BORDERS MARITIME IN EARLY MODERN DRAMA AND THE ENGLISH GEOPOLITICAL IMAGINATION, 1575-1625

by

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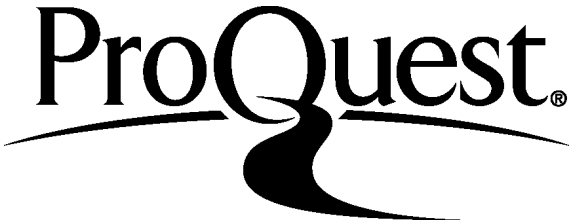
August 4, 2015

A dissertation submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of
the University at Buffalo, State University of New York
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English



For Henry, the rascalliest, sweet young prince;

and Violet, little but fierce.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge my mentors, colleagues, friends, and family who inspired, advised, and supported this project from its conception to completion.

My dissertation committee provided thoughtful advice as I planned, researched, and drafted the project, and also helped form me into a scholar and teacher, roles I will perform whether in the classroom or in life. Graham Hammill lead a graduate seminar my first semester as a doctoral student, and as intimidated as I was, his class on biopolitics provided the first inspiration for my dissertation. As my dissertation director and advisor, he has unfailingly critiqued and commended my work through six years of graduate school.

I would not have become a graduate student or a teacher without Barbara Bono. Starting with her class on Teaching Shakespeare, which I took as an undergraduate over ten years ago, our relationship has developed into a supportive and compassionate partnership, as her student, teaching assistant, advisee, and friend. She provided the much-needed support for my personal and professional life choices, and saw the gestation and birth of not only my dissertation but my two children.

My other committee members, Randy Schiff and Carla Mazzio, demonstrate how innovative and interdisciplinary early modern scholarship could be and provide the inspiration for my project's ecological and scientific focus.

I would never have suspected that I would write a dissertation on maritime ecology. It is to Steve Mentz, who brought Shakespeare to the beach and dunked him in the ocean, that I owe the blue hue of my project.

Early modern colleagues and friends David Hadbawnik and Nick Hoffman witnessed the birth pangs of this project through seminars and our writing group. They not only helped revise my material but also provided models for new avenues of study in premodern literature.

Tina, Sarah, and Stephanie—my teammates and close friends—without you I would certainly have been lonely and stressed during graduate school. But you and your partners, John and José, and subsequent children, made life in Buffalo more colorful and adventurous.

I would not be where I am today without the love of my Buffalo "family," Jean, Frank, and my closest and dearest friend, Jen and her family Mark, Grayson, and Dalton, my godson.

My parents, Toni and John, always made school and learning a priority. Their love and support provided the bedrock for my adventures in life. And I could not be prouder of my little sister Alyson, who beat me to the doctorate.

My husband Turner gave me the two best gifts ever and the time and support to finish this project while raising our children. He is the star to my wandering bark.

This project is dedicated to my two beautiful children. Henry was born just a month after defending my prospectus. His adventurous spirit runs through these pages. Violet arrived towards the project's completion. She is my woodland sprite, my grey-eyed babe. They are my life's work.

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ABSTRACT

"Borders Maritime" explores how the English imagined maritime geography, politics, and culture from 1575 to 1625. As a zone that is neither land nor sea, the maritime needed to be developed, demarcated, navigated, and policed in order for England to take her place on the international stage as the Empire by the end of the seventeenth century. To do so, traditional forms of sovereignty founded on the land needed to be reimagined from a different elemental perspective, that of the sea. The model of sovereignty inherited from political theology—anthropocentric, legalistic, and religious—is here transformed into a maritime political ecology—nonhuman, imaginative, and elemental. Recent criticism of the development of modern sovereignty out of the middle ages has found ways to displace the biological basis for the definition of life and reach further into the networked world. This includes forms of life such as pirates and power lines, territories and tidal zones. The move to define the maritime likewise requires including unfamiliar forms of life and active natures. It requires acting on the water, thinking like a whirlpool, imagining waves, and navigating islands.

The fifty years under consideration here mark this turn from the land to the sea in the English geopolitical imagination. Since the maritime is a border, an especially destructive and deconstructive one, drama provides an especially suitable vehicle in its own borderline nature—fiction performed in real space with real elements. This dissertation analyzes how the Elizabethan estate entertainments at Kenilworth and Elvetham, William Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, the Jacobean court masques by Ben Jonson, Samuel Daniels, and Francis Beaumont, and John Fletcher's tragicomedies *The Island Princess* and *The Sea Voyage* perform elemental sovereignty and stage the political ecologies of early modern England.

PROLOGUE

Loe heere a worke; a worke? nay, more then so,
A worke of workes: for all it doth containe,
Makes wealth by *Water*, ouer *Land* to floe,
Where-to workes runne, that reach to honest gaine.

Then, hast thou *Land*? and *Water* there-with-all?
A little *Land* and *Water* so may stand,
That *Land* shall rise by that small *Waters* fall
To high esteeme, and raise thee with that *Land*.[1]

Early morning in Duluth, Minnesota. Cleaving the fog, a thousand-foot ore boat glides towards the port at the head of the Great Lakes, the world's largest freshwater system. Noon in Buffalo, New York. Children splash at a city beach in the shadows of empty grain towers and derelict industrial plants. Late afternoon in Seattle, Washington. Rain wraps the city in grey; residents continue their lives in rubber boots and rain jackets. My story follows the flow of rivers and lakes that spread across the United States like the arteries of a pulsing body. From Seattle, to Huntington Beach, to Chicago, to Buffalo, I've always lived near bodies of water. My ancestors, the Greeks and Swedes who immigrated at the beginning of the twentieth century, lived the water in different but familiar ways. We live in recognition that water shapes our terrestrial existence in as many ways as our life on land affects the water, in terms of pollutants, fish stocks, dams, reservoirs, recreation activities, and so on.

Without water, society would not exist. It is the necessary element for sustaining biological and social life, but too often it serves as the backdrop, the afterthought to more pressing concerns. However, the threatened water systems of the twenty-first century—the rising

[1] Rowland Vaughan, *Most approued, and long experienced vvater-vvorkes Containing, the manner of winter and summer-drowning of medow and pasture, by the aduantage of the least, riuer, brooke, fount, or water-prill adiacent; there-by to make those grounds (especially if they be drye) more fertile ten for one. As also a demonstration of a proiect, for the great benefit of the common-wealth generally, but of Hereford-shire especially* (London: 1610).

seas, the drying rivers, the polluted lakes—are the world's greatest ecological crisis. Since humans cannot live at sea for long periods of time without access to the land, understanding how water affects and is affected by the land means living the border between the two.

Becoming aware means becoming wet. Becoming maritime.

INTRODUCTION

> …the borders maritime
> Lack blood to think on't, and flush youth revolt:
> No vessel can peep forth, but 'tis as soon
> Taken as seen… (William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, 1.5.51-4)[2]
>
> To imagine a "maritime globe" would seem strange, indeed. (Carl Schmitt, *Land and Sea*, 1942)
>
> Because the maritime domain—the world's oceans, seas, bays, estuaries, islands, coastal areas, littorals, and the airspace above them—supports 90% of the world's trade, it carries the lifeblood of a global system that links every country on earth. (*A Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower*, United States Navy, October 2007)

Shakespeare's Vienna has a pirate; his Bohemia a seacoast; his Denmark a whirlpool. These claims share one conceit—the "maritime" (the culture, population, land, etc. that borders the sea) is an idea that can be imagined anywhere. It is a metaphor for a space that is defined neither by the land nor the sea but both. "Borders maritime," as the Messenger in Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* describes the region where pirates ravage the coast, is in one sense redundant but in another draws attention to a key characteristic of the maritime: it is a border region and thus shares characteristics with both the land and the sea and yet is ontologically distinct from each. This requires, as the German jurist and political theorist Carl Schmitt ponders in his aptly titled *Land and Sea*, that one turn to imagination.[3] How might we imagine a "maritime globe"? What is "strange" about the maritime? After Ariel's sea change, Antonio's body will become "something rich and strange." Lying on the seabed, 30 feet below the surface of the water, his sovereign body becomes a maritime body, composed of coral and pearls.

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[2] Subsequent references will be made in text by act, scene, and line number to *The Norton Shakespeare*, eds. Stephen Greenblatt, et al. (New York: Norton, 2008).
[3] Mitchell Dean, "A Political Mythology of World Order: Carl Schmitt's Nomos" *Theory Culture Society* 23.5 (2006): the "formation of a political imagination … joins imagery and mythology to mapping the world in ways which render it amenable to global political action" (3).

What does it mean to become maritime? For the state, for the sovereign, for the subject? This dissertation analyzes how the maritime was imagined by dramatists in the fifty years that spanned the turn of the seventeenth century. Steve Mentz, herald of "early modern *maritime* literary criticism," argues that "[o]ceanic freedom functioned in the early modern period as a compelling cultural fantasy, in which the ceaseless change and instability of the sea countered human existence on land."[4] Early modern Europeans were beginning to think in terms of a maritime globe beyond the earlier divide and conquer strategy of the Portuguese and Spanish. Mentz writes, "early modern literary culture responded to the transoceanic turn of European culture by exploiting the sea's symbolic opposition to and inversion of the orderly world of land."[5] The sea offered poets metaphors and imagery to unsettle traditional categories of family, king, and nation.

The sea was and is a space that challenges cognition; less than 5% of the Earth's oceans have been explored. Bringing characteristics of the sea to bear on our terrestrial existence demands attention to borders maritime. In narrating his story of global *nomoi*, Schmitt relies on the play of words, myths, and symbols to highlight how human settlement moved from the land to the sea. Schmitt argues that Hobbes' Leviathan, the whale-like sea-monster from the Book of Job that fights Behemoth, the land-monster, provides an apt metaphorical vehicle to describe the emergence of English maritime sovereignty in the seventeenth century, despite the fact that Hobbes' treatise on government evades the distinction of English sovereignty as maritime.[6] On the one hand, the frontispiece for Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651) depicts rolling hills and English

[4] Steve Mentz, "Towards a Blue Cultural Studies: The Sea, Maritime Culture, and Early Modern English Literature," *Literature Compass* 6.5 (2009): 998.
[5] Steve Mentz, "Towards a Blue…," 1001.
[6] See Job 41. Carl Schmitt, *The Leviathan in the State Theory of Thomas Hobbes: Meaning and Failure of a Political Symbol*, trans. by George Schwab and Erna Hilfstein (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996).

subjects composing the body of the sovereign. Looked at with a maritime imagination, however, the rolling hills turn to the waves of the ocean, the church steeples into the masts of boats, and the subjects into the scales of the great sea-monster.

Figure 1. Abraham Bosse, *Title page for Leviathan,* 1651, by Thomas Hobbes, etching, British Museum.

This dissertation examines how cultural productions applied aquatic, oceanic, and fluid metaphors to human action on the newly global stage. The "maritime domain" is a fiction—as in a linguistic construction designed to elucidate ways of being and acting—that only came into consciousness at a certain point in history. "Borders maritime" started to be imagined in English culture a century before the government definitively turned its sights towards the global ocean in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The maritime offers critical ground for exploring how the state and its subjects navigated this epochal turn from land towards the sea. If the maritime, as Schmitt argues in his description of the lawless ocean, is based on *action* (for him primarily piratical) and *space* (and its accompanying elemental distinctions: land, water, air, fire), then the

aesthetic vehicle best suited for its representation would be drama, essentially *action* in *space*. Thus, we must consider what a maritime spatial consciousness implies for drama. And how drama is itself an ecological vehicle for imagining different forms of space and how humans might inhabit them.

I. Blue-Green Ecocriticism[7]

In the past ten years, the early modern period has been subject to the revival of political theology and new materialist studies such as ecocriticism and object-oriented philosophy.[8] My study of early modern drama contributes to such critical approaches in three major ways: one, it shifts the grounds of the debate over sovereignty and the development of biopolitics from law

[7] For a sense of the general field of ecocriticsm and new materialism see William Rueckert, "Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism," in *The Ecocriticism Reader*, eds. Cheryl Glotfelty and Harold Fromm (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1995); Lawrence Buell, *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996) and *The Future of Environmental Criticism: Environmental Crisis and Literary Imagination* (Malden: Blackwell, 2005); Timothy Morton, *The Ecological Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010) and *Ecology without Nature: Rethinking Environmental Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007); Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Stacy Alaimo, *Bodily Natures: Science, Environment, and the Material Self* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

[8] For early modern ecocriticism see Robert N. Watson, *Back to Nature: The Green and the Real in the Late Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Gabriel Egan, *Green Shakespeare: From Ecopolitics to Ecocriticism* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Mary Floyd-Wilson, and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., eds., *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Jennifer Munroe and Rebecca Laroche, *Ecofeminist Approaches to Early Modernity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Thomas Hallock, Ivo Kamps, and Karen L. Raber, eds., *Early Modern Ecostudies: From the Florentine Codex to Shakespeare* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Todd Borlik, *Ecocriticism and Early Modern English Literature: Green Pastures* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Julian Yates and Garrett Sullivan. 2011, Introduction to "Shakespeare and Ecology," in *Shakespeare Studies* 39 (2011): 23-31; Lynn Bruckner, and Daniel Brayton, eds, *Ecocritical Shakespeare* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011); Ken Hiltner, *What Else Is Pastoral? Renaissance Literature and the Environment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); Simon Estok, *Ecocriticism and Shakespeare: Reading Ecophobia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Jean E. Feerick and Vin Nardizzi, eds., *The Indistinct Human in Renaissance Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Charlotte Scott *Shakespeare's Nature: From Cultivation to Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

and history to territory and imagination; two, it does so by combining the discourse of political theology and sovereignty with the methodological framework of eco-criticism; and three, it moves beyond studies of terrestrial ecologies to demonstrate how maritime ecologies serve as models for being and living in a chaotic world. Ecocriticism has generally taken the material contours of land-based ecologies as its "fields" of critique (as in, forests, national parks, gardens, landscapes, and urban spaces), and the promising "blue humanities" swings too far in the opposite direction. My project's focus on the maritime instead negotiates the critical poles of land and sea.

Ecocriticism, in its definition by Lawrence Buell and more recently Simon Estok, calls for activism on the part of its participants. Estok argues that reading Shakespeare and other canonical texts in a "green" manner could ostensibly result in more conscientious action in everyday life. In this sense then, reading Shakespeare ecocritically could result in more environmentalists, and this is the difference between eco-criticism and green "thematism." However, critical work that is not explicitly activist or presentist, but instead more thematic, does not necessarily detract from ecocriticism's aims as a philosophical position. Ecocritical practice can be thematic, and by drawing attention to the systems and networks embedded in texts and contexts, can produce thinkers who translate this critical work into a more conscientious practice of living and being in the world. In this manner, my exploration of maritime borders in early modern English drama encourages the thinking of a geographic space that often eludes critical and practical action. The beach, the coast, the border zone that is often figured as a hinge or

space to step over instead becomes the space in which to linger between two epistemological, and indeed ecocritical veins, the green and the blue.[9]

My project is neither oceanic, nor pastoral, neither blue, nor green—all categories recently explored by eco-critical scholarship. As the work of early modern ecocriticism grows, I have noticed a gap between studies which focus largely on green pastoralism and critiques of traditional ecocriticism that have a blue, if not multi-hued focus. If genre, as Mentz claims, is a fundamental component of how premodern texts speak to a critical practice that usually adopts post-Romantic texts, then why not explore how drama, not just Shakespeare, but the multiple dramatic practices of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England, participate in what Mentz has variously labeled the "maritime turn," "blue cultural studies," and the "new thalassology." Moreover, my project probes cautiously at the divide between the green and the blue.[10] While Mentz observes the need to move to the beach in order to shift our perspective to the sea, he often then jumps headlong into the waters, or Dan Brayton's "deep." But the "maritime" comprises estuaries, coasts, ports, and islands, in addition to sea-routes, open oceans, currents, and salt water, and these are often the more revealing zones of life. Thus my project furthers the work done in "maritime studies" by exploring a variety of dramatic forms: the estate entertainment, the tragedies and romantic comedies of the popular theatre, and the court masque. I will highlight works whose maritime focus, whether obvious like in Fletcher's *The Sea Voyage*, or unexpected as in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, lends itself towards imagining a maritime England.

[9] In "Shakespeare's Beach House, or the green and the blue in *Macbeth*" *Shakespeare Studies* 39 (2011), Steve Mentz advocates for "Reconciling green hope and blue crisis" (90).
[10] Mentz, "Towards a Blue…": "the mutual dependence of land and sea cultures motivates a maritime turn" (1010).

II. Elemental Sovereignty

In the twenty-first century, sovereignty has become increasingly more contingent, and its early shaping in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in terms of maritime dominion can reveal the fluidity of what is often considered an absolute concept.[11] Transitioning from an archaic, sacred function centered on man and the land to a flexible model based on sea power benefited sovereignty with more contingent and occasional practices. If today sovereignty is crumbling along with the state borders and walls it uses to protect its rights, a different model of sovereignty born out of the elemental transition from land to sea could highlight the ecological basis for authority and help navigate the crises and catastrophes of the twenty-first century. And if transnational, global empire is inevitable, in its physical, human, and electronic forms, sovereignty must adapt or die. Elemental sovereignty demands attention to the nonhuman—specifically the elemental—in terms of land, sea, air, and fire (refigured as the internet). Analyzing how the first shift from land to sea resulted in the British Empire can help understand subsequent historical paradigm shifts and provide political models that adapt to the world in flux.

