance is found to varying degrees of strength, all through Protestantism. Hence my term *puritan humanist* - which might be written more disjunctively as *puritan/humanist*, were it not that such persons are often discovered trying to manipulate and efface the conflict, rather than admit it.' (Sinfield 1992: 186-187)

I am not sure that Spenser is, in this instance, one of those 'discovered trying to manipulate and efface the conflict' so much as somebody floundering within generic conventions in an attempt to reconcile them. That is, the multiple end points and mixed generic models of 'The Ruines of Time' allow us to infer that no such conceptual transcendence occurs, and that Spenser did not think it had either.

To return to Camden, chorography was obviously not central to this Christian/Pagan or Puritan/Humanist conflict, but its effects are felt well beyond the immediacies of humanist learning and theology. Camden, too, could be said to be operating within a dual, and irreconcilable, framework. His constant ('eternal') searches for traces of the past work against the notion that the present is in some way a moment of transcendent apotheosis, where the past is no more than an effect of imperial style. To put it a little more abstractly, his burgeoning empiricism works against a use of history as mythology. As in the case of Spenser, this conflict is seen to turn on the notion of the eternal and its relation to a history understood as anachronism.

I am not, like Helgerson, suggesting that there is something consciously, or even implicitly, oppositional in the antiquarian project, although it is hard to ignore this when faced with James's own mistrust of the Society of Antiquaries. Rather, I am interested in the ironies that are revealed in their own concern with the origins of Britain, in time and place. It is these which may be found not to coincide with the motivations behind James's iconography. The unearthing of history and its presentation in spatial terms works against the narrative of origins necessary to sustain the recurrence of the *translatio imperii* under James. In many ways, this is a restatement of the argument I made around Spenser's 'The Ruines of Time'. It marks a further instance of the ironic displacement of early modern translations of empire. The context has shifted, however, away from an English relationship with a Catholic Europe, and a sense of defensive isolation, to the internal divisions highlighted in the union project. The stakes are raised to a certain extent also, in as much as the iconography surrounding James was much more likely than that of Elizabeth to lay claim to a Roman inheritance. James's own translations of empire are not fully isolated from those surrounding Elizabeth. The trope of the island nation, so useful in the development of a visual imagery around Elizabethan imperialism, is clearly reactivated under James as part of his inheritance of the imperialist Tudor mantle. However, it is not linked in a simple and specific chain of cause and effect. Rather, it is given fresh relevances, *and* fresh ironies in the moment of James's accession.

His own identification of this inheritance within the space of the island nation does not escape an ironic undercurrent. If James's myths of origin depend on the kinds of stories that the antiquarians are trying to tell, this does not mean he would like the way that they tell them. Myth making, and the formation of an ideology based on origins, requires that those origins are left alone, that they are not disturbed. Antiquarianism's project may involve just such a disturbance. James doesn't want to know the precise details of all the different possibilities for the origin of the name 'Britain'; he just wants

to collapse them into the complex of resources on which he can draw when he, or his propagandists, need to underline his 'British' legitimacy. Rewriting the history of space can not work in this way, as Camden seems to have been aware. 'Obtrectations' face you at every bend in the river. A history of space invokes the trope of the ruin and, as I have previously argued, the ruin is a location in which narrative can achieve no closure. It works in a way contrary to the march of time on which you might build a myth of origins. Ruins are picturesque, but ultimately unstable foundations on which to build the space of the nation.

Like official Jacobean Augustanism, Camden's main motivation in his work had been the relationship between Britain, its current make up and landscape, and Rome. Although the *Britannia* features the full range of Britain's ancient ancestors - Saxons, Celts, Normans, Britons - it had originally been conceived of as a study of Roman Britain. Inspired to undertake the *Britannia* by the Flemish cartographer, Abraham Ortelius, Camden conceived of it as a serious contribution to European humanist scholarship, opening up the insularity of British history to the wider traffic in history that would result from the inclusion of Britain within a conceptual Roman Empire. (Sharpe 1979: 11; Parry 1995: 22-23) This original intention lives on into the book in the extended chapter on the Romans. This fascination with the Roman past of Britain is in marked contrast to his relative disinterest in other moments of ancient history.[75] The sections devoted to the other inhabitants of the islands are somewhat shorter. This concern with the Romans is, according to Graham Parry, allied to a sense of legitimacy. The Roman presence in Britain legitimises it as a civilised nation.

> For Camden, this incorporation of Britain into the Roman Empire marked her accession to the full honours of antique civilisation. From being a remote and barbarous island, she had become part of the Roman world, and ultimately her inhabitants were entitled to citizenship. (34)

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[75]I would modify this slightly by acknowledging that Camden also became increasingly interested in Anglo-Saxon England, particularly the language. This increase of interest did, however, occur alongside a dramatic augmentation in the Roman material added to the ongoing publishing project of the *Britannia*, as I will go on to show.

This hierarchisation of Britain's invaders - we are not civilised because we were invaded by Vikings, Normans or Saxons - has obvious connections with the Jacobean choice of Augustan civility as a key mode in the representation of monarchy. This affiliation is underlined by Camden's apparent friendship with Inigo Jones, the main force behind the Roman styling of King James. Parry overstates the case when he suggests that it is Camden's discoveries of a Roman past for Britain that enable Jones's developments in classical architecture. Jones is clearly working within wider aesthetic traditions than a mere reliance on the proto-archaeology of antiquarianism. In fact, his finished stage sets and architecture look nothing like the stumpy ruins that concern Camden. However, the relationship between the two is potentially interesting. Jones's classical constructions, both in stone and as masque settings, may embody the Jacobean restatement of Britain as a second Rome, a third Troy, and the inheritor of the imperial mantle, whilst Camden's meandering discoveries turn up ruins of a past civilisation that is both alien and obviously long disappeared. Again, the trope of the ruin returns to haunt the contemporary representation of power within the *translatio imperii.* The traces of the past become unreadable in the present. If Jones attempts clarity in his depiction of Britain-as-Rome, Camden discovers only confusion, ruins and conflicts. The harmonious space of the Jacobean masque is not found in the landscapes of antiquarianism, littered with the rubbish of broken civilisations.

This difference is highlighted most clearly in Inigo Jones's Stonehenge project. The king commissioned Jones to study the ancient monument and, from looking at its architecture, to discover its provenance. In the results of this study, written up and published posthumously by John Webb in 1655, Jones pronounces that the stones are the remains of a Roman temple to the god *Coelus.* He completes the ruins in a finished drawing, reconstructing the ruins as a complete building. (Jones and Webb 1655) Jones's understanding of the stones is part of the Stuart *translatio imperii*, in that it understands the ruins within an anachronistic conflation of Roman and Christian

traditions. There was never any temple to *Coelus* in Rome. He was the rather generalised god of Heaven, rather than a particular god. Roman temples were dedicated to much more specific, localised deities. Jones, then, reads back into these supposed Roman ruins, a tradition of monotheism. This has clear resonances with the Christianised accommodation between Rome and Britain in the transcendent conclusion to *Cymbeline*. As we shall see, Camden handles the physical remains of Roman religion rather differently. For now I would like to note a difference in style. Jones is concerned to reconstruct the ruins, to paper over the cracks. This links his excursion into antiquarianism and chorography to his architecture and stage sets which set the agenda for a new neo-classicism, presenting a vision of Britain as imperial nation. Camden is much more likely to let the cracks show in his searches for a Roman past.

Between the original publication of the *Britannia* in 1586 and the first Jacobean edition, published in 1607, Camden sought to expand his knowledge of the Roman civilisation in Britain by embarking on a field trip with Sir Robert Cotton. In 1600, they travelled together to the border areas between Scotland and England, at that point still under separate monarchs. This resulted in a considerable augmentation of the sections of *Britannia* on Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmoreland and, notably, of the separate section that comes between 'Cumberland' and 'Northumberland' and is devoted to the 'Picts Wall', the ruined structure more commonly known today as Hadrian's Wall. This material in turn finds its way into the large, sometimes full page, prints of Roman ruins, artifacts and inscriptions that are part of the 1600 expanded quarto version of the *Britannia*.[76] [*fig. 10*] What this

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[76]Between the first edition of 1586 and the second edition of 1607, the *Britannia* transforms itself from octavo into folio. The change in format does not only mark the presence of more material, but also a change in audience. The small Latin octavo is the format of choice for the scholar. The folio is a format with a less specialised audience in mind, suitable for the seventeenth century gentleman's equivalent of the coffee table. This process of 'bourgeoisification' is complete with Philomel Holland's English translation published in 1610. All subsequent editions of the *Britannia* are in English.

augmentation of the ongoing project of the *Britannia* does, when it emerges in the ever more grandiose folio versions of the book, is reactivate antiquarianism within the Jacobean context.[77] Camden's project clearly spans the Tudor and Stuart periods, with sometimes no change in the material that he uses, but specific inclusions of James in the Jacobean editions, both in the text and in the presentation of his coat of arms on the frontispieces enable the texts to operate anew within Jacobean paradigms of nationhood, union and the translation of empire. At the moment that James is styling himself as the new Caesar, Camden is delving into the detritus left behind in Britain by the ancient Roman emperors. At several points he refers to these architectural remains as 'rubbish'.

In the context of the new editions of the *Britannia*, issued after the accession of James to the English throne, the areas which Camden chooses to focus on when discussing the Roman presence in Britain become very interesting. It is in the sections on Monmouthshire, Cumberland and Northumberland, that there are printed substantial visual records of the Roman occupation. The drawings in the sections on Cumberland

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Another addition to the 1607 and 1610 editions are the series of county maps which now preface each section. This too is part of a popularising movement in the projected audience of the *Britannia*. Between the 1607 Latin edition and the English translation, these maps become separate plates, rather than an integrated part of the book. This too marks a movement away from bookish scholarship towards a more commercial market. The maps can easily be detached from the English translation and, presumably, mounted separately. In the edition held by the University of Glasgow library, the maps of Ireland and of Northumberland are both missing, presumably marking the interests of a previous owner. It is interesting that the only maps that the library has from an original copy of John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* are those of Cumberland and Northumberland. The borders between Scotland and England, and the marginal space of colonised Ireland feature as a concern of both previous owners of the two texts. See Kendrick 1950: 108-109 for a brief summary of the successive editions of the *Britannia*.

[77]Although the trip itself was taken in the last years of Elizabeth's reign, and the first instance of the publication of the results falls within Elizabeth's reign, it is the context of the expanded Jacobean editions that I am interested in. What do the Jacobean editions of the *Britannia* contribute to an understanding of the national space of Jacobean England/'Great Britaine'? This comes within what I have called, after Foucault, the 'space of a dispersion'. The fact that the trip was taken in 1600, when the two kingdoms were divided, but the results given wider currency in the 1607 folio, when they were supposedly some way on the road towards being united, and when they shared the same king, may in fact serve to highlight the ironies of rewriting the history of 'British' space as the space of an empire. That irony emerges though, in this instance, in relation to the reactivation of the *translatio imperii* as the Jacobean project to unite the two kingdoms.

and Northumberland are of course the result of Camden and Cotton's journey. Indeed, Camden informs us that it was Robert Cotton who transcribed the inscriptions on the ruins for him. That Camden chooses the liminal location of Monmouthshire as the other site for Roman ruins is also highly suggestive. This, as his account of the county points out, is the birth place of Henry V, whose Welsh ancestry is made much of in Shakespeare's play, and a connection that has been seen as significant in the light of the Tudors' own much celebrated Welsh provenance. It is tempting to think that Innogen was standing on a hill in Monmouthshire, neither in nor out of Wales, when she lost her way and needed to refer to a book. Politically, Monmouthshire was a liminal location. Although, in Speed's atlas, it is included amongst the counties of Wales, and it was under the jurisdiction of the Council of Wales, it was still a border county, and like all border counties between Wales and England, subject to some dispute as to its national status.

> The price of such a 'union' [between England and Wales] was high. As a 'junior partner' in what was to be virtually a new state, Wales had literally to be redefined. Firm borders and boundaries were imposed in the English mode. One result was that the city and county of Monmouth, unable to yield easily to such procedures, turned almost overnight into an anomaly; neither Welsh nor English, its newly invented indeterminacy persisted into the twentieth century. (Hawkes 1998: 125)

In order to get close to the Roman presence in Britain, Camden and Cotton have travelled to the northern most limits of the Roman empire. Like the indeterminate location of Monmouth, this too was border country - 'batable.' What they find there is the evidence of conflict, available in the landscape as heaps and ruins, scattered across the countryside.

> From hence the shore, drawing it selfe backe by little and little, and as it appeareth by the heapes of rubbish it hath been fortified by the Romans, wheresoever there was easie landing. For it was the outmost bound of the Roman Empire, and the Scots lay forest upon this coast and infested it most, when (as with continual surges of warre) they flowed and flocked hither by heapes out of Ireland. (Camden 1610: 766)

The repetition of the word 'heapes' to indicate both the ruins left behind by the Romans and also, somewhat strangely, the raiding Scots who travel over from Ireland, is testimony to the histories of conflict and confusion that Camden is unearthing. The ruins mark the extent of Roman civility, the limits of its authority, marking the civil off from the barbarous, but it is at precisely those limits that we get this semantic confusion, where raiding barbarians are given the same name as the markers of civilisation. The use of the word 'heapes' here is reminiscent of the morally suspect tone it is given in Spenser's 'The Ruines of Time'. He uses it when writing about the collapse of Rome, but fails to indicate whether by Rome he means the Empire or the Church. The word 'heapes' again lumps the two together.

> With her own weight down pressed now shee lies,
> And by her heaps her hugenesse testifies. (76 - 77)[78]

The Roman Empire, left behind in 'heapes', as rubbish, may not be appropriate to the Jacobean Roman style. Its discovery, as part of the antiquarian project, is inextricably linked with the rebirth of Britain under the union of the two crowns, however. That is, although there is no direct link between antiquarianism's ruins and James's Roman style, the two share a common concern with the *translatio imperii*. Antiquarianism's discoveries are, therefore part of the same project as the Jacobean restatement of the *translatio imperii*, albeit a slightly disjunctive part. It is this commonalty which allows me to compare them in this way, and to play them off against each other within the 'space of a dispersion'. In fact, James even seems to want to ignore the existence of

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[78]The word 'heaps' does carry connotations of weak spiritual foundations. In the King James version of the Bible it is used in association with the overthrow of Tyre, praising God's vengeance. 'For thou hast made of a city an heap; of a defenced city a ruin: a palace of strangers to be no city; it shall never be built.' (Isaiah 25:2) In the book of Jeremiah, it is the Amminites that are brought down to a heap. ' Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will cause an alarm of war to be heard in Rabbah of the Ammonites; and it shall be a desolate heap, and her daughters shall be burned with fire: then shall Israel be heir unto them that were his heirs, saith the Lord.' (Jeremiah 49:2) These associations might enable some kind of loose semantic link between the 'heaps' of the Roman ruins and the heaps of marauding Scots, themselves morally suspect, 'infestations' marked by an inherent sinfulness.

these walls, calling them, in his opening speech to the English parliament, 'demolished little walls'. (*JHC*, vol.1: 142)

In talking more precisely about the 'Picts Wall', Camden stresses its function as a dividing line, not only in practical, military terms, but also in ideological terms, as a division between the civil and the barbarous.

> that WALL, the most renowned workes of the Romans, which was the bound in times past of the Romane province; raised of purpose to seclude and keepe out the barbarous nations, that in this tract, were evermore *barking and baying* (as an ancient writer saith) *about the Roman Empire*. (Camden 1610: 775)

The civility of the Roman Empire, under threat from the northern clamourings of barbarous rebels, uses the wall to define itself, as much as to maintain the upper hand militarily. This maintenance of a clear division between the two lands is brought under pressure by Camden's understanding of the contemporary situation in this border country. Like the 'heapes', the more recent borderers are indistinguishable, jointly identified as the source of conflict.

> The land thereabout is called *Batable* ground as one would say, *Litigious*; because the English and the Scotish have litigiously contended about it. For the inhabitants on both sides as borderers in all other parts, are a military kind of men, nimble, wilie, alwaies in readines for any service, yea & by reason of often skirmishes passing wel experienced. (782)

Instead of land that is clearly demarcated, this land is characterised by being 'batable'.

The status of this land is undetermined, neither one thing nor the other, able to sustain divergent interpretations of its status. Ultimately both the image of a clear division in the land, and the undecided nature of this territory are transcended by the near miraculous presence of James, as Camden writes it at the beginning of his section on Scotland.

> ...the happinesse of these daies so rare and admirable, since that by a divine and heavenly opportunity is now fallen into our laps, which wee hardly ever hoped, and our Ancestours so often and so earnestly wished: Namely that Britaine so many ages disjoigned in it selfe and unsociable, should all throughout like one uniforme City, under one most sacred and happie Monarch, the founder of perpetuall peace, by a blessed Union bee conjoyned in one entire bodie.
>
> .. that the dismale DISCORD which hath set these nations (otherwise invincible) so long at debate, might be stiffled, and crushed for ever; and sweet CONCORD triumph joyously with endlesse comfort. (3(4a1^{v}))[79]

The movement of this last sentence almost mimics the transcendence of a Jonsonian masque, the antimasque of 'DISCORD' replaced by the masque proper, 'CONCORD'. As in a court entertainment, the change is brought about by the divine presence of the monarch. The miraculous nature of this intervention is clear in that 'wee hardly ever hoped' that it would happen. It is a similar effect to the unlikely, miraculous, and unlooked for coincidences that bring about the conclusions of Shakespearean romance. Cymbeline also 'hardly ever hoped' that his sons would be returned to their rightful place at the centre of the Romano-British nation. Even here, though, we get reminders of conflict. The lack of hope for the union, for Britain to be anything but 'disjoigned in it selfe', and the long debate over the status of the two lands refers back to the acknowledgement of the still 'batable' status of the border country and the need to mark civilisation off from barbarity with a wall. This division is further underlined when Camden writes that he is not qualified to speak about Scotland, that he would leave discussion of Scottish history and topography to the Scottish. Camden's refusal to know about Scotland is indication of an uneasiness with the 'one entire bodie' of the new union. This, despite the fact that James's accession has rendered it necessary for him to include a Scottish section in these editions of the

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[79]The numbering of the pages starts again at the beginning of the section on Scotland, indicating that the author considered there to be some sort of conceptual break in the material. The printer's collation continues as per the rest of the book, showing that, even if there was a conceptual division between the section on Scotland and the rest of the *Britannia*, it was still intended that it be published in a single volume.

Britannia.[80] No such qualms are stated at the beginning of the section on Ireland. Its status as colony requires knowledge. Or rather, the existence of anything like an Irish historian could not be countenanced in the face of such overwhelming barbarity. The barbarous unknown, north of the Picts Wall, does not fit into this colonial epistemology, but rather escapes it. The Scots are barbarous, but at least they know it. The uncertain question of whether or not Britain really carries on beyond the wall disturbs the 'CONCORD' of the Jacobean union, located in the single body of the island nation.

As in *Cymbeline*, the boundaries of the empire, and specifically of the space of 'Great Britaine' are put under question. Similarly it is not certain what is included, and what is excluded from 'Britannia'. This is further underlined when, on the map of Northumberland, printed as part of the new editions of the *Britannia*, it is seen that the Picts Wall runs straight through it. [*fig. 11*] The political boundaries of 'Britannia', as presented in John Norden's maps, are not identical to the political boundaries that frame the original *pax romana*. The permeable boundaries of 'Britannia' are also indicated in the survival of this Elizabethan book into the reign of James. The uneasy addition of a section on Scotland gives the lie to the celebration of the island nation that is so much a feature of the book. [81]

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[80]Michael Drayton's long chorographical poem, *Poly-olbion*, also has epistemological difficulties in crossing the English/Scottish border. Drayton's 'Poly-Olbion' does not include Scotland. In the sixteenth song of the poem, the old Roman road, Watling Street joins in, singing its song of supposed unity. It links up the entire kingdom until it arrives at the Scottish / English border. Watling Street sings that it reaches

> To *England*-ward within the *Pict's* renowned Wall,
> And did the greater part of *Cumberland* containe:
> With whom the *Britans* name for ever shall remaine; (16.212-214)

The old Roman road reaches as far as that landmark, that boundary marker, and stops. Drayton's 'Olbion' is unable to contain the whole of Britain. This may well accord with Drayton's Anglo-centric politics which were focused on the militant protestant hopes attached to the alternative court of Prince Henry. His poem begins in Wales, as a site legitimising the nation in a way similar to that discussed in relation to the Tudor-Stuart myths of origin attached to Milford Haven. (Drayton 1961 [1613])

[81]In the preface to the book, Camden quotes at length from Roman poets, including Virgil, who developed the notion of Britain as 'world without the world'.

The status of the Picts Wall, and of the Roman ruins scattered along its length, both in Camden's *Britannia*, and in Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, is that of the 'landmark'. The word 'landmark' has, like many other words associated with the landscape and with the representation of space, acquired many meanings. The use of the word to mean a prominent feature to aid navigation and to indicate position, or to refer to a place of specific interest for a tourist has gradually replaced a prior meaning - a boundary mark, delineating the legal extent of a given piece of property. Hadrian's Wall, as it spans the years, encompasses these two meanings. Starting life as the marker which limits the Roman Empire's northern progress, it ends up as a tourist attraction. As it features in Camden and, as we shall see, in Speed, it is somewhere between the two. It marks the single most fascinating place of interest for Camden, as is shown in his decision to visit the area with Robert Cotton. It is a kind of early tourist trap for these early modern travellers. It marks the location where British history becomes visible in the landscape, available to be read by the historians. Its political location, however, still maintains a function as the dividing line between Scotland and England. Or rather, it forms part of the disputed territory, the 'batable' land which lies between these two designated areas, 'otherwise impregnable'. If the discovery of a Roman-British past is in any way to aid a Jacobean project of union which is insistent on re-reading the island nation as the accomplishment of a latter day *pax romana*, the result of the latest translation of empire, then the Picts Wall would surely be the last place to go. And yet the antiquarians and the cartographers are irresistibly drawn there. To seek the borderlands of the Roman Empire at a time when that empire is being given a second birth in the Jacobean union is to invite a questioning of the status of that union as complete. Like the ambiguous status of Wales in *Cymbeline* and in the national maps of Speed's *Theatre*, the Picts Wall marks the space of an anachronism. Whilst part of the *translatio imperii* that supports James's claims to be a latter day Caesar, it also marks the limits of the translation of empire, exposing it to the conflicts of Britain's other histories.

iv. Ruins on the map: Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*

Unlike Camden's *Britannia*, John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* is self-consciously and overtly concerned to propagate the Jacobean project of union. The title of the atlas itself announces this intention. Camden's celebration of the divine providence of James's accession is tucked away at the beginning of his section on Scotland, although the royal crest on the frontispiece of the 1610 edition does make a clear reference to the union's providential monarch. The imperial crown above the royal coat of arms is flanked on the one side by a thistle and the other by two roses. In the copy kept in the library at the University of Glasgow these roses have been coloured in red and white, making more explicit the reference to the peace brought to the land by the Tudors over a century ago.[82] Speed's entire atlas, however, is conceived as a project to glorify Great Britain as *empire*, ruled over by James, the bringer of peace and union. Each of the county maps that make up the main body of the atlas contain the royal coat of arms. On the second page of the atlas, preceding the maps there is a large reproduction of the complete achievement of James, surrounded in the margins by all the coats of arms of the ancient kings of the smaller dominions when the island was divided. [*fig. 12*] The implication is that this history of division, glorious though it is in its Britishness, has now been transcended by the all encompassing rule of James. The complexity of his Achievement is testimony to his status as emperor, as it supersedes the simplicity of the various devices of the ancient kingdoms. Ironically, one of those small coats of arms belongs to the 'Romane Emprours'. James's empire presumably makes even this look parochial in comparison. The relationship between Rome and the empire of Great Britain is brought out more

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[82]If we were to extend James's concern to represent the union as a marriage, it is interesting to note that here the thistle of Scotland is positioned in the female, right hand position, and hence subservient in the gendered organisation of early modern sexual relations. The English roses are on the left hand side, the side occupied by the man in a traditional marriage portrait. This is also true of some of the projects to produce a flag for the newly united kingdom(s). In some of these, the Scottish flag is again on the right, the English on the left. (See Honig 1990 for an account of the uses of this convention in early modern English portraiture.)

fully in the frontispiece to the atlas. [*fig. 13*] The design is typically Jacobean, composed out of assorted fragments of classical architecture - columns and arches surrounding statues. In this case the statues are of 'a Britaine' and also of the various invaders of the islands - Roman, Saxon, Norman and Dane. By virtue of the form of the design, the overall impression is undoubtedly Roman however. The Roman, or classical, style has encompassed the entire of British history, enclosing it within its arches and columns. The native 'Britaine' may take precedence in his situation at the top of the page, and under the biggest arch, but it is the Roman architecture which effects the imperial inclusiveness reflected in the title of the atlas. It is the Roman architecture that, as in the Jonsonian masque, provides the 'theatre' of empire in which the individual maps of the atlas are placed. As in *Cymbeline*, the relationship between Rome and Britain is somewhat ambiguous. If the Briton comes to the top of the heap, both in the play and on this frontispiece, it is only by virtue of being subsumed within a larger Roman *imperium*. Also echoing *Cymbeline*, a British Romanness only comes fully into fruition if Rome proper is, to an extent, marginalised. This is the irony of the Jacobean *translatio imperii*.

In *Forms of Nationhood* Richard Helgerson locates the Speed atlas within the generational project to write England, to give England 'the kingdom of our language'. (Helgerson 1992: 1) Helgerson, however, within his introduction, gives very little importance to the atlas as a means of creating the nation anew. He singles it out, alongside Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, as one of the two texts that he is to cover in his study which had no great institutional impact in the nation's development. In many ways his instinct might be right. Speed's *Theatre* was not ground breaking in the way that Saxton's Elizabethan atlas of the English counties had been. Indeed, many of Speed's maps are copied directly from Saxton's. Speed's atlas also has a diligent antiquarianism about it that would seem unlikely to lend itself easily to the formation of a vigorous new nation. However, for a nation to be produced, for it to claim its individuality, it must produce the territory in which it is to exist, and this is clearly one

of the functions of Speed's maps. In fact, I believe Helgerson to have singled out not two somewhat inconsequential texts, but rather two of the more important texts for the early modern re-imagining of the nation state. Important as national religion, legal systems and histories are, they are nothing if they are not located within the space of a nation. If the *Theatre* arrives on the scene rather late in terms of its technologies, it does coincide with a marked realignment of the nation, and the space of the nation. It is not simply a continuation of the project begun with the Saxton atlas, in which the territory of the nation becomes more and more visible. It is also an intervention in the construction of a specifically Jacobean space of the nation.

Especially at the moment, when Britain's internal and regional boundaries seem to be at a moment of change and crisis, we must realise how tenuous the link is between the rocks, trees, rivers, fields and even towns that constitute the physical territory of this island and the term 'Great Britain'.[83] Writing about the need for an ideology to produce its own social space Lefebvre continues,

> More generally speaking, what we call ideology only achieves consistency by intervening in social space and in its production, and by thus taking on body therein. (Lefebvre 1991: 44)

A key word here is 'consistency'. The production of social space to embody an ideology may be a continual process in search of consistency, but for all that it *is* a

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[83]Of course, it seems that Britain's 'regional' and national politics have always been in a period of change and crisis. During the period in which I have written this thesis, Scotland has gained a devolved parliament, Wales and Northern Ireland their own assemblies with executive powers. All this under a government whose style is seen to coincide with the rapidly disintegrating moment of 'cool Britannia'. The shifts between local nationalisms and wider involvements in pan-national political organisations - the European Union etc. - are as crucial today as ever in the formation of a space of 'Great Britain'. In fact, it may well be that Britain's eventual success as the most commonly used name for these islands, despite the shaky beginnings which I am here charting, is due to its flexibility in times of change and crisis. As a site for political contestation, 'Britain' is a place where all factions can meet and argue, even if they all would rather be called something else. As somebody who identifies as Welsh, yet teaches English literature in a Scottish university, the term 'British' means very little, except as a term to eschew. However, its usefulness as a term within which to contest the political inconsistencies which it embodies, is becoming increasingly apparent, not only to me personally, but in a wider field of 'British cultural studies'.

process and it never does achieve that full consistency. The production of this land as Great Britain is an ongoing project, that must, of necessity, continually restate itself. That very need to restate itself, however, is a source of discontinuity, a revelation of disruption in the production of ideology in space. Great Britain is *always* being reproduced, but always in different circumstances, different contexts and within different generic restrictions. However, the space of the nation implies a history which has produced that nation. To then reproduce the space of Great Britain is to invoke those other re-iterations of the nation space, which may or may not quite match up with the boundaries of the present. Great Britain may look different at any one time, even though the naming of 'Great Britaine' as imperial island nation demands a cessation of historical difference, a transcendence of conflict in the image of the united island.

The *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* is a particularly fruitful text in which to examine the relations between territory, cartography and history because of the ways in which Speed writes histories onto the maps themselves. At the same time, the project is itself linked to a particular moment in the ongoing history of 'Britain'. History is present in Speed's maps, not only as the landmarks which form part of the mapped territory, but also in the occasional small written paragraph on the history of the area. Each map is also preceded by a written commentary on the county's characteristic terrain, agriculture and industry as well as its history, particularly in relation to the individual landowners who are represented on the maps themselves by their coats of arms. Speed produces a history of space. We have then two histories - the history Speed's maps are themselves embedded in on the one hand, and the history that Speed sees as inscribed onto British territory on the other. Speed's history of space is not the same thing as a history of Speed's space. What I would like to do is bring these histories to bear on each other in such a way as to reveal that the semiological system of the political map of the nation, as it is here established in the

advent of modernity, is by no means coherent, and that history understood spatially calls the linear narratives of historical discourse into question.

I have already had cause to note the fact that historians of cartography have, in recent years, moved away from an understanding of the development of cartography as nothing more than a progressivist narrative, leading towards ever increasing accuracy. Instead they have sought to explain a rhetoric of cartography, in which maps 'mean' something other than an ostensibly mimetic relationship with the territory being depicted. The most prominent of these has, of course, been J.B. Harley who has, himself, written specifically about Speed's atlas in the essay, 'Meaning and ambiguity in Tudor cartography.' Taking it as read that maps contain meanings and uses beyond the practical (he writes that '... maps would have articulated symbolic values as part of a visual language by which specific interests, doctrines, and even world views were communicated.'), Harley seeks to import a model for analysis, in order to account for these 'symbolic values'. In this instance it is specifically taken from Erwin Panofsky's art historical practice rather than from the post structuralism which is a feature of some of his later essays. Although, as already argued in the previous section, his subsequent uses of deconstruction in other essays could be read as being just as conservative as this earlier trust in iconographics.[84]

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[84]Panofskyan iconographics involves a process of identifying three levels of meaning in the visual image to be analysed. The primary meaning can be roughly described as the mimetic and in the realm of cartography this corresponds to the depiction of natural objects in a seemingly naturalistic way - the hills, rivers and trees on the Speed maps. The secondary level of meaning corresponds to what geographers would call 'conventional' signs on a map. That is, those symbols which require a key to be deciphered. These are obviously not so evident on Speed's map as the 'key to symbols' had not at that point been established as a feature of the map. (Harley points out that this was later imported from a German cartographic tradition. Of course, the seemingly naturalistic little hills, churches and rivers are fast becoming 'conventionalised' in the way in which geographers understand map symbols. They are apparently interchangeable and mark only the existence of a certain kind of feature without providing any detailed specific information about that precise hill, river, church etc..)

The third level of meaning in Panofsky's method is the 'iconographical'. This level seeks to locate the image, in this instance the map, within a ideological system. It is '... a reconstruction of the ideological or symbolic undertones of images as they were understood by the cartographers, their patrons, or by individuals or groups in the society who came into contact with the image.' (Harley 1983: 28)

This methodology might be useful for establishing the fact that there is more to a map than meets the eye, and certainly for a human geographer, or historian of science, it would help to combat the progressivist versions of cartographic history. However, what it tends to produce is far too unified an impression of the map and its effects. Harley, for instance, seems too readily to accept the kind of 'Elizabethan world picture' abandoned by literary critics years ago. He sees the maps as part of a unified, and wholly successful, project in the establishment of an English (/British) nation.[85] This legacy has clearly been passed on to Helgerson in his work on Saxton. Harley and particularly the essay under question are the most important influence behind Helgerson's inclusion of cartography within the projects to forge the English nation that he identifies in *Forms of Nationhood*. The problems that existed in art history with Panofsky's iconographics are reproduced in this 'cartographic semantics'. The readings produced are no more than descriptions that fail to engage with the works in any way that questions them. Both history and practice are absent from this type of analysis. A typically Panofskyan reading of a visual image will explain the various internal meanings and significances of the image in relation to a wider system of signification, often in the terms of an obscure mythography, but ignores the complex questions to do with function, history and context that shadow any reading of representational strategies. Absent in the appropriation of this method in 'cartographic semantics' is any idea of the complex relations between territory as it might be conceived outwith its cartographic representation, and the representation of geography in cartographic form. John Gillies is at pains to separate the two.

> ... a map should never be confused with its constituent 'geography', where that is supposed to be somehow independent of the act of depiction. (Gillies 1994: 55)

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[85]This complacency is perhaps indicated in the title of the essay which refers to 'Tudor' cartography, even though the bulk of the essay is about Speed, that most Jacobean of cartographers. This lack of awareness of historical difference would contribute to a relatively untroubled reading of the maps. It is perhaps from this mistake, that the editors of the facsimile edition felt able to repeat the assertion that Speed's *Theatre* is a 'Tudor atlas.' (Speed 1988)

Of course he is right, and these two terms - 'map' and 'geography' - must be separated one from the other, as Gillies suggests, but not if that means ignoring the ways in which space is produced within a wider social context, within what I referred to in the introduction as the 'space of a dispersion'. Within this 'space of a dispersion', a more fully articulated understanding of the way in which different discourses interact, one cannot ignore the ways in which geography and cartography inform each other. Just as mapping is a construct, so is space, and the relationship between the two can never be simple. Merely to separate the two, as in the formula given by Gillies above, would not do justice to the complexity of the discursive realm that is brought into existence with the advent of the map.

This is a quarrel that I would also take to Baudrillard's famous formulation '... henceforth it is the map that precedes the territory.' (Baudrillard 1983: 2) Instead of the map being produced by the world as its mirror image, Baudrillard attempts to work against our common sense assumptions, insisting that the land, as it is experienced outside of the cartographic projection, is itself produced by the map. Whilst he is responding to what he sees as a typically post modern phenomenon, in which the idea of representation as mimesis is increasingly supplanted by the simulacrum, in which representation is more 'real' than reality, this formulation also speaks in some way to all processes of representation, at all times. It is particularly relevant to an understanding of the way in which the production of space is mediated by the forces in control of the systems of representation, maps as well as legal documents, poems as well as architecture.

However, Baudrillard's little catchphrase is altogether too simplistic. What it does is merely switch agency from one term of the equation to the other. Previously common sense held it that the subject produced its own representation; now the representation produces its own subject. What this binary dynamic ignores is the complex of relations that have already gone into the production of the territory that the map is supposed to

be a representation of - including things external to the cartographic project. It does not position the relations between map, territory and history within a wider analytical field that would acknowledge the intractability of the problems associated with representation and interpretation. This is why I have frequently turned to Lefebvre's understanding of a production of space, instead of relying on models of spatial representation that are more obviously assigned to a postmodern project. As I outlined in my introduction, Lefebvre's theoretical positions are not without their problems, but they are a much more nuanced account of the complex of relations between history, space and representation.

Whilst an iconographical method may be useful for Harley in the first instance, in that it insists on the conventionality of mapping, on the fact that it is not a necessary and natural extension or reflection of a pretextual territory, it is not useful in as much as it isolates systems of representing space from the wider activities of the production of space. As I have suggested some 'post modern' understandings of space and representation also have this effect. Lefebvre has told us that it is the 'diachronic' and the 'etymology of locations' that become inscribed in space. There is no static mirroring effect between map and territory. Rather the historical, or the 'diachronic' emerges in the spatial, or 'synchronic' in such a way as to disturb the apparent mimesis that the map is attempting.

If we look at John Speed's map of Cumberland in the *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, we can see these processes at work. [*fig. 14*] Written into the landscape of this county is its past; in this case, its Roman past. To map a space adequately, it seems that its history must also be mapped. For Speed, mapping space means mapping the history of that space as it is present to him. Although this process is particularly obvious in Speed's maps, with their deliberate references to given historical narratives, the same could, I think, be said of the most apparently plain of modern maps. However, the histories alluded to in Speed's atlas are in no way the same thing as an

empirical past. These are histories which are 'eternally present'. The Cumberland of 1611 is a product of its history, a history that is completely contemporary to 1611; 'given as an immediate whole' (Lefebvre 1991: 37). Speed's map can not help but be a part of this process whereby history is constructed spatially, as 'eternally present.' Although his map must not be 'confused with its "constituent geography"', the two are not in fact inseparable.

The only county maps in Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* which contain pictures of Roman ruins are those on the borders between Scotland and England. Like Camden's *Britannia*, the new empire celebrated in Speed's title is most vividly brought to life in the liminal locations of Northumberland, Westmorland and Cumberland. Speed's work draws, of course, directly from Camden and Cotton's archaeological expeditions to the areas around the Picts Wall. Their fascination becomes Speed's in the *Theatre*. In these maps Speed reprints the engravings of Roman altars that Camden had included in the extended 1607 edition of the *Britannia*, and that were a feature of the book in all subsequent editions. He acknowledges this debt in the bottom right hand corner of the Northumberland map. He writes that these remains of altars have been 'here inserted' from the Stones themselves remaining now in the custody of that worthy Preserver of ancient monuments the learned knight Sir Robert Cotton of Cunnington, whose liberal mind hath much increased and inriched this labour.' (Speed 1988: 139) Like Camden, Speed points out that these altars were constructed by the Roman garrisons stationed along the Picts Wall.

> This Countrye being the uttermost Limits of the Romane Empyre, and defenced with that admirable wall as is above sayd, was continually frequented with their Legions and Souldiers, whoe in tyme of peace, or after victoryes achieved, buylt many monuments and Altars, with inscriptions of their Idole Gods, for the prosperity of their Emperours and themselves, many of them yet remayning in divers places there, are to be sene, and some of them according to their true formes here expressed, as they have bene, most carefull and exactly taken by men of wothy [sic.] note and credite. (59)

The Picts Wall is again serving a dual role as landmark. It is a feature of the local landscape, just as other county maps in Speed's atlas show castles, cathedrals or townscapes. It also marks an ideological border between the civil Roman world and the barbarous north - 'the uttermost Limits of the Romane Empyre.'

The altars serve a slightly different function between the *Theatre* and *Britannia* however. Speed stresses their origins in a *pax romana*. Like Jupiter's Temple at the end of *Cymbeline* they mark an end to any conflict between Rome and Britain, even if, again as in *Cymbeline*, the accommodation between the two is marked by the prior conflict. The equivalent of this moment in Camden would be the accession of James as it is described at the start of the section on Scotland, the advent of the period of 'CONCORD'. The altars in Camden are, however, treated as alien objects, objects that are markedly outside the current make up of the nation. He considers them, at one point, to be beneath his interest, even though their continual recurrence in the sections on Northumberland, Cumberland, and Monmouthshire, indicate an ongoing fascination.

> Such altars as these (neither neede we thinke much to observe those ancient rites, which now long since the most sacred Christian religion hath chased away and banished quite)... (Camden 1610: 771)

In Camden the altars are a mark of the difference between Britain's past and its present. I have already said that Camden's treatment of the remains of Roman religion was markedly different to Inigo Jones's homogenising project in his analysis of Stonehenge. For Jones and Speed, the ancient monuments reveal their meaning in a way that is coherent, and that fits in with a contemporary project of translation. For Camden, they are, at times, unreadable, indicating the intractability of any problem in translation. The inscriptions frequently have gaps in them which Camden sometimes attempts to fill in with guesswork, but more often leaves as incomplete, ruined. For Speed, however, they seem to speak unconsciously of the new accommodation between Scotland and England. The 'monuments' and altars are built in a time of

victory, after the end of conflict. To write that on the lands that Camden called 'batable' is to inscribe the Jacobean union on to the land, to use the opportunity to reinforce the Jacobean peace at the very spot where it is most likely to give way.

Speed may want to stress the role that these ruins might play in the development of theatre of empire for Jacobean union, but the trope of the ruin can not help but invoke histories which are not wholly consistent with present ideological organisations of space. These ruins on the Scottish / English border, operating as a figure, have no stable grounds. Rather, a vast array of different and divergent meanings emanate from these ruins, located on the border of two formerly separated kingdoms. One of the most immediate of these may be internal to the atlas, reflecting the architecture featured as a frontispiece to the 1611 edition of the *Theatre*. In that they are part of the imperial project of the atlas. The Roman ruins are more than that though. They are embedded in long, contradictory, historical processes. They testify to the empire's internal borders and to a history of disunity, of protest against imperial inclusion, of heterogeneity. They mark the very limits of civility, limits which were still being debated in the English parliament. During one of the debates that periodically recurred throughout the life of the first parliament of James's reign, the English MP, Nicholas Fuller, came up with this wonderful parable for the situation.

> one Man is owner of two Pastures, with one Hedge to divide them; the one Pasture bare, the other fertile and good: A wise Owner will not pull down the Hedge quite, but make Gates, and let them in and out etc. If he do, the Cattle will rush in Multitudes, and much against their Will return. (quoted in Coward 1994: 137)

This obviously recalls the paranoia of the English that the union would provoke an overwhelming inrush of Scots, that I discussed earlier. It also shows that this notion is related to the notion of a boundary hedging the civil and cultivated, off from the barbarous and barren. The Romans' limits were still active in the minds of the bigoted English.

Roman authority, however, can be seen to be as displaced in this theatre of the empire, as it is in *Cymbeline's* parallel theatre of empire. In the Cumberland map, the shield which is a feature of all the county maps, is very much reduced in size and prominence and is balanced on the opposite side of the map by a medallion bearing the head of Severus, the Roman Emperor responsible for building what we now know as Hadrian's wall. Although what is intended by this balance is the promotion of the idea that James is a latter day Caesar, what is created is the possibility of an alternative source of power. Operating in some way in lieu of the marker of royal authority, or as an extension of its representation on the map, the medal also succeeds in displacing royal authority from its proper place of authority over the land. Like *Cymbeline*'s inclusion of the Romans within its royal conclusion, the relationship of Britain to Rome in this map is not unambiguous. Rome both stands in for a 'British' authority and seems to contest it. If, as a whole, the *Theatre* is intended as the representation of James's imaginary empire, the unified Great Britain, homogenous and authorised by the royal presence, then it is local moments like this on the individual county maps that work to reveal the inconsistencies of its representational proposition. The history written into the territory of Cumberland, the associations which help to construct it as the Cumberland of the seventeenth century, return to question the authority of James's position as the 'emperor' of Great Britain. And, although this is always a specifically seventeenth century history, a history that is eternally present and not the same thing as an empirical past, this does not mean that the process of production is not written into that history. The production of the map and the historical processes that allow it to be produced, interferes with the map's production of territory as empire.

Looking at the map of Westmoreland, we can see that there is also here an attempt to justify James's position through historical narrative. [*fig. 15*] Again, the location of this narrative, in the 'batable' lands of the border counties, is highly significant. This time, this is not done through James's adopted classical aesthetic but through the revelation of the Stuart line. Attached to the town plan of 'Kendale' is the story of

'Malcolme Kinge of Scots' and his marriage to Margaret, 'the only heire of the Saxons monarchy'. As Malcolm is James's ancestor, the message seems simple enough - in history the union of the two crowns has already taken place through the Stuart line. James's accession is in that case no innovation, but the return to the prior and proper state of affairs. Marriage was of course a dominant topos in James's understanding of the relationship, both between monarch and country, and between Scotland and England in the proposed union.

However, the marriage seems to take place on the back of some raids south of the border, undertaken by Malcolm, who also sent 'from those parts great bootyes into his owne kingdome.' Again, history reveals only more disturbance and the lack of a single justifying narrative. Written on to the territory, and an inevitable part of the map's production is a history of conflict. The very name of Britain, contested and without grounds, seems to invoke the idea of conflict. Whilst in the hands of James and Speed it aims for the unified and uncontested ability to represent the territory of the island, this is never allowed. If the point of the story about Malcolm is to reveal the precedence of the name, like James's attempts at nominal union it does not ever achieve a currency in the present space of the nation. Too soon, or too late, Britain would always rather be called something else in the here and now.

For Speed, to allude to this space of the nation as a theatre of empire is to arrest the narratives of British history in this one moment of imperial 'Great Britaine'. It is an attempt to close off the conflicts that underwrite that name, and instead to insist on the inevitability of *that* territory being given *that* name, under the imperial authority of *that* king. It is when the disjunctions of time *in* space are allowed free play, in the ruin and in the landmark, that the homogeneity of space is called into question. It is to this persistent questioning of a homogenous space of the nation that I will (re)turn to in the next section, entitled 'Digging'.

4. Digging

i. Landed histories: an introduction

> The main thing you should look upon is the land
> (Winstanley [1649]1973: 115)

In 1660, the year of the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy following the interregnum, parliament passed an act which provided for the abolition of feudal tenures. Any remnants of the old feudal system of land ownership were effectively disposed of. Property in land was now to be held outright and not in the name of the crown. It could be bought and sold, just like any other commodity. The crown was itself reduced to the status of one land owner amongst many. Karl Marx mentions this piece of legislation in *Capital*.

> After the restoration of the Stuarts, the landed proprietors carried, by legal means, an act of usurpation, effected everywhere on the Continent without any legal formality. They abolished the feudal tenure, i.e. they got rid of all its obligations to the state, 'indemnified' the state by taxes on the peasantry and the rest of the mass of the people, vindicated for themselves the rights of modern private property in estates to which they had only a feudal tenure, and finally, passed those laws of settlement, which, *mutatis mutandis*, had the same effect on the English agricultural labourer, as the edict of the Tartar Boris Godunov on the Russian peasantry.(Marx 1983: 470-471)

The English post-Restoration land legislation is positioned then, for Marx, at a decisive moment in the creation of modern capitalism. It is widely recognised that England was the first country to develop such a system of agrarian capitalism, dependant on wage labour and private capital investment. As Marx writes that history in *Capital* this development consisted of what he calls 'the expropriation of the Agricultural population from the land', a process which, in England had received added impetus from the Reformation under Henry VIII. As he writes - 'The property of the church formed the religious bulwark of the traditional conditions of landed

property. With its fall these were no longer tenable.' (470) This narrative is backed up, to a certain extent, by more recent research. Richard Lachmann's study into the reasons behind England's precocious acceptance of capitalist modes of production shows that the Henrician Reformation created what he calls 'opportunities for agency' - that is, it opened up existing structures in ways that allowed them to be redefined according to the wishes and needs of certain ascendant elites. (Lachmann 1987) Others have, however, sought to complicate Marx's narrative. John E. Martin, in *Feudalism to Capitalism* rejects linear narratives and insists instead, upon an 'articulation' of feudalism and capitalism.