Viewing sovereignty from the "ground" up rather than from God down uncovers the elemental basis for one of history's most long-lasting and devastating concepts. It also reveals how sovereignty can be contested by ungovernable elements. Instead of political theology, which underscores the personal, sacred qualities of the sovereign, political ecology reveals how the environment and elemental agents like land and water shape and are shaped by sovereignty.[12] If

[11] See Stuart Elden, "Contingent Sovereignty, Territorial Integrity and the Sanctity of Borders," *The SAIS Review of International Affairs* 26.1 (2006): 11-24; Carlo Galli, *Political Spaces and Global War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

[12] For political theology and Renaissance literature see Jaques Lezra, "*Phares*, or Divisible Sovereignty," *Religion and Literature* 38.3 (2006): 13–39; Julia Lupton, *Citizen-Saints: Shakespeare and Political Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Graham Hammill and Julia Lupton, eds., *Political Theology and Early Modernity* (Chicago: University of

political theology leads to the subjection of humanity under the modern discourse of biopolitics and its emphasis on biological life, political ecology decenters both the sovereign and the human subject and places them within a network of human and nonhuman agents. Theorists of sovereignty have often obscured the concept's foundation in the environment and territory in favor of the more anthropocentric perspective of law, economics, or ethics, but since the Middle Ages geography has played a large role in the development of the nation-state.[13] Sovereignty based on personhood ignores the degree to which the human subject is a construction of nonhuman elements. And personal models of authority elide the very establishment of authority based on land accumulation, which is itself based on the division of elements and the creation of borders.

In its modern definition by the United Nations (inheritor of the *jus gentium*), sovereignty is defined by the dictum, *rex est imperator in regno suo* (the ruler is emperor in his own realm). This implicitly posits the question of borders since "exclusive territorial jurisdiction" is part of

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Chicago Press, 2012); Graham Hammill, *The Mosaic Constitution: Political Theology and Imagination from Machiavelli to Milton* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012). In *Storm at Sea: Political Aesthetics in the Time of Shakespeare* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015), Christopher Pye argues for the aesthetic rather than theological centrality in early modern politics, a focus similar to my attention to metaphor as direct engagement with political ecology. Likewise, Victoria Kahn isolates an alternative to theology in secular culture and the arts in her *The Future of Illusion: Political Theology and Early Modern Texts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

[13] Jean Bodin, considered to be the first theorist of sovereignty, does not mention territory. Lauren Benton writes that pre-nineteenth century imperialists considered subjects bound under sovereign law rather than common territory: "Territorial control was a contingent element of imperial rule, not a property firmly associated with sovereign jurisdiction, and subjecthood was defined be a set of political and legal relationships" (*A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010], 288). While her argument is largely figured in terms of empire and the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, her attention to a "fluid discourse" that merges "geography and law" highlights the varieties of territories that challenged and constituted sovereignty: rivers, sea lanes, islands, forests, hills, wildness, etc. (295-7). As such, contested or contingent sovereignty *is* sovereignty. Fluid categories, shifting jurisdictions, and divided sovereignty permitted the establishment of an empire whereby the exception could become the rule.

the non-intervention policy of the UN charter.[14] Territorial sovereignty presumes a fixed geography onto which can be mapped (often unfixed) borders. International relations, however, include a maritime world beyond the European Continent—the British Isles, the Americas, the Mediterranean, the Indian subcontinent, etc.—and thus require a model of geography and sovereignty that is fluid, contingent, and occasional. On a basic level, sovereignty is both the supreme authority within a state and the recognition of equal sovereignty between states. This definition is predicated on the identification of a politically stable border but often undermined by the geographic realities of border regions. The most unstable space between sovereign states is the border between land and sea. While maps and law solidify, drama is able to represent the literal and figurative "no-man's lands" of sovereignty.[15] Sovereignty is always being constituted because its borders are always shifting.

According to Carl Schmitt, the sovereign is a "borderline concept" established by the state of exception in constitutional law. Schmitt's critical-yet-controversial definition in *Political Theology*—"sovereign is he who decides on the exception"—inspired the archaeology of "sovereignty" by Ernst Kantorowicz and Giorgio Agamben.[16] Agamben has come closest to

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[14] Article 2, Clause 4 of the United Nations Charter reads, "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."

[15] See *OED* for "no man's land, n. 1" from the OE *nonesmanneslond:* "(A piece of) waste or unowned land; an uninhabited or desolate area. Esp. in early use as a place name, often referring to a place on a boundary or between boundaries; *spec.* a piece of ground outside the north wall of London, formerly used as a place of execution (*obs.*)."

[16] Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, translated by George Schwab (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 5. An anecdote from Ernst Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957) can illustrate the elemental underpinnings of the construction of kingship. Kantorowicz traces the descent of Shakespeare's Richard II from divinely anointed king to bare life geographically: from the Beach of Wales, to Flint Castle, and finally to Westminster, the heart of England. The pivotal scene (3.2) takes place at the border between land

pursuing Schmitt's claims regarding the borders of sovereignty, and I propose that we consider the "borderline" in more literal terms, and in ways that Schmitt proposes in his later work, *The Nomos of the Earth*. While his earlier theory of sovereignty based on the decision necessitates centralized agency, either in the person of the Prince or the People, Schmitt's postwar writings on European legal history have a strong foundation in elemental sovereignty. Distrustful of the aesthetics of sovereignty integral to Hobbes' model of the sovereign as actor, Schmitt finds no room for entertainment or pleasure in his juridical theory of sovereignty. However, in his later writings, the question of sovereignty gets framed quite differently, in terms of space rather than law, history rather decisionism.[17] His evolution from theorist of political theology to a historian of elemental sovereignty integrates the aesthetic and the performative into a historico-ecological rather than a juridico-personal model of authority. We see this in his well-known *Hamlet or*

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and sea. Arriving at Harlech Castle on the coast of Wales, Richard proclaims his consecrated right: "Not all the water in the rough rude sea / Can wash the balm from an anointed king" (3.2.50-1). He declares sovereignty to be waterproof, but the remainder of the play will reveal just how susceptible kingship is to the swelling "rage / Of Bolingbroke" (3.2.105-6). At the maritime border in this scene, sovereignty is revealed as a fictional construction of the elements and conveyed through highly poetic language. The coast is constitutive of the realm and thus sovereignty, and also the stage for their destruction

[17] See Nick Vaughan-Williams, *Border Politics: The Limits of Sovereign Power* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009): "Nevertheless, what is interesting about the argument of *Nomos of the Earth* is the way it ultimately seems to question an earlier assumption Schmitt makes in *Political Theology*: namely that limits in territory and law are necessarily coterminous. An approach predicated upon this assumption considers borders to be fixed and located at the outer edges of the state as markers of the limits of sovereign authority. Such an assumption, according to Schmitt's historical narrative, made sense in the context of the division of European soil into state territories during the sixteenth century" (76-77). Vaughan-Williams notes Schmitt's acknowledgement of the new dynamic ushered in by industrialization in the nineteenth century but drifts over the intervening three centuries—precisely when Schmitt claims the new global *nomos* shifted from land to sea.

Hecuba but also in the less-studied *Land and Sea*, described by Schmitt as a bedtime story for his daughter Anima.[18]

The epigraph to Schmitt's *The Nomos of the Earth* turns via Goethe to the foundational delineation of land from water in Genesis: "All petty things have trickled away, / Only sea and land count here."[19] Schmitt declares that an elemental difference between land and sea fostered two competing models for international law, one based on terrestrial sovereignty, bounded and contiguous, and one based on maritime sovereignty, infinite and disjointed. In Schmitt's definition, the original *nomos*, or fact of being, was land accumulation. Soil use and the borders used to discriminate "mine" from "thine" was the basis for society, politics, and law. Water, on the other hand, belonged to either nobody (*nullum*) or everybody (*omnium*), depending on your perspective. It was "free of any type of spatial sovereignty."[20] However, England would succeed at turning the lawless high seas into a global empire, held together by trade routes, communication lines, and her great navy. Schmitt labels this epochal shift a "spatial revolution"

[18] Julia Lupton writes in *Thinking with Shakespeare: Essays on Politics and Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), "If Schmitt brings politics into contact with life in his reading of *Hamlet*, their conjunction is not brute, naïve, or unmediated, but tightly knotted around crises in representation, succession, and the opacities that issue from them." She continues quite poignantly, "Schmitt's Hamlet—rogue, peasant slave, and pirate too—is inhibited not by thinking to precisely on the event (4.4.41) but by his terrifying proximity to the very wellsprings of contemporary action and geopolitical reorientation" (77.) While Lupton's recent critical work has focused on an object-oriented politics, her adoption of affordance theory nicely applies to both the built and natural worlds. Elemental sovereignty demonstrates how the estate entertainment utilizes land and water in productive and interactive ways.

[19] Schmitt, *The Nomos of the Earth,* 37.

[20] Schmitt, *The Nomos of the Earth,* 172. Schmitt criticizes the Elizabethan maritime policy that would lead to discriminate warfare in the twentieth century. For Schmitt, England amounted to a maritime tyrant but one that could not be avoided. While terrestrial sovereignty relies, to some extant, on the maintenance of borders to ensure equilibrium between sovereign states, the borderless nature of the high seas prohibited an "equilibrium of sea powers," thus opening a void for the strongest power, England, to take control of it all, to speak generally (173).

that instituted the first global *nomos*.[21] Building on Schmitt's spatialization of sovereignty, Giorgio Agamben claims that the state of exception is just as old as the sovereign decision. He writes, "In its archetypal form, the state of exception is therefore the principle of every juridical localization, since only the state of exception opens the space in which the determination of a certain juridical order and a particular territory first becomes possible."[22] And furthermore, "sovereignty thus presents itself as an incorporation of the state of nature in society, or, if one prefers, as a state of indistinction between nature and culture, between violence and law."[23]

We should consider an ecological model of sovereignty that engages this relationship between human and nonhuman elements. Rather than excluding the sovereign in the state of exception, ecology integrates all potential actors in a network of political agency. Political ecology exposes how the sovereign is not just constructed out of and affected by his human subjects, as on the frontispiece of Hobbes' *Leviathan*, but also by the elements, food, weather, animals, etc.[24] To this end, the discourses of ecocriticism and vital materialism can provide a methodology for reincorporating the elemental into political, ethical, and social life. For

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[21] See also Schmitt's *Land and Sea* (Counter Currents Publishing, 2011): "The case of England is in itself unique. Its specificity, its incomparable character, has to do with the fact that England underwent the elemental metamorphosis at a moment in history that was altogether unlike any other, and also in a way shared by none of the earlier maritime powers. She truly turned her collective existence seawards and centered it on the *sea element*. That enabled her to win not only countless wars and naval battles but also something else, and in fact, infinitely more—a revolution. A revolution of sweeping scope, of planetary dimensions" (emphasis added).

[22] Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 19.

[23] Agamben seems more concerned with the latter, "violence and law," while the former has been taken up by Bruno Latour and others critiquing the nature/culture divide (35). See Latour's "naturecultures" in *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

[24] Latour writes in *We Have Never Been Modern*, "Yet the human," and I would argue by extension the Sovereign, "as we now understand, cannot be grasped and saved unless that other part of itself, the share of things, is restored to it. So long as humanism is constructed through contrast with the object that has been abandoned to epistemology, neither the human nor the nonhuman can be understood" (136).

Agamben, taking the reins from Schmitt and Foucault, space is secondary to the life that either inhabits it or is excluded by it, either *zoē* or *bios*, and yet he probably comes closest to imagining the spatial extent of sovereignty through the "zone of indistinguishability" or "state of exception" and the use in the text of *Homo Sacer* of "thresholds." Agamben imagines "nonpolitical life" crawling over the walls of the *oikos* into the *polis* as the "foundation of sovereignty" whereby biopolitics obliterates natural life. What if natural life climbed back over the dwelling's walls? *Oikos* (diametrically opposed to *polis*) is the etymological root for "ecology." If political theology is responsible for the violence to and intolerance of nonhuman forms of life, political ecology may offer a path out of the zombie-like darkness of modern sovereignty. What happens when we replace Foucault and Agamben's "biological life" with "ecological life" as the "nucleus of sovereign power"?[25]

Bruno Latour writes, "ecology for its part gets attached to everything."[26] It's about systems and networks rather than "the fetishization of the subject, the image, the word."[27] Instead of elevating the human alongside *logos*, like the early Schmitt, Kantorowicz, Foucault, and to some extent Agamben, ecology locates life in its many forms across a variety of stages. Political theorist Jane Bennett considers humans grouped with the "nonhuman and…things, too, [as] vital players in the world. The hope is that this story will enhance receptivity to the impersonal life that surrounds us, will generate a more subtle awareness of the complicated web of dissonant connections between bodies, and will enable wiser interventions into that ecology."[28] This vital materialist philosophy accords humans special status as highly complex

[25] Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 6.
[26] Latour, *Politics of Nature: How to Bring the Sciences into Democracy*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 21.
[27] Jane Bennett quoting Bill Brown in *Vibrant Matter*, 19.
[28] Bennett, 4.

bodies, not because we are special, rational creatures, but because we are occupied by an immense number of nonhuman actants that knowingly or unknowingly affect our ontology. Bennett seeks to learn how to treat nonhumans "more carefully, more strategically, more ecologically."[29] Part of Bennett's project is to encourage us to think more naively, more innocently, more like a child for whom the world still contains magical properties. This implies belief in the power of imagination, fiction, and play. Political ecology revels in what it "does not know."[30] Rather than epistemology, we get fiction. Sovereignty, like religion, demands belief in founding fictions, and often enforces this belief through the sword. Political ecology's move away from the real violence inherent in the sovereign systems of the twentieth century can help shape a world that is open to nonhuman agency and action.

Water is inhospitable but integral to life in its many forms: private, social, political, ethical. If society emerged from the soil, politics and law emerged from making that soil bear life. And for that, water is needed. History is made and told via water. From the riverine empires that grew up along the Euphrates and Nile, to the Mediterranean thalassic powers that ruled the inland sea, and finally the oceanic empires that spanned the globe, water has played a central role in founding social and political structures. In the first chapter of Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy*, Moses and Aeneas serve as exemplary founders of cities based on their "choice of site, the other in the ordering of laws."[31] If a founder chooses a sterile location, then his people will be forced to live in union so as to be industrious and prosper in a hostile environment. If the founder chooses a fertile, pleasant site, strong laws are needed to prevent the populace from becoming weak, lazy, or mischievous. Fertility is determined by access to a river, sea, or wells. The first

[29] Bennett, 18.
[30] Latour, *Politics of Nature*, 21.
[31] Nicolò Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, trans. Harvey C. Mansfield and Nathan Tarcov (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996), 8.

sovereign decision then is *where* a city should be founded. Sovereignty occurs at and is the making of borders.[32] As Machiavelli's examples of mythic-sovereigns, both Moses and Aeneas invade an already occupied territory to build their new cities, one on the River Jordan, the other on the Tiber, though neither survive to see their coming community. In both cases, sovereignty is expressed first in terms of mastering the elements, like the God of Genesis, and then as giving laws, like Adam in the Garden through the naming of animals. In the case of Moses, he is first an elemental sovereign, dividing the water from the land in order to lead the Jews to safety and destroy the Egyptian army, and then a juridical sovereign, accepting the covenant and bringing it to his people. Thus, juridical sovereignty precipitates out of elemental sovereignty. Likewise, in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Aeneas is told multiple times that he will know the site of his future home by the Lydian Tiber. At the beginning of Book VII, the Trojans finally cast their eyes on the landscape that has heretofore only been described in prophecy:

> Aeneas, gazing forth from the flood, sees a mighty forest. Through its midst the Tiber, with pleasant stream, leaps forth to sea in swirling eddies and yellow with plenteous sand. Around and above, birds of varied plumes, that haunt the banks and river-channel, charmed the sky with song, and flitted amid the forest. He bids his comrades change their course and turn their prows towards land, and joyfully enters the shady river. (7.29-36)

Cleaving the epic in two, the river serves as the marker between the first six books of Aeneas' wanderings around the Mediterranean and the last six books of warfare and death (thereby reversing the structure of Homeric epic). After describing this Edenic territory, Virgil shows the men searching out "the city and boundaries and coasts of the nation [*gentis*]" (7.149). As with Moses, sovereignty is first enacted in terms land and water, then in terms of borders, violence, and law. These two mythic examples demonstrate how "founding fictions" often include an act of elemental sovereignty that divides the zone of jurisdiction from that of exception.

[32] See Agamben's *Homo Sacer* for elaboration on the spatial conception of sovereignty.

Machiavelli concludes *The Prince* with an exhortation to Lorenzo di Medici to take up the arms of Moses and become the founder of a new Italy. He declares that God's wonders have again been seen on earth: "the sea is opened, a cloud has shown you the way, water has gushed from the rock, it has rained manna." In Exodus, Moses and the Jews are trapped on the shore of the Red Sea by Pharaoh's chariots. Moses "divides" the waters, walling off a space of exception—neither properly land nor water—in which the Egyptian army will be destroyed and the Israelites saved. This performance of divine authority authorizes the Israelites' belief through fear: "And Israel saw the mighty power, which the Lord showed upon the Egyptians: so the people feared the Lord, and believed the Lord, and his servant Moses" (Exodus, 14:31). Exodus 15, the Song of the Sea, celebrates their deliverance out of Egypt, but soon the Israelites begin murmuring again because after three days in the wilderness they have no water. The Lord shows Moses a tree out of which pours sweet water, but makes Moses promise to uphold his "commandments, and keep all his ordinances" (Ex. 15: 26). Before the covenant at Sinai, Moses promises obedience in return for life-giving water. In his advice to the new prince, Machiavelli turns to Hebrew Scripture for its "persuasive force of narrative."[33] In choosing the Moses of Exodus, Machiavelli demonstrates how a people moves out of the private realm into a sovereign relationship because, first, the founder demonstrates power over the hostile natural environment, and second, because he enforces laws to ensure the safety of the people. In both the examples of Moses and Aeneas, sovereignty is established as a territorial relation between land and water. Sovereignty is performed at the border between the two, the threshold over which is carried society, law, and nation.