> [...] capitalism cannot be viewed as constituting a completely formed economic system or mode of production with its own self-contained reproduction cycle until the process of transition was completed by the emergence of industrialisation. This ... is crucial to understanding the form that the articulation of capitalism and feudalism may take during transition, especially in England. (Martin 1983: 100)

Feudalism and capitalism cannot be so easily divided in the transitional early modern period. The one leads into the other. The landed class is able to contain both feudal and capitalist modes of production. Martin argues that absolutism was able to cover the fissures between these two modes until the 'English Revolution.'

> After then, the shattering of absolutism allowed a reconstitution of the political unity of the landowning class, now under the aegis of its progressive wing. (101)

To return to *Capital* then we can start to complicate Marx's narrative by undoing the chronologies of one of its main turning points - the post-Restoration land legislation. What Marx ignores here is that the 1660 legislation serves to underwrite a previous act of parliament and to bring that within the new, however temporary, state of agreement between the Stuarts and parliament. The wording of the 1660 act makes specific reference to the 1645 act which was brought in under the Long Parliament, a parliament almost wholly antagonistic to the Stuarts, and certainly antagonistic to their

feudal claims to the control of the English landscape. The act, as it is written, also highlights the shifting relations between crown and parliament.

> Whereas it hath been found by former experience, That the courts of wards and liveries and tenures by knights-service, either of the king or others, or by knights service *in capite*, or socage *in capite* of the King, and the consequents upon the same, have been much more burthensome ... to the kingdom, than they have been beneficial to the King. (Robertson 1904: 1)

The 1660 Act here admits that within this legislation there may exist a conflict of interests. It is not necessarily mutually beneficial to crown and country. What is beneficial to the crown may, it is implied, be harmful to the kingdom. In this small sentence, we are witnessing one of the steps towards a break up of older systems of government. It is the end of the court system as a viable political force. The old 'liveries' and 'tenures', so much a part of the late medieval political scene, and an important factor in the distribution of power under the Tudors and early Stuarts, are being written off as harmful to more pressing interests - those of the private land owner. The 'kingdom' here may reasonably be assumed as a metonym for the landowners. Those working on the land do not get a mention in the framing of this legislation. The new accommodation between crown and parliament in the Restoration, cannot, here, erase the fact of their mutual antagonism and separate interests. This is clearly framed as a compromise, and one in favour of the capitalist land owners. Marx's narrative in chapter twenty seven of *Capital* does not then account for the histories of conflict that precede the ascendancy of agrarian capitalism after the Restoration - histories that are indicated between the lines of the 1660 Act. There is not one single story in which agrarian capitalism slowly replaces a feudal organisation of landowning relations. Rather, there is an uneven history of differing relations, of conflicts and compromises. The narratives of Marxist historicism, time-bound and teleological, find it difficult to cope with the radical historicity implied in the idea of 'articulation', of uneven development. Marx does acknowledge the long history of agrarian capitalism in England, but it is subsumed into a single narrative in

which we witness the slow, inevitable triumph of the private landlord over other, later marginalised interests - the crown and the peasantry. In a history which attends to a spatialised ontology, it is not necessarily true that such a single narrative is likely to emerge, but rather an idea of history which is 'haunted' by its own ghosts and which allows for the unsettling chronolgies of anachronism.

Recently, some literary critics have seen this kind of complication of Marx's attitude towards the early modern period in England as helpful in mounting a critique of some current notions in early modern studies in general. In the introduction to an important collection of essays on early modern English culture, *Enclosure Acts*, the editors make explicit some material links between developments in early modern England and the categories with which we, in the late twentieth century, interrogate those developments, particularly as they impact on literary studies. They are writing generally on the state of early modern studies and on the sterility of some of the debates centring on 'containment' as a concept in the new historicism in particular.

> A degree of consensus has emerged, but it has done little to break down an unprofitable division in which each kind of criticism insists on the priority of its categories over those of the others. More crucially, critical debates over the competing claims of history, class and gender have constructed a relationship between orthodoxy and heterodoxy which distorts both, situating the heterodox as subversion and the orthodox as its containment, fatalistically underwritten or morally denounced by the theorist. Enclosure strikes us as a paradigmatic case because it seemingly sets up the spatial metaphorics that our postmodern categories perpetuate. (Burt and Archer 1994: 2)

The contemporary debates in literary criticism influenced by both Marxism and deconstruction and centring on issues of containment are seen here to be predicated upon the early modern concern with notions of enclosure, both metaphorically in terms of the body and sexuality and literally in the debates surrounding land enclosure. In one of the essays in this collection on Shakepseare's *Henry VI* part two, James Siemon makes use of this idea, and of the work of John E. Martin on the 'articulation' of feudalism and capitalism to insist upon the multi valency of the term, 'enclosure',

rather than seeing it as a term rigidly set between the categories of subversion and containment. It is a term which cannot readily be assigned a position within the historical dialectic assumed by rigidly dividing subversion and containment.

> In fact, the word *enclosure*, like the hedges that embody it, functions during the period as an exemplary instance of the heteroglossic - an arena for the criss-crossing of disputed and competing values and orientations. (23)

'Enclosure' can, then, come to be seen as a site on which conflict can be played out. Another critic in this volume points out that, as a trope, it is unstable, and though it usually has negative connotations, this is not always the case. Some people are seen to criticise the enclosure movement, whilst benifitting from it in material terms. Common assumptions about enclosure, characterised by More's early sixteenth century intervention into the debate in the *Utopia* - that enclosure is aristocratic, that it is to do with arable farming being replaced by sheep for the wool industry, that all tenants are victims - are seen to be powerfully sustainable whilst at the same time clearly not true. Many tenants were happy to be enclosed, arable farming continued and many of the aristocracy were very much against the idea of enclosure. (Carroll 1994) Such a situation might best be described within the oganisational structures of Raymond Williams's categories of the residual, the emergent and the dominant. Ideologies live on beyond their emergent contexts, to become residual elements in new configurations of power. However, it also works to unsettle those categories as separable, to retain them within a strict narrative order of succession. (Williams 1977)

In the following section, then, I would like to discuss two contemporary writers who, although they are often linked together, occupy different positions within this problematic. I will not, however, assign particular values to either of them in terms of 'subversion' and/or 'containment'. Gerard Winstanley does write openly against enclosure, and as Christopher Hill has shown, seems sometimes powerfully to pre-date Marx in his analysis of the increasing alienation of labour from the land. (Hill 1972;

Hill 1996) I would like to show that Winstanley's use of language and his particular writing of histories works to undermine any form of closure in the representation of the land. The act of digging itself becomes a trope for the analysis of the closed space emerging with the new capitalism in early modern England. In some ways a metaphor for the thesis in its entirety, the activity of digging refuses to let space, text and history sit easily together as categories. It seeks to unearth history from the ground, to disclose its status as figurative and transitory, whilst at the same time making radical use of the power of metaphor. Marvell's *Upon Appleton House: to my Lord Fairfax* will also be seen to exist in uneasy relations with any enclosed, solid space. The particular 'ways of seeing', or 'scopic regimes' that operate in the poem undermine its ostensible panegyric aims. Both texts - Winstanley's pamphlets and Marvell's poems - are involved in the histories of conflict that have been read into the gaps of the 1660 act, abolishing feudal tenure. These histories I take to have a wider range than the specifics of the outbreak of civil wars in mid seventeenth century England. The slow developments of capitalism and its critique, of Western perspectival space and its shadowy other in anamorphosis, have equal bearing on the texts in question, whilst not wanting to lose sight of the particular crisis point of the English civil wars in those histories. In her recent essay on Marvell's mower poems Rosemary Kegl attempts to re-assert a Marxist position on the civil wars that they are not a decisive event in themselves but part of a wider development in the growth of western culture and particularly the growth of a capitalist system of economics. Marvell's politics, for Kegl, are not then to be read as continuous with the particular developments of the civil wars but as part of, and reflective on, wider political developments. (Kegl 1990) In my analysis of *Appleton House* then I would like to concur with Kegl whilst expanding her analysis beyond class and gender politics and their relation to pastoral to positioning Marvell's poem within a history of space and spatial representations.

ii. Is *Appleton House* a haunted house?

In 1996, Melvyn Bragg presented two television programmes on ITV called *Bragg on America*. As perhaps might have been expected, the programme was not so much about America. Instead, it focused on the cultural life of Britain in a post-industrial era, overrun by McDonalds outlets and other assorted horrors imported from America, and, to mix metaphors, swallowed wholesale. To give Bragg his due, he did present some positive images of British/American cultural interaction but these tended to be restricted to the immediate influence of post war cinema on teen culture on middle aged, English authors. One thing that worried me about the programmes was the kind of Britain that they were intent on depicting. The presenter indulged in a kind of paranoia in which England was in danger of losing touch with its own past, its own traditions and cultural institutions, from rural poverty all the way through to the Eccles cake. This was being achieved through the globalisation of a post industrial, late capitalist culture which has its origins in America. The re-structuring of the global economy is figured as an American invasion of the British high street. Apart from this vision of Britain's cultural life not according with my own experience of contemporary British culture, which is often more parochial than international in its outlook, what I really took issue with, perhaps somewhat unfairly, was Bragg's historiography. Or rather, his lack of it. In the programme the term 'Britain' was elided with the term 'history'. Britain *is* history. At the end of the show he told a story about himself, as a teenager, riding his bike into the Cumbrian hills, surrounded by 'History' - on the one side, the ruins of a Roman fort and on the other, the ruins of a fifteenth century church. I will return to take a closer look at that church shortly. This experience of bicycling indiscriminately amongst the detrirus of British history, he associated with a fundamental Britishness. Only in Britain could you be left to commune with history in the privacy of your own landscape.

> You can scratch any part of Britain and you can find the deep past. (Melvyn Bragg, 2nd February, 1996, ITV,*Bragg on America*)

What immediately interested me about this quote and made me reach for a pen and paper to get it down was its use of a spatial metaphor in conjunction with an understanding of history. That is, by and large, what my thesis on early modern geographies is all about. But, stopping myself and looking back at the quote I decided that Bragg was being a little disingenuous because finding the '*deep* past' was precisely what he was not doing. As he scratched the Cumbrian hills he got no further than the surface. This was heritage Britain, disguised as a liberal vision of Britain in touch with its past. Britain's histories of invasion - the Roman fort - could live quite happily alongside the 15th century church. There was no difference between them; they were all just 'History'. This positioning of history on the national map, a locating of history in a fixed position, is a silencing of other narratives which that history might tell us. It is not the investigation of a *deep* past but an act of mourning. It does not encompass an understanding of how the structures of the past live on in the present or what the implications of our ruined buildings might be. The positioning of our history in the British landscape can be a conservative move that provides an ideological gloss over the violent disjunctions and conflicts of that history, over the way that it haunts the present. This can be seen in the Speed maps discussed in the previous section. Michel de Certeau has written on this process of the 'concretisation' of narrative into a visual trope on a micro level, in his essay on 'Walking in the City'. He writes of maps, for instance, that, 'They allow us to grasp only a relic set in the nowhen of a surface of projection.' The map itself being visible, 'has the effect of making invisible the operation that made it possible.' (de Certeau 1984: 97) There is, for de Certeau, something lost in the transcription of a movement in time, a narrative, into a 'line of projection'. In my discussion of the seventeenth century county maps, I made a similar point on a larger scale. As the history of the nation is depicted on these maps, as it is put into place, so it represses the conflicts that such histories might have involved. It is a use of history in the present that attempts to ignore *how* that history may have structured the present. By positioning Speed's maps within a history of

space which does not limit them to their status as visual artifacts, but which places them alongside other texts, including the spatialised epistemologies of antiquarianism, it is possible to unearth the stories which the map attempts to suppress.

We all know that ruins and relics are more interesting than Melvyn Bragg, or Sir John Speed make them out to be. They are, after all, haunted. If there are no actual ghosts, then we can always sit down amongst the ruins and tell some ghost stories. In *Specters of Marx*, Jacques Derrida has started to think about the idea of the ghost and it is from this that I find it useful to think about *Appleton House* as a haunted house, and about ruins as the location for ghost stories. Of 'haunting', which, in the French was rendered as '*revenant*'' (coming back, returning) Derrida writes as follows.

> [First suggestion: haunting is historical, to be sure, but it is not *dated*, it is never docilely given a date in the chain of presents, day after day, according to the instituted order of a calendar. ...] (Derrida1994: 4)

An event which is a *haunting* is, for Derrida something which is historically determined but which breaks up the normal order of events, chronologically based narratives, by coming back. Something from the past returns to haunt the present. Although this concept might, on the face of it, seem to be similar to Raymond Williams's category of the residual, unlike the residual, Derrida's hauntings do not belong in a unitary narrative of cause and effect. This notion is rather contained within the presence of the specter, or ghost which embodies (or does not embody, of course) what Derrida calls 'the non-contemporaneity with itself of the living present'. (xix) and elsewhere, 'The disjointure in the very presence of the present, this sort of non-contemporaneity of present time with itself (this radical untimeliness or this anachrony ...).' (44) Events live beyond their death to haunt the present, leaving questions unanswered and, for Derrida, debts to be paid. The ghost arrives and demands action

when, in *Hamlet*, the young prince announces, 'The time is out of joint.'[86] So telling ghost stories is not something which ends there. It always means that something is wrong, and may need to be fixed. For me, this may entail disjunctions in the relationships between space, history and text. The representation of space, the way that space is represented, may not agree with the narrative which is being told. This is what is meant by anachronism.

Back then to that ruined fifteenth century church. I am far from sure but, like all students of early modern history, I can make a good guess as to why that church is now ruined. The English and Welsh countryside is littered with such ruined church buildings, mainly abbeys, as a result of the early sixteenth century dissolution of the monasteries. On Henry VIII's secession from the church of Rome, he set about actively reclaiming the church's land for the state and redistributing it amongst the nobility. This effectively destroyed the power of the church in the country, or at least, weakened it severely, whilst at the same time setting up a new, powerful land-owning gentry. This event was, in many ways, a primary event in the formation of the English nation. The ruins that Melvyn Bragg was looking at are indeed very English. Anne Janowitz has called this, 'a sixteenth-century version of the violent coexistence of ruin and national unity.' (Janowitz 1990: 5). In *Capital*, Karl Marx has told one kind of story about these very ruins.

> The Catholic church was, at the time of the Reformation, feudal proprietor of a great part of the English land. The suppression of the monasteries, &c., hurled their inmates into the proletariat. The estates of the church were to a large extent given away to rapacious royal favourites, or sold at a nominal price to speculating farmers and citizens, who drove out *en masse*, the hereditary sub-tenants and threw their holdings into one. (Marx 1983: 469 - 470)

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[86]This is Derrida's epigraph for *Specters of Marx*, and much of the book is given over to some careful and illuminating readings of Shakespeare's play.

As well as marking the shaky foundations of the English nation state, the ruins of church buildings mark a point in the development throughout early modern England - from the fifteenth through to the eighteenth centuries - of an agrarian capitalism which, as Marx points out, involved the removal of peasants from their traditional place in the land, the enclosing of land into large privately owned estates and the birth of the notion of private property - land as capital. The peasants in turn are turned into wage labourers, reliant on an employer rather than the land itself for their means of living. Was Melvyn Bragg tramping across private property when he saw the ruins of the church?

Almost a hundred and fifty years after the dissolution of the monasteries, and just over two hundred years before the publication of *Das Kapital*, people were also telling stories about the ruined church buildings. During one of the most crucial moments in the development of agrarian capitalism - the English civil wars - the dissolution of the monasteries became, it seems, an event around which it was possible to organise one's politics. The events of the dissolution in the early sixteenth century returned to haunt the present of the mid seventeenth century as Britain tried to think through its moment of crisis. What one thought of ruined buildings might determine one's political position. Sir John Denham wrote the poem, *Coopers Hill*, in 1642 whilst he was serving as a royalist soldier in the civil wars. This poem is a long topographical poem that positions the narrator on the top of a hill in the home counties from which can be seen Windsor, Runnymede, London and St. Paul's in the distance. As the 'eye' of the poem travels around the surrounding countryside each 'station' is used as an occasion for political comment, disguised as historical narrative. Its first stop, for example, is St. Paul's Cathedral. The poet comments on the recent renovations to the church, undertaken by Inigo Jones, on behalf of Charles I.[87]

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[87]See Harris, Orgel and Strong 1973: 141-143 for a brief account of Inigo Jones's long term involvement in this project.

My eye, which swift as thought contracts the space
That lies between, and first salutes the place
Crown'd with that sacred pile, so vast, so high,
That whether 'tis a part of earth or sky,
Uncertain seems, and may be thought a proud
Aspiring mountain, or descending cloud,
Pauls, the late theme of such a Muse whose flight
Has bravely reach't and soar'd above thy height:
Now shalt thou stand through sword, or time, or fire,
Or zeal more fierce than they, they fall conspire,
Secure, whilst thee the best of Poets sings,
Preserv'd from ruine by the best of Kings.[88]

Saint Paul's Cathedral, shored up against the ruins of time and the fortunes of history by the king's renovations, is in marked contrast to the other church buildings mentioned in the poem. St. Paul's achieves its timelessness through its association with royalty - 'Preserv'd from ruine by the best of Kings' - and in a conventional move linking poetry with immortality, through its representation in verse. The 'zeal' of the recent conflict cannot harm the impregnable mountain that is St. Paul's Cathedral. It is in the use of the word 'ruine' that Denham enacts a comparison between this and other church buildings in the poem which have not enjoyed such a happy fate.

But my fixed thoughts my wandering eye betrays,
Viewing a neighbouring hill, whose top of late
A Chapell crown'd, till in the Common Fate,
The adjoyning Abby fell : (may no such storm
Fall on our times, where ruine must reform.)
Tell me (my Muse) what monstrous dire offence,
What crime could any Christian King incense
To such a rage? was't Luxury, or Lust?
Was he so temperate, so chast, so just?
Were these their crimes? they were his own much more:
But welth is Crime enough to him that's poor,
Who having spent the Treasures of his Crown,
Condemns their Luxury to feed his own. (112-124)

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[88]Denham 1969: ll. 13-24. All quotations from Denham's poetry will be taken from this edition, and line numbers will, from now on, be printed in brackets, in the text.

Denham is bemoaning the violence of Henry VIII's attack on the church and whilst he admits that the Church was in a bad way - that religion had been dwelling 'in a lazy Cell' (135) - he makes a claim for a middle way between the conventional languor of Catholicism and the equally conventional zeal, the hyper-activity of the Protestant Reformation. He is, of course, defending Laudian Anglicanism. The ruin of the monasteries, for Denham at least, seems very un-English. In the poem it comes after, and as a contrast to, the description of Britain(/England) as an impregnable island. In fact, the isolated St. Paul's could be seen to operate as a figure for the isolated, but impregnable, island nation.[89] He goes on to liken the dissolution of the monasteries to a foreign invasion.

> Who sees these dismal heaps, but would demand
> What barbarous Invader sackt the land? (149-150)

Writing in 1642, Denham is analogically displacing his rage at the violence of the contemporary zealots, the parliamentarian army, onto an anger at the Henrician Reformation and the violence of the dissolution. The irony of this may well be that, as I have argued, the development of the trope of the impregnable island nation as a viable national self image, may well, itself, have been partially dependant on the Henrician Reformation. The link is made explicit in the poem's cautionary parenthesis, 'may no such storm / Fall on our times, where ruine must reform.' (115-116) Like Henry before them, they cannot appreciate the middle way, as a good royalist like himself can. His association of the dissolution with greed is later linked up with the greed of the king's subjects for wanting more than is their due, for trying to overstep

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[89]The new St. Paul's Cathedral again came to be a metonymic representation of England/Britain's resilience during the Blitz, the aerial bombing of London during the second world war. It famously withstood the German onslaught, lit up for all London to see by the fire power of the battle overhead. This image of St. Paul's builds on an earlier twentieth century construction of the cathedral as the 'Heart of the Empire', celebrated in the 1904 painting of that name by Neils M. Lund. For an account of St. Paul's symbolic importance in the twentieth century see Jacobs 1996. In the Denham poem, the old, pre-Great Fire, Cathedral performs a comparable function, illustrating both the glory of the nation as exemplified in the monarch's association with the building, and its indestructibility in the face of violent threat.

the boundaries set in Magna Carta, signed at Runnymede, another site visible from the top of Coopers Hill.

In *Coopers Hill*, the stories of the past haunt the present, the history of the monasteries structuring contemporary events and politics, as well as acting as a focus around which to elucidate those politics. The trope of the ruin acts as reminder for those wishing to undo their country's history, of the destruction that accompanies the zeal of Reformation. But, more than a metaphor with a moral message, the ruined chapel seems to structure the very events of the present. It is fascinating to note that, following the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660, Sir John Denham succeeded Inigo Jones to the position of Surveyor of the Works, Jones having died in 1651 during the interregnum. As such, he was to continue the supervision of the Stuart building programme, albeit to much less effect than the great latter day Vitruvius, Inigo Jones. John Evelyn called him 'a better poet than an architect.' He did become famous, however, for restoring the pavements of London. (T.H. Banks in Denham 1969: 18) The dynamic of architecture and ruin, building and destroying, is present in the career of Denham. Like Jones, he plays a full part in attempting to build Britain as a new Rome, although he is clearly less theoretically or practically able to accomplish this, rather than delve like Camden into the unknown origins of the nation. The poem, *Cooper's Hill*, pays testimony to this desire to build rather than ruin, whilst engaged in a project that cannot help but unearth some divisions in the fabric of the nation.

Denham also seems to have been less of an extreme royalist than Jones. His career as a lawyer moulded him into the typical position of a constitutional monarchist. In earlier versions of *Cooper's Hill*, this was seen clearly in the more directly didactic ending to the poem.

> Therefore their boundless power tell princes draw
> Within the channell and the shores of law,
> And may that law which teaches kings to sway
> Their scepters, teach their subjects to obey. (Denham 1969: p.89)

This ending has a clear message. If the king obeys the law, then his subjects will be obliged to obey him. This 1642 original version of the poem's ending is later amended, in the light of the by now obvious breakdown in this accomodation between monarch and subject. It becomes much less didactic, obscured instead in emblematic weather and symbolic landscape.

> When a calm River rais'd with sudden rains,
> Or Snows dissolv'd, oreflows th'adjoyning Plains,
> The Husbandmen with high-rais'd banks secure
> Their greedy hopes, and this he can endure.
> But if with Bays and Dams they strive to force
> His channel to a new, or narrow course;
> No longer then within his banks he dwells,
> First to a Torrent, then a Deluge swells:
> Stronger, and fiercer by restraint he roars,
> And knows no bound, but makes his power his shores. (349-358)

This revised version, from 1655, is less prescriptive in its politics. It does not offer the perfect workings of the state under a constitutionally restrained monarchy and with an obedient populace, but rather a Hobbesian state of nature with power pitting itself against its restraints. The 'deluge' of the later version seems to be more fateful in its acceptance of the vicissitudes of the war. The king/river is forced into action over which nobody any longer has any control. It is still not the King's fault, but the carefully measured balance of the 1642 ending of the poem has been abandoned. The portentous final warning of the poem - that the power of the King/river now 'knows no bound' - seems less a measured understanding of the King's position than an associative depiction of the chaos of civil war. The idea from the 1642 version that the king may keep his power bounded within the 'channell' of law is dismissed, the demands to narrow the extent of monarchical power have become too great by 1655. It is, of course, unclear where this monarchical power is to emanate from by 1655. Denham is obviously speaking with the conviction of a comnfirmed royalist, advertising the imminent return of the Stuart crown in the face of domestic opposition.

The careful building projects of St. Paul's are a distant memory in the closing stages of the 1655 version of the poem. They have become overcome by the ruinous forces of the flood, an image of the Fall.[90]

Roughly ten years after Denham first started writing *Cooper's Hill*, but perhaps contemporaneously with the extensive revisions of the poem, and in another topographical poem, Andrew Marvell tells another story about the ruins of church buildings. In Marvell's poem it is the ruin of a nunnery that becomes the focus of a central narrative. This time it is a real adventure story, but one that still operates as a focus for contemporary political debate, albeit in a way that is rather more diffuse, or obtuse, than is the case with Denham. This story is contained in the long central section of Marvell's *Upon Appleton House: to my Lord Fairfax.* [91]

Nun Appleton, the future site of Lord Fairfax's country estate, was, once, the site of a nunnery. This nunnery whilst pretending to purity was, of course, a den of iniquity - 'vice infects the very wall.' (216) In this nunnery dwelt a particularly evil nun who seduced the beautiful young virgin, Isabel Thwaites, into the clutches of the Catholic church where, the nun says, Isabel will have a fine time and not even have to abjure what she calls 'delight.' (107) The story in the poem is full of pejorative innuendo about the nuns' sex lives. Isabel Thwaites had been promised to William Fairfax, an ancestor of the Lord Fairfax who is to be the subject of Marvell's poem and Marvell's sponsor. The nuns try and keep Isabel from her intended husband. In this, they are, the poem tells us, pitting themselves 'against fate'. After some trouble with his conscience William Fairfax breaks through the walls of the nunnery and rescues his Isabel. Knight rescues maiden in distress - a true adventure story. It even has a happy ending as well.

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[90]It is of course interesting that Marvell's description of a flood in *Appleton House* is far less violent than this in Denham's poem. Marvell's flood (ll. 465-480) seems a natural part of the rural landscape for all its association with the revolution and the inversion of status. It is the conclusion of 'pleasant acts' rather than the result of 'sudden rains'.

[91]The edition of Marvell quoted from will be the Penguin *Complete Poems*, edited by Elizabeth Story Donno. (Marvell 1972) Line numbers will be given in brackets, in the text.

At the demolishing, this seat
To Fairfax fell as by escheat.
And what both nuns and founders willed
'Tis likely better thus fulfilled.
For if the virgin proved not theirs,
The cloister yet remainèd hers.
Though many a nun there made her vow
'Twas no religious house till now.
(273-280)

Fairfax 'inherits' the house by default as if its previous owner had died without an heir. That is what is meant by the legal term, 'escheat'. Although no refernce is made directly to the dissolution of the monasteries here, this is clearly what the story is about. ('At the *demolishing*, this seat / To Fairfax fell ...'). And then - ''Twas no religious house till now.' Fairfax's inheritance and the passing of the building through a proper, male line of succession is the very image of the Protestant Reformation as it occurred in Britain. The trope of the ruin is also used which links it up with the dissolution. I think the word ruin to be overdetermined at this point by the idea of the dissolution of the monasteries. Anne Janowitz gives the example from Shakespeare's Sonnet 73 - 'bare ruin'd choirs, where late sweet birds sang.' to indicate the close association of the two ideas, 'ruin' and 'reformation'. (Janowitz 1990: 4) Of the origin of Appleton House, the poem has already said that it was reconstructed out of the stones of the old nunnery.

A nunnery first gave it birth
(For virgin buildings oft brought forth);
And all that neighbour-ruin shows
The quarries whence this dwelling rose.
(85-88)

When Fairfax, the ancestor, deliberates with himself before attacking the nunnery, he already visualises it in its state as a ruin.

'But sure those buildings last not long,
Founded by folly, kept by wrong.
I know what fruit their gardens yield,

When they it think by night concealed.
Fly from their vices. 'Tis thy 'state,
Not thee, that they would consecrate.
Fly from their ruin. How I fear,
Though guiltless, lest thou perish there.'
(217-224)

In this telescoping of the narrative, the story in which the private property of the Fairfax family comes to replace, and displace, the nunnery is seen as fateful. The association of religious house with ruin, that ruin with Protestant Reformation and that Reformation with the notion of a privately owned estate is complete. In microcosm, this part of *Appleton House* restates the history of the English Reformation, at the same time as positioning the subject of the poem, Nun Appleton, within that history.

In terms of lines of poetry, the story about the attack on the nunnery, takes up over a quarter of the poem as a whole.[92] The question is then why this passage narrating the origins of the Fairfax estate is placed at this point in what is a topographical poem. It is clearly an important part of the poem, despite the fact that, strictly speaking, it positions the poem outside its generic boundaries. Although previous country house poems, like Ben Jonson's 'To Penshurst', had included short accounts of the estate's origins, it had never been developed into such a lengthy digression as this.

What this story does is, to an extent, vindicate Fairfax's retirement to Yorkshire. It is presented as part of an ongoing story of reformation. In 1650, Lord Fairfax had somewhat publicly retired from his position as General, Commander in chief of the Commonwealth's Army on a matter of principle. He had refused to help in the invasion of Scotland as he saw it as an unprovoked attack. This provoked widespread suspicions that, secretly or even not so secretly, he was a royalist, or at best a royalist

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[92]The story is told between lines 81 and 280. That is, it is 200 lines long in a poem that, in total comprises of 776 lines.

sympathiser. This was strengthened by a widespread connection between images of retreat and retirement associated with royalism. As in the Denham poem, the politics of the poem's production are articulated around this story of ruins, referring back to the dissolution of the monasteries and the English reformation. The politics of the Marvell poem may, though, be a little harder to decipher. They are deflected into this long narrative, which does not operate as a direct analogy as it does in *Cooper's Hill*, but operates more by suggestion.

Because of the suspect nature of Fairfax's political position at this juncture, it was useful for Marvell to figure *this* retreat as some kind of act of reformation. It was also useful not to make any direct poltical analogies, but to be a little more circumspect. Fairfax's staying at home was not to be understood as royalist retreat but as Protestant action. The story of the dissolution of the monasteries underwrites the virtue of Fairfax, and in some way may answer any potential critics. The politics of the poem are more complicated than that, however, and the ruined nunnery, although never mentioned again, haunts the rest of the poem, demanding a kind of closure to the narrative that is never fully offered. Fairfax's retreat is troubled in the poem. Some critics have gone so far as to suggest that Marvell is writing a subtle criticism of his employer in the poem, urging him to engage again in public life. Whilst I do not think that this is the case, I do think that the notion of retreat in the poem, is troubled by the earlier image of retreat - the nun's enclosed cloisters.[93]

> 'Within this holy leisure we
> Live innocently, as you see.
> These walls restrain the world without,
> But hedge our liberty about.
> These bars inclose that wider den
> Of those wild creatures callèd men.' (97-102)

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[93]See Wilding 1987: 114-172 for an account of Fairfax's career and its impact on Marvell's poetry.

The use of the word, 'inclose' at this point marks one of the contradictions in Fairfax's position, and, indeed one of the disjointures in the politics of the period as a whole. The word is, more often than not, used in a pejorative sense, intending a retreat from virtuous action. It also refers specifically to the enclosure movement - the main force behind the development of an agrarian capitalism. This involved the 'enclosure' of public, common ground within private estates. This land was then used for profit rather than for subsistence. In this context the word was used pejoratively as well, although as I suggested in the introduction to this section, 'enclosure' was not a term that simply aligned itself as progressive or regressive, royalist or parliamentarian, as subversion or containment. The enclosure movement had more vocal critics than it did supporters, at least throughout the sixteenth century, but by the seventeenth century the enclosure of common ground was one of the main factors that provided the landowning classes with the ability to fight, and win, the civil wars. The development of the notion of private property was also, as Christopher Hill has pointed out, one of the chief outcomes of the civil conflict in the mid seventeenth century.

> ... its [the civil war's]*outcome* was the establishment of conditions far more favourable to the development of capitalism than those which prevailed before 1640. The hypothesis is that this outcome, and the Revolution itself, were made possible by the fact that there had already been a considerable development of capitalist relations in England, ... (Hill 1986: 95-96)

Fairfax is then, in the dubious position of, in this poem presenting an ideological gloss of Protestant reformation on his situation - the destruction of enclosed space - whilst at the same time retreating to his own enclosed space. Of course this is further complicated by the fact that those who would criticise him for this retreat would be the sponsors and beneficiaries of the growth of capitalist relations in the countryside. There are uncomfortable echoes of this conflict in a later episode in the poem. The poem moves on to a description of the working landscape of the estate that surrounds the house. The kind of work that is going on there is typical of an enclosed estate - it is

characterised by a cyclical method of growing crops and also present is the figure of the mower, who has been identified as the archetypal wage labourer in the countryside. (Kegl 1990) The mower figure in *Appleton House* is accompanied by images of violence and death.

> With whistling scythe, and elbow strong,
> These massacre the grass along;
> While one, unknowing carves the rail,
> Whose yet unfeathered quills her fail.
> The edge all bloody from its breast
> He draws, and does his stroke detest,
> Fearing the flesh untimely mowed
> To him a fate as black forbode.
> (393-400)

The image of the rail killed by the blade of the mower in the meadow cannot help but be read, in 1650, as an image of the recent conflicts. This is re-enforced two stanzas later by the line, 'The Mower now commands the field'. (418)This image of death stalking the field of battle is brought together with the mowing of the enclosed estate. The use of the word 'commands' is here a clear indication of the direction of Marvell's imagery, and its connections with military action. Following the mowers come the Levellers.

> This scene again withdrawing brings
> A new and empty face of things,
> A levelled space, as smooth and plain
> As cloths for Lely stretched to stain.
> The world when first created sure
> Was such a table rase and pure.
> Or rather such is the *toril*
> Ere the bulls enter at Madril.
>
> For to this naked equal flat
> Which Levellers take pattern at,
> The villagers in common chase
> Their cattle, which it closer rase;
> And what below the scythe increased
> Is pinched yet nearer by the beast. (441-454)

The 'Levellers' of line 450 are the radical political group of that name, who had developed from the more radical factions of the new model army and were attempting to gain such extensions of liberty as near universal adult male suffrage whilst also trying to secure the rights of small freeholders against the incursions of larger enclosing landowners. Their name came from a wrong perception by those opposed to the group that they sought the levelling of all notions of status and privilege - that they wanted to 'level society'. The flat, levelled plain of the meadow, that the Levellers in the poem supposedly use as their pattern or their model is an image of the kind of society that it is believed was their goal. This comes dangerously close to ventriloquising the sentiments of actual Levellers. The lines, 'The world when first created sure / Was such a table rase and pure' seem to contain an uncomfortable echo of some of the millenarian claims and aspirations of both the Levellers and, as we shall see later, the Diggers. Cristina Malcolmson has quite rightly pointed out the irony present in these lines which, in her reading, serves to criticise the naivety of the Levellers' vision. The rapid movement from the *tabula rasa* of the levelled space, reducing men to a primitive equality, to the violent arena of the bullfight reveals the Levellers' ignorance.

> Those who promise to return society to its original pure form in church or state offer a sense of peace that will last as long as the silence that precedes the bloody bullfight; they ignore the enormous violence that such a process of levelling would entail, and they obscure the murderous chaos that might result. (Malcolmson 1994: 264-265)

The irony at this point indicates the political positioning of the poem, effectively silencing the voice of the Levellers. The demands for an ever proceeding Protestant Reformation are given a voice in this part of the poem. Marvell immediately qualifies his description of the 'smooth' meadow as prelapsarian by instead comparing it to the bull ring in Madrid - an arena of death and destruction. The second image is a reminder of the destruction involved in such an ongoing process of reformation. As in Sir John Denham's *Cooper's Hill*, where the ruined chapel acts as a reminder to prevent further zealous action, so the ironic distance between Marvell's two images of

the meadow presage what would be the outcome of an attempt to fulfil the apocalyptic dreams of such people as the Levellers. To return to the world as it was first created, 'rase and pure' would be to invite the blood bath of the bull ring. The ruins that mark the formation of the English nation return to haunt the crisis of the mid seventeenth-century and embody a demand for further action - an ever increasing process of ruin and reform. Charles I surely felt this demand for more ruins as he responded by re-building and re-enforcing St. Paul's Cathedral against an overwhelming disapproval of the large scale cost that such a project would incur.

Read like this, the political crisis of the seventeenth century is about the two related activities of building things and ruining things. It is in the uncomfortable position between wishing to respond to the demand for further reformation, embodied in the ruinous story of the nunnery, and yet wishing to halt its violence that we can find the politics of Fairfax's retreat - a retreat that is figured as both violent reformation and as an end to that process of destruction. In response to the old ruins, Fairfax builds the perfect country house, well proportioned and elegant. Like Charles I, he is shoring himself up against the tide of reform. Unlike, Charles I, he cannot sustain this position without irony, as he himself is part of that reformation.

In the poem Fairfax's position is structured by the actions of the past. Marx has written about the way that the past continues into the present in the *Grundrisse*. Talking about the structures of society contemporary to himself, he writes -

> The categories in which its conditions [relations] are expressed, the understanding of its structure, thus at the same time afford insight into the structure and relations of production of all past and gone forms of society, from the ruins and elements of which it has built itselfup, and fragments of which, in part still unvanquished, are dragged along in it, ... (Marx 1983: 390)

It is out of the fragments of the past, out of its ruins, that the present and the future are structured. It is however when stories of the past, ghost stories, are told that we

get a crisis - a disjunction in the relation of that past to the present situation. Telling those stories, at the same time as elucidating the present's indebtedness to the past, allows for the tellers to re-align themselves, to organise a new politics around the events of the past. So, to answer the question of this chapter's title - *Appleton House* is a haunted house. The use of the narrative of violent Protestant reformation to justify Fairfax's retreat returns to haunt the present, demanding further reformation. It is the irony of the ruined churches in the English countryside that they are able to announce the foundation of the English nation as reformation at the same time as acting as a reminder of the dangers of such ongoing projects of reformation. Like Derrida's ghosts they embody a disjunction (or 'disjointure' as he has it - 'The time is out of joint') in English history, in the history of the English nation - a nation founded on ruins that must continually tell itself the stories of those ruins.

I wrote that when Melvyn Bragg looked at the ruins of a fifteenth century church in the Cumbrian hills, in an attempt to defend the singularity of the English nation, he was engaged in an act of mourning rather than investigation. Again, in *Specters of Marx*, Derrida tells us what it means to mourn. He explains it as a conservative move. It is, he says, 'to ontologize remains' (Derrida 1994: 9), to be specific about what those remains are. Important in this process is the need to locate those remains precisely. To mourn one must not have any doubt about whose bones are whose and in which grave they lie. 'Let him stay there and move no more!', Derrida writes. (9) The idea of haunting disturbs this. History returns from the grave to question the present. As Walter Benjamin says of the historian viewing the remains of the past, 'For without exception the cultural treasures he surveys have an origin which he cannot contemplate without horror.'(Benjamin 1970: 248). In idealising Britain's past, Melvyn Bragg, and countless others, do British history a dis-service. His idea of ruins echoes those of the eighteenth century poets, sentimentalising the presence of ruins in the landscape and which Anne Janowitz characterises as follows.

> Such a rhetoric naturalises ... the violence of nation-making which evacuates from cultural artifacts the labor that made them, the human events that took place in them, and the cost to both ancient and local defeated communities, whose worlds provided the ruins upon which arises the structure of British nationalism. (Janowitz 1990: 4)

Such a rhetoric, that naturalises the relationship between country (small 'c') and Country (big 'C') was not yet available to seventeenth century writers - the development of agrarian capitalism was not yet complete and was proving to be a difficult and violent process. For this reason, I think that both in the Denham poem and the Marvell poem we can identify a chronological disjunction embodied in the ruin, the anachronism of the past living on into the present.

iii. *Appleton House* in a new perspective

If one of the histories of space in which *Appleton House* participates is the haunting narrative of ruin and reform, then it also participates in other aspects of a broad history of space. To illustrate this we can return to the passage of the poem that features the Levellers. The 'Levellers' of stanza 41 (441-448) are, as I have said, taken as a direct reference to the Levellers themselves. Their presence on the borders of the Fairfax estate is taken as in some way symbolic of their perceived intentions to disturb the property and social relations of the country through various reform proposals including an extension of the vote to almost universal male suffrage. As James Turner has suggested, this passage, like much of the poem, seems to draw attention to its own allegorical status and invite a reading attendant to its possible political symbolism. In some ways, we can see that the contemporary function of the 'landskip' as exemplary or allegorical is matched by the modern critic's attendance to the poem as an historical allegory. The contemporary literary critic is encouraged, in looking for the possible historical significances or allegories of a given text, to assume the identity of a contemporary seventeenth century reader attempting to decipher the poem's political

allegiances. A representative example of this would be Healy's reading of the incident. He writes that, 'The introduction of Levellers into the poem had especial significance for Fairfax. He had shown little sympathy with the Levellers during the St. George's Hill experiment in 1649.' (Healy 1990: 178) [94] Michael Wilding, in *Dragon's Teeth*, has written about the way in which the poem seems to invite just such allegorical readings. With its stress on representation, the mowing scene is itself 'an invitation to allegorical interpretation'. (Wilding 1987: 159) When Wilding himself comes to give a reading of the poem, he stresses the antagonism within the New Model Army between the Levellers proper and Fairfax himself. (154) As I said of the 'rail' incident in the poem, in the last section of the thesis, it cannot help but be read in the immediate context of the military action of the civil war.

This identification of specific political relationships between text and context, poem and history, is both interesing and relevant, especially given the difficulty of navigating a path through the political affiliations of the civil war period. However, what it might not allow for is the way that the text may not articulate a single position, or even several different definable positions in this way. That is, straightforward allegorical

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[94]Healy is inaccurate here, in identifing the Levellers with the St. George's Hill experiment. This was undertaken by the Diggers, or 'True Levellers' as they, themselves preferred to be called. It is also not wholly true to say that Fairfax was hostile to this experiment. At the height of the career of the digger colony at St. George's Hill in 1649, local land owners asked the Council of State to put a stop to the diggers' activities. As a result of this, General Fairfax, then commander-in-chief of the New Model Army, became involved in the proceedings. He, however, did not seem to be too worried by the Diggers. The man who was a driving force behind the massacre of the Leveller uprising at Burford was apparently prepared to chat amicably with Winstanley and Everard, judging them to be no threat to the *status quo*. This, despite Winstanley's and Everard's refusal to remove their hats in deference to Fairfax. The General's lack of concern was clearly not shared by the local property owners. (See Hill 1972: 112-113 and Winstanley 1973: 27-28) As some of Winstanley's writings produced during the lifetime of the colony are testimony to, the Diggers came under attack both through the legal system and outside it in carnivalesque style attacks, sponsored by the local property owners. These attacks were directed both against their persons and against their 'property'. Stephen Greenblatt has written about this in his essay, 'Filthy Rites'. He writes that the carnivalesque attacks on the Diggers which included local freeholders dressing up in women's clothing, a traditional carnival device, was 'calculated to deride the Diggers, to avoid the impression of an official military or judicial repression, to deprive them of the possibility of dignity in defeat, and to pit one conception of the common people against another.' Of course, the Diggers *did* suffer under official repression as well as this unofficial attack and so Greenblatt's hints at a conspiracy are a little misleading but the idea that one form of popular protest (the carnival) was used to counter another (radical puritanism) is valid. (Greenblatt 1990: 75-76) I will return to the interpretative possibilities opened up by the apparent amicability of Fairfax's meeting with Winstanley later in this section of the thesis.

readings, in their attempt to re-create the political identity of a putative author figure, can make naive assumptions about the relationship between author and text that fail to take account of the position of the text within wider systems of representation. It is as if Marvell and/or Fairfax have full control over how they represent the landscape. A standard allegorical reading of this part of *Appleton House* would probably say that there is, at this moment in the poem, a clear invasion of the country house poem by 'outside' forces, external to the proprietorial vision of the genre. I do not intend to contest this reading *per se* or to revise what we think of the poem's attitudes towards the villagers, characterised as a sub-human mass. My reading of the poem understands it as a panegyric of the landowner. Any voice it may give to other positions is contained within this panegyrical intention. However, that is not to say that a critical reading, existing as it does at a distance from that intention, has to ventriloquise, or merely describe, the outline of the poem's political allegiances.

Rather than collapse an allegorical reading of the poem into a discovery of the author's, or the subject's, own political positions, I would like to situate the poem within a history of space conducted within the critical 'space of a dispersion'. As well as articulating a specific politics, whatever that might be, the poem can be positioned within wider histories of space. [95]

The poem occurs at several crucial junctures in a history of space. It can be seen as a turning point in the English country house poem and so exists in an interesting relation with the English pastoral tradition. Raymond Williams, in *The Country and the City*, calls Marvell's poem 'transitional'. In placing the poem within a history of the country house genre, Williams tells us that Marvell's poem retains some of the idealism of Jonson's 'To Penshurst', justifying the position of the house and its owner within a

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[95]Marshall Grossman has argued that if the poem is seen merely as allegory then its ironies in relation to the difficulties of representation, present in its moment of production, are not attended to. 'Allegory,' he writes, 'conducts its reader to a realm of universal and atemporal truth, while irony makes present the moment of representation itself, calling attention to itself as a figure by denying the literal truth of what it says.' (Grossman 1988: 193)

moral, 'natural' order but that this justification is couched in new terms. The history of the dissolution of the monasteries which provided the land for Fairfax's new house is openly told in the poem, and there is also a movement beyond this, according to Williams, into the description of 'a working landscape' - something very different to the *locus amoenus* of Jonson's orchard in 'To Penshurst'. Williams writes that this complex inter-relationship between the old and the new, an awareness of the changing nature of time existing alongside a traditional language of celebration 'was inevitable ... in the mind of a Marvell.' (Williams 1973: 57-59) Whilst I agree with Williams' reading in so far as it allows for the poem to speak with more than one voice - although I do think he is a little over optimistic about its representations of the working countryside - what I would like to concentrate on is the nature of this 'inevitability'. It is in this word 'inevitable', as Williams uses it that lie the relations between the poem and wider contexts of spatial representation. Willams's sentence refuses to ask the questions about how it came to be 'inevitable' that 'a Marvell' should write about the land and landscape in this manner. I would like here to supplement Williams's positioning of the poem within a history of literary genres, internal to and structured by, the field of literary studies, by placing it in a different, though related history of space. The 'transitional' histories of space in which are the poem takes part, are not restricted to the ongoing developments in the genre of the country house poem, or even to pastoral poetry in general.

The poem's own local histories of production occur at equally interesting moments for the history of space and the land. If it is the case that it is written in the context of, and in response to, Fairfax's notorious retreat to Nun Appleton, then the poem also becomes interesting in relation to the development of new ways of thinking about the land that happen concurrently with the English civil wars. It marks a point in which the class antagonisms that are part of a fully developed capitalist economic system are not yet in place. I would like, then, to resist the kinds of straightforward allegorical reading that Wilding suggests that the poem's topographies seem to require. Such

straightforward political and historical allegorical readings would appear to be inadequate to the more complicated position of the poem within histories of space. The characterisation of the shift from feudalism to capitalism as an 'articulation' rather than a straight forward chronological replacement ensures that allegorical readings based on class tensions can never be fully decideable, particularly perhaps, in the early modern period. The 'levelled space' of the meadow need not necessarily be reduced to its reference in the immediate political situation. It is also part of a wider history of space which involves the development of certain 'ways of seeing'.[96] The histories of the civil wars play a part in this wider history but are not its sole defining moment. In this sense a history of space works on several different fronts at the same time, crossing disciplinary borders attending to the multifarious ways in which space comes to be produced.