[33] Graham Hammill, *The Mosaic Constitution: Political Theology from Machiavelli to Milton* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 45. Hammill writes, "As a founding fiction, the Mosaic constitution served as a tool for responding to political exigencies not just on the level of policy but more urgently on the level of passion, imagination, and fantasy" (21).

Control over water defines sovereignty. Another way to look at this would be that resource management is the precursor to social, economic, and political structures. Laws are determined based on the city's environment. Rome exemplifies a city whose fertile location is balanced by strong laws: "He will also see, as will be said below, how many necessities the laws made by Romulus, Numa, and the others imposed, so that the fertility of the site, the advantages of the sea, the frequent victories, and the greatness of its empire could not corrupt it for many centuries...."[34] Rome is a model for centralized resource management, especially in terms of water. The aqueduct and sewer systems enabled the development of the metropolis, while the drainage of marshes, the maintenance of ports, the building of a navy to battle the Carthaginians, and the establishment of a proto-admiralty to rid the Mediterranean of pirates positioned it as an imperial power. The sixth century *Corpus Juris Civilis*, or Justinian Code, was the first to codify laws for water management and "riparian doctrine":

> The public use of the banks of a river is part of the law of nations, just as is that of the river itself. All persons therefore are as much at liberty to bring their vessels to the bank, to fasten ropes to the trees growing there, and to place any part of their cargo there, as to navigate the river itself. But the banks of a river are the property of those whose land they adjoin; and consequently the trees growing on them are also the property of the same persons.[35]

This definition identifies the problem with water rights. If the element is common to all, but the banks owned privately, the border between the two becomes the basis for determining juridical action. Identifying banks, while potentially easy, runs into an obstacle posed by water's elemental nature, its ever changing, eroding, and fluid quality. Subsequent interpretations have used low tide marks as the border, but even these are subject to change. In medieval England,

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[34] Machiavelli, *Discourses*, 9.
[35] Justinian Code quoted in Thomas V. Cech, *Principles of Water Resources: History, Development, Management, and Policy* (New York: Wiley, 2009), 251. "Riparian" comes from *ripa*, Latin for "bank" or "shore."

common law courts determined water rights. For land bordering a common, navigable waterway, owners maintain the right to use the water so long as it did not disrupt its use by others. Their "land" extended to the mid-point of the river. However, the public maintained the right to fish, swim, and drink from said water since the element is common to all. If one could claim use "from time immemorial" than they could use water for private profit, like irrigating fields, so long as public use was not hindered.[36]

Like internal water that is common to all yet subject to ownership, the open sea was at once considered open to all and at the same time claimed by various sovereign powers. During the Age of Discovery, the Portuguese claimed sovereignty over not only the new lands they found in the east but also the routes by which they got there. In 1455, Pope Nicholas V titled the King of Portugal, "King of Portugal and the Algarves, within and beyond the sea in Africa, Lord of Commerce, Conquest and Shipping of Arabia, Persia and India." When coastal trade and travel expanded into the world's oceans, the question of ownership and control took on a more abstract quality since there were no visible shorelines from which to gauge territorial rights. Instead, ships took on the roles of the sovereign, the jurist, and the police. As more countries turned their sights to the Atlantic, Iberian dominion over exploration and trade came under fire. The "free sea" policy defined by Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius at the end of the sixteenth century held that the seas could be used by anyone for trade since water was common to all, but

[36] According to Henry Bracton, "All rivers and ports are public, so that the right to fish therein is common to all persons. The use of river banks, as of the river itself, is also public by the *jus gentium* [and] consequently everyone is free to moor ships to them, to fasten ropes to the trees growing there and to land cargoes upon them, just as he is free to navigate the river itself. But the ownership of the banks belongs to those of whose lands they are part, and theirs, for the same reason, are the trees growing upon them. This is to be understood of permanent rivers, for streams that do not flow uninterruptedly may be privately owned. Those things are taken to be public that belong to all people, that is, which are for the use of mankind alone. Those that belong to all living things may sometimes be called common" (*On the Laws and Customs of England*, vol. 2, trans. Samuel E. Thorne [Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1976], 40).

sovereign jurisdiction could be exercised by ships at sea to protect common interests (such as curbing piracy).[37] A balance of sea powers was necessary for maintaining peace and avoiding maritime war, which would have vast economic impacts. The Dutch, and subsequently the English, sought to justify their seizure of Hapsburg treasure and assert their own naval control over international waters. Scottish jurist William Welwood and then English jurist and legal scholar John Selden responded to the Dutch argument about free seas with a *mare clausum* policy. Selden argues that the sea can be delineated as easily as the land and thus maritime sovereignty could extend from the land into the sea in order to protect state resources and defend its territory.[38] While some argued that the sea could not be owned because it could not be bounded, Selden replies that by changing perspective we could easily see the seas as bounded by the land, rather than the land bounded by the sea. Moreover, borders could be drawn using the compass and latitude/longitude lines, as well as from coasts using topographical features such as rocks, islands, and promontories.

If territory and law are the twin foundations of sovereignty, tracing the former allows for other agencies, materials, and elements to participate in the construction of the sovereign, the subject, and the state. In *Land and Sea*, Schmitt argues that the ability to see the land from the

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[37] Hugo Grotius, *Mare liberum* (Leiden, 1609); *The Free Sea*, trans. Richard Hakluyt (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004).

[38] William Welwood, *An abridgement of all sea-lawes : gathered forth of all writings and monuments, which are to be found among any people or nation, upon the coasts of the great ocean and Mediterranean Sea : and specially ordered and disposed for the use and benefit of all benevolent sea-farers, within His Maiesties dominions of Great Britanne, Ireland, and the adiacent isles therof* (London, 1613); John Selden, *Mare clausum* (London, 1635); *Of the dominion, or, ownership of the sea : two books : in the first is shew'd, that the sea ... is not common to all men ... : in the second is proved, that the dominion of the British Sea, or that which incompasseth the Isle of Great Britain, is ... a part or appendant of the empire of that island : written at first in Latin, and entituled, Mare clausum seu De dominio maris / by John Selden, Esquire ; translated into English ... with som additional evidences and discourses, by Marchamont Nedham* (London, 1652).

sea, to use the sea as the "grounds" for subjectivity, action, and politics radically alters continental (or Roman) perspectives on law, society, warfare, and ethics. Thus we can pit Schmitt's juridical model of sovereignty against elemental sovereignty exemplified here to show the concept more in flux than scholars of sovereignty, and Schmitt, would prefer. If Schmitt is the inheritor of Bodin's juridical definition of sovereignty, his later writings align themselves with territory as the basis for sovereignty, but he privileges a definition of territory in terrestrial terms, with the German, continental empire in mind. Another version would follow the path of the British Empire, defined in maritime terms: fluid, discontinuous, contingent, turbulent, elemental.

III. Maritime England, 1575-1625

The fifty years under consideration here present the greatest venue for considering England's maritime imagination. By 1575, Elizabeth had matured into her role as England's queen, and was no longer just a princess to be married off. During the years leading up to the Armada and the rallying of maritime energy in the years that followed, England tried to imagine itself as a maritime power. By 1625, England was almost wholly turned inwards as it headed towards civil war. English sovereignty was partially written from the decks of the merchant, fishing, and pirate vessels that, at the best of times, operated under royal authority but were also free to ply their own trade. Rather than the traditional narrative of the centralization of the state from the Middle Ages through the Renaissance, a counter-current disseminates authority to a network of actors on a multitude of stages.[39] Under the rule of Elizabeth I, Schmitt argues that

[39] In *The Royal Remains: The People's Two Bodies and the Endgames of Sovereignty* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2011), Eric Santner distinguishes the "elemental vitality of the theater in the Elizabethan world" from Continental drama (153). This tear is marked by the shift from Tudor to Stuart monarchs, from medieval to modern state formations, and from the land to the sea. Santner agrees with Schmitt's reading of the radical re-territorialization that England

England turned to a fully maritime existence. Elizabeth would capitalize on the country's insular geography to turn away from continental legal and political models that engaged a vocabulary of the land in favor for a maritime subjectivity and politics that favored the skills of the pirate and navigator.[40] Nevertheless, there is little in the historical record to prove that England asserted sovereignty over the sea either through restricting fishing and navigation, like Venice in the Adriatic, or charging a tribute, like Denmark in the Baltic.[41] While many English kings styled themselves Lords of the Sea, their claim only extended to the narrow sea between England and France.[42] Since the country is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, the Irish Sea, the Channel, and the North Sea and across these seas bordered by Ireland, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, and Norway, England's sovereignty has always been contested and contingent. As Iberian powers began claiming the wealth from the new world in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, England would have to assert maritime authority over a far greater area than ever before and at a time when Elizabeth's concerns were more religious settlement and

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experienced as its economic horizons shifted to maritime trade and power and to an "ultimately entrepreneurial and commercially based organization of life and politics" marked by "*adventure capital*" (156).

[40] See David Loades, "Trade. Privateering, and New Priorities," in *England's Maritime Empire: Seapower, Commerce, and Policy* (London: Pearson Education, 2000); Glen O'Hara, "Renegades," in *Britain and the Sea Since 1600* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Janice E. Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns: State-Building and Extraterritorial Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Daniel Heller-Roazen, *The Enemy of All: Piracy and the Law of Nations* (New York: Zone Books, 2009); and Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty*.

[41] Thomas Wemyss Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea: An Historical Account of the Claims of England to the Dominion of the British Seas, and of the Evolution of the Territorial Waters* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1911), 33.

[42] In 1336, Edward III ordered his admiral to intercept French ships on their way to Scotland since "Kings of England, have in time past been lords of the English Seas on every side" (T.C. Wade, "The Roll *De Superioritate Maris Angliae*," *British Yearbook of International Law* 2 [1921-22], 99-108, 103). Whether or not foreign powers agreed with this claim is unknown. Although, in 1320, Flemish merchants appealed to the king when their ship was attacked "*super mare Anglicanum*" near a port in Brittany. Wade identifies this as the solitary instance of foreign recognition of English sea power (104).

succession than naval development. Identifying an Elizabethan claim to maritime sovereignty can point towards British nationalism defined not by contiguous, bounded territory but rather by geographies that define the land and its inhabitants from the sea. While Elizabeth did not expressly prohibit fishing, commerce, or navigation in English waters, the increasing urgency of asserting maritime sovereignty became apparent enough for Stuart kings to claim *mare clausum* in the next century.

In England, maritime sovereignty involved negotiating medieval riparian water rights based on land ownership with its immense coastal geography and privileged position on the edges of the European continental shelf. This position, some like John Dee argued, could help Elizabeth claim, from time immemorial, the rights to waters and lands in the Atlantic since no other European power was closer. She could also point to a time when England did rule an English sea. From Henry I's reign until 1558, England controlled the Atlantic coast of France and thus the Channel and all shipping from southern Europe to the north.[43] In the 1570s, John Dee advocated an early version of Selden's *mare clausum* to curb foreign fishing in English waters through taxation, while Richard Hitchcock argued in 1575 for a national fishery by which the English, due to their proximity to the fisheries, would be able to "undersell the foreigner."[44] Dee used the practice of Italian jurisprudence and sovereignty to argue that "fisheries and sovereignty of the sea pertained to the crown of England, and that foreigners should be compelled to pay tribute for the liberty of fishing within them."[45] Dee was the first to expound upon English borders at sea, which until then many lawyers considered to be the halfway point between English and foreign coasts (the Channel excepted), in line with riparian rights for inland

[43] Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea*, 29.
[44] Fulton, 98.
[45] Fulton, 99.

waterways. In a case over wreckage at sea, English legal scholar and theorist Edmund Plowden argued for English sovereignty to the midline, but this did not reflect any control over the water (and its inhabitants) or land under it, which was common to all, only the property on it. Dee, on the other hand, argued that the fish were considered property and thus one-tenth of the revenue from fishing English waters was due to the crown.[46] Dee also argued for "absolute, peculiar, and appropriate Sea Sovereignty and Jurisdiction Royall" over the Channel in a letter to Sir Edward Dyer.[47] While Elizabeth may not have taken any action to close the seas, maritime sovereignty could be exerted in the service of national interest, whether that sovereignty was open and contingent or closed and absolute. She could look the other way when Drake and Raleigh pillaged Spanish treasure galleons because she opposed a policy of *mare clausum* but could retaliate against predations of her own vessels and coasts when the occasion demanded it. T.C. Wade argues that "English" seas enjoyed immense freedom under Elizabeth as she sought to encourage foreign trade in local waters. While Wade claims that "[w]e do not…find in these old records any hint that the kings of England looked on the sea itself as part of their patrimony," I contend that this inheritance of maritime *dominion* is precisely the move being made by Elizabeth's generals, admirals, councilors, and poets.[48]

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[46] Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea*, 102.
[47] Quoted in Fulton, 103.
[48] Fulton, 86. Fulton argues that the decay of England's fisheries lead to both an increased need to control territorial waters as well as provided an able stock of seamen able to defend claims to sovereignty at sea. The "men acquainted with the coasts and the tides, able to manage sails and educated to the sea…was the aspect of the fisheries which was mostly regarded by the statesmen of those times, and for which the 'political lent' and the protective legislation were designed" (87). Englishmen were encouraged to eat fish not because it was holier than other meats but because it provided work for fishermen. Although foreign fishermen were still allowed, patience for foreign depredations on fish stock became increasingly thin, though William Cecil refrained from curtailing Zealander and Hollander fishing (95).

The accession of James to the throne brought several elements of Elizabethan maritime policy under scrutiny, the foremost being her unspoken support of privateering, the piratical practices undertaken by merchants and seamen during times of peace. (These same pirates were her captains and generals during war.) This practice was especially distasteful for a monarch intent on making international alliances: "A Dutch ship, aground at low water in Gravesend, was robbed by pirates who took off their shoes and stockings and waded out to her… In 1603 the Venetian ambassador was robbed by English pirates on his way to England; in 1614 King James' brother-in-law Christian IV of Denmark suffered likewise."[49] Beyond his dealings with the pirate industry, James was the first to define the maritime borders of the Narrow Seas in order to receive proper salute: the weaker vessel saluted the Royal Navy by discharging seven cannons. Scottish law defined territorial waters in terms of a land-kenning, or 14 nautical miles—the distance at which land was visible from the top of the ship's mast. When James became the English sovereign, he translated this policy to the channel waters between England and France and the Netherlands. The Dutch resisted the adoption of this policy by international law and forced England to recognize that it worked against them in the Faroe Islands.[50] More commonly, determination of a state's territorial waters was based on the cannon-shot rule, the distance by which waters could be defended by a cannon on the land.[51] While the English had traditionally been proponents of the free seas, when the lucrative, and increasingly competitive fishing industry came under threat, James tried to defend what he saw as his maritime borders. The

[49] N.A.M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain 660-1649* (New York: Penguin, 1997), 348.
[50] Douglas M. Johnston, *The Theory and History of Ocean Boundary-making* (McGill Queen's Press, 1988), 79.
[51] Only by 1702 was a reasonable definition of maritime sovereignty established by Cornelius Bynkershoek in his *De dominio maris*. The "cannon-shot rule" delineated state control over her border waters to three nautical miles, the distance that a land-based weapon could reasonably defend the water.

success of England against the Armada, and the boost to maritime industry of all sorts, was forgotten under James. Several lamented that policy and plans are all well and good but the lack of seafaring men of ability cost the administration its reputation as a maritime power. This decline is echoed by the dramatic productions from the end of James' reign, some showing the decline of Neptune's power and others indicating the direction that British maritime policy should go. The cultural productions during these fifty years trace this historical record, demonstrating how drama served as an effective vehicle for political critique and reflection.

IV. Setting Prospero to Sea; Or, How to Read Maritime Shakespeare

The Tempest is a wet play, perhaps the wettest next to *King Lear*. As Lowell Duckert illuminates, it is one of the few early modern dramas where characters are described as "entering wet."[52] I want to ask, how was Prospero put to sea? We know why—his envious brother desired his position as Duke of Milan—but the "how" is often overlooked and provides a striking way to understand how maritime borders can be imagined in early modern drama. Prospero tells Miranda, that his beloved people put them aboard a "barque, / Bore us some leagues to sea, where they prepared / A rotten carcass of a butt" (1.2.144-6). From land-locked Milan, father and daughter travel down artificial canals to the Po River, and then down the Po to the Adriatic, where they eventually beach on the unknown island that is the setting for Shakespeare's play. Prospero's journey traces a journey similar to that of this project, moving from man-made, inland ponds to the rivers, estuaries, and coasts of the nation, to territorial waters, and then to the international stage of world islands.