Leah Marcus has used Svetlana Alpers' work on Dutch landscape to trace the development of the country house poem, linking it to what Alpers has called a 'seigneurial' vision. This is opposed, in Alpers' *The Art of Describing*, to the cartographic vision in landscape, which she sees as the predominant characteristic of Dutch art generally. (Alpers 1983; Marcus 1994) The seigneurial way of presenting the landscape focuses on the positioning of property within the land, the drawing of the land within lines of perspective that centre, usually, on a country house. That is, the landscape being depicted is seen only in relation to the property that dominates the picture and the property relations organising the land. The lines of perspective are

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[96]The term, 'ways of seeing' is borrowed from John Berger and his book of that title. In this book, he refers to the term either as 'a stance towards the world'(Berger 1972: 96) or as 'a system of conventions for representing the visible' (109). I find the term useful and interesting because of its ability to straddle both of these definitions - the word 'ways' can be taken to refer both to specific directions and also specific types. The word encompasses the relationship between generic types of representation in all art forms and the formation of specific forms of spatial practice alongside these generic histories. This relationship is implicit in Berger's text but is never fully articulated because of his allegiance to a theory of art production that relies too heavily on agency. This reliance is betrayed especially when he talks about the notion of genius and its supposed ability to transcend the ways of seeing that are ultimately based, in Berger, on specific economic systems. He fails to recognise that specific readings of works and artists as 'genius' may themselves be the location of particular material relations.

being used to underwrite the hierarchical social relations as they existed within the economic structures of the countryside. The cartographic view is a more open way of viewing the land which does not necessarily privilege any one particular viewpoint. Indeed, Alpers shows how Dutch landscape painting is based, not on Italian or Albertian perspective but on Ptolemaic and cartographic forms of projection. Marcus insists that these two types of 'view', 'ways of seeing', can be seen to operate in English pastoral poetry as it develops in the seventeenth century. Whereas the cartographic impulse in landscape can be seen to impact on such poems as Drayton's *Poly-olbion*, the country house poem from Jonson onwards can be more fruitfully looked upon as part of a 'seigneurial' vision, concerned with property and property relations. Her reading of 'To Penshurst', for example, links it to the decrees issued periodically by the early Stuart monarchs, demanding that the gentry spend more time at their estates and less time at court. To push her argument further concerning the relationship between the perspectival space of the landscape painting and the country house poem, we could then see the perspective of 'To Penshurst', in which the progression of the poem's description brings us inevitably to the centre - the landowners' banqueting hall, operating as a typology for a certain relationship between court and country. In 'To Penshurst', perspective is iconic, referring back to monarchical power, or at last to proper relations between town and country. It is a typology used to articulate the position of the monarch in relation to the nobility, represented in spatial terms.

Henri Lefebvre, in *The Production of Space*, has linked the development of perspective as a 'way of seeing' precisely to this kind of relation, linking it to the beginnings of agrarian capitalism in early modern Tuscany. Clearly, the political structures of the Italian city states and the monarchy in England were very different. However, the development of agrarian capitalism may allow some parallels. The situation in England may well be more complex because of the 'articulation' of feudalism and capitalism in which vestiges of feudalism could remain alongside

agrarian capitalism and even be used as ideological justification. This may well be true of the Jonson poem with the way that it mystifies the origin of the estate's wealth. The relationships between town and country within the developing structures of agrarian capitalism could then offer us a location of comparison between these otherwise differently configured political structures. Lefebvre argues for a connection between the change in town / country relations new modes of representation - new representations of space.

> Tuscan painters, architects and theorists developed a representation of space - perspective - on the basis of a social practice which was itself ... the result of a historic change in the relationship between town and country. (Lefebvre 1991: 41)

He later goes on to explain that he believes the 'discovery' of perspectival space in quattrocento Florence was pre-determined by new ways of organising the spatial relations of town and country in which the country became increasingly dependant on the town. The new, straight lines of communication between the two presented the Florentine artists with a ready made perspectival space.

We can, in bringing together these analyses of the new spaces of the renaissance, see the beginnings of an almost irresistible story. The arrival of a particular type of perspective in the form of Dutch landscape painting is seen to impact upon English aesthetics by way of a revision of an older tradition of English pastoral at exactly the same time in which agrarian capitalism is seen to be on the rise in England. This is, as Alpers points out, modulated on its arrival in England to take into account the different kind of property relations current in Holland and England.

> The northern Netherlands were unique in the Europe of the time in that over fifty percent of the land was peasant owned. Unlike other countries, seigneurial power was weak to non-existent. [...However] English poetry of the time reflects the sense that a landscape inevitably involved issues of authority and of possession. The prospect or view was itself

> seigneurial in its assumption and assertion of power. (Alpers 1983: 148)[97]

I have a suspicion though that this story is too neat. The relationship within this story between representations of space (landscape, country house poems, royal decrees) and spatial practice (agrarian capitalism) is one of unity, a perfect mirror between representation and practice. The two arrive side by side. A history of generic form would be wholly consistent with a wider history of capitalist spatial practice, leaving no room for critical distance. This problem of eliding the two histories can be seen to extend even to Marcus's admittedly more nuanced reading of *Appleton House*.

> In Marvell's poem, the house and its surrounding gardens behave in proper seigneurial fashion, obediently shaping themselves in accordance with the presence of their lord. But Nun Appleton's more distant holdings are less tractable ... The poem itself, in marked contrast to its predecessors in the genre, is also rambling and vast, much closer to the cartographic model for landscape as represented in neo-Spenserian poems like Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* than to the seigneurial model we have traced in Jonson and his 'Sons'. In 'Upon Appleton House', the aestheticised enclosure of the Stuart country house poem is imitated, mocked, and broken open. (Marcus 1994: 152)

Whilst I think Marcus is right to indicate the way in which Marvell's poem differs markedly from other poems in the genre to which it is supposedly belongs, and to point out the shifting 'points of view' in the poem, I am not fully convinced by her statement that the poem 'breaks open' the conventions of Stuart country house poetry. The image of the levelling forces, which I will return to again later, are not validated in the scheme of the poem. It is not, I think, fruitful to look for the kinds of disjunctions in the poem's mode of representation that Marcus is clearly reaching towards in this kind of search for generic relations between other texts. I find this account too reliant on an over-arching historicism. That is, her account of the shifts in representations of space and the land, is dependant on a narrative internal to a history of art or a history of literature. Instead, I would like to articulate the ways of seeing in the poem, not as

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[97]The example that Alpers goes on to use is Marvell's Latin poem *Epigrammma in Duos Montes*, written in tribute to General Fairfax.

part of generic tradition or traditions but to ways in which those traditions relate to wider organisations of space. This is, of course a dialectical process and representations of space are not a separate domain which has no effect on these wider organisations of space. By the same token, generic systems of representation cannot be closed. Here the notion of 'ways of seeing' extends beyond these generic boundaries to encompass such things as the technologies of vision developed in geometrical sciences, cartography and the military, as well as the organisation of land relations as the space of an agrarian capitalism and the production of the land as the space of the nation.

Much of the imagery in *Appleton House* that reflects on ideas to do with vision, and with 'ways of seeing' are predicated upon contemporary or recent developments in technologies of vision - telescopes, microscopes, theodolites, triangulation instruments and all the scientific paraphernalia that accompanied the tasks of the surveyor, the cartographer and the military engineer. This is, I think made particularly obvious in stanza 46 of the poem.

> The sight from these bastions ply,
> The invisible artillery;
> And at proud Cawood Castle seems
> To point the battery of its beams.
> As if it quarrelled in the seat
> The ambition of its prelate great.
> But o'er the meads below it plays,
> Or innocently seems to graze. (361-369)

The act of looking out from the hill that Nun Appleton was situated upon, across to the nearby seat of the Archbishop of York is imagined in terms that relate to the act of surveying and particularly to the act of surveying as used for military purposes. This involved measuring distances and angles without moving in order to set a cannon correctly before firing. Sight is imagined as 'invisible artillery', cannon shot aimed at the target of Cawood Castle. It is also located at the origin of this artillery, pointing

'the battery of its beams.' Vision is being conflated with the visual technologies of surveying and aiming weapons. That such an elision is made in this stanza is clear in the initial use of the definite article at the start - '*The* sight'. This could be taken to refer directly to the sight on a gun as much as to a person's own un-aided vision, standing on the hill.

The two technologies of surveying and gun sights are parallel developments and in many cases the instruments used are identical. (Bennett and Johnston 1996) In early modern treatises on the uses and values of geometry it is its military purpose that is highlighted. The ability of geometry to forward military technologies confers status upon it as a science. In Arthur Hopton's 1611 *Topographical Glass*, the illustrations accompanying the abstract geometrical explanations for the individual instruments and their several uses are always accompanied by small sketches of cannons pointing along the lines of projection, a constant reminder of the applications of the 'pure' science. (Hopton 1611) These illustrations are borrowed from Thomas Digges' earlier mid to late sixteenth century treatises on geometry which tend more explicitly to make the link between the science and its military applications. Projection, and the new developments in visual technologies are intimately linked with progress in military capability - with keeping the enemy in sight. Another frequent concern of these treatises on the art of surveying is an ability to measure distance whilst at sea, either between ships or between a ship and the coast - that is, to be able to measure distance without moving. There is a particularly good illustration of this on the title page of Digges' *Pantometria* as published in 1591. [*fig. 16*] In this illustration, the distance of a warship from a coastal defence fortress is being measured with the aid of a mirror. As ever, the military context is not far away from the explanation of how these new measuring tools work. It is interesting to look at this alongside part of another of Marvell's 'Fairfax' poems - 'Upon the Hill and Grove at Bilbrough'.

> ... thus it all the field commands,
> And in unenvied greatness stands,

Discerning further than the cliff
Of heaven-daring Tenerife.
How glad the weary seaman haste
When they salute it from the mast! (25-30)

The ship and the fortress in Digges' illustration may not be on quite such good terms as the house and the ship in Marvell's poem but the way of seeing is the same. It is a positioning of a target or an object within perspective that, within the broader landscape, privileges the linear relation between subject and object. The military contexts of these technologies of vision which facilitate this way of seeing emphasise this linear control of space - a looking *at* which privileges the subject. That is certainly the case in the *Appleton House* stanza. The cannons firing off in projected lines insist upon the primacy of Nun Appleton. In the passage from 'Upon the Hill and Grove at Bilbrough' the house is, instead, being looked *at* but still, the linearity of this form of vision enables one or the other to be privileged as a focal point in the line of sight.

In this passage, and the passage from *Appleton House* there is a sense of Nun Appleton being the focus of the surrounding landscape, as in Alpers' definition of the seigneurial vision in landscape painting. In Marvell's poems, this is based on the kinds of perspective that are available within the act of surveying as it is put to the service of the land owner and the soldier. The military contexts of these technologies as well as the ways in which they could privilege a linear subject/object relationship are well brought out in Digges' 'Preface to the Reader' in the 1591 *Longimetra*. His recommendations for the subject are consistently based on its usefulness within the military world. Apparently, Alexander the Great had a high regard for geometry - hence his success. Hannibal would have avoided his fate at the hands of Quintus Fabius Maximus if he had studied topography.

> Cyrus also that great King and mightie Monarche, was he not through ignorance of *Topographie*, even in pursuing of victorie intrapped and

> discomfited with all his power by the *Scithian* Queene *Thomiris* at the river of *Oaxis*?(Digges 1923 [1591]: xv-xvi)

The lesson to be learnt here is, of course, further re-enforced by the fact that Cyrus was the model of all civility, as described in Sidney's *Defence of Poetry*, and that the epitaph 'Scythian' was more or less synonymous with barbarity. Even the most civilised could fail against the most barbarous enemy if they had no knowledge of geometry. Indeed, geometry comes to be a symbol of, an embodiment of, the virtues of civility. Then Digges moves, in this preface, away from 'celestiall causes and things doone in antiquitie long agoe' to the immediate circumstance of his own writing which is an attempt to explain his father's instruments and their uses. In this next passage he tells us that his father was able to put his abstract geometrical knowledge to many uses.

> [He] was able, and sundrie times hath by proportionall Glasses duely situate in convenient Angles, not onely discovered things farre off, read letters, numbred peeces of money with the verye coyne and superscription thereof, cast by some of his freends of purpose upon Downes in open Fields, but also seven Myles off declared what hath beene doone at that instant in private places. (xvii)

Although Thomas Digges, unfortunately, does not inform us what 'hath beene doone' in these private places seven miles away, whilst his father is spying, we do have here in a nutshell the 'ways of seeing' that are attendant on these relatively new technologies - the location of an object precisely within sight. We also have here the positioning of events within space - something taking place that can be located with the aid of a perspectival grid.

This is a conjunction of narrative and perspective that, as we have seen before in the attempts to map history, seeks, but fails, to close off the dialectical processes of history. That is both linear, historical narrative, and perspective privilege linear modes of representation, the modes of representation that have come to be dominant in modern Western culture. This is clearly an over-reading, on my part, of this small and

apparently inconsequential text, but it is nonetheless important to note that in such treatises as those of Digges, in many ways the forcing houses of the new spatial knowledges, the relationships between time and space are being developed, however unselfconsciously. It is particularly important if we are to develop Lefebvre's and others' arguments connecting western perspectival space with certain ways of thinking, and with the growth of capitalist economics in particular. I hope to show, by going back to one of the origins of this way of seeing a moment of deconstruction or difference at the origin wherein perspectival space is not able to close itself off or to become privileged in its relationship to dominant organisations of space. Marvell's poem is situated at this point and it can be read in such a way as to open up those linear ways of thinking, perspectival ways of seeing. I am not going to assign Marvell yet one more identity in the long history of attempts to identify his politics. He is not 'Marvell the proto deconstructionist'. However, the poem may be read within postmodern categories of thought that re-activate the terms of conflict within which the poem exists.

Before leaving Digges' preface however I would like to note that he also manages to include another interesting, and salient, aspect of the developing technologies - its position within systems of patronage.

> And for Science in Ordinance especially to shoote exactly at Randons (a qualitie not unmeete for a Gentleman) without rules Geometricall, a perfect skill in these mensurations, he shall never knowe anything:... (xviii)

The mathematician or surveyor provides knowledge that the landowner, the gentleman, requires both for practical purposes and as an indication of status. As a recent exhibition in the museum of the history of science at Oxford shows that the geometrical instruments that have survived into this century, do not even tend to be practical instruments, but are decorative rather. The catalogue to the exhibition points out the perhaps unexpected contexts for the production of these instruments.

It is probably the surviving instruments that most eloquently address the tension between the courtly context and the battlefield. Elegant and ingenious instruments, perhaps in gilt brass and accompanied by tooled leather cases, were far beyond the material and probably even the educational resources of the ordinary gunner. They could, however, enhance the image of an active officer abreast of the finer points of contemporary warfare. The maker offered a rare accessory to enhance a courtly posture and in exchange the patron offered a valuable and perhaps prominent commission. (Bennett and Johnston 1996)

We have here, then, a situation in which the mathematical instrument is fulfilling some of the same social functions as the panegyrical poem - the introduction of the maker (poet or instrument maker) into a system of patronage in which the reputation of the patron is enhanced at the same time as the pocket of the maker is lined. It is easy to see how, in this context, perspectival points of view can become understood as, in some way, representing a seigneurial system of land ownership. And also, how this way of seeing can be introduced into a panegyrical, landscape poem such as 'Appleton House'. Being *au fait* with the current visual technologies attendant on gunning and surveying was clearly desirable for land owners. As I have said, this was for both practical reasons and also, interestingly as part of the recognised life of the gentleman. For this technology then to impact on representations of their land - both in poetry and painted landscape - is an easy step. Surveying becomes part of the art of being a gentleman.

But, there are other ways of seeing that use these technologies and which may open up other ways of reading back to analyse their relationship with and within a history of space and, more particularly, a history of the space of western capitalism in its early years. This 'but' at the beginning of my last sentence is paralleled with a 'but' in Marvell's poem, as it too indicates the other ways of seeing that can be available within these technologies.

> But o'er the meads below it plays,
> Or innocently seems to graze. (367-368)

As the line of vision is aimed at the opposing Cawood Castle, it is distracted by the space in between.

> And now to the abyss I pass
> Of that unfathomable grass,
> Where men like grasshoppers appear,
> But grasshoppers are giants there: (369-372)

The 'buts' indicate a shift within the lines of vision, a movement away from the linear model of vision that is privileged in the gun sight and in the tropes associated with gun sights at the start of the stanza. Instead, the playfulness of vision at the end of stanza 46 (368) and the shifts in scale in the following stanza, which are characteristic of the poem as a whole, present a less straightforward 'way of seeing' that disturbs the relationship between object and subject.

This movement away from the privileging of a linear type of vision is contained within the technologies themselves however. The technologies of surveying, as they are used in measuring property and determining a military target, do not always produce the same kind of space. In Alpers' terms, they have a function within the cartographic, as well as the seigneurial. The other function of the kinds of surveying instruments used in gun sights would have been in the production of surveys and maps. Whilst these technologies belong intimately together and are developed alongside each other - the position of the map within systems of patronage can even be seen as analogous to that attributed to the panegyrical poem or the mathematical instrument - it is my contention that the two different uses relate to two distinct 'ways of seeing'. There is a difference at the heart of the new perspectival arts, that does not always produce a uniform space. One of the ways that this can be experienced is in the difference between perspective and anamorphosis. This difference is indicated in the repeated 'buts' in this part of the Marvell poem. It is the moment that recognises the division between the seigneurial and the cartographic vision as Alpers and Marcus would have them but,

again, the implications of this division extend beyond questions of genre and a simple identification of different genres with different politics. Rather it is an indication of a disturbance in a way of seeing. The history of space as a history that is not necessarily unified, along the line of a chronology.

The ways of seeing that are indicated by the two-way relationships between Nun Appleton and Cawood Castle, between Digges's father and the coin in the field, between the ship and the coast, are inadequate for an understanding of cartographic projection and its function in the visual. In the *Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*, Jacques Lacan, the prominent French psychoanalyst, writes about perspective, as developed by Brunelleschi and Alberti in quattrocento Florence and adopted as the commonsensical way of seeing in western Europe.

> It is in Vignola and in Alberti that we find the progressive interrogation of the geometral laws of perspective, and it is around research on perspective that is centred a privileged interest for the domain of vision - whose relation with the institution of the Cartesian subject, which is itself a sort of geometral point, a point of perspective, we cannot fail to see. (Lacan 1977: 86)

This, in many ways, ties up with what Turner says, in *The Politics of Landscape*, about the functions of perspectival landscape representations. He says that it is 'a mode of thought'. (Turner 1979: 36) The 'prospect' is a vehicle for the investigation of truth, a *way* of thinking. In this sense, Turner is placing the moment of the development of the western subject position within vision as pre-Cartesian, something that in the examples in the rest of the lectures on the gaze, Lacan does also. However, Peter de Bolla's remarks on the development of the Cartesian subject in Enlightenment Europe are relevant here.

> ... visuality is both literally a topic under investigation during the Enlightenment and the name we might give to a figurative spacing that opens up, controls, or legislates the terrain upon which a large number of concepts are articulated. (de Bolla 1996: 65)

That is, vision is both formative of, and formed by, the development of the Cartesian subject. This is surely what is behind Lacan's insistence that the Cartesian subject is a 'sort of geometral point' within the lines of Albertian perspective. Lacan goes on to say of perspective, however, that, 'What is at issue in geometral perspective is simply the mapping of space, not sight.' (Lacan 1977: 86) Perspective is not a straightforward, realistic way of representing how we perceive the visual world but a projection of that physical world, by means of mathematical calculations, onto a flat plane. It is here that my interest in Lacan's theories of vision lies. He explicitly moves Western perspective into the material world. It is a system of representation, what Lefebvre would call a 'representation of space'. When Lacan develops his theories of vision to deal with the notion of anamorphosis then, it easy to extend this into the material world also. Lacan is keen to use anamorphosis as a symbol of the effect of the gaze, de-centring the Cartesian subject position. It could equally well be seen to de-centre our representations of space, our linear modes of representation that have gone hand-in-hand with the development of (agrarian) capitalism and which, have, indeed shaped the space of capitalism itself.

The gaze, in Lacanian theory, is an awareness of our being looked-at-ness. The visual, then, can not be fully explained within a binary dynamic of subject and object - the positioning of an enemy down the sight of a gun, measuring the distance from the ground to the top of the hill, although such a scheme is assumed in the commonsense elision of perspectival projections and vision itself. Rather, it is a triangular process. As an emblem of this, in the *Four Fundamental Concepts*, Lacan famously uses Holbein's portrait of the *Two Ambassadors*. In this picture two figures are positioned within a standard, pictorial, perspectival space. However, across the bottom of the picture there is an anamorphic skull that can only come into view if the viewer disturbs her ordinary relationship with the picture and looks back at it from the bottom right of the frame. When this is done, the skull appears and the two ambassadors are no longer seen as existing within a 'realistic' space. Lacan has called anamorphosis 'the inverted

use of perspective.' (92) For me, here, it is indicative of a difference within the development of perspectival ways of seeing.

Maps are examples of anamorphosis. They are projections. Whilst they make use of the technologies of vision that appear alongside the development of geometrical perspective, they do not correspond to the way in which, as Lacan says, perspective positions the Cartesian subject. There is no such 'point of view' in looking at cartographic projection. It is the opposite of Albertian perspective. It is, like, geometrical perspective, a representation of space, rather than of vision as experience, but it is one which points beyond the simple notion of subject and object within the realm of vision to a notion of being looked at, towards the notion of an impersonal gaze. Like Lacan's version of Holbein's skull, cartography destabilises perspectival vision - stops one looking *at* something in the kind of simple, straightforward binary relation that is able to privilege one of the two terms. It is the 'but' in Marvell's poem that alters the direction of the scopic tropes that he is using. Just as, in Holbein's *Ambassadors*, one has to move in order to bring the anamorphosis into play, so the eye of the poem's narrator is distracted in the word, 'but'.

> The sight does from these bastions ply,
> The invisible artillery;
> ...
> But o'er the meads below it plays,
> Or innocently seems to graze. (361-368)

The line of sight is disturbed into the description of the wider cartographic space of the meadow, spread out. Vision is no longer directed, aimed at something, but 'plays'. It is not secured in the two-way dynamic of perspective, which is exemplified in the Digges' tretise on the use of triangulation. Of course Leah Marcus has already identified the poem as cartographic rather than seigneurial but I want to go beyond this simple classification of texts - pictures and poems - to interrogate these categories as they are inextricably linked to each other within the developing technologies of vision

and their relationship within the linear modes of representation that occur alongside of, and as part of, the development of capitalism in the English countryside.