In the opening scene of *The Tempest,* the Master and Boatswain fear that their ship will "run aground" if there is not "room enough" to ride out the eponymous storm. And in the second

[52] Lowell Duckert, *Waterscapes of Desire: Composing with the Elements in Early Modern Drama and Travel Writing* (PhD diss., George Washington University, 2012).

scene of *The Tempest*, Prospero questions whether Ariel wrecked the king's ship from Naples "nigh shore" (1.2.217). While the mariners are ensconced asleep below deck "safely in harbour" (1.2.227), the aristocrats are "plunged in the foaming brine" (212) and forced to swim ashore in disparate groups. Miranda watches the ship founder and sees its passengers struggle in the sea, perhaps prompting her to ask Prospero, "how came we shore?" (159) *The Tempest*'s plot is set in motion by three shipwrecks or strandings, only the last of which is staged. Two are imagined: the stranding of Sycorax and her son Caliban, and of Prospero and his daughter Miranda. This is not an oceanic drama, not a far-flung travel narrative that crosses the fathomless deep. As we hear from Ariel, the water is only "full fathom five" (1.2.400) that causes the "sea-change" (404) of Ferdinand's father. Five fathoms is about thirty feet of water—not a difficult dive, and certainly close to shore. Ferdinand is one of Shakespeare's few swimmers, and in a play where being too wet brings consequences, he must learn how to navigate between the law of Europe and of Prospero's island. The recurrence of the word "drown" suggests human immersion in a nonhuman element, and the movement from land or ship to sea. Being wet, in this play, spells disaster. Drunk or drowned, neither is conducive to authority. Stephano, the comedic counterpart to Sebastian, inebriates Caliban and claims that "the sea cannot drown me; I swam, ere I could recover the shore, five and thirty leagues off and on" (3.2.12-3)—that is, Stephano claims to have swum near 100 nautical miles to shore. The sea threatens. Prospero punishes Ferdinand by making him drink seawater. The sea breeds the fog and mist that make the island a stinking fen.

On Prospero's island, whether in the Bermudas, or more likely the Mediterranean, authority can be assumed based on physical presence. In a reverse form of salvage law, those who wreck on the island assert their claims to its control. Only the airy native sprite Ariel is unconcerned over ownership of the land and simply yearns for liberty. The play sets in motion a

chain of events that will question authority and liberty through the performance of maritime borders. The tension between the mariners, who would rather be far from land, and the aristocrats, whose authority is based on land ownership, recurs in the dynamic between various parties on the island. Sebastian, we learn, desires the crown of Naples and worries that he is "standing water" (2.1.217). Antonio, usurping Duke of Milan, promises to "teach [him] how to flow" (218). With Naples' heir, Ferdinand presumed drowned, and Claribel, the second child, "ten leagues beyond man's life" in Tunis (243), Sebastian imagines that his salvation from the wreck signifies his "destiny" to "perfom an act / Whereof what's past is prologue" (248-9). Antonio suggests that Sebastian re-enact the same usurpation of the throne that he did to Prospero. The land/sea border where their ship has wrecked is the space where the drama of sovereignty occurs.

The Tempest provides an opportunity for reading sovereignty and drama ecologically. Placing the play within its ecological network, including both human and nonhuman actors, requires consideration of not only the occasion of production (the location, time, day, month, weather, audience makeup, etc. of each singular performance) but also the imagined networks of Neapolitan and Milanese affiliations, Mediterranean geopolitics, winds and currents, beaches, swamps, caves, etc. The problem, as we begin to see, is that networks have neither end nor beginning, quite like the quality of the world's aquatic ecosystems. Locating these networks within discrete texts feels like opening Pandora's box. Isolating one component of the play's ecology, in this case, the maritime, does not obfuscate the multiple other networks working in competition or harmony. Reading ecologically demands attention to the singular as well as the multiple. And though one might be in the foreground and the other the background, this does not presume to prioritize one over the other. Part of the project of ecocriticism is to remain open to

multiple possibilities and perspectives that are the very nature of the world. It removes the human from the focus of analysis and instead considers how costume design, staging techniques, acoustics, trade economies, and so forth comprise just as important parts of the drama as the words uttered on stage. Likewise, this method of reading drama ecologically extends to the consideration of sovereignty, as I have taken the occasion of England's burgeoning maritime sphere to be part of the evolution of the English monarchy into the British Empire. We must consider what networks work to create a maritime sovereign and how cultural production is part of this political work.

The chapters to follow consider how English drama imagined "borders maritime." Chapter one, "Elemental Sovereignty, Maritime Poetics, and the Elizabethan Estate Entertainment," looks at how maritime poetics—that is, the metaphor of the land-sea border that pervades literary production—is engaged by the estate entertainment, the most ecological artistic practice of the period. The perspectival shift from land to sea during the transition from medieval to modern sovereignty is registered not just in politics, but in cultural production as well. The entertainments for Elizabeth I at Kenilworth in 1575 and Elvetham in 1591 include a variety of spectacles centered in and around large water features, and also bookend England's greatest maritime spectacle, the defeat of the Armada in 1588. These entertainments perform the problem of borders and the construction of sovereignty by representing Elizabeth I perched on the edge of Schmitt's new global *nomos*, her face towards the sea.

Chapter two, "Turbulence, Cognition, and Natural Philosophy in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*," turns this perspectival gaze inward to examine the ramifications of a new scientific and world *nomos* on the cognitive subject. Here I argue that fluid flow and the turbulent phenomenon of the vortex provide metaphors for consciousness, the pursuit of knowledge, and the tragedy of the

human condition. Turbulence is the state of nature, but it has long remained an under-considered aspect of early modern natural philosophy. Turbulence exists specifically in border regions, where temperatures, velocities, or masses collide and shift. For Leonardo da Vinci, the turbulent vortex constitutes the basic form and original motion of the world; his "Deluge Series" (c. 1517-18) depicts a world governed by turbulence: unceasing disorder, constant percussion, and never-ending violence. For Francis Bacon, turbulence represents the peril of pursuing knowledge about the natural world. Poetic language can capture this chaotic swirl of matter through metaphor, and in the maritime ecologies in *Hamlet* (1603/4) Shakespeare demonstrates that turbulence (or a vexed cognition) is a tragic symptom of the subject's drive towards knowledge and truth.

Chapter three, "Stage Waves: Representing Water in the Jacobean Court Masque," locates the previous chapter's concern over turbulence in a different environment: the maritime masques of Ben Jonson, Samuel Daniels, and Francis Beaumont. While water was previously represented as preserving Elizabeth I's chastity, now maritime spaces presented the audience with the need to manage sovereign borders through marriage and household management. The masques depict active waterscapes willfully succumbing to centralized rule. This sublimation of maritime marriage politics calms the turbulence of Shakespeare's tragedies and points towards the homecoming of virtue and order in Fletcher's voyage romances. My chapter argues that maritime masques represent a transition from the political ecologies of the early modern period to the political economies of capitalism and colonialism through the seventeenth century and beyond.

Chapter four, "The Strange Islands of John Fletcher's *The Island Princess* and *The Sea Voyage*," considers how littoral, or coastal, zones represent spaces of indeterminacy: geographic and cartographic, but also sexual, social, political, and economic. Islands are mostly shore, as the

coastlines of England and the archipelagic chains of Scotland and Indonesia attest. Far removed from the cultural hub of London, Fletcher's islands in *The Island Princess* (1619/20) and *The Sea Voyage* (1622) are the settings for colonial and sexual anxieties about the failure of a masculine, European hegemony endemic to both the ship of state and the state of the ship. Through the genre of the stage romance, that is, these plays explore the intersecting discourses of masculinity and sovereignty. I argue that Fletcher's romances reveal the necessity of mastering contingent practical knowledge needed to navigate fluctuating littoral regions. This mastery is embodied not in the sovereign or aristocrat, but in the pirate, merchant, or navigator—the individual subjects who enabled British expansion across the world's oceans by the end of the seventeenth century.

The epilogue, "Eco-politics and John Milton's *Comus*," returns to the local environment of the aristocratic estate, but shifts the perspective of power from the sovereign to the individual liberal subject driven by virtue. In Milton's masque, autonomous virtue is linked with the resistance of the threatened woman to societal and sovereign forces that propound sexual union as the proper management of excess sexuality. The marital drive of Neptune is countered by the local mythic history of Sabrina, the attendant deity of the Welsh Severn River. The Severn is more than a meandering English brook and rather like the rebellious force of chthonic waters that will flood Comus' sylvan bower. As England moved towards Civil War, she also moved more towards the maritime empire on which the sun would never set.

CHAPTER ONE

ELEMENTAL SOVEREIGNTY, MARITIME POETICS, AND THE ELIZABETHAN ESTATE ENTERTAINMENT

During the sixteenth century, monarchs, explorers, natural philosophers, poets, and populations turned their attention from the land feuds and Mediterranean conflicts of the Middle Ages towards the newly opened world oceans. This chapter remaps the history of sovereignty onto a maritime globe to demonstrate how early modern sovereignty is predicated on the border between the elements of land and sea, a concept I term *elemental sovereignty*. Elemental sovereignty depends not only upon dominion over geographic bodies but also over the very elemental fabric of these bodies (earth, water, air, fire).[53] Land-based sovereignty requires different instruments and processes than sea-based, or maritime sovereignty. Sovereignty viewed from the land is predicated on stable geographical markers, civic zones, county lines, etc. and on the work of bureaucrats ensconced in fortified defenses. Their skills are those learned at university, in the church and the law courts. On the other hand, maritime sovereignty shifts the skills of the cartographer, clerk, and councilor towards authority founded on the unstable, contingent, and fluid qualities of water, mastery found in the shipwright, navigator, sailor, and pirate. Straddling of the land/sea divide, maritime sovereignty adopts the power of both elements.

Carl Schmitt's later works, *The Nomos of the Earth* and *Land and Sea*, highlight an elemental history of the West. Despite favoring juridical language over the literary, Schmitt's narrative of world *nomoi* begins with the delineation of the just earth from the free sea, and he argues that land-accumulation is *the* historical event that separates the state of nature from the sovereign state. The "terrestrial fundament" of law is Schmitt's focus, and yet the sea comes

[53] This concept combines ancient theories of the primal elements with twentieth century politics of space from Schmitt and ecocriticism that returns to a pre-Cartesian blurring of the boundaries between animate and nonanimate life, human and nonhuman subjects.

creeping in like the tide. He even concedes, "The *nomos* of the earth rests on a particular *relation* between firm land and free sea.[54] This relation is the ecological basis for modern sovereignty. Rather than approach the history of sovereignty through political theology, which often fails to account for the importance of territory to the construction of authority, political ecology, shaped by the discourses of eco-criticism and vital materialism, can inflect sovereignty's drive into the modern era.[55] However, frequently overlooked is the underlying shift from land to sea during the transition from medieval to modern sovereignty.

When European sovereigns turned outwards, they saw the promise of the world ocean, but Schmitt asserts that only England fully adopted the mantle of maritime superpower, despite being the last Western power to cross the Equator. In estate entertainments of the late sixteenth century, sovereignty, like territory, is revealed as already a problem. Study of these entertainments frequently relies on the discourse of the Cult of Elizabeth that privileges the

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[54] Schmitt, *The Nomos of the Earth in the International Law of the Jus Publicum Europaeum*, trans. G.L. Ulmen (New York: Telos Press, 2003), 48.

[55] With the exception of Steve Mentz and Dan Brayton, the recent spate of ecocritical scholarship on the early modern period is "terrestrial" in focus. See for example Ivo Kamps, Karen L. Raber, and Thomas Hallock, eds., *Early Modern Ecostudies: From the Florentine Codex to Shakespeare* (London: Palgrave, 2008); Jeffrey S. Theis, *Writing the Forest in Early Modern England* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2010); Todd Borlick, *Ecocriticism and Early Modern English Literature: Green Pastures* (London: Routledge, 2010); Bruce R. Smith, *The Key of Green: Passion and Perception in Renaissance Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010); *Shakespeare Studies* 39 (2011); and Lynn Bruckner and Dan Brayton, eds., *Ecocritical Shakespeare* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011). While these critical interventions into the field of early modern literature have gone far to highlight ecological aspects of the premodern, my examination of maritime sovereignty links early modern ecocriticism with work being done on the history of sovereignty and territory like that of Lauren Benton and Stuart Elden, referenced elsewhere in this essay, and early modern political theory like that of Eric Santner, Julia Reinhard Lupton, and Graham Hammill. A model of political *ecology* rather than *theology*, via the work of Jane Bennett, integrates the nonhuman and elemental into a network of action that decenters the sovereign and human subject, and I would add that through poetic fictions these alternative ways of being and acting are realized.

iconic establishment of the queen's divine authority through the visual and literary arts.[56] However, the Cult of Elizabeth has foregrounded the literary and artistic production of a cultural icon at the risk of losing all that is contingent about Elizabeth's position on the English and the world stage. I argue that there is a parallel action in the construction of sovereignty that simultaneously deconstructs and decenters the sovereign by placing her within a visible network of human and nonhuman forces and highlighting the "occasional" performance of sovereignty. Privileging the representation of the queen elides the other elements at play and overlooks the dynamic forces that shape politics. Instead of the monumental, mythic sovereign described by the Cult of Elizabeth, the entertainments reveal a model of sovereignty built from more mundane elements—the landscape, the poet, the people, the buildings, the weather, and animals. Moreover, the estate entertainment is situational and contingent on the local production site, and even more so than the open-air, public theatre, it owes much of its affect to the visual, acoustic, aromatic, and meteorological environments. Combining the improvisatory and creative attributes of drama with a real landscape, estate entertainments rely on "occasional geography, a rendering of space that…is self-consciously topical and provisional."[57] The entertainments grew out of earlier dramatic practices like the medieval cycle plays which inscribed the boundaries of a city's territory and the practice of royal entry and the more dramatic coronation processions, whereby

[56] See Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1975); Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977); Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry*, (Wallop, Hampshire: Thames and Hudson, 1977); Jean Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 1980); Phillipa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (Routledge: London, 1989); Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1993); Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999); and Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2006).
[57] Hillary Eklund, "Occasional Geography and the Queen's Entertainment at Elvetham," (seminar paper, Shakespeare Association of America Conference, Toronto, Canada, April 2013).

the sovereign was granted right from civic leaders to enter a city. In these cases, to imagine sovereignty, one must also imagine a geography or territory over which one can exert sovereign dominion. If these fictions are necessary components of statecraft and authority, subjects must believe in both the sovereign and the land over which she rules. For the island nation of England, this geography is simultaneously defined and threatened by the sea.

Elemental sovereignty turns the study of early modern drama away from political theology and the rhetoric of terrestrial and juridical authority towards the period's nascent concerns for maritime dominion and global power. Elemental sovereignty places ecological rather than biological life at the center of authority. Biological sovereignty assumes as its subjects discrete, animate life, usually human but arguably animal as well. Elemental sovereignty instead explodes the category of subject to include human and nonhuman actants. It takes both the individual and the network as the motivator for action. Elemental sovereignty is rather like the view from the wheel of a ship rather than the view from the throne, where only favorites, petitioners, and councilors reflect the sovereign back to himself. Sovereignty becomes a construction out of the elements as well as dominion over the elements. During the early modern period, sovereignty transitioned from focusing on the stable territorial category of the land to the maritime zone, which included coastlines, territorial waters, trade routes, and open seas. It is thus a historical moment of the "border," when England was forced to focus on its coastal geography. This shift is registered not just in politics but in cultural production as well. *Maritime poetics* makes available the fictional construction of sovereignty by specifically examining the most ecological artistic practice of the period—the estate entertainment.

The entertainments at Kenilworth in 1575 and Elvetham in 1591 include a variety of spectacles centered in and around large water features. These entertainments perform the

problem of borders and the construction of sovereignty by representing Elizabeth I perched on the edge of Schmitt's new global *nomos*, her face towards the sea. Various mythic, literary, and historical figures have been used in the cultural production of the Cult of Elizabeth: Diana, Belphoebe, Cynthia, Deborah, Venus, Gloriana, and Titania. Scholars such as Frances Yates and Roy Strong assign each a place in the Pantheon of Elizabeth's avatars, and yet both Yates and Strong are more frequently cited interpretations of E.C. Wilson, who writes in his chapter on "Cynthia, the Ladie of the Sea," "[t]he position and temperament of Elizabeth identified her with all of these elements [the lake and garden at Kenilworth] in the new spirit; they made her a fortunate balance for centrifugal and centripetal forces in insular development."[58] Highlighting both the land and water divide and the development of a new model of island politics based on Newtonian dynamics, Wilson points to a new "spirit" of the age, animating England's drive into the next century. Both Wilson and Schmitt underline the relevance of the physical world in terms of the land-water dichotomy. The edge between "centripetal"—inward, land-based politics—and "centrifugal"—outward, or sea-based politics—reveals the weakness of literary scholarship that favors metaphors of the land. If Elizabeth could define and defend her maritime borders, she could protect herself and the body politic. Furthermore, giving this vision of the Cult of Elizabeth an active nature aligns Elizabeth less with the passive land and more with the water that shapes and protects the nation.[59] Since the sea and rivers define England, sovereign power

[58] E.C. Wilson, *England's Eliza* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1939), 285.
[59] Like the writers commissioned for the estate entertainments, Edmund Spenser constructs elaborate geographical fictions in *The Fairie Queene* through the narrative of Florimell and Marinell that culminates in the Marriage of the Thames to the Medway. The marriage of Thames and Medway should represent the allegorical heart of Book IV on Friendship, but this marriage is underscored by enmity and hostility. The Irish rivers in attendance recall recent colonial violence, and Medway resisted union with Thames. A chorographical allegory of unity is in reality a geographical impossibility. The Thames and Medway never meet. Their union occurs in the tidal zone of the North Sea, at the border between English territory, the free sea, and the Continent, so

emerges in zones of juridical and ecological indeterminacy. If political theology reveals the workings of sovereign power from within the aporia of power, political ecology functions similarly by looking at the real geographical and environmental conditions upon which political and cultural productions are predicated. If we consider territory a constantly shifting category, then sovereignty is also revealed as a set of constantly shifting categories, always fluid, always contingent on the parameters of its environment.