Cartography differs from anamorphosis in one important respect of course. In order to make anamorphosis work you must position yourself in relation to a picture in a certain way. In many ways, anamorphosis fixes the subject more precisely than an 'ordinary' perspectival picture, in a strictly physical sense. In some examples, it is often even necessary for the viewer to position their eye precisely in a hole in the 'frame' of the picture. This is the case with the portrait of Edward VI in the National Portrait Gallery. The picture does not 'work' unless the viewer places her eye directly at a hole on the right hand side of the frame itself. However, looking at an anamorphic picture is still radically different from looking at a traditionally perspectival picture in that it disturbs the 'commonsensical' nature of perspective. It is not rendered 'realistically' in the way that perspective intends. If Lacan is right in saying that perspective is the mapping of space rather than sight, then his insight is largely ignored in the conflation of our common-sense view of the world with the conventions of perspective. Even though maps do not function in the same way as anamorphosis - they cannot be brought into focus - they are, then very similar in their relationship to perspective. They both appear before the viewer as projections - they appear *as* mappings of space rather than sight. They are not assimilated into our common-sense ideas of what it is to 'see'. In Samuel Y. Egerton's influential account of the development of perspectival art in quattrocento Florence, he makes clear the nature of this relationship, insisting that the types of projection that are involved in the construction of a perspectival image were initially dependant on the knowledge that was retrieved when Ptolemy's *Geographia* was brought to light. It arrived in Florence in the late fourteenth century as part of a shipment of books, brought over from Constantinople by a Byzantine scholar called Chrysoloras. It was intended for the use of a group of Florentine worthies who were studying Greek - including Palla Strozzi and Leonardo Bruni, members of highly influential merchant families and prominent

civic figures. (Egerton 1975: 93-94)[98] Ptolemy's world atlas contained complex information on possible projections in the drawing of world maps. This same mathematics enabled the renaissance artists to 'rediscover' perspective. All of these 'projections' are, then, as Lacan says, 'mapping of space'. But, of course, perspective has come to *mean* much more than that. Its development into the commonsensical way of seeing the world has occluded its mathematics. Cartography and anamorphosis, however, foreground these equations. So that, despite the mutual interdependence of perspective and both cartography and anamorphosis, there is a difference there that may be the figure of a deconstrution at work in the development of dominant ways of thinking in the west. One of these may be to examine, in individual instances, the relationship between linear modes of representation and the dominant capitalist modes of production.

From the beginning of *Appleton House*, Marvell plays with the idea of anamorphosis. The initial description of the architecture seems to echo the ordered spaces of Jonson's Penshurst. The 'sober frame' of Nun Appleton is compared favourably to the 'unproportioned dwellings' that 'unruled' men are wont to build. The building is perfectly in proportion with the needs of its owners. To compare this, however, to the close fitting shell / house of the tortoise seems to verge too much on the exotic, tying in with what has been called Marvell's fascination with the 'hypernatural'. There would have been no room for tortoises in Jonson's very English menagerie of horses, deer, cattle and conies at Penshurst. When Fairfax arrives in his building, though, he does not fit.

Yet thus the laden house does sweat,
And scarce endures the Master great: (49-50)

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[98]Egerton's title betrays a flaw in his assumptions about perspective however. Whilst his narrative surrounding the arrival of Ptolemy's atlas in Florence indicates an understanding of perspective as a form of projection, 'a mapping of space', the idea that linear perspective is available for rediscovery indicates an understanding of perspective as a 'natural' phenomenon.

The swelling of the house is intended as a compliment to Fairfax - the building is incapable of containing the great man. The movement of the house is, though, imagined in specifically geometrical terms. It is a movement that clearly relates to the previous stanza which is worth quoting here in full.

> Humility alone designs
> Those short but admirable lines,
> By which, ungirt and unconstrained,
> Things greater are in less contained.
> Let others vainly strive t'immure
> The circle in the quadrature!
> These holy mathematics can
> In every figure equal man.(41-48)

Geometry is, here, imagined morally, after Vitruvius - the divine circle and the earthly square come together in the 'figure' of man whilst never achieving a proper unity. But geometry is also linked with a metadiscourse on the function of poetry as well. The 'short but admirable lines' could equally refer to Marvell's own precise verse as to the lines of a geometrician or architect. Like the chorus in *Henry V*, Marvell is apologising for the inadequacy of his stage, as constructed in language, as much as for the house's own inadequacy to contain the General. The links between the new visual technologies and poetry, between optics and systems of patronage, have been noted and it is through these links that this stanza achieves its meanings. This is clearly helpful if the poem is to fulfil its role as a panegyric. James Turner has written about how the visual economy of the 'prospect' is used in *Appleton House* within the function of the panegyric. He links the poem to Vaclac Hollar's plates depicting Albury which show a variety of views or 'stations' of the one house and its grounds in order to build up a complete picture of the house, in celebration of the owner. Marvell is said to do this in *Appleton House*.

> The sight of each place evokes the past and future of its owners, and the poet arranges them in proper perspective; in this respect, *Upon Appleton House* is a prospective poem. (Turner 1979: 62)

Like me, Turner relates these different 'prospects' in 'Appleton House' to visual tricks like anamorphosis but his understanding of the function of these optical ilusions is perhaps a little different.

> In the seventeenth-century imagination all these perspective arts had a single purpose - the construction of a visual world on geometric principles, applied to the structure and continuity of human life. (79)

Whilst this may be true, and the way in which we saw Digges position history within perspectival space would certainly lend credence to this, that is not to say that this is the entire story - that the relation between space, text and history was, or is, so uniform or that the seventeenth century representation of space did manage successfully to contain time, history, within the space of the 'prospect'. The world may well be in the process of being constructed 'on geometric principles' which in turn have a typological, moral role - but that is not to say that these 'perspective arts' were necessarily self-consistent.

It is in the central section of the poem, in which the working meadows of the Nun Appleton estate are described, where the largest number of Marvell's anamorphic images can be found. The eye of the narrator, as it turns from the house and its immediate environs towards the 'abyss' (469), the gardens, exchanges its seigneurial way of seeing for a more cartographic form, or at least a less rigidly perspectival form. The vision of the narrator is confused in his new, aerial location.

> To see men through this meadow dive,
> We wonder how they rise alive,
> As, under water, none does know
> Whether he fall through it or go.
> But, as the mariners that sound,
> And show the lead upon the ground,
> They bring up flowers so to be seen
> And prove they've at the bottom been. (377-384)

The eye of the narrator cannot locate the activities of the men in the field within a clear line of vision. This is not the new visual technology as it is available in Digges' treatise where Digges' father could locate a coin in a field and spy into private business, happening some miles away, but a disturbance of those functions from within the technologies themselves. That which is meant to sharpen vision has only served to confuse. Although the confusion in distances happening in this stanza relies on an understanding of lenses, of microscopes and telescopes, the usefulness of these devices is exchanged for a playfulness. Their function as tools of precise measurement is totally negated in the confusion of perspectives, distances and sizes which the narrator experiences.

The section continues to describe the work in the estate and in doing so increasingly associates it with the recent civil conflicts. The 'tawny mowers' do not just cut the grass, but 'massacre it' and, in so doing, kill a rail, bloodying the scythe. The uncertainty of the civil war, and a common reaction to it that Barbara Everett has characterised as 'bewilderment' is built into this short story of the dead bird, which, as I wrote earlier, must be read in the context of the recent military activity. (Everett 1986 [1979]: 57)

> Unhappy birds! what does it boot
> To build below the grass's root;
> When lowness is unsafe as height
> And chance o'ertakes, what 'scapeth spite?
> And now your orphan parents' call
> Sounds your untimely funeral.
> Death-trumpets creak in such a note,
> And 'tis the sourdine in their throat. (409-416)

The meadow has become a battlefield in the civil war. This is further underlined in the following stanza with the dramatic line, 'The mower now commands the field'. The association of the figure of the mower with a personification of death that is hinted at in Marvell's 'Mower' poems is here fully developed as death in the form of the mower stalks the battlefield. The use of the verb 'commands' underlines these military

connections. It is within the context of these extended metaphors that associate the work of a 'modern' enclosed estate with the civil war that the 'levelling' stanzas following have been read as allegory for the post war situation.[99] As was previously stated, the 'Levellers' of stanza 57 are seen as invaders in the enclosed space of the working landscape. This is obviously available as one reading of this part of the poem but having attempted to trace the poem's wider implications in ways of seeing the 'levelled space' can be read as having other significances. The empty, flat canvas or the round 'toril' of the bullring are types of anamorphic space, stretched out flat and without the hierarchising that occurs within the space of linear perspective. However, the poem does make another shift in its lines of vision in an attempt to capture this anamorphic space of equality. Again, explicit reference is made to the new technologies of vision available to the military, the surveyor and also, here, the landscape artist. After the cartographic spaces of the levelled meadow, the 'universal herd' are placed within a landscape painting.

They seem within the polished grass
A landskip drawn in looking-glass,
And shrunk in the huge pasture show
As spots, so shaped, on faces do -
Such fleas, ere they approach the eye,
In multiplying glasses lie.
They feed so wide, so slowly move,
As constellations do above. (457-464)

This can be read as an attempt to re-inscribe the levelling space of the working meadow which is in danger of domination not by the house but by the workers ('The mower now commands the field'), within the lines of a perspectival way of seeing, fixed within a landscape painting with all that its seigneurial vision implies. The levelling forces of the 'universal herd' are 'shrunk' within a landscape painting as it is reflected in a mirror. The shifts in scale however are unstable in this stanza and the lines, fixing the distance between subject and object, viewer and spectacle are not, in

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[99]See Kegl 1990 for the association particularly between the mower and new forms of working in the countryside that arrived during the development of agrarian capitalism in the seventeenth century.

fact, fixed. The herd shrunk to the size of fleas are out of focus in a magnifying glass until they approach the eye, and are then compared to the stars above. The line of vision does not remain in a fixed position. The scopic tropes pile on top of each other until there is no longer any clear hierarchic relationship developed between house and estate. The terrifying erasure of difference in terms of height that accompanies the analogies between the civil war and the death of the rail at the hands of the mower are echoed in this stanza in the shifts that the eye of the narrator makes between the meadow, the mirror, the slide of a magnifying glass and the stars. Whilst the perspectival arts may operate to fix relationships within the new hierarchies of agrarian capitalism, there are inconsistencies within their attendant technologies. These inconsistencies are seen here to impact on the representation of the space of enclosure in ways that open it up for a re-interpretation.

The poem closes by once again attempting this containment of other ways of seeing. This time it is performed through the controlling eye of the heir to the Fairfax estate, the General's daughter, Mary. Following the description of the working meadows which ends with a purifying flood, the narrator retreats to the safety of the wood. This retreat is revealed as in some ways dangerous and is an experience marked by languor and indolence. After the initial openness of the wood as 'It opens passable and thin' it becomes increasingly obvious that the wood is perhaps not all that it seems. It is a place of sensuous luxury.

> Then, languishing with ease, I toss
> On pallets swoll'n of velvet moss,
> While the wind, cooling through the boughs,
> Flatters with air my panting brows. (593-596)
>
> Bind me, ye woodbines, in your twines,
> Curl me about, ye gadding vines,
> And, oh, so close your circles lace,
> That I may never leave this place;
> But lest your silken bondage break,
> Do you, O brambles, chain me too,
> And, courteous briars, nail me through. (609-616)

James Turner's association of this luxurious retreat and particularly of this last stanza with the retreat of Catholic hermits rightly points out the kinds of danger that are indicated by Marvell's use of language at this moment in the poem. (Turner 1979) It is the arrival of Maria into the poem that sets everything, including the dangerous seclusion of the woods, into an order and a perspective.

> 'Tis she that to these gardens gave
> That wondrous beauty which they have;
> *She straightness on the woods bestows*;
> To her the meadow sweetness owes;
> Nothing could make the river be
> So crystal pure but only she;
> She yet more pure, sweet, straight, and fair,
> Than gardens, woods, meads, rivers are.(689-696 my italics)

Her presence orders the surrounding landscape in a perfect image of linear perspective operating as moral and hierarchical typology. Her ability to act as a model of virtue which in turn models the estate into its proper order is brought out in the virtue of the Fairfax *eye*.

> This 'tis to have been from the first
> In a domestic heaven nursed,
> Under the discipline severe
> Of Fairfax, and the starry Vere;
> Where not one object can come nigh
> But pure, and spotless as the eye; (721-726)

The simile in this stanza that uses the eye as the epitome of purity resonates with the other scopic imagery in the poem but silences the *impurity* of the mixed ways of seeing that the reader has witnessed. This movement to erase this disjunction in the poem's scopic regimes is also enacted in the penultimate stanza of the poem.

> 'Tis not, what once it was, the world,
> But a rude heap together hurled,
> All negligently overthrown,
> Gulfs, deserts, precipices, stone.
> Your lesser world contains the same,

> But in more decent order tame;
> You, heaven's centre, Nature's lap,
> And paradise's only map. (761-768)

Here, Nun Appleton is set apart from an external 'world turned upside down', it is 'in more decent order' despite containing all the same, potentially destructive elements. It rewrites the map as a model of privileging perspective. 'Paradise's only map' is at 'heaven's centre'. The map, as I have been discussing it, does not have a centre. Its projections are, precisely, de-centred. Marvell's map here has echoes of earlier world maps, the medieval T-O formed *mappae mundi* which placed Jerusalem, unequivocally at the centre of the world. [100] The disturbance of the cartographic vision as it brings the external into the heart of the estate is contained in this re-modelling of cartographic space as a space that, like linear perspective, privileges certain places and certain relations above others.

If perspective is intimately linked with the development of enclosure and agrarian capitalism in new relations between town and country as suggested by Henri Lefebvre, then the difference in perspective represented by anamorphosis and the framelessness of the map is a moment of deconstruction in this development. Marvell's poem performs that deconstruction by its close examination of the new visual technologies that accompany the development of perspective alongside the purported aim of the poem - the celebration of Fairfax. Contained within the 'buts' of Marvell's poem that enact shifts within the landowner's technologies of vision, and glossed over in Raymond Williams's belief in the 'inevitable' nature of Marvell's modes of representation, is a reading that unearths the disjunction in the seeming natural developments of both linear perspective and agrarian capitalism.

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[100]See Gillies 1994, where, as I have already written, he states that whereas there is a clear difference between the new technologies of the new cartography, older categories persist as organisational features, centring the world around the classical notion of the *oikumene* (the known world). Such ethnocentrically motivated ideological constructions of the map have not disappeared even today despite the new satellite technologies available to cartographers. Europe is still nearly always firmly in the centre of any world map, despite the twentieth century shifts of power outside this nominal centre.

In discussing the presence of Levellers in the fields of Nun Appleton, Tom Healy suggested that this would have been particularly poignant for Fairfax because of his dealings with the true Levellers, or Diggers, during their 'communist' experiment on St. George's Hill. Fairfax was brought in by local landowners to negotiate a settlement. He did not himself seem that bothered by the presence of the Diggers, perhaps assuming, correctly, that they posed no great threat to the current organisation of power in relation to the land. This easy meeting between the Diggers, Everard and Winstanley, and the commander in chief of the parliamentarian army, Lord Fairfax, is a clear example of the way in which it is not easy to assign positions on the issue of enclosure. It is to the Diggers, seeming implacable opponents of Fairfax, that I wish to turn to in the concluding chapters of the thesis. That they were able to meet up with Fairfax, in a tent on a field, without coming to blows whilst on the page, in Marvell's poem, they are represented as arch-enemies is a reminder not only of the complexities of this period's politics, but also of the unevenness of a history of space. The ways in which Gerrard Winstanley, himself, comes to write histories of space, is itself testimony to the radical possibilities of bringing together the three terms, space, text and history, in a way that is critically engaged.

iv. Winstanley's utopic language : representation and practice, a dialectic

In a recent essay, Christopher Kendrick has written about Gerrard Winstanley and the Diggers as 'concrete utopians', a phrase which raises questions about the relationship between writing and action in the practices of the Diggers. (Kendrick 1996) One of the implications of this tendency to see the diggers as 'utopians-in-fact' is to imagine them as having enacted a previously imagined textual programme. Winstanley, himself, has something to say about this relationship between words and deeds in 'A Watch-word to the City of London and the Army'.

> Then I was made [by the voice of God] to write a little book called The New Law of Righteousness, and therein I declared it; yet my mind was not at rest, because nothing was acted, and thoughts run in me that words and writings were all nothing and must die, for action is the life of all, and if thou dost not act, thou dost nothing. Within a little time I was made obedient to the word in that particular likewise; for I took my spade and went and broke the ground upon George Hill in Surrey, thereby declaring freedom to the creation, and that the earth must be set free from entanglements of lords and landlords, and that it shall become a common treasury to all, as it was first made and given to the sons of men. (Winstanley [1649] 1973: 127-128)

In this passage Winstanley is suggesting that the process whereby he and his fellow diggers came to occupy George Hill was one which began with 'the word'. That is - writing and the formulation of their arguments preceded the actual digging. That writing was itself preceded by the original word of God, speaking to Winstanley in a vision. This narrative in which action follows and eclipses language is stated even more clearly in the jointly authored pamphlet, 'The True Levellers' Standard Advanced' [1649].[101]

> And in obedience to the spirit we have declared this by word of mouth, as occasion was offered. Secondly, we have declared it by writing which others may read. Thirdly, we have now begun to declare it by action, in digging up the common land and casting in seed, that we may eat our bread together in righteousness. (89)

The sequential relationship that is set up in this passage and the oppositional relationship set up in the previous passage where discourse 'must die' in order for action to live is, however, undermined by Winstanley's own use of language. In 'A Watch-word to the City of London' [1649], Winstanley sets up a complex narrative of

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[101]Although many of the Digger pamphlets have been ascribed to Gerrard Winstanley, they are often printed as being jointly authored by the whole community. from which they emanated. 'The True Levellers' Standard Advanced', for example, has fifteen authors, plus an '&c..' listed at the front, including William Everard, as well as Winstanley. The '&c.' is perhaps the most telling author, opening up, as it does, the possibilities of wider communitarian practices which were the motivating force, and characteristic feature, of the Digger movement itself. The Digger writings are, in this sense, truly part of Digging practice, rather than a representation of it, an abstraction or a minor annexe to the main action in the field.

cause and effect wherein the relationship between action and speech, digging and writing is collapsed, despite the fact that Winstanley does appear to be attempting to differentiate between the two.

> I took my spade ..., thereby *declaring* freedom to the creation. (123)

This idea is repeated in the jointly authored pamphlet where the authors write, 'Thirdly, we have now begun to *declare* it by action,'. (89) It seems that digging is itself a form of discourse, a message or a declaration of purpose, as well as being the enactment of that purpose. Winstanley is concerned to represent the George Hill project as a movement away from language, and into action; a rejection of the barren word in favour of the fertile soil. Yet, once it is enacted, this movement is itself represented as a declaration, an act in language. Discourse does not 'die' when the Diggers take up the spade, but instead, further language is produced. The act of digging becomes a metaphor for the speech act, or perhaps it is the other way around. The relationship between the two terms and activities is so close and interwoven it is impossible fully to decide which operates as a metaphorical term for the other. Certainly, they cannot be disentangled by reference to a sequential narrative in which one substitutes and eclipses the other, the narrative that Winstanley attempts to use as a founding explanation for his activities. They are not 'concrete utopians' if that term is taken to imply a sequential relationship wherein action proceeds from an earlier discursive programme, where the digging up of the land is performed according to a script. This is more like improvisation - the constant writing and rewriting of a programme of action, the action itself being as much part of the working out phase as any written plans.

James Turner has written in his *Politics of Landscape* that, 'in our period we see a new and profounder correspondence between landscape and politics, in which metaphor merges with reality.' (Turner 1979: 85) Whereas previously, politics could

be imagined through tropes surrounding gardening, farming or the land in general, the mid seventeenth century sees the politics of land themselves being foregrounded. The emblematic gardening of Shakespeare's *Richard II* is replaced by the more complex dynamics of something like Marvell's 'A Nymph complaining' where the relationship between politics and pastoral is not one of analogy, but of invasion, the soldiers tramping across the pastoral idyll. Land ownership is under contention as never before in the period surrounding the civil wars, resulting in an upheaval in the relationship between representations of the land and new territorial practices. Metaphors not only merge with reality but, as in the case of Winstanley and the Diggers, they come to supplant reality in the act of digging.

This relationship between writing and practice in the project of the Diggers is further complicated if we are to acknowledge Keith Thomas's argument that in some ways the Diggers are situated at the end of a long tradition of the disenfranchised rural poor encroaching onto the common ground. (see Thomas 1969) Rather than seeing the Diggers as enacting a previously organised utopian or millennial formulation of an ideal society, this argument would see, at least Winstanley's early writings as explanations *after* the event. This is certainly true of the immediate, practical contexts of much of Winstanley's writings which as well as being programmatic demands for action, function as explanations and are addressed to those who are critical of the Diggers. The Digger pamphlets were often responses to moments of crisis such as a court judgement against them or a physical attack on themselves or their property. 'A Watch-word to the City of London' is, for example, a direct response to attacks on the Digger community, when Winstaney's cows were stolen. This may account for some of the particular vehemence of this pamphlet in its invective against those he calls, 'you lords of manors, you freeholders, you Norman clergy, oppressing tithe-mongers and you of the Parliament men who have played fast and loose with this poor nation.' Here as elsewhere, the particular joy of Winstanley's writings is in its evident passion, commitment and inventiveness. The pamphlet 'A New Year's Gift for the Parliament

and Army' [1650] is seemingly written directly following one of Winstanley's arrests. In the light of Winstanley's refusal to use lawyers, whom he considered to be one of the chief oppressors of liberty, the pamphlets become his only means of defending himself to a wider public. The following extract illustrates clearly how much the writings really were part of specific situations .

> And now they have arrested me again in an action of £4 trespass for digging upon the commons, which I did, and own the work to be righteous and no trespass to any. This was the attorney of Kingston's advice, either to get money on both sides, for they love money as dearly as a poor man's dog do his breakfast in a cold morning (but regard not justice), or else that I should not remove it to a higher court, but that the cause might be tried there; and then they know how to please the lords of manors, that have resolved to spend hundreds of pounds but they will hinder the poor from enjoying the commons. For they will not suffer me to plead my own cause, but I must fee an enemy [i.e. a lawyer], or else be condemned and executed without mercy or justice as I was before, and so to put me in prison till I pay their unrighteous sentence; for truly attorneys are such neat workmen that they can turn a cause which way those that have the biggest purse will have them: and the country knows very well that Kingston court is so full of the kingly power that some will rather lose their rights than have their causes tried there. (169)

The country might not have known before, but they do now that Winstanley has put this useful information into a pamphlet addressed to the army and parliament, but published in London and available to the pamphlet buying public. The pamphlets are more than political programmes, but rather themselves intervene in the development of the Diggers' communities. It is no mistake, of course, that St. George's Hill was so near to London, with its printing presses always to hand. The pamphlet was part of the struggle, as much an awakening of the spirit in man as the act of digging itself.

The ways in which discourse and practice become inseparable in the work of the Diggers can intervene in interesting ways in a discussion of whether or not is possible to include them within the genre of utopians, a discussion which I hope will avoid the 'concrete utopians' model. I do not want to discuss Winstanley as a utopian writer in order to fix his writings as part of a stable literary genre, the utopia, with a given set of

pre-requisites for membership. Neither do I wish to validate his writings by including them within a tradition of elite culture. Instead, I would like to situate Winstanley's writings alongside utopian discourse in order to introduce some ideas to do with the relations between text, space and history in the discursive practices of Winstanley and the Diggers. Discussions surrounding the nature of utopias and utopianism will be used as a discursive framework within which to examine the relations between text, space and history in the practices of Winstanley and the diggers. A part of this may involve the rethinking of some traditional definitions of utopianism.

In his essay, 'Socialism, Utopian and Scientific', Friedrich Engels sees the utopian vision as something that is profoundly misguided. He sees it as something which is necessarily divorced from the conditions of the age in which it is produced.

> The Utopians' mode of thought has for a long time governed the socialist ideas of the nineteenth century, and still governs some of them. Until very recently all French and English Socialists did homage to it. The earlier German Communism, including that of Weitling, was of the same school. To all these Socialism is the expression of absolute truth, reason and justice, and has only to be discovered to conquer all the world by virtue of its own power. And as absolute truth is independent of time, space, and of the historical development of man, it is a mere accident when and where it is discovered. (Engels 1967: 197)

Whilst Engels is clearly right to separate early modern writings from later eighteenth and nineteenth century utopian projects and these in turn from the supposedly inevitable proletarian revolution of scientific Socialism, I think he does so on the wrong grounds. In his dismissal of earlier utopian projects he lays a lot of emphasis on their supposed abstraction from context. They are supposedly 'independent of time, space, and of the historical development of man'. (198) Their solutions to man's problems are chanced upon accidentally. This tendency to view utopian projects and writings as transcendent of their material conditions fails, I think, to read those projects correctly. Strangely, for Engels, it fails to read them 'dialectically' but takes them at face value, as they themselves present their projects. A more dialectical

reading of these texts would see them as responding to their conditions, or more accurately perhaps would see that their solutions are not universal, abstract solutions but are situated quite clearly in their own space and time. The founding text of the genre, Thomas More's *Utopia* could not be a better indication of this. Its two part structure invites the reader to make comparisons between the 'real world' of European politics and the state of Utopia as described by Hythlodaeus. Also, the way that it is self consciously situated within a context of European humanism in the service of princes, leads one inevitably to understand the 'ideal' of the state of Utopia as existing in relation to a contemporary Europe.

I would like to argue that this is clearly true of the project of the Diggers. Their writings and their digging emerge directly from their material conditions. Although they explain and justify their actions by reference to a message from an eternal God, this abstraction does not conceal the material origins and relations of their actions. This does not, however, mean that the Diggers are related in any specific way to utopianism, or to a utopian tradition in English literature. It could be said of any political theorist that their solutions are dialectically related to their 'real' contexts. In his book, *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, J. C. Davis includes Winstanley as a utopian writer but constantly turns him into an exceptional case within the definitions of utopianism that he uses. In his discussion of Judith Shklar's definitions of what she calls 'classical utopianism', he writes,

> The 'classical' utopia as presented here is pure fiction, a Platonic model, designed for contemplation only and not for action. It transcends time and place. Therefore when political programmes become identified in time, when they become 'activist' or when an attempt is made to translate fiction into fact, they cease to be utopias. ... However, somewhat uncomfortably, Winstanley and the Diggers are to be seen as 'partial exceptions' to the rule that 'classical' utopians cannot be activists. (Davis 1981: 15)

The uneasiness with which Winstanley is discussed in relation to these definitions of utopia that rely on standard notions of what constitutes fiction can surely be traced back to the uneasy divisions between discourse and practice that I have identified as a feature of Digger writings.

Davis, himself prefers to ignore these traditional definitions of utopianism which rely on their fictionality, pointing out both that fictionality is not exclusive to utopias, but a feature of much political writing and that those who do rely on this a means of generic classification still manage to include Winstanley.[102] His own eventual definition depends upon a classification of programmatic political writings according to their differing solutions to a 'collective problem' involving a dissatisfaction with material conditions. These categories he calls, the Land of Cockaygne, Arcadia, the Perfect Moral Commonwealth, the Millennium and the Utopia. The Utopia is defined against these other political topoi by a concentration on the legal and administrative framework of a given fictional or semi fictional society and the prime example of this that he gives is from Winstanley's *The Law of Freedom on a Platform.* [1652] [103] From this he separates Winstanley's later work from his earlier pamphlets which he says are not concerned with the structure of a political body, but present a belief in a millennial solution to the 'collective problem'. There will be no need for an administrative organisation in the collective awakening of Christ in an extended Digger community. The early pamphlets are also caught up in the immediate problems of existing within a contemporary legal structure rather than being in a position to stand back from it. Davis's taxonomy of texts tends, then, to deny them their context. It sees them as idealised political programmes, transcendent of their 'textuality'. The kind of history of political thought that he is engaged in seeks to isolate the ideas of a text

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[102]He also includes and dismisses the approaches of Glenn Negley and J. Max Patrick, and Angela B. Samaan, all of whom define utopian writings with reference to their common use of travel narrative whilst at the same time including Winstanley. Davis quite rightly points out that Winstanley uses no such narrative framework in either his early pamphlets or the more formal, Law of Freedom.

[103]'There must be suitable Laws for every occasion and almost for every action that men do.' is the quote that he uses.

from its productive processes. We are not moved much further on from the definitions offered by Engels.

I would like, then, to offer a broader definition of utopianism, or rather, I would like to avoid defining it at all. It seems to me that those texts which are asked to fit into this 'genre' do not necessarily form a distinct and self-conscious literary category but rather exist, with other texts, within a certain *way* of thinking. They exist within a discursive framework that has broader implications than a simple classification within a particular genre. In the preface to *Utopics: Spatial Play*, Louis Marin begins by writing about geometry and the figures used in algebra to express 'elementary geometry'. He explains the relation between this and the utopian text as follows.

> I speak here of geometry, and of elementary geometry, at that, only because the name into which utopia was inscribed and named - for the very first time in the history of the West - was space. It was the writing of space contained within a play of lines and points. Utopias, as you know, continually play between the figures of the circle and in the elements of circumferences and centers. (Marin 1984: xvii)

I will return to the possible correspondences between Winstanley's writings and Marin's notions of the utopian text and utopic practice, as developed in *Utopics*, shortly but would first like to register a basic agreement with Marin that the utopianism that I identify, not with a literary genre but with a discursive framework, does have something to do with space. It is, as Marin puts it, a 'discursive spatial figure'. It is the imagining, within discourse, of a re-configuration of the dominant organisation of, and relations within, space; a figure without a referent in the 'real' but with a real relation to space. Marin bases all of his arguments around Thomas More's *Utopia*, but I would like to suggest that in the shadows of this way of thinking is an earlier text - Plato's *Critias*.[104] In this text Critias fulfils an earlier promise made in

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[104]My suggestion here would seem to undermine Marin's phrase in the above quote, 'for the very first time in the history of the West' but this is partly because I refuse to see Utopia as the founding text of a genre or even the text which opens up for the first time a specific Western mode of thought and not because I disagree with Marin's placing both More's text and his own at specific and crucial points in

the introduction to the *Timaeus* to tell the story of the ancient and no longer remembered victory of the Athenians against a forgotten land, Atlantis, formerly situated between the pillars of Hercules, the gateway to the *oikumene*, the known world. The now forgotten Athens of the past is described as ideal. What allows Plato, in the *Timaeus* and the *Critias*, to situate an ideal Athens outside of history and in an ideal location is, indeed, a re-configuration of space. The contemporary Athens is divided from the ideal past by a sequence of floods.

> [...]before the greatest of all destructions by water,[...], the city that is now Athens was preeminent in war and conspicuously the best governed in every way, its achievements and constitution being the finest of any in the world of which we have heard tell. (Plato 1971 [c. C.8 B.C.]: 36)

Contemporary Athens is built on the same piece of land but it is a land differently configured, altered through time.

> So the result of the many great floods that have taken place in the last nine thousand years (the time that has elapsed since then) is that the soil washed away from the high land in these periodical catastrophes forms no alluvial deposit of consequence as in other places, but is carried out and lost in the deeps. You are left (as with little islands) with something rather like the skeleton of a body wasted by disease; the rich soft soil has all run away leaving the land nothing but skin and bone. (133-134)

This displacement in time is comparable to the later traditions illustrated in *Utopia*, *The Tempest* and *The New Atlantis* of placing ideal (or otherwise) locations *somewhere* in the Atlantic. Both these kinds of displacement allow the featured location to exist outside of normal geographic expectations, yet in a meaningful relation to the contemporary organisations of space. Plato places his Atlantis more

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the history of space. Marin is quite right to point out that the specific texts that he is studying can be justifiably be isolated 'by analysing them as the natural breaking point between the feudal world and its transformation into the world of capitalism'. I do, of course, believe that the early modern period brings with it new ways of seeing that exist in complex relations with perspective, cartography, the discovery of the 'new world' and the birth of the capitalist nation state. That is not to say that Plato's *Critias* cannot be used to illuminate some of these developments and did not play its part in the development of the way of thinking that I am seeking to adumbrate.

definitely in the entrance to the Atlantic but again it is given this ambivalent status - both part of 'real' geography and, like his ideal Athens, something that no longer exist except as either textual trace or an accumulation of mud in the ocean.

> ... in a single day and night all your fighting men were swallowed up by the earth, and the island of Atlantis was similarly swallowed up by the sea and vanished; this is why the sea in that area is to this day impassable to navigation, which is hindered by mud just below the surface, the remains of the sunken island.'
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> That is, in brief, Socrates, the story which Critias told when he was an old man, and which he had heard from Solon. (38)

Although it is treated as the enemy of Athens in these texts, it is in the description of Atlantis in the *Critias* that we could locate some of the ways of thinking that are later to be associated with utopianism. In what we have of the *Critias*, Atlantis exists, almost completely, as spatial organisation. This is in opposition to Athens which is caught in the histories of civilisation, arriving on the ebb of the tide, washed away by the flow. Atlantis is experienced in terms of its geometry - the concentric circles of the city and the grid system of the outlying regions. As such, it calls a halt to the temporal nature of the dialogue and exists as a spatial figure within discourse. However, I believe that its position within this dialogue and within a wider context of Athenian history may deconstruct the monumental stasis of this figure. The *Critias*, as we have it, is an unfinished text, especially so in comparison with More's *Utopia* which, for all its gentlemanly tone of *sprezzatura*, is incredibly finished and polished, contained within its own world of prefatory letters and textual apparatus. This, though, does not mean that the *Critias* is not equally *situated* both within the terms of its own histories and its subsequent histories within Western ways of thinking through and about space, time and text.

In his book, *Utopics: Spatial Play*, Louis Marin has examined the relationship between the finished Utopian text and the processes that are involved in its production. To do this, he distinguishes between Utopia as text, or as 'figure within discourse' and what

he calls 'Utopic practice' which he defines as 'the productive force that the product (as a final achieved figure) masks;'. (Marin 1984: 197) The 'Utopia', then seeks to become the idealised text that both Engels and Davis have taken it to be, but Marin construes this to be a kind of figure, a complex metaphor that exists only in relation to its own fictive framework.

> ... utopia as figure within discourse refers to what is not of the discursive realm : it opens up onto the finality of discourse. It does not *signify* reality, but rather *indicates* it discursively. (197)

This figure eclipses or rather, attempts to eclipse, the productive processes behind it, the utopic practices. To view the figure of the utopia as either totally divorced from, or identical with, utopic practice is a failure to offer a critique of the text.

> The theoretical critique of utopia attempts to produce the concept of utopic practice. (197)

Marin rather sees traces of Utopic practice as still present in the Utopian text and it is the task of the critic to articulate those traces. If Gerrard Winstanley's *Law of Freedom on a Platform* is a utopian text, a figure with its own internal coherence, then the text of earlier digger writing and practice can be read as a kind of utopic practice. This utopic practice renders the exclusion of the figure from the 'real' untenable. That is, his writings operate on the figurative level at the same time as they are 'literal'. This might help to suggest a more complex relationship between writing and practice than the simple sequential model of 'concrete utopianism' that I began by questioning.

As a model for this idea, I would like to examine one of the instances in Winstanley's writings of a term that cannot be reduced to a simple definition as either figurative or literal. The 1649 pamphlet 'The True Levellers' Standard Advanced', a programmatic explanation of the Diggers' or True Levellers' activities, begins with an argument against enclosure.

> ... hereupon the earth (which was made to be a common treasury of relief for all, both beasts and men) was hedged into enclosures by the teachers and rulers, and the others made servants and slaves, ... (Winstanley 1973: 78)

The pamphlet goes on to link this process of the division of the land and of labour to the Fall of man, something that many contemporary religious radicals were also doing. (See Hill 1993) In this pamphlet though, the connection is made in a new and startling way.

> But this coming in of bondage is called A-dam, because this ruling and teaching power without doth dam up the spirit of peace and liberty, first within the heart, by filling it with slavish fear of others; secondly without, by giving the bodies of one to be imprisoned, punished and oppressed by the outward power of another. (Winstanley 1973: 78)

The story of the fall is bound up in this new term, 'the A-dam', which, in this pamphlet, is always spelt out using the hyphen. Winstanley is not taking his theology literally but turning it into a kind of figure. It is a self conscious, figurative re-writing of the Fall. Its figurative status is revealed in the use of the hyphen. But it is not so simple as that. Just as I suggested that it was not possible to unravel whether 'digging' was a metaphor for 'discourse', or *vice versa*, so with 'A-dam' it is not possible to stabilise it as a simple metaphor. Theology may be being re-imagined figuratively but it is being re-imagined in specifically geographical terms. The 'dam' in 'A-dam' *is* a 'stoppage', understood both as tropology (a figurative and moral re-reading of the Bible) and as enclosure at the same time.[105]

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[105]The figure of 'Adam' occupies an important part of the tropological politics of the civil war period. For Winstanley, he is an ambiguous figure, standing in for the sinfulness of man, which must be eradicated by the emergence of the Christ within each individual. This is both in contrast to, and comparable with Robert Filmer's understanding of Adam, who, he claims exists as proof of the necessity of monarchical rule. 'The first goverment of the world was monarchical, in the father of all flesh. Adam being commanded to multiply, and people the earth, and to subdue it, and having dominion given him over all creatures, was thereby the monarch of the whole world; none of his posterity had any right to possess anything, but by his grant or permission, or by succession from him.' (quoted in Wootton 1986: 110) The question here is one of biblical chronology. Winstanley's 'A-dam' is an effect of the Fall, making 'kingly power' and private property part of a post-lapsarian failure, reversible in the millenial resurrection of Christ within. For Filmer, both property and monarchy preceded the Fall, and were part of God's original plan.

In the pamphlet, 'A New year's Gift for the Parliament and Army', Winstanley clearly makes use of this concept of tropology, using it to underwite the entire Digging project.

> For I tell you and your preachers, that Scripture which saith The poor shall inherit the earth, is really and materially to be fulfilled. (206)

Winstanley demonstrates the way in which he translates the text of the bible for contemporary moral and political use. Again, this cannot be stabilised as figurative or not. It is clearly a figurative use of the bible, a translation of the original meaning. But Winstanley imagines this tropology in a particularly geographical way that involves an imagined reconfiguration of the dominant organisation of space. This is itself a kind of utopian text, the figure of an imagined space, but it is not one that hides its utopic practice.

If the utopian text is an imagined re-configuration of the dominant organisation of space, then Winstanley's utopic practice prevents the easy splitting up of this space from the 'real'. Whilst Marin insists that, although he is seeking to reveal utopic practice, we must always understand the utopian text *as* text, I believe that the Digger text questions this as a given. Where I would like to question Marin then is on his insistence that utopic practice is *itself* nothing more than further text. What I believe is needed are the insights of Henri Lefebvre with his ideas about the production of culture *in* space. In *The Production of Space*, he is keen to insist on 'the active - the operational or instrumental - role of space, as knowledge and action, in the existing mode of production'. (Lefebvre 1991: 11) Discourse *on* space cannot be reduced to the purely discursive, as, like all discourse, space is itself the condition or the existence of that knowledge. And so, I would like to re model Marin's utopics, and see the utopic not as the trace of discourse within a discursive figure (the utopia itself) but as the trace of that which lies outside of a discourse on space - space itself.

These texts do look forward to the end of discourse, not in the straightforward sequential narratives that they sometimes employ, but within the discourse itself. The figurative nature of all language is disturbed by the ability of digging to exist as both figurative and real, as representation and that which lies outside representation - practice. In the later utopian text, *The Law of Freedom on a Platform*, composed after the failure of the Digger project on George's Hill, Winstanley indicates this end of discourse in his programme for education in the new commonwealth.

> ... to prevent the dangerous events of idleness in scholars, it is reason, and safe for common peace, that after children have been brought up at schools to ripen their wits, they shall then be set to trades, arts and sciences as their bodies and wits are capable of; ... (Winstanley 1973: 362)

This, however, is nothing more than the working out of his previous sequential narratives in another language, a 'utopian' language, in J.C. Davis's sense of the word, that deals in the 'common peace'. Just as that sequential narrative was a kind of 'representation', isolated from 'practice' - a kind of history but one that is formalised, and unable to operate dialectically, so this education programme is part of the utopian text seeking to obscure its utopic practices. Winstanley's own language practices, his moral re-readings of the bible, or tropology, undermines any such clear distinction between representation and practice.

v. Digging histories

In the county maps that form John Speed's atlas, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, we have seen how the history of the nation is written into the map and how this visualisation of history is an attempt to make it work in the present. The presentation of Roman ruins on the map of Great Britain seeks to efface the diachronic nature of those British histories of invasion and division. James's imperial style is

identified with his kingdoms' geographies. In the maps, the discursive gives way to the visual in a way that hopes to render history as synchronic. As already mentioned, Michel de Certeau has written of maps that 'They allow us to grasp only a relic set in the *nowhen* of a surface of projection.' The map being itself visible, 'has the effect of making invisible the operation that made it possible.' (de Certeau 1984: 97) The use of the word 'nowhen' is important here and is related to the 'no-place' of the utopian text. Now I can relate de Certeau's relics to Marin's Utopian text. Both the mapping of history and the sequential narratives of the Utopian texts exist in what Louis Marin calls 'a perpetual now, permanence of the identical.' (Marin 1984: xxvi) In the Utopia or in the map, as de Certeau understand it, history is available only as a 'relic' as in the Roman ruins. That relic does not necessarily exist in anyhere but the pure moment of the text, uncontaminated by the processes which Henri Lefebvre would refer to as the 'production of space'. Lefebvre has, himself, written about the connection between the visual and an abstraction from the processes of everyday life. Images, he says detach 'the pure form from the impure content - from lived time, everyday time ...'. (Lefebvre 1991: 97) In my discussion of Speed's maps I attempted to show how these relics are however always available for a re-reading, that the map reader can re-trace the histories, can position themselves in such a way as to undo the identification between past and present in the abstract space of the map. Anachronism works both ways, drawing attention to that which it is attempting to hide. Winstanley was already doing this for us, in his own writing of histories. Here, I am presenting the visual as that which curtails the free play of intertextuality and the necessarily dialectical nature of writing. This is not to identify such stultifying power with all visual representations *per se*, but with the triumph of the visual over the discursive, the replacing of a radical historicity with the single image, the ruin with the 'relic'.

If maps present history as this 'permanence of the identical', rather than a process that is both diachronic and dialectical, then Winstanley and the Diggers write a different history of space - a history of space that deconstructs the dead space of the map. They

demonstrate an awareness of the historical processes that the map, as de Certeau says, makes invisible.

> As when our Norman William came into England and conquered, he turned the English out and gave the land unto his Norman soldiers, every man his parcel to enclose; and hence rose up property. (Winstanley 1973: 164)

Winstanley refuses to concur with the history of space that is present in the county map. The naturalisation of space as property is deconstructed by Winstanley's historical narratives. In showing a historical origin for the understanding of land as property, Winstanley's narratives reveal that enclosure is not inherent to the land and that the land has a potential to be configured otherwise. Like the maps, Winstanley's texts do see history as present in the land but the histories that he invokes are presented diachronically rather than synchronically. They work to undo the seeming coherence of space, text and history. History is a process rather than a permanent present that has been rendered visible in the 'nowhen' of the map. I am not saying that Winstanley is privileged in some way in having access to a historical process, the representation of which is unaffected by present circumstances. Just the opposite - his historical narratives are very obviously being made to work in the present. The difference is, however, that these narratives are not finished, they are not realised in the stasis of the map, but available in a narrative of conflict and change. Winstanley shows us that the land is always being re-written, the maps being redrawn. The space of enclosure, land as the record of accumulated property is naturalised in the county map but Winstanley's histories of that space open it up for question.

> If you cast your eye a little backward you shall see that this outward teaching and ruling power is the Babylonish yoke laid upon Israel of old, under Nebuchadnezzar; and so successively from that time the conquering enemy have still laid these yokes upon Israel to keep Jacob down. And the last enslaving conquest which the enemy got over Israel was the Norman over England; and from that time kings, lords, judges, justices, bailiffs and the violent bitter people that are freeholders, are and have been successively. The Norman bastard William himself, his

> colonels, captains, inferior officers and common soldiers, who still are from that time to this day in pursuit of that victory, imprisoning, robbing and killing the poor enslaved English Israelites. (86)

In this passage Winstanley overlays a specifically English history with biblical history. Both these histories - that of the English as Israelites and the Saxon English under the yoke of the Norman conqueror - could be disputed as wilful inaccuracies but that would be to miss the point of Winstanley's writings. In a way he is reading these histories tropologically and they work in much the same way as previously mentioned individual instances of his writing seem to work. That is, they are both literal and metaphorical at the same time. The histories are shown to have material effect as revealed in the resultant space of enclosure, the end point of all these histories, whilst at the same time they are clearly being deployed by Winstanley in a type of figure of the land, his own map of the countryside, as figurative as any 'official' map. England as the new Jerusalem is also clearly a type of 'utopia' in a broad sense of that term, but a utopia that, in Winstanley's writings, comes to reveal its own utopic practice in its opposition to the space of enclosure. Just as the Babylonish yoke is at once metaphor and real event, so the new Jerusalem is both ideal, utopian and actively being worked out in the land through the process of digging.

In some ways, then, these histories - the Babylonish yoke and the parallel Norman yoke - are metaphors for the unequal distribution of land contemporary to Winstanley. In 1646, three years before the George Hill project, parliament had abolished feudal tenures. This signalled a break from past thinking about the ownership of land, but not in the ways that Winstanley had thought that the overthrow of 'kingly power' might work following parliament's ascendancy over the monarchy. Instead it served to speed up the momentum of enclosure, giving land owners total control over their estates, making them the sole proprietors. Christopher Hill has written about the processes involved in the changes of land ownership at this point of the seventeenth century.

> The English Revolution, like all revolutions, was caused by the breakdown of the old society; it was brought about neither by the wishes of the bourgeoisie, nor by the leaders of the Long Parliament. But its *outcome* was the establishment of conditions far more favourable to the development of capitalism than those which prevailed before 1640. The hypothesis is that this outcome, and the Revolution itself, were made possible by the fact that there had already been a considerable development of capitalist relations in England, but it was the structures, fractures, and pressures of the society, rather than the wishes of leaders, which dictated the outbreak of revolution and shaped the state which emerged from it. (Hill 1986: 95-96)

Hill is here saying something quite paradoxical - firstly that the English Revolution marks a decisive break from past social and economic relations and secondly that it also somehow involves a continuation of those relations as they had been developing. Where land is concerned this entails a re-thinking of the way in which land is conceived. It becomes a kind of property, a commodity. Where land was previously held in the name of the crown, land was now to be owned out right by the great landlords. (Hill 1993: 134-135) It is this re-thinking of land as something that can be owned that Winstanley is opposing. The history of the Babylonish yoke, that figures the English in their traditional role as Israelites, with England striving to become the new Jerusalem, and the history of the Norman yoke can both be seen to operate as figurative histories, focusing this opposition to contemporary developments. Their immediate referent, as figures, would be the post civil war increase in the enclosure movement and the concurrent impetus behind a burgeoning agrarian capitalism.