At Elvetham in 1575 and Kenilworth in 1591, Elizabeth I viewed spectacles and dramatic interludes that explicitly place the sovereign body in relation to aquatic environments and narratives. These entertainments represent Elizabethan sovereignty poised on the border between land and water. The aquatic or maritime *mise-en-scènes* at Kenilworth and Elvetham demonstrate how Elizabethan sovereignty is constituted out of contingent, fluid, and often turbulent elements. The water features of these estates were integral components of the entertainments, allowing them to resonate in larger geopolitical terms by mapping onto the local landscape an imaginative maritime geography. Latour's redefinition of the social necessitates "lay[ing] continuous connections…from one local interaction to the other places, times, and agencies through which a local site is *made to do* something."[60] And the estate entertainments were "made to do something" much larger than please the queen. The geography of the entertainments provides the grounds for imagining different political agents and communities beyond the hegemonic iconography of the Cult of Elizabeth. The use of water in these specific

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this quintessential English union occurs in international waters. Amity in the British Isles then seems to necessitate the willing suspension of values and beliefs for the greater good of the community. See Bart van Es, *Spenser's Forms of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 60; and Joan Fitzpatrick, *Shakespeare, Spenser and the Contours of Britain: Reshaping the Atlantic Archipelago* (Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2004), 68-70.

[60] Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005), 173.

entertainments lets the cultural imagination consider English maritime sovereignty in specific ways through the representation of islands, ships, water fights, aquatic deities, animals, and objects, and the elemental affordances of the water itself—its instability but capacity for grand effect.

During her summer progresses, Elizabeth paid visits to her favorite courtiers, councilors, and noblemen. Elizabeth insinuated the royal person into the domestic and civic life of her people so that she was both the macrocosmic and microcosmic personification of England, both Queen and houseguest. During her stay, her hosts would fête Elizabeth with a wide variety of entertainments: dramatic interludes, water shows, fireworks, country-dances, hunts, banquets, etc. In a genre whose stock in trade is the land and landscape (gardens, parks, houses, forest, hunting, bowers, wild men), the water features of estate entertainments have been long understudied. However, they can reveal how Elizabeth and her image-makers understood her role as a maritime sovereign. Her role as monarch to the island-nation explicitly pitted her against continental powers, especially Spain. Instead, England would ally with the Netherlands, a besieged country that shared elemental similarities. Both England and the Netherlands had to adopt a political model that attended to the very real physical contours of their nations. While Spain and Portugal were the earliest to expand their empires across the world oceans, their physical and cultural geographies inhibited their full development as maritime sovereigns. As constructions of natural environments that integrated land and water, English subjects could not but turn to the sea and the arena for political action that it afforded.

I. Kenilworth's "goodly pool," July 1575

Kenilworth, the great estate bequeathed by Elizabeth to Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, in 1563, is girded by a large water feature.[61] This is the Great Mere, or what Robert Laneham calls a "goodly pool" in his *Letter* describing the entertainments in 1575 for the queen.[62] Today Finham Brook meanders through fields outside the castle. No more than a few feet across, it flows under a modern road near what is now an English Heritage Site. There is little evidence that this small brook once filled one of the largest water defenses in Britain that played a central role in the Second Barons' War of the thirteenth century. While the reconstructed Elizabethan garden attracts many visitors to the site, the artificial lake that at its largest was a half-mile in length and a quarter-mile across has largely been forgotten.[63] Although recent efforts have been

[61] See Christopher Saxton's county map of Warwickshire, *Atlas of England and Wales* (London, 1579).

[62] This is the second of two extant accounts of the entertainment, the first being George Gascoigne's "official" text printed in 1576. Laneham's *A LETTER: whearin, part of the entertainment unto the Queens Majesty, at Killingworth Castl, in warwik Sheer, in this soomers Progress, 1575, is signified: from a freend officer attendant in Coourt, unto his freend a Citizen, and Merchaunt of London* (London, n.d.) has been the subject of scrutiny as to whether the author was Laneham, a London merchant and Keeper of the Council Chamber, or William Patten, writing in jest of Laneham. David Scott and Brian O'Kill support Patten's case ("William Patten and the Authorship of 'Robert Laneham's Letter' (1575)," *English Literary Renaissance* 7 (1977), while more recently, Elizabeth Goldring has made the case for Laneham in "'A mercer ye wot az we be': The Authorship of the Kenilworth *Letter* Reconsidered," *English Literary Renaissance* 38 (2008). My interest lies not in the letter's authorship but in its vibrant and sometimes contradictory description of the entertainments when compared with Gascoigne's account, thus providing a view of the event from a different segment of the population. A third account of the entertainment exists in a passing reference by the Spanish ambassador Antonio de Guaras that mentions a possible assassination attempt, revealed to be an accident during a certain Savage Man episode when Gascoigne as the wild man tossed his club thereby frightening the queen's horse. Quotations from the *Letter* will be taken from the edition by The Scolar Press (Menston, England: 1968) and quotations from Gascoigne will be cited from *The Complete Works of George Gascoigne*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910). Page references will be given in parentheses within the text.

[63] Smith focuses primarily on the "green" spaces of the estate: forest, field, orchard, and garden. He is perhaps unaware of the Great Mere, since he highlights the sweep from woods to meadow,

made to recreate the Mere, feasibility studies must first be completed.[64] Nevertheless, it remains integral to the history of the site and, for this chapter, the "occasional geography" of the entertainments at Kenilworth. Often, scholarship of the entertainments begins with the people or texts as conduits for our understanding of the place. I want to begin as close as possible to the "land" in order to recover how contingencies in the environment contributed to playmaking and policy-making. Refocusing our attention to the geography of the entertainment in addition to its literary record can help provide a fuller picture of how the occasional drama gets played out across a varied landscape. Combining the "goodly pool's" history with literary, cartographic, and archaeological evidence can underscore the integral role of water features in local land use, sovereign representation, and international geopolitics.

Before passing into the castle proper, Elizabeth is stopped by the Lady coming "fro the midst of y Pool…upon a moovabl Iland" to explain how she had kept the lake since the reign of Arthur and maintained it under the Earls of Leicester, but now that the Queen has arrived, the Lady feels that her "offis & duety" require her to offer the estate to the Elizabeth. Laneham reports the Queen's tart response: "we had thought indeed ye Lake had been oours, and doo you call it yourz now?" (10-11) In George Gascoigne's authorized text, the Lady of the Lake says, "the Lake, the Lodge, the Lord, are yours for to cõmande" (A3v).[65] Gascoigne omits Elizabeth's acerbic reply in order to insinuate and support his patron Leicester's position either as potential

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which in 1575 would have been filled with water, and he also misidentifies the Lady of the Lake's performance as on the "moat" (86).

[64] "Float your boat in Kenilworth Moat," Warwick District Council, 5 Dec. 2008; accessed 13 June 2013.

[65] George Gascoigne, *The princelie pleasures at Kenelworth Castle* in *The pleasauntest workes of George Gascoigne Esquyre newlye compyled into one volume, that is to say: his flowers, hearbes, weedes, the fruites of warre, the comedie called Supposes, the tragedie of Iocasta, the Steele glasse, the complaint of Phylomene, the storie of Ferdinando Ieronimi, and the pleasure at Kenelworth Castle* (London, 1587).

cohort or military leader in the Netherlands. From the outset, the dramatic interludes at Kenilworth debate the relationship between territory and authority: who owns the lake, the Queen or Leicester? Who has the right to assert sovereignty? The entertainment's purpose is not to resolve this conflict—indeed it is the very conflict itself that interests Leicester, the writers, the audience, and perhaps the queen. The queen may function within the estate's and the nation's territory but only as part of a complex network of actors, elemental and otherwise. Here at Kenilworth, and later at Elvetham, the sovereign's role is as protector of the realm. She holds the keys, governs the marches, and presides over the maritime zone that is both England's greatest defense and her weakness. The estate entertainment as a form of political representation highlights how the elemental, and consequently ecological, determine the construction of authority.

Protecting the castle to the south and west, the mere was created by Geoffrey de Clinton circa 1125. He gave the canons of Kenilworth Priory permission to fish in his lake on Thursdays (since the Mere was not a navigable river and was bounded by estate property, public rights to the water were contestable). Around 1210, King John substantially increased the "pool" by damming local streams. This provided a moat and water defenses to the north and east of the castle. By the thirteenth century, the mere was 800 meters long and 150 meters wide.[66] Twelfth and thirteenth century walling of the dam southeast of the castle would provide the foundations for the massive tiltyard in use under Dudley's ownership.[67] The castle passed to the Leicester name in 1253 when Henry III gave it to Simon de Monfort, who subsequently led a rebellion against the king. Though the earl was killed at the battle of Evesham, the rebels held out in the

[66] "Great Mere." *English Heritage*, 2007.
[67] Though probably constructed by his father, the Duke of Northumberland, as a site for jousting ("Great Mere").

castle during a long siege in part thanks to the strength of the water defenses. In 1361, the castle was passed to John of Gaunt, descendent of Henry's son Edmund, who undertook one of the castle's largest building projects, constructing the Great Hall and other apartments and effectively turning the fortress into a palace. In 1414, Henry V built the "Pleasuance," a banqueting house to the northwest of the castle on the banks of the mere. John Leland's *Itinerary* (1535-45) describes Warwickshire in terms of how it is shaped by the River Avon. He notes, "Yet standithe Killingworthe selfe well toward a mile from the right rype of Avon. Kynge Henry the 8. dyd of late yeres great coste in repayringe the castle of Kyllyngworthe," including dismantling the Pleasuance and moving part of it into the castle court.[68]

Although Edward VI granted the castle to his Lord Regent, John Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland, his execution by Mary I in 1553 prohibited the direct inheritance of his estate by his sons, Ambrose and Robert. Instead, Elizabeth I would grant Kenilworth to Robert Dudley in 1563, whence began another building spree to make the castle suitable for hosting the queen and her train. In a letter to Bess (Elizabeth), countess of Shrewsbury, dated 31 August 1570, Hugh Fitzwilliam writes, "Thei say my Lord of Leceter hathe many worke men at Kyllingworthe, to make his howse stronge, and dothe furnishe it with armour, munition, and all necessaryes for defence." Fitzwilliam colors Leicester's building projects in terms of defense and munition, harkening back to its use by Simon de Monfort as a stronghold against royal authority. Five years later, Leicester's entertainment would include displays of military power and dramatic interludes that challenge royal authority. In addition to building a new entrance to the north, William Dugdale records that Leicester filled a wide ditch where water from the pool used to

[68] *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543, Parts IV and V*, vol. 2, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), 109. The "impressive earthworks of the Pleausance are clearly visible even today" (Paula Henderson, "Clinging to the Past: Medievalism in the English 'Renaissance' Garden," *Renaissance Studies* 25.1 (2011), 49).

come, perhaps filling in one of the castle's northern water defenses to lay a foundation for his extravagant new gatehouse. Dugdale also alludes to Leicester's policy of enclosing land around the estate: "The *Chase* he likewise enlarged, impaling part of *Blakwell* within it; and also a large nook, extending from *Rudfen-lane* towards the Pool: which, being then a wast, wherein the Inhabitants of *Kenilworth* had Common, in consideration thereof, he gave them all those fields called *Priors-fields*, lying North of the Castle."[69] By Dudley's time, the Great Mere covered around 111 acres. It would have provided an impressive mirror to reflect the grandeur of the castle. We must reconstruct an "occasional geography" by reconciling an archaeological record with eyewitness accounts, maps, and artistic mock-ups of something no longer visible.[70] While the land remains and even parts of the castle still stand, the Mere is now a meadow, but it was once a critical site of performance, pleasure, and policy-making. Including the forgotten lake in our consideration of the Kenilworth entertainment highlights the degree to which the aquatic

[69] William Dugdale, *The antiquities of Warwickshire illustrated from records, leiger-books, manuscripts, charters, evidences, tombes, and armes : beautified with maps, prospects and portraictures* (London, 1656), 165. Dugdale estimates building expenditures reached £60,000, though the amount has been reduced to £40,000 (166). As landholder, Leicester was quite involved in the conservation and enlargement of his estates: "In 1568 he initiated his building works at Kenilworth, and the subsequent years saw the construction of the large range now known as Leicester's Buildings. Leicester had initiated an ambitious reorganization of the tenurial structure of his Welsh lordships (Denbigh and Chirk in Denbighshire) in the late 1560s, which took to the mid-1570s to complete. He also built up the Kenilworth estate by the purchase of adjacent lands. Overall, his estate policy appears to have been one of consolidation and the creation of an estate of inheritance. In the absence of an heir of his own, his nephew Philip Sidney (1554-1586), to whom he was more than the usual benevolent uncle, was the potential beneficiary" (Adams, "Robert Dudley," *ODNB*).

[70] In her overview of the Kenilworth entertainment, Janette Dillon encourages modern readers "to try to supplement that complex reading of written texts with an awareness of place, images, and persons derived from other written and pictorial records too. Place, as any Elizabethan spectator knew, was as much a maker of meaning as scripted performance; and part of the struggle for representation is played out through the opposition or complementarity between the performed content and its space" ("Pageants and Propaganda: Robert Langham's *Letter* and George Gascoigne's *Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth*," in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 626).

environment provided the stage for representing England's maritime history and Elizabeth's maritime sovereignty.[71]

John of Gaunt imagines his estate as a metaphor for England's geography in Shakespeare's *Richard II*:

> This fortress built by Nature for herself
> Against infection and the hand of war,
> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> *This precious stone set in the silver sea,*
> *Which serves it in the office of a wall,*
> *Or as a moat defensive to a house…*[72]

Laneham describes Kenilworth situated in the "Navell of Englande" (2-3) and gives the estate's distances from Warwick, London, and Coventry. Already, the site is described cartographically, recalling the county map that began this section. The first local feature he describes in detail is not the park, farmland, forests, or meadows, but the pool:

> Too avantage hath it, hard on the West, still noorisht with many lively springs, a goodly Pool of rare beuty, bredth, length, deapth, and store of all kinde freshwater fish, delicat, great & fat, and also of wyldfooul byside. By a rare situacion and natural amitee séemz this Pool conioynd to the Castlz that on the West layz the hed az it wear upon the Castls boozom, embraceth it on eyther side Soouth and North with both the armz, settlz it self az in a reach a flightshoot brode, stretching foorth body & legs, amile or too Westward…. (p. 3)

With the estate as the "navel," the lake rests its head on the castle's "bosom," embraces with its "arms," and stretches its "legs" around to the west for a mile or two. This is no insignificant "pool." It protects the castle like a woman curling her legs and arms around her lover. Even for Laneham, the environment of Kenilworth is charged with passion and power. On the evening of

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[71] Nina Hofer identifies a similar, if chronologically later, function of the Grotto of Thetys (constructed between 1664-1672) at Versailles that represents Louis' the Sun King's "hydrological *puissance*" (251) in "Charging the waters: the Grotte de Téthys as Versailles's initial metaphoric ground" *Architectural Research Quarterly* 15.3 (September 2011).
[72] William Shakespeare, *Richard II*, 2.1.43-8. Laneham provides an etymology for "worth" as describing a castle situated on a lake or island (6-7).

July 9, Elizabeth rode from Itchingham and arrived at the Gallery Tower at the southern end of the Tiltyard where a Sibyl greeted her and invoked the coming peace in terms of domesticity and virtue. Once through the outer gate, Elizabeth encountered a Herculean porter in shock over the queen's "heroicall Soveraintie over the hole estates" (9), perhaps confused as to whether his master is Leicester or the queen.

The discrepancy between event and text heightens the function of the entertainment as a venue for political drama. Suggestions and agendas can be put forth in an impromptu manner, through the guise of fiction, without fearing much political fall-out. These are one-offs, despite their enormous cost and effort. Laneham's letter includes many circumstantial details that Gascoigne's more "literary" text does not, including the hot and wet weather that probably delayed many entertainments. Despite inclement weather, Laneham describes the bearbaiting, fireworks, a gymnast, music and dancing, and on the following Sunday a bridale and Hock Tuesday play.[73] Gascoigne, on the other hand, transitions quickly from these improvisations to the more formal episode of Triton, the Lady of the Lake, and Sir Bruce Pittie. This episode instead highlights the queen's powers to protect the lady from the prowling knight. Here, Laneham employs maritime vocabulary to describe the relation of liberty, territory, and sovereignty. Riding upon a mermaid, Triton approaches the shore of the mere as Elizabeth returns from the hunt. He reports,

> …how the supream salsipotent Monarch *Neptune,* the great God of the swelling Seas, *Prins* of profunditees, and Soouerain Segnior of all Lakes, freshwaters, Riuers, Créekes, and Goolphs: understanding hoow a cruell knight, one Syr Brose sauns pitée, a mortall enmy untoo ladies of estate, had long lyen aboout the banks of this pooll in wayt with his bands héer: too distress the lady of the lake, whearby

[73] Gascoigne briefly mentions these details out of chronological order (if we are to follow Laneham), probably because they pertain less to the immediate relation of Leicester and Elizabeth. They are also lower forms of entertainment that might have been more intended for the mass of country people attending the entertainment as part of Leicester's benefice.

> she hath béen restrained not only frõ hauing any use of her auncient liberty & territories in thees parts… (Laneham 41).

Neptune has requested that Elizabeth but show "sheaw [her] parson toward this pool" and the lady will be free from "thralldom" (Laneham 41-2). The presence of the royal body cured not only scrofula, as Elizabeth also demonstrated during her stay, but also settled territorial disputes. Neptune, sovereign of the seas, calls upon the English sovereign to enforce her borders by putting Sir Bruce, representative of Spain, to flight.[74]

Laneham describes how Triton ordered Eolus, god of the winds, to temper the seas while the queen was in presence so that the Lady and her nymphs could approach the queen on floating islands to give thanks and apologies for not appearing at court. Then there is a performance by Arion who arrives on a 24-foot long dolphin with musicians hidden in its belly. Laneham has high praise for the song and describes the acoustic effect on the listener. The lake is an ideal location for dramatic entertainments because sound travels unimpeded across its surface. With few obstacles, the narrative could be heard from multiple points around the shore. Laneham records, "and this in the éeving of the day, resounding from the callm waters: whear prezens of her Majesty & longing too listen had utterly damped all noys & dyn" (43). Elizabeth's presence and the Lady's humble thanks take central roles on the watery stage. Describing the same event, Gascoigne adds nuance to the conflict: Sir Bruce desires the Lady's virginity out of revenge for his cousin Merlin, whom the Lady trapped in a rock. Gascoigne imagines a backstory for the Lady that does not absolve her of guilt, nor does it ascribe to her "liberty and territory." Rather, Neptune protects the Lady with his waves, but they can only withstand Sir Bruce's attacks for so long. The queen must perform her "soveraigne maidens might" (A8r). Chastity must be

[74] This could be part of Leicester's bid for action against Spanish incursions in the Netherlands. Frye argues that Leicester was less interested in serving as Elizabeth's general and more as a prince (93).

continually reaffirmed through positive action especially when the opportunity for a fruitful marriage still remains, as it may have in 1575.

Gascoigne ascribes the devise of the Lady of the Lake to Master Hunnes but emphasizes that this was not the "first invention." Instead, Gascoigne had organized a "gallant shewe" that was supposed to precede the Lady of the Lake episode:

> [A] captaine with twentie or thyrtie shotte should have bene sent from the Hearon house…upon heapes of bulrushes: and that syr Bruse shewing a great power upon the land, shoulde have sent out as many or moe shot to surprise sayde Captayne, and so they should have skirmished upon the waters in such sort, that no man coulde perceive but that they went upon the waves (B1r-B2v).

The sea battle explicitly pitted the sea against the land, with the sea power emerging as the victor. The sea captain, to be played by Leicester, was supposed to deliver Triton's lines. Moreover, Gascoigne details, "the skirmish by night would have bene both very strange and gallant: and thereupon her Majestie might have taken *good occasion* to have gone in her barge upon the water for the better executing of her deliverie" (B2v). These scheduled episodes would attract the largest crowds, and the use of water as the stage is no accident.[75] Whether the "deliverie" was the queen's verbal response or just her presence, its performance on a barge in the middle of the lake, rather than on horseback on the shore, would have made her the center of the entertainment. She came close to fully embodying the role of the maritime sovereign that she would almost twenty years later at Elvetham, but for unknown reasons, this last example of the relation between "occasional geography" and the performance of sovereignty is only found in Gascoigne's text.

[75] Due the temperature inversion in the evening, when the hot air from the summer's day starts cooling fastest on the surface of the lake, sound waves are refracted down, rather than up, enabling the sound to travel farther because it does not dissipate as quickly (Daniel A. Russell, "Refraction of Sound Waves," *Acoustics and Vibrations Animations*, Pennsylvania State University, online, 2011; accessed 14 June 2013).

Both interludes with the Lady of the Lake involve the relation between territory and authority in maritime terms. In the former, the Lady offers the Queen dominion over the Lake and the estate. In his text, Gascoigne describes this in terms of Leicester first displaying his authority through his Arthurian genealogy and then as aristocratic landowner, both are *a priori* to Elizabeth's authority as sovereign. In Laneham's record of the event, the queen parries this presumption by asserting her *a priori* authority as English monarch over Kenilworth's land and lord. As this interlude occurs at the gates to the estate, it presents the first example of sovereignty as a "borderline" concept, to return to Schmitt's argument, and in terms of maritime dominion, as the lake and its inhabitant rather than the castle or grounds are the terms of the debate. In the second, lengthier entertainment of the freeing of the Lady of the Lake, Elizabeth stands literally on the shore of the Mere as the sea gods call on her powers to save the threatened maiden from rape by the knight. On the border between land and sea, Elizabeth must assert her authority to subdue warring elements, with the chosen party represented again by the Lady of the Lake. And again Gascoigne's text reveals a different agenda than Laneham's letter. Gascoigne prints a description of the battle not between the Lady and the knight but between Leicester as the sea captain and the knight. Gascoigne and Leicester had to attend to situational contingencies that prevented the sea battle from being staged on the lake. Rather than Leicester's display of authority, the entertainment performs Elizabeth's sovereign power in determining territorial dominion over the water. At Kenilworth, questions of authority and action provide the dramatic tensions throughout most of the entertainment. The estate presents a microcosmic stage on which can be tested policies of dominion over lands, waters, and bodies. Fifteen years later, these policies will be further developed and solidified in the entertainment at Elvetham, which presents

the Queen accepting her role as elemental sovereign, eyes turned towards the profit and prestige of the maritime globe.

II. Maritime Politics at Tilbury, August 1588

England did not defeat the Spanish Armada in 1588. The sea did. Skirmishes between the fleets revealed weaknesses on both sides and little casualty, human or ship. The winds, tides, and currents of the Narrow Seas were the wild cards. Eddies off Portland forced a small English squadron to land instead of fight at sea; winds changed battle plans minute by minute; tides harried the fleet into action unprepared. At the climax of the engagement, Medina Sidonia had to order the armada away from their last potential haven for fear of wrecking on the turbulent Outer Owers shoals. By July 27, the Spanish fleet, relatively unharmed, dropped anchor near Calais and lowered sail, waiting for news of Parma's forces. Lord Admiral Charles Howard feared that the fleet's anchorage and victualing meant that the Duke of Parma was close by, when in fact Hollander forces closed him in. Howard needed to destroy the Spanish fleet, and Sir William Winter's fire ships appeared to be the best strategy, but the English did not realize how successful they would be and were unprepared to follow the fire ships with an assault, enabling the scattered Spanish fleet to reassemble. While the English gunnery then proved effective at disabling the shoddily reformed armada, the Battle of Gravelines was not the victory the English had imagined. Rather, big prizes instead of cohesive action tempted many of the captains. By the afternoon of July 29, rising winds and unfamiliar waters proved to be England's biggest defense. Sidonia's pilots urged him to leave the Narrow Seas with what remained of his fleet, still seaworthy and victualed, so that they could make the journey home instead of being beached in Flanders, for "[a]head of it lay a far more remorseless testing than anything Elizabeth's navy

could provide."[76] The Armada would eventually break apart off the coasts of Scotland and Ireland.

Elizabeth's August 8 speech to the troops at Tilbury has long been used as an example of patriotic, nationalistic discourse. She proclaims, "I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm."[77] The queen pledges her body in defense of the nation, should the Spanish breach the coast. Seventeenth century reproductions of the speech have described the queen in white armor atop a white steed, though as Susan Frye points out, this was likely not the case, and we have no contemporary sources to support this picture of Elizabeth with her troops.[78] Furthermore, attention to the site of the event modifies its privileged place in the shrine of Elizabeth. McDermott writes,

> Tilbury's only aptness for defence was the hill upon which Leicester's camp sat and a small shore fortification, which, with a mirror installation at Gravesend on the opposite bank of the Thames, had been erected in 1539 by Henry VIII. …Elizabeth's subsequent, highly publicized visit to Tilbury has given spurious relevance to what was almost certainly intended as a subsidiary element of England's defences.[79]

And yet, what's important is not the real geography of Tilbury but what the "occasional geography" of the site affords for the performance of sovereignty. Elizabeth journeyed by barge from Whitehall, under the London Bridge, to Tilbury near the head of the Thames estuary. There, practically on the coast of England, near the union of the Thames and Medway in the sea, she

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[76] See James McDermott's accounts of the battles between Plymouth and Gravelines in *England and the Spanish Armada: The Necessary Quarrel* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 274.
[77] Speech reproduced in a letter from Dr. Lionel Sharp to the Duke of Buckingham, c. 1623.
[78] Susan Frye, "The Myth of Elizabeth at Tilbury," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 23.1 (1992), 96.
[79] McDermott, *England and the Spanish Armada*, 239-40.

speaks before her troops, across the water to the Spanish fleet, the Duke of Parma, and the King of Spain, and across time to generations of scholars of how she embodies her country and is willing to sacrifice her sovereign body for the security of the people. What was geographically and politically marginal has become central in the establishment of the Cult of Elizabeth.

Similarly, the many versions of the Armada Portrait revise what was the unlikely, fortuitous defeat of the Spanish fleet into the event that defined Elizabeth's reign. As a geopolitical fantasy, the destruction of the Spanish, largely by the wind and waves, needed to be rewritten as the success of English maritime policy, facilitating their displacement of Spanish power in the Americas. The Armada Portrait of Elizabeth conveys this quite powerfully.

Figure 2. *Portrait of Elizabeth I of England, the Armada Portrait*, c. 1588, oil on panel, 52.4 × 41.3 in., Woburn Abbey

Resplendent in lace, bows, and pearls, Elizabeth rests her hand on a globe over the Americas. On her right sits the crown of England, while on the left a mermaid graces the arm of a chair. Behind her are two depictions of the Armada. On her right, the Spanish fleet is shown approaching the

English squadrons, while on her left, their defeat is shown in a nightmarish sea storm. Like the Ditchley Portrait of 1592, Elizabeth turns from death and destruction towards the light of conquest and empire. Her pearls and bows emphasize chastity, while the mermaid is a clear depiction of the siren song of female sexuality to which she likewise turns her back.[80] The portrait depicts three visions of the sea: first, and most obviously, the mimetic representation of the waters as a stage for battle and broiled in a tempest; second, the cartographic representation of the Pacific and Atlantic on the globe beneath Elizabeth's hand; and third, the symbolic representation of the sea via both the mermaid and the pearls adorning Elizabeth's gown. The portrait unites England's fledgling naval power with Elizabeth's clearly gendered and sexualized sovereign body as an argument for an imperial program aimed at the Atlantic. It rescripts a rather lackluster military engagement as a coup de grâce installing Elizabeth as a maritime sovereign. The painting demonstrates how political meaning-making was achieved by resignifying the elemental order. Instead of the sea defeating the Spanish, here victory is expressed through the authority of the female monarch who ostensibly commands the winds and waves. Elizabeth could be made to perform the mythic separation of the land from the water. She too could be projected as a geopolitical fantasy, circled by the waters of her realm and empire.

III. Elvetham's "goodly pon[d]," September 1591

The Earl of Hertford's estate at Elvetham could not be more different than Kenilworth in terms of prestige and accommodations, and yet generations of critics have linked the two in terms of their affordances for spectacle.[81] Elvetham was a minor holding of Edward Seymour,

[80] In the Elvetham entertainment, the reconciliation of chastity and sexuality is personified by a sea nymph.

[81] See Wilson, *Entertainments*: "[Elvetham] recalls the Kenilworth tributes of 1575, but the Armada victory has now given life to devices turning on classic water myth" (299).

Earl of Hertford.[82] Today a hotel stands on the site, and nothing remains of the "goodly pon[d]" that Seymour had dug especially for Elizabeth's visit during her summer progress in 1591.[83] While at Kenilworth, the park and mere were given equal shrift as venues for entertainment, at Elvetham, the crescent-pond is clearly the star attraction. But Seymour did not *have* to dig a massive pond, fill it with water, float a pinnace, and construct islands. This was no minor undertaking. The entertainment consequently demonstrates the humbling of traditional values (registered in the anti-masque of Sylvanus and the wood gods) in light of England's new maritime authority post-Armada, while at the same time demonstrating how integral the aristocracy continued to be in the construction of sovereignty. Since the event was a one-time show, scholars tend to read the entertainment's "occasionality" in reductive terms.[84] Elvetham's

[82] Edward Seymour, first earl of Hertford, was the son of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset and Edward VI's protector, who was executed in 1552 for felony based on charges brought by the Duke of Northumberland, Robert Dudley's father. (Kenilworth and Elvetham are competing sites for authority in more ways than we might think.) Parliament ordered his lands forfeited, but two months after her succession, Elizabeth restored all Seymour lands to Edward. In 1560, Hertford secretly married Lady Katherine Grey, cousin to Elizabeth and next in line to the throne based on Henry VIII's will. Their marriage was annulled in 1562 and Seymour was fined for "deflowering a virgin of the royal blood." After the death of Katherine, Seymour slowly regained the queen's favor. In 1585, he married France Howard, sister of Lord Admiral Charles Howard and maid of honor to the queen (Susan Doran, "Seymour, Edward, first earl of Hertford (1539?–1621)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2010; accessed 17 June 2013).

[83] *The Honorable Entertainement gieven to the Queenes Majestie in Progresse, at Elvetham in Hampshire, by the right Honorable the Earle of Hertford*. John Wolfe, London, 1591. Page numbers will be given within the text to this edition. (Two printings; entered into Stationer's Register on 1 October 1591; STC (2nd ed.) / 7583; Cambridge copy has hand colored coat of arms and illustration, British Library copy lacks engraving of the "Ponds"). Subsequently reprinted by Nichols in vol. 3 of *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* and Jean Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I*.

[84] See Harry H. Boyle, "Elizabeth's Entertainment at Elvetham: War Policy in Pageantry," *Studies in Philology* 68.2 (1971); James Yoch, "Subjecting the Landscape in Pageants and Shakespearean Pastorals," in *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theatre*, ed. David Bergeron (Athens GA: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1985); and Curt Breight, "Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony: The Earl of Hertford's Entertainment of Elizabeth at Elvetham, 1591," *Renaissance Quarterly* 45.1 (1992). While she attends to the entertainment's "geographical and ecological

emphasis on maritime sovereignty picks up on the discourse of territory and authority begun by Kenilworth's Lady of the Lake. While the Lady's story derives from Arthurian mythology and results in the pacification of internal disputes and strengthening of England's borders (read allegorically in terms of England's role in the Dutch-Spanish war), at Elvetham, post-Armada, the maritime thrust of Elizabeth's foreign policy takes shape through the disavowal of land sovereignty in favor of international maritime prestige and profit. By contextualizing the entertainment in terms of its production site, water becomes the stage for the performance of policy and sovereignty.

While Harry Boyle reads the entertainment as complex in both content and setting and James J. Yoch describes the "minimum plot" in a setting of "Disneyland-like complexity, Curt Breight and Hilary Eklund have drawn attention to the entertainment's historical and geographic contingency. Unlike Boyle and Yoch, they read its "occasionality" in complex rather than reductive terms.[85] Elvetham's emphasis on maritime sovereignty picks up on the discourse of

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investments as well as its topical references," Eklund's emphasis on unification and harmonization downplays the tension I locate between water and land and ignores the degree to which Seymour sidelines Elizabeth in his display of power through numbers (4).

[85] Boyle underscores how deciphering the entertainment's complex allegory requires knowledge of its historical context. He makes the argument in terms of authorship, distancing Lyly (often figured as the entertainment's primary writer) and inserting George Buc as a collaborator with Watson and Breton: "The show is a program piece designed for a specific occasion and becomes an aesthetic whole only when it is seen as a delicately devised topical allegory. In form it most resembles the early double mask with an assault. This form is articulated to figure past happenings, current events, and predictions for the future concerning the Anglo-Spanish War. The show's import has such direct bearing on current developments in this conflict that it could not have been staged with effect or propriety one month before or after it was performed" ("Elizabeth's Entertainment at Elvetham," 149). Yoch reads the entertainments and the setting as part of the drive towards unification between monarch, subjects, and land, but he oversimplifies the role of the extravagant maritime setting so that the "landscape" and "garden" can be tied to his reading of Shakespeare's sylvan comedies, *A Midsummer Night's* Dream and *As You Like It*. Breight criticizes Boyle's conclusion that Seymour collaborated or supported the cause of Charles Howard, his brother-in-law and Elizabeth's Lord Admiral. Howard had no need for support of a disfavored earl. He challenges Yoch's reductive reading of Seymour's "desperate

territory and authority begun with Kenilworth's Lady of the Lake. While the Lady's story derives from Arthurian mythology and consequently the pacification of internal disputes and strengthening of England's borders read allegorically in terms of England's role in the Dutch-Spanish war, at Elvetham, post-Armada, the maritime thrust of Elizabeth's foreign policy takes shape through the disavowal of land sovereignty in favor of international maritime prestige and profit. The entertainment clearly privileges water as *the* stage for action, policy, and contesting sovereignty.