But, like his other tropologies, Winstanley's tropic use of history does not forclose all connections with the material processes that enable them - the working out of these stories in the land. The histories of the Israelites and the Saxons, under the Babylonians and the Normans are direct predecessors of the stories of the dispossessed rural classes in the mid seventeenth century. Winstanley is questioning the radical break from the past that supposedly characterises the parliamentarians defeat of the royalists, the abolition of the monarchy and the 1646 abolition of feudal tenures. Here

he could be seen as concurring with Hill's Marxist analysis as given above in which the outcome of the revolution is as much a continuation of the past as a *radical break from* old relations of production. The new regime can be represented with reference to past tyrannies in Winstanley's writings. Although abolishing feudal tenures had been instrumental in the defeat of the royalists, in that it had denied the crown access to much needed funds, Winstanley reads it as a continuation of kingly power. (See Hill 1986: Chapter 5)

> As when our Norman William came into England and conquered, he turned the English out and gave the land unto his Norman soldiers, every man his parcel to enclose; and hence rose up property. For this is the fruit of war from the beginning, for it removes property out of a weaker into a stronger hand, but still upholds the curse of bondage; and hereby the kingly power, which you have made an act and sworn to cast out, does remove himself from one chair to another. and so long as the sword rules over brethren (mind what I say) so long the kingly power of darkness rules, and so large as yet is his kingdom; which spreads from sea to sea and fills the earth;... (Winstanley 1973: 164)

Winstanley, in his argument that parliament has gone back on the implicit promise of its actions - that it would release land for common use, is able to identify his present circumstance with previous histories - histories that the parliamentarian victory had supposedly broken away from.

The way that history is *represented* is at issue here, as well as its obverse, the way that history is practiced, the way that it makes its mark on the land. Henri Lefebvre has written that a history of space will not necessarily follow the same schema as traditional histories, that 'its periodisations [...] will differ from generally accepted one.' (Lefebvre 1991: 117) He argues that if we are to follow his distinctions between spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces then we would be forced to look at history differently.

> ...we should have to look at history itself in a new light. We should have to study not only the history of space, but also the history of

> representations, along with that of their relationships - with each other, with practice, and with ideology. (42)

It is in this relationship between representations of space and spatial practice and within the gap between a history of space and a history of the representations of space that can be located the disjunctions and conflicts of the epochal moment of the civil war. Space and the land may come to be represented differently, or have its legal status altered, but spatial practice - everyday life within space - may not necessarily alter alongside these changes. There may be a disjunction between the two. This is not to say that representations of space only operate 'ideologically' in the common meaning of the term, that they are simply lies that are used to manipulate people's perceptions of a 'truth', or that they have no bearing on spatial practice - clearly they do - but that they are not identical. Winstanley's writings and practice work to reveal this disjunction.

I would like to argue that this historiographic practice of Winstanley's in which history is both literal and metaphorical, both representation and practice is closely linked to his practice as a Digger. As I attempted to say earlier, his writing and the practice of digging itself are again seen to exist in a relationship wherein one can not be separated from the other. 'Digging' is itself both a literal action and a form of discourse. What this historiographic practice does is dig up the history from the land, divorce the representation of space, the space of enclosure from the essential, material properties of the land, as Winstanley sees them.

> And why are they [the land owners] so furious against us? But because we endeavour to dig up their tithes, their lawyers' fees, their prisons and all that art and trade of darkness, whereby they get money under colour of law; and to plant the pleasant fruit trees of freedom in the room of that cursed thornbush, the power of the murdering sword. (Winstanley 1973: 147)

This is one of the moments in Winstanley's writings where the radical implications of his actions and of his programme for further action are seen to come to the fore.

Elsewhere, he is keen to stress the conservative nature of the project on George's Hill by insisting on its legality and on the fact that it is enclosure rather than his own use of the common ground that is an innovation. In this passage, however, the far reaching consequences of digging are seen to go right to the heart of the right to property itself. Digging *will* harm the land owner by removing from the land all the accumulated histories of domination and control.

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Fig. 1: Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, the 'Ditchley' Portrait. (c.1592)

Fig. 2: George Gower, the 'Armada' portrait. (c.1588)

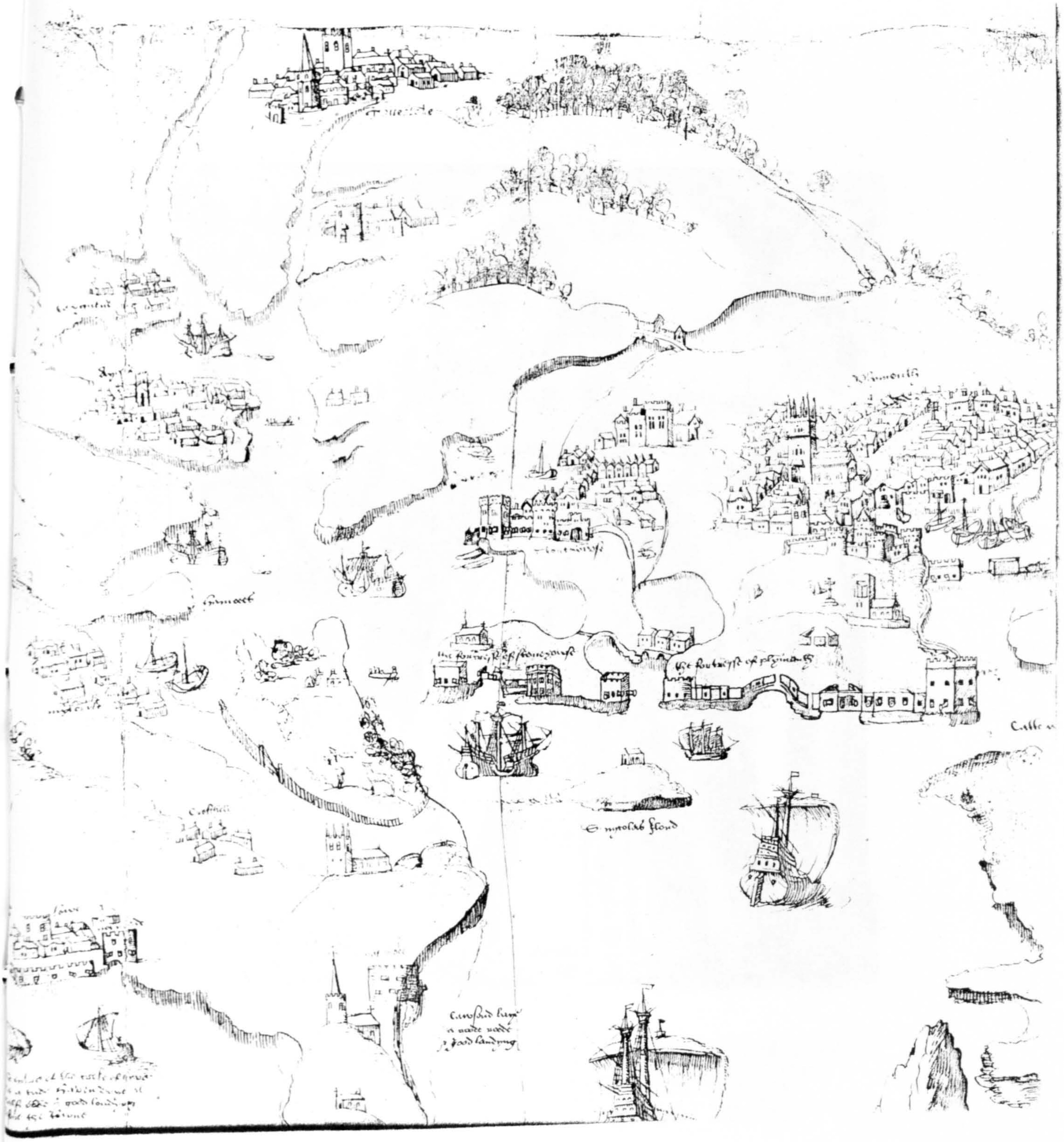

Fig. 3: Detail from the manuscript map of south west coast of England showing harbour entrance to Plymouth and coastal defence structures. (BL Cotton Augustus MS I.i.38) (c.1530s)

Fig. 4: Crispin van der Passe, engraving of Elizabeth I. (1596)

Fig. 5: Sketch of frontispiece to John Dee's *General and Rare Memorials.* (1577)

Fig. 6: Thomas Cockson, engraving of Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex. (c.1599-1600)

Fig. 7: Map of England from John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain.* (1611)

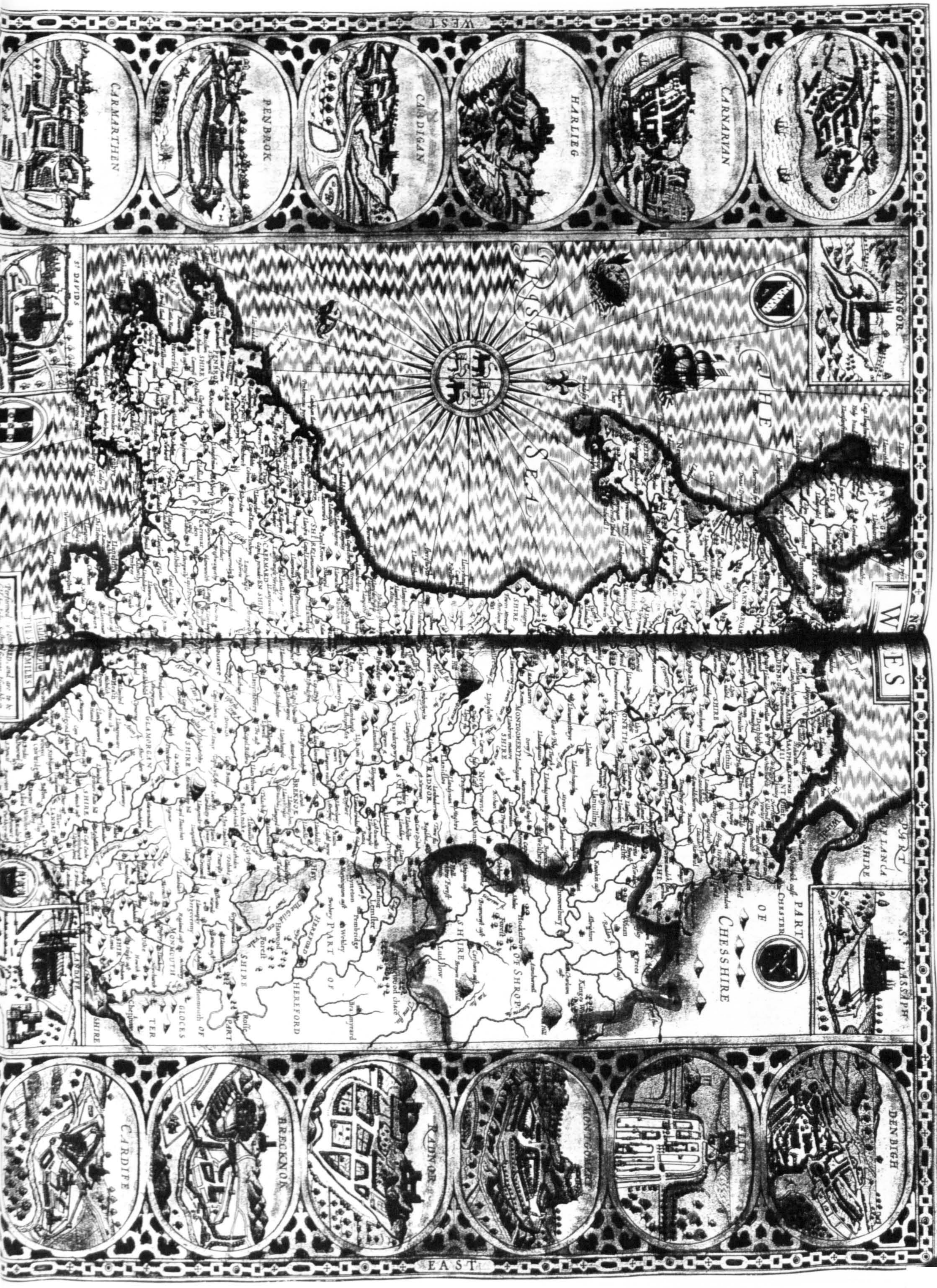

Fig. 8: Map of Wales from John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain.*

Fig. 9: Map of Ireland from John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain.*
(1611)

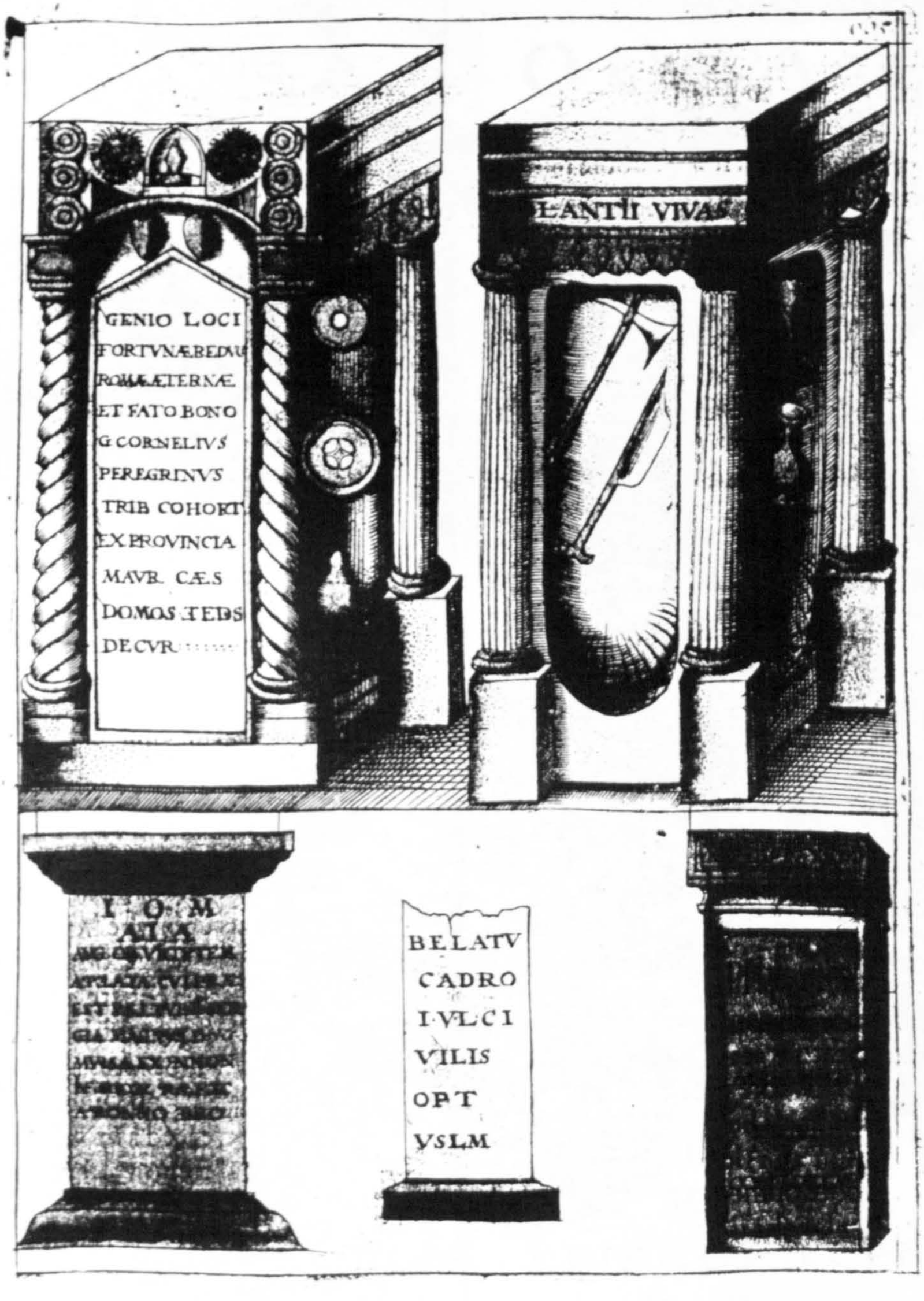

Fig. 10: Drawings of Roman ruins from Camden's *Britain*. (1610)

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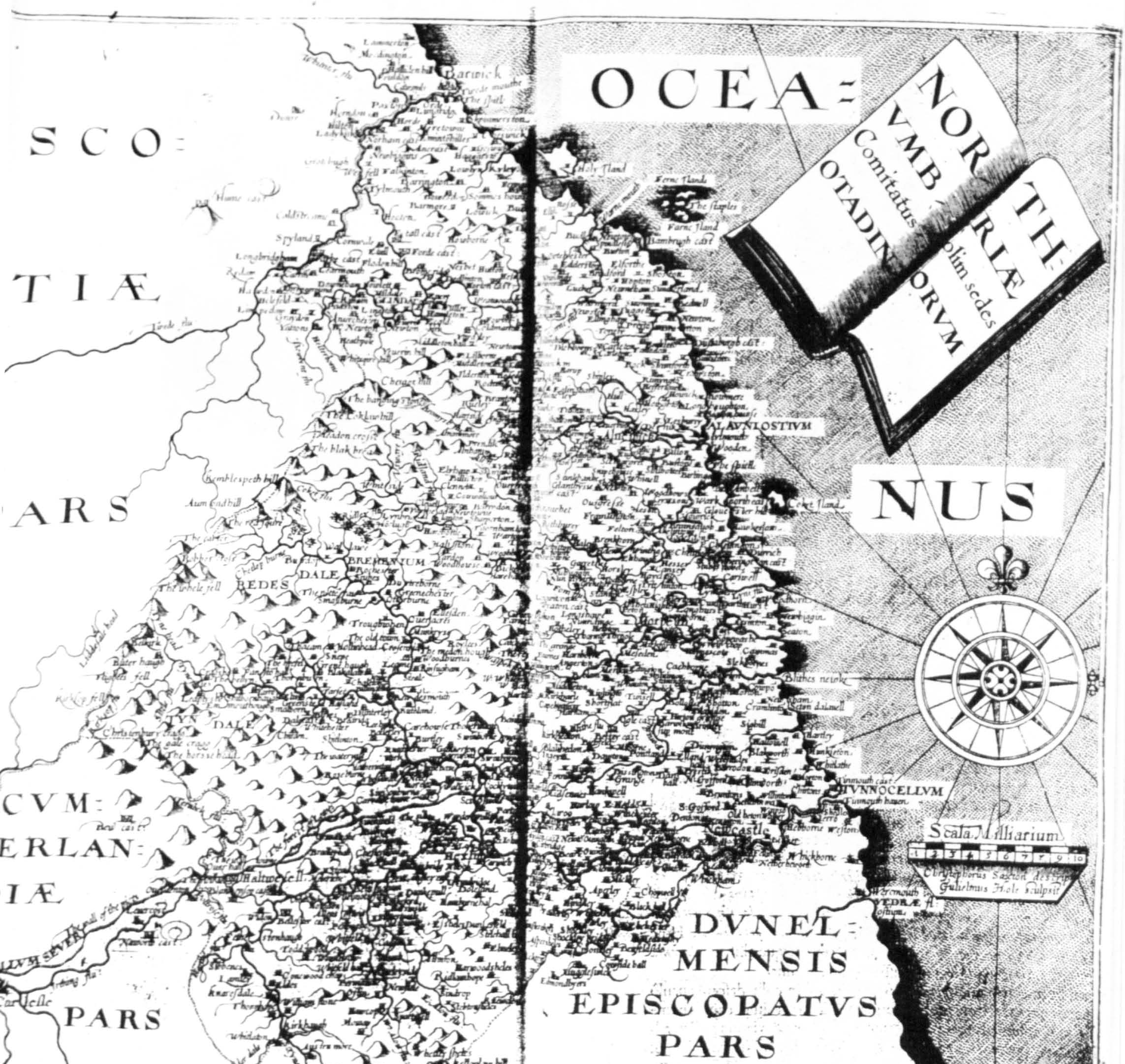

Fig. 11: Map of Northumberland from Camden's *Britain*. (1610)

Fig. 12: The Achievement of King James in Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*. (1611)

Fig. 13: Frontispiece to Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*. (1611)

Fig. 14: Map of Cumberland in Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*. (1611)

Fig. 15: Map of Westmorland in Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*. (1611)

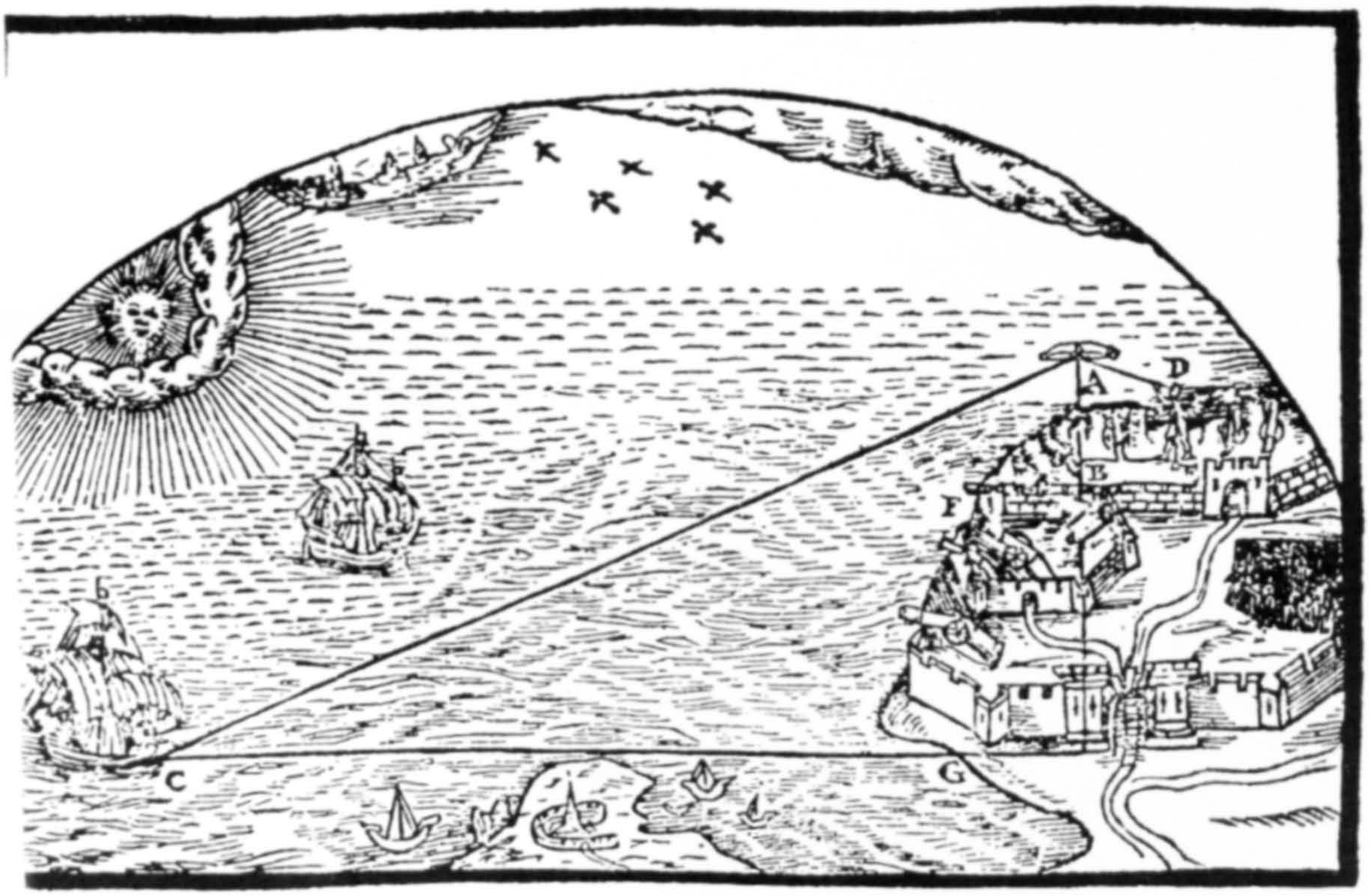

Fig. 16: Frontispiece to Thomas Digges' *Pantometria*. (1591)