The anonymous text that chronicles the entertainment begins with a proem to the reader in order to emphasize the "art and labour" that went into transforming the estate. Elvetham was situated "in a Parke but of two miles in compasse or thereabouts" (A2r), which can be identified in Saxton's county map. "Parks" are enclosed woodland or pasture used for recreation by the estate's owners, while Kenilworth's "chase" would have been unfenced, partially due to its large size and continual enlargement by its various owners. With short notice, the earl set to work to improve the estate's accommodations by employing 300 "Artificers" (A2r). The writer lists the

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submission" ("Subjecting the Landscape," 201). Breight concedes that "the entertainment features topical allusions to the current war with Spain, but these do not dominate the text. Therefore, it is not so important to elucidate individual topical references as to isolate significant threads and combine these in a coherent interpretation of the published text(s). It is especially important to ask who benefits from publication" ("Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony," 25). However, Breight focuses on the printed text and its readers rather than the occasional performance and its audience: "In fact, the entire thrust of my interpretation is based on the decentralization of Elizabeth that this passage implies: the queen seems to be the focus of the entertainment, but in transferal from event to text she is event to text she is displaced by Hertford's desire for self-aggrandizement" (35). Eklund attends to the entertainment's "geographical and ecological investments as well as its topical references" to argue that "the depiction of England as a maiden isle and *hortus conclusus* is replaced by a celebration of England and its sovereign mistress as actors on a world stage that eagerly yields to being known, recorded, and consumed geographically" ("Occasional Geography," 4). Eklund's emphasis on unification and harmonization downplays the tension I locate between water and land and ignores the degree to which Seymour also sidelines Elizabeth in his display of power through numbers, as Breight argues.

many rooms and outbuildings constructed to host the queen and her large train, and then he describes the "goodly pon[d]":

> Betweene my Lords ouse and the foresaid hill, where these rooms were raised, there had beene made in the bottom by hand labour, a goodly pon, cut to the perfect figure of a half moon. In this pond were three notable groūds, where hence to present her M with sports, and pastimes. The first was a *Ship Ile* of 100. foot in length, and 40. foote broad: bearing three trees orderly set for the 3. masts. The second was a *Fort* 20. foot square every way, and overgrown with willows. The 3. & last was a *Snayl mount*, rising to (A3r) foure circles of greene privie hedges, the whole in height twentie foot, and fortie foot broad at the bottome. These three places were equally distant from the sides of the pone, and everie one by a just measured proportion distant from other. In the said water were divers boates prepared for Musicke; but especially there was a Pinnace, ful furnish with masts, yards, sailes, anchors, cables, and all other ordinarie tackling; & with iron peeces; and lastly with flagges, streamers, and pendants, to the number of twelve, all painted with divers colours, and sundry devices. (A3r-v)

The pond, dug by hand, must have been considerable in size to fit the three islands, themselves totaling over 5,000 square feet. It must also have been reasonably deep to accommodate a full-furnished pinnace, though a ship's boat rather than a full-sized warship. Seymour planted three trees on the ship isle to represent the three masts of an English pinnace; the fort isle was covered with willows; and the snail isle is composed of four concentric circles of privy hedges.

This was the elaborate setting into which Elizabeth would make her way on the evening of the 20th of September 1591. The text recounts a host of 300 men who greeted the queen two miles from the estate and escorted her into the park. Breight argues quite persuasively that this was an "expression of power which flew in the face of …conscious governmental policy," since earlier orders had decreased the number of retainers for non-royal aristocrats.[86] A savage man greets her arrival with verses in Latin for the "English Nimph" visiting "Semers fraudlesse house" (B2v):

> More learned then our selves, shee ruleth us:

[86] Breight, "Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony," 43.

> More rich then seas, she doth command the seas:
> More fair then Nimphs, she governs al the Nimphs
> More worthy then the Gods, shee wins the Gods. (B3r)

Elizabeth is honored in terms of her learning, wealth (figured in terms of sea power), beauty, and worth (or virtue). The Elvetham entertainment is far less equivocal than Leicester's regarding the structure of authority. While this may not have been the first instantiation of the cult of Elizabeth, she is figured quite evocatively as separate and above all others. Like the pond, her sovereignty is described in terms of just proportion: "For all is thine: each part obeys thy will: / Did not each part obey, the wholl should perish" (B3v). And like the pond, her sovereignty is the result of a huge man-made undertaking, though scripted as divinely ordained.

While the second day of her visit was stormy, the evening cleared and the first water pageant took place. Elizabeth was seated on the western bank, under an elaborate canopy. Juxtaposed with the more improvisational Kenilworth entertainment where the Queen was often on horseback, at Elvetham she is seated in a position similar to how James I would occupy the central axis of the court masque. She is the primary audience for the entertainment, while the courtiers and others on the banks watch both the queen and the action in the pond.[87] The spectacle begins with the entire court of the sea swimming towards Elizabeth. The sovereigns Neptune and Oceanus flank the pinnace, upon which ride three virgins, the nymph Naera, and musicians. The float is followed by mer-people, "all attired in ouglie marine suites, and everie one armed with a huge wooden squirt in his hand" (C2r). Before the writer reports Nereus' speech, he interjects to describe other aspects of the setting for the device: "First, that the

[87] The entertainment is often cited as a source for Shakespeare's description in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* of the "fair vestal thronèd by the west," the target for Cupid's arrow which will instead pierce "a little western flower…love-in-idleness." The Norton Shakespeare footnotes these lines as an "allusion" to the entertainment at Elvetham. (See *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 2.1.158-168).

Pinnace are two iewels to be presented her Majestie: the one by *Nereus*, the other by *Neœra*. Secondly, that the Fort in the Pond, is round environed with armed men. Thirdly, that the Snayle-mount nowe resembleth a monster, having hornes full of wild fire continually burning" (C2v). And lastly, Nereus reveals that the wood god Sylvanus, a past lover of Naera, lies close by in the park.

After an actor somersaults off the Ship Isle, Nereus begins his oration by identifying Elizabeth as "Faire Cinthia the wide Oceans Empresse." Cynthia, part of the pantheon of the cult of Elizabeth, is a goddess of the moon, often used interchangeably with Artemis, Diana, or Phoebe. The audience hears Nereus describe his journey to England, where he waited on the coast for Elizabeth in vain. He continues,

> Therefore impatient, that this worthless earth
> Should beare your Highnes weight, and we sea Gods,
> (Whose jealous waves have swallowd up your foes,
> And to your Realme are walles impregnable)
> With such large favour seldome time are grac't:
> I from the deepes have drawen this winding flud,
> Whose crescent forme figures the rish increase
> Of all that sweet Elisa holdeth deare. (C3r)

Nereus describes the tension between land and sea. The "worthless earth" is unsuitable for Elizabeth, so the sea gods, responsible for protecting England and implicitly for defeating the Armada with their "jealous waves," sought underground passages to create the crescent pond, which represents the "rich increase" that Elizabeth so covets. Not a round belly, heavy with child, but wealth, power, and dominion. Nereus offers Elizabeth a jewel brought by "gould-brested India" (the somersaulting actor), and describes England as the inheritor not of Rome but of India, whose ship, the Ship Isle, has turned vegetal under Elizabeth's presence. The "ugly monster creeping from the South," Nereus relates, has also been transformed by Elizabeth's presence into

a snail with bulrushes as horns. Elizabeth affects an Ovidian transformation of what was a threat from Spain. The fort has been erected by Neptune for her defense—but from what?

A possible answer would be protection from Sylvanus and his crew. At Kenilworth, Sylvanus, or the savage man, was played by Gascoigne and was thus a mouthpiece for Leicester. Here, Nereus controls the narrative. Sylvanus emerges from the woods to honor Elizabeth and present her with a scutcheon, but Nereus directs his attention from the queen to Naera on the pinnace. Sylvanus begs Nereus to let her come ashore since the queen can chaperone their meeting. Nereus accepts, "On this condition shall shee come on shoare. / That with thy hand thou plight a solemne vow, / Not to prophane her undefiled state" (D1r). They shake, but Nereus pulls Sylvanus head over heels into the water.[88] As at Kenilworth, Elizabeth's presence protects maidenhood, but Hertford remains one step away from granting Elizabeth this sovereignty. Before the sea nymph can come to the land, Nereus effectively swallows the land with his waters. After sufficiently emasculating Sylvanus by quenching his "wanton fire" (D1r), the land and sea gods engage in a mock battle, like the one that would have been performed at Kenilworth, but here it is clearly in jest: they use "darts" and "squirts" rather than instruments of war. Nereus ends the battle calling upon Elizabeth's pacifying presence and the land gods flee into the woods.

The third move in the device is Naera's speech to Elizabeth involving the naming of the pinnace. Neptune told Naera that,

> A Sea-borne Queene, worthy to governe Kings,
> On her depends the Fortune of thy boate,
> If shee but name it with a blisfull word
> […]
> That it may dare attempt a golden fleece,

[88] Breight argues, "If the Sylvanus episode is a retrospect on Hertford's unpleasant history—a device intended to rewrite the "rape" amidst laughter that helps to distance its serious implications—the larger sexual context in which it is placed serves to suggest the positive aspects of fertility" ("Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony," 34).

Or dive for pearles, and lay them in they lap.
For winde and waves, and all the world besides… (D1v)

Presumably, Elizabeth would have been forewarned of her role in this device. She names the pinnace, *Bonadventure*.[89] The Elvetham entertainment may be trying to put a positive spin on a "summer of disappointments." Clearly the focus on maritime pursuits allegorizes Elizabeth's policies following her success with the Armada. However, in 1591 she failed to oust Parma from control in the Netherlands. Neither could the English expel the Spanish from Brittany. Howard also failed to intercept the Indies fleet due to bad weather and winds, and though only the *Revenge* was lost, the fleet failed to capture any Spanish treasure.[90] While the expedition to the South yielded some reward, the enterprise broke just about even. The Indies fleet was damaged from bad weather, not English ships.[91] While the government was less inclined to challenge

[89] In "Elizabeth's Entertainment at Elvetham," Boyle provides the history of the English pinnace *Bonadventure*. It was part of the squadron that lay off the Azores under the leadership of Lord Thomas Howard in September 1591. Howard was ordered to take Spanish treasure and make assaults on the Spanish coasts. Boyle finds it relevant that the galleon *Revenge* had been lost off the Azores in August 1591. Thus, Sylvanus' retreat crying "Revenge" and the naming of the *Bonadventure* in its place is suggestive of Elizabethan maritime history, linking Seymour's entertainment with the affairs of Lord Admiral Charles Howard. But the larger relevance perhaps relates to Drake's switch from the *Elizabeth Bonadventure* to the *Revenge* in 1588. The *Bonadventure* served Drake well in Cadiz in 1587, but the *Revenge* was a faster, lighter, English-built (at Deptford) galleon that would inspire three centuries of ship design. The *Revenge* was on the frontline of the fleet's engagement with the Spanish in the Battle of Gravelines in 1588, which would disperse the Spaniards into the North Sea. It would sustain damage off Portugal and Spain in 1589/90 before being captured by the Spanish in the Battle of Flores despite her captain, Richard Grenville, ordering the ship to be sunk before ending up in Spanish hands. The officers disobeyed the captain; the ship was taken, but then ultimately lost along with her crew up in a storm off the Azores.

[90] R.B. Wernham, *After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the Struggle for Western Europe, 1588-1595* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 335-356.

[91] Wernham writes, "After the experience of 1591, it is small wonder that for the next few years the English government left the war at sea largely to the privateers" (347). McDermott reads the post-Armada period war far more positively in terms of England's maritime expansion: "In home waters, the fishing and seaborne coal trades flourished during the war years. Further abroad, English penetration of the Mediterranean and Baltic had been both strengthened and regulated in the activities of the Turkish and Eastland companies, which the exemplar of future English

Spain's maritime power, merchant-adventurers seized the opportunity, and often with unspoken governmental support. Seymour's display of power, like Leicester's, could be seen as a bid for such entrepreneurship, a way to flourish outside the queen's increasingly complicated affections.

Both Leicester and Seymour present the queen with entertainments that productively use water features as the stage to perform the relation of the sovereign to other elements—the most powerful of which is water. The defeat of the Armada in 1588 provides the fulcrum with which the balance tips from the contested sovereignty of Elizabeth and Leicester performed at Kenilworth to the subservient yet recalcitrant homage by Seymour at Elvetham. Kenilworth's mythic British lake flows into Hertford's world ocean, where the body of water is itself shaped to reflect the Virgin Queen. The Elizabethan estate entertainments reveal the work being done by a distinctly maritime poetics in late sixteenth-century England. These local sites of aristocratic privilege present the queen with a microcosm of the world and its nonhuman elements out of which she must construct sovereignty. At Kenilworth and Elvetham, water plays the starring role in the performance of sovereignty. While the land's preeminence in the history of sovereignty remains central to international politics, these estate entertainments reveal how shifting our perspective to the sea helps to understand the contingent categories of sovereignty in play then and today. Like Schmitt argues in *The Nomos of the Earth*, Elizabeth learns how to be an elemental sovereign, how to accommodate both a moat defensive and an expansionist maritime policy that propelled England into the next century as *the* maritime superpower.

While stage plays can evoke the maritime through poetic language, the estate entertainments of the late sixteenth century literally used water features to represent England's

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imperial ambitions, the English East India Company, was founded as the new century commenced. All of these activities had complemented, and in turn been supplemented by, a vastly enhanced privateering industry that fed the English economy and its need for good ocean-going vessels and expert seamen" (*Elizabeth and the Spanish Armada*, 311).

maritime sovereignty. If part of the goal of the "blue humanities" is to imbue cultural productions with the salt of the sea, then the poets of these entertainments had the unique ability to use the elemental—the land and water of the estate—to demonstrate how Elizabeth could position herself within a vibrant political ecology that included not only monarchs, lords, and admirals but also ships, islands, coastlines, tides, rivers, pearls, tritons, nymphs, thunderstorms, horses, barges, and so on. Mentz argues, "through language and narrative…our culture has always grappled with living in an unstable, ocean-drenched environment." While oceanic ecologies provide one way of reinvigorating literary and cultural analysis, lingering at the border between land and sea and considering their differences and affinities points towards how we can come "to terms with a world of flux."[92] Elemental sovereignty describes the shift from the land-based foundation of authority of the sixteenth century to the sea-flux of the seventeenth. It encompasses the theological underpinnings of medieval sovereignty grounded in sacred and secular geopolitics but highlights the flaws in assuming the stability of territory as a marker for power. The four elements exist discretely but also in combination. While "maritime" provides the locution for discussing English geopolitics at the turn of the seventeenth century, "elemental" allows us to see how the history of sovereignty has been predicated on specific territorial formations, and its most pivotal moments are often those that occur at the borders between the elements. Sovereignty that is able to manage the unstable nature of political and ecological systems might be able to adapt to a new *nomos* that is defined not by land or sea but by the messy combination of elements described by Spenser in Sonnet 75:

> One day I wrote her name upon the strand,
> But came the waves and washed it away:
> Again I write it with a second hand,

[92] Mentz, *At the Bottom*, 98-9.

But came the tide, and made my pains his prey.[93]

[93] Edmund Spenser, *The Shorter Poems*, ed. Richard A. McCabe (New York: Penguin, 1999), 425.

CHAPTER TWO

TURBULENCE, COGNITION, AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY IN LEONARDO DA VINCI, FRANCIS BACON, AND SHAKESPARE'S *HAMLET*

> The essential point is that fluid motion is almost always inherently unstable, and that incipient instabilities are suppressed only if the viscous dissipation if high enough. However, virtually all fluids have an extremely low viscosity. This is true of water, air, blood, the molten metal in the core of the earth, and the atmosphere of the sun. The implication is that turbulence is the natural state of things and indeed this is the case.[94]

Action has long been the crux of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Hamlet's inability for most of the play to move from thought to action has caused generations of critics to describe the play in terms of an incipient modern subjectivity. But surrounding this hamstrung hero is a world on the brink of war, a murderous king, and a turbulent state. *Hamlet* is full of acting and making—shipwrights, gravediggers, engineers, sailors, players, and ambassadors—but not, until the very end, of action.[95] This chapter looks at how the subject can move from paralysis to acting to action in a political ecology characterized by the turbulent border between land and sea. While the previous chapter modeled maritime sovereignty, this chapter turns towards maritime subjectivity and the tragic condition. Accepting turbulence as "the natural state of things," as the epigraph to this chapter claims, rather than something to be harnessed and controlled, can help the subject move towards action. If he recognizes that the world is unknowable, multiple, and contingent, then he can move into action, however tragic the outcome. Failure to adapt, innovate, or collaborate spells disaster.

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[94] P.A. Davidson, *Turbulence: An Introduction for Scientists and Engineers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[95] Richard Halpern, "Eclipse of Action: Hamlet and the Political Economy of Playing" *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59.4 (Winter 2008). Halpern labels Hamlet as the "anticipatory hero for the age of political economy" (450).

The turbulent seascape in *Hamlet* reveals characteristics of the tragic subject that have been overlooked by ecocritical studies that often favor the terrestrial over the aquatic. Maritime environments, and their human and nonhuman elements, foster a certain skillset and psychological acumen needed to navigate the crisis of tragedy. Hamlet is a maritime subject, in distinction to Lear and Macbeth, sovereigns of bounded territory. He grapples with a growing sense of sea agency in conflict with solid-state dynamics. Furthermore, the sea could be aligned with a radical politics, threatening the stability of state and stasis, and the land with conservative government. Their intersection is the zone of military clash, of elemental change, of revolution, and of ruin. The phenomenon of turbulence characterizes not only the play's imagined settings but also the cognitive and emotional states of their protagonists. Embracing "disorder" as the mode of ordering the universe can lead to a radically unstable ethics and politics, but it opens humans to experiences beyond ordered hierarchies. The emergence of turbulent flow could provide an apt model for the emergence of the political subject, the man who moves from repetitive, reproducible labor or work into action, in the terms of Hannah Arendt.[96] It is a model for critical thinking and acting within a chaotic world that takes account of the primacy of experience and privileges the technician (rhetorician, actor, politician, navigator, scientist) over the scholar or philosopher.[97] Turbulence, then, is a highly effective model for action in the environment and in the intellect.

Hamlet emerges out of the troubled transition from Elizabeth I to James I. While its Danish geography has been well noted, less attention has been paid to its coastal hydrographies.

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[96] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

[97] Halpern notes that in the act of writing Rosencrantz and Guildenstern's execution, "Hamlet employs this servile instrument [the pen] to accomplish a sovereign act" ("The Eclipse of Action," 481). Work has been turned into action. This skill, like those of the navigator or pirate, allows him to ascend to the sphere of the political. Halpern goes on to argue that Shakespeare turned the work of playwriting into an act that effects change in the world.

The play's language and characters reflect the amphibious setting of Elsinore. The turbulent seascape of Denmark provides an alternative perspective on a play often figured in terms of the land. Maritime subjects in *Hamlet*—the shipwright, sailors, pirate, and prince—reside on the margins of Claudius' corrupt court. And Hamlet's sea journey physically manifests the whirling, shifting environment evoked linguistically in the first two-thirds of the play by rearranging the elements of the story, from Shakespeare's source texts to the order for Hamlet's execution. Hamlet gets caught in a vortex of time and space and is then ejected onto the icy shore in a different elemental state. His encounter with the pirate and return to Elsinore rearrange the material body that Claudius sent to England.

Considering *Hamlet* in terms of turbulence positions the maritime subject in the whorl of time, history, and world. The transition from laminar to turbulent flow, and the resulting vortices, provides a model for the movement of tragedy from the stable constructions of state, family, and subject to an indeterminate, disordered mode that resists theorization.[98] The tragic maritime subject observes but cannot control or theorize turbulence, embedded as he is in a world governed by fluid dynamics. Only once the tragic subject comes to ruin and the turbulent energy dissipates can the system return to stasis and order. Fluid dynamics, rather than the conceptually more manageable solid state physics, destabilizes our critical grasp on the play and allows us to read *Hamlet* across time and space through his etymological and ancestral affinity to whirlpools and pirates. The play involves a turning, a whirling, that characterizes both the setting, as evoked through language, and the tragic maritime subject as a way of representing the unrepresentable: turbulence and cognition. Hamlet, come to grips with his piratical, turbulent heritage, resigns himself to fortune and acts anyway.

[98] It is impossible to construct a theory of turbulence since the concept is governed by chaos and statistics can only model it.

Leonardo da Vinci is credited with naming the hydrographic feature of swirling water "*torbulenza*," and his multitudinous studies of water in motion demonstrate the difficult cognitive leap from observation to representation. Furthermore, his oeuvre unifies turbulence in nature with turbulence in the mind. Shakespeare's contemporary Francis Bacon repeatedly engages turbulence as metaphor for the pursuit of knowledge. His idea of progress demands a move out of the state of turbulence. He critiques mimetic imitation as merely continuing round in the whirl of ignorance and never advancing towards new knowledge, but his own project fails to escape the turbulent nature of cognition. Since turbulence is the state of nature, there is no escaping it. Both Leonardo and Bacon attempt to capture the motion of the world in static visual and literary representation. Both seek to demonstrate new truths about art, nature, and science. Shakespeare, caught in the same epochal shift, sees tragedy as the outcome of man's contingent relationship with his environment. He throws the early modern subject into the maelstrom, so to speak, and leaves him to sink or swim.

I. Turbulence and the Vortex

If "turbulence is the natural state of things," fluid dynamics provides the language with which we can best describe the state of things in nature. In modern scientific discourse, "Turbulence is composed of eddies: patches of zigzagging, often swirling fluid, moving randomly around and about the overall direction of motion. Technically, the chaotic state of fluid motion arises when the speed of the fluid exceeds a specific threshold, below which viscous forces damp out the chaotic behavior."[99] Turbulence, though mathematically indefinable, is identified by certain characteristics: irregularity, diffusivity, Reynolds numbers generally above

[99] Parviz Moin and John Kim, "Tackling Turbulence with Supercomputers," *Scientific American*.

5,000, three-dimensional vorticity fluctuations, dissipation, and continuum.[100] In terms of oceanic turbulence, in which is included connected seas such as the Baltic, "perhaps its most important property, and one that is generally used to characterize it, is that by generating large gradients of velocity at small scales, typically 1 mm to 1 cm, turbulence promotes conditions in which, relatively rapidly, viscous dissipation transfers the kinetic energy of turbulent motion into heat."[101]

However, turbulence is one of the most difficult phenomena to model or theorize due to its perpetually unstable, unpredictable nature. For the purposes of my argument, turbulence and the accompanying vortices provide a model of experiential action in contradistinction to theory and rule-bound theorems. Turbulence or turbulent events (currents, tides, eddies, tempests, flow, etc.) can only be modeled based on the individual occurrence or an imaginative construction of such an event, from which a generalizable rule can never be extracted. Each event is unique based on the conditions at its inception.[102] Although fluid dynamics only came under scientific investigation in the nineteenth century, Leonardo da Vinci is credited with being the first to designate the phenomenon as "turbulence." In England, Francis Bacon uses turbulence to describe both the environment and cognition. Thus, Leonardo provides the term for the environmental phenomenon while Bacon engages the metaphor in the service of epistemological, cognitive, and disciplinary problems.

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[100] See Henk Tennekes and John L. Lumley, *A First Course in Turbulence* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972), 1-3.
[101] S.A. Thorpe, *An Introduction to Oceanic Turbulence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 2.
[102] Following Tennekes and Lumley's basic statement: "Since the equations of motion are nonlinear, each individual flow pattern has certain unique characteristics that are associated with its initial and boundary conditions. No general solution to the Navier-Stokes equations is known; consequently, no general solutions to problems in turbulent flow are available. Since every flow is different, it follows that every turbulent flow is different" (3).

Before launching an investigation of turbulence in Renaissance thought, we should turn first to Lucretius' explication of Democritean atomism and Epicurean physics in *De rerum natura* that provides the etymological roots for the theoretical terms governing this chapter. *Turbo* and *vortex* are Latin synonyms for anything with a strong circular motion, hurricane, storm, swirl, whirlwind, etc. Lucretius's work explains the existence of things in this world based on the swerve of atoms in the void. In Book I, he compares the invisibility of atoms to the wind and waters of a storm, invisible in their particulars but colossal in their effect, using both whirlwinds (an atmospheric phenomenon) and whirlpools/eddies (hydrologic phenomena) as examples. Describing the force of water, he writes,

> Wherever it goes it drives on all before it,
> Sweeps all away with blow on blow, or else
> In twisting eddy [*vertice*] seizes things, and then
> With rapid whirlwind [*turbine*] carries them away.[103]

Turbo has the additional verbal form meaning to disturb or throw into disorder. Scientifically, however, the terms are not synonymous: turbulence results in vortices of various sizes. Michel Serres breaks "turbulence" down even further, distinguishing between *turba* and *turbo* as root words. *Turba*, "crowd," evokes the turbulence, or chaos of being, while the transition to *turbo*, the circular motion, brings the disorder into a disordered order, or "deterministic chaos," whose patterns are highly sensitive to the initial conditions of the event but whose long-term predictability is impossible due to the lack of a rule. In other words, chaos is completely random. Serres uses the vortex as a model of the chaos that emerges out of turbulent flow, which seems itself chaotic: "The world in its globality may be modeled by vortices. The origin of things and the beginning of order consist simply in the narrow space between *turba* and *turbo*, an

[103] Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things*, Book 1, trans. Ronald Melville (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), lines 277-294.

incalculable population tossed by storms, by unrest, in vortical movement."[104] Chaos begets chaos.

The Oxford English Dictionary's three definitions for "turbulence" reflect the concept's evolving history: first, "The state or quality of being turbulent; violent commotion, agitation, or disturbance; disorderly or tumultuous character or conduct," with citations from John Florio's *Worlde of Words* (1598) and Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (1609); second, "Of natural conditions: Stormy or tempestuous state or action; violence," with citations beginning in the mid-eighteenth century; and finally, "Of fluid flow," with citations appearing only in the beginning of the twentieth century, though a bit earlier for the adjectival form.[105] Although "turbulent" has a longer etymological history, first cited in the dedication to the New Testament from Miles Coverdale's Bible (1538), "These turbulent and stormy assaultes of the wicked," both English forms came into frequent use in the last decade of the sixteenth century and were simultaneously used to describe a disordered, rebellious quality in man and in nature.[106] While turbulence has now become a largely scientific phenomenon, it maintains its roots in a cultural landscape threatened by unpredictable elements, whether in religious, political, or moral terms. It provides a language for politics and the statistically abnormal.

1. Leonardo da Vinci: First Theorist of Turbulence

While Lucretius and his "swerve" has recently been reinvigorated in both Renaissance studies and materialist discourse, Leonardo da Vinci's study of turbulence and its representation lends itself especially to my argument about drama, cognition, and the environment in Shakespearean drama. Leonardo is credited as the first to visually represent fluid flow as a means

[104] Michel Serres, *On the Birth of Physics*, trans. Jack Hawkes (Manchester: Clinamen Press, 2000), 28.
[105] "turbulence, n. a, b, c," OED Online.
[106] "turbulent, adj. 1a," OED Online.

of studying its features as well as labeling the event, "*torbulenza.*" Verified by engineers and physicists today, his notes and drawings are critical in the history of fluid dynamics, and studies of turbulence specifically. Leonardo conducted many studies of turbulent flow—of water moving around an obstacle, falling from a height, or moving as a wave or current—in order to accurately depict the event. Perhaps because of his experience of the Arno flooding, he searched for fixed rules/patterns and devised projects and machines that could govern the destructive force of water. As Master of Water, he advised Florence on how to divert the Arno around Pisa to deprive the city of its access to the sea (a project of Niccolò Machiavelli, secretary to the war council). Leonardo worked for Venice in 1500 regarding the management of the River Isonzo on the border with Dalmatia to prevent land invasion by the Turks.[107] And he was recruited to design a plan for draining the marshes south of Rome that were harboring malarial mosquitos. Leonardo understood that man must work with water, harnessing its destructive potential, rather than against it.

Since Platonic philosophy aligned the body of the earth with the body of man, geography was as much an interest for Leonardo as anatomy. Furthermore, we see evidence of this alignment of macro and microcosm even in his paintings, which often displayed vast landscapes behind the main subjects. The Mona Lisa perhaps provides the best example of how studies of flowing water infiltrate Leonardo's portraiture. While the sedate woman captures a moment of frozen beauty, the natural landscape behind her hints at the slow progress of (geologic) time. Leonardo paints lakes at different levels threatening to overflow due to their erosion of the bases of the mountains. The world behind the Mona Lisa is on the brink of environmental change. In

[107] Martin Kemp, *Leonardo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 144. Kemp remarks on Leonardo's vivid cartographic skill: "Even in the *Map of Imola*, the most precisely measured product of his cartography, the river pursues an actively turbulent course, and the town breathes the character of an organism as much as an inert plan" (147).

this sense we could describe a mind like Leonardo's as obsessed with perpetual motion even in what we might consider static works of art. Leonardo provides both a snapshot of current environments but also gestures toward environmental change and reformation wrought by the powers of nature. And Art could act as the mediator between science and nature. Faced with natural disasters, art could improve on mechanical inventions and scientific formulae that depended on previous knowledge (say, from Aristotle, Vitruvius, etc.) by accessing the imagination and engaging metaphor to help solve problems of erosion, siltation, flooding, etc.—provided that the mind had the faculty to rein in the powers of innovation.

For Leonardo, the perils of mimetic representation, of being able to accurately represent something as it was, are resolved by the imagination. Art could perfect Nature. Captivated by the world in motion, Leonardo used his knowledge of the natural world to uncover truths about the invisible world, like underground springs, severe storms, and blood vessels. He certainly found many occasions to observe the flow of water, but his notebooks demonstrate the necessity of imagining the permutations of turbulent flow in order to understand the conditions under which it occurs so that a solution for its governance could be determined. Nevertheless, mimesis was required in order for visual art to achieve its desired goal, not only in the sense that art must accurately represent its subject, but also so that the viewer be able to experience the (e)motion depicted. Leonardo describes the goals of the narrative painter:

> That which is included in narrative paintings ought to *move* those who behold and admire them in the same way as the protagonist of a narrative is *moved*. So if the narrative shows terror, fear or flight or, indeed, grief, weeping and lamentation, or pleasure, joy and laughter and similar states, the minds of the beholders should *move* their limbs in such a way as to make it seem that they are united in the same fate as those represented in the narrative painting. And if they do not do this, the painter's ability is useless.[108]

[108] Urb. 61v, cited in *Leonardo on Painting*, ed. Martin Kemp (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 220. Italics added.

Capturing motion in static representation was perhaps Leonardo's greatest skill. His paintings and drawings evoke the stillness of an intake of breath, a pause in the motion of life and the world.

Throughout his notebooks, Leonardo dwells on the representation of motion. He believed that force was responsible for the movement of things in the world. In this Aristotelian model, the elements that comprise the world—earth, water, air, and fire—move to their respective places through desire unless disrupted by some other force.[109] The Prime Mover was responsible for setting everything in motion, and for their ultimate resting place, but agents within the world could change the direction of movement by applying force: "*Forza è una virtù spirituale, una potenza invisibile, la quale è infusa, per accidental violenza, in tutti i corpi stanti fori della naturala inclinazione*. [Force is a spiritual power, an invisible energy which is imparted by violence from without to all bodies out of their natural balance.]. …*Vive per violenza, e more per libertà.* [It lives by violence and dies through liberty.]"[110] The object then maintains its impetus towards its resting place. As impetus decreases, the object slows and eventually settles. Similarly, in turbulent flow, if velocity decreases and viscosity increases, the rate of turbulence will decrease until the fluid expresses laminar flow. Interestingly, Leonardo aligns motion and life with violence and death with liberty. A worldview that could accommodate the violence of life also must prioritize motion as the primary feature of the world, which came to blows with an Aristotelian teleology of life in rest. This dynamic between action and contemplation, or the *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*, will recur when we visit Bacon, and informs my readings of

[109] Leonardo writes, "*Tutti i elementi fori del loro naturale sito desiderano a esso sito ritornare*. [All the elements which are out of their natural place desire to return to that place.]"
[110] Codex Atlanticus, 302a. *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, ed. Jean Paul Richter (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 219.

Hamlet (and his maritime environment). The disruption of motion, the swerve of the atom in the void, leads to creation and creativity. Turbulence *is* the state of nature.

For Leonardo, the spiral or vortex of turbulence constitutes the basic form and originary motion of the world. Martin Kemp queries whether the "little linear notation" which Leonardo used to express motion "involves statics, such as the curling of hair, or dynamics, as in the motion of turbulent water."[111] Kemp's citation from Leonardo's notebook aligns the curl of hair and the whorl of water:

> Note the motion of the surface of water, which conforms to that of hair, which has two motions, one of which responds to the weight of the strands of the hair and the other to the direction of the curls; this water makes turning eddies, which in part responds to the impetus of the principal current, while the other responds to the incidental motion of deflection.

The notation is made on one side of an unfolded sheet from the Royal Collection notebook that depicts a seated old man facing four studies of turbulent flow.

Figure 3. Leonardo da Vinci, *Old Man and Water Vortexes*, c. 1513, pen and ink, Windsor, Royal Library

[111] Martin Kemp, *Leonardo da Vinci: Experience, Experiment and Design* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 9-10.

Though originally distinct sketches, their coincidental correlation reinforces our understanding of Leonardo's fascination with turbulence as *the* governing feature of the natural and human worlds. Kemp writes, "We now know that the complexity of turbulence is one of those phenomena that resists prediction. Its chaotic nature is such that it can be described in terms of probabilities rather than certainties."[112]

If the vortex is likewise echoed in the curl of hair, the spiral of a conch shell, rising smoke, so too can the cognitive faculties of man be tied to the natural phenomena that governed the observable world. Leonardo's *Study for the Head of Leda* (c. 1505-7) and *Studies of Water passing Obstacles and falling* (c. 1508/9) demonstrate how vortical movement occupies a three-dimensional space and how, through fractals, it is comprised of both larger and smaller whorls. Small eddies circulate within the larger and the force of the flow through the square culvert provides the percussive force to ensure the movement of the whirlpool. So too with Leda's curling hair. While Kemp questions the dynamic nature of the curls in relation to the movement of water, curly hair asserts its constantly changing, tightening, springing nature that requires the maintenance of initial conditions in order for the curl to hold its dynamic shape.

Turbulence describes both the whirling dynamism of the water in flux and the genius of Leonardo whose mind never settled on one subject matter for very long. We have evidence for many lost or incomplete projects, such as the Leda or the Battle of Anghiari, for which Leonardo sketched men and horses in violent interaction and described how smoke, light, nostrils, strides, arrows, and a "semi-liquid earth" must all come together *in medias res*. He writes, "And [show] a river within which horses are galloping, engulfing the water all around in great swirling waves of foam, and water exploding into the air and among the legs and bodies of the horses. And do

[112] Kemp, *Experience*, 42.

not depict a single level place that lacks a bloodied imprint."[113] The sedateness of the old man in observation erroneously suggests the quiet of contemplation, while instead the mind of Leonardo would be better represented by the swirling turbulence of his sketches of water. His outline for a treatise on water reveals an encyclopedic drive to cover all possible topics and descriptions and yet realizing the project's futility and his own human limitations: the treatise is never codified, as was much work left unfinished at the end of his life.

Despite obsessively attempting to represent the occurrence of turbulence (the Codex Leicester is pockmarked with small studies of wave formation, water flow, river confluence, circulation), Leonardo failed, as we might expect given its untheorizable nature, to come up with a theory of turbulence, nor did he ever finish his great treatise on water, which he outlines in some detail. The incessant compiling of individual occurrences lends credence to the problem of theorizing fluid flow without access to the computation of velocity through statistics. On one page of the Codex Leicester (Sheet 15B, folio 22r), Leonardo lists twenty-nine different water formations as he catalogues principles for the science of water. Concurrently, he addresses "adverse consequences" of various arrangements of obstacles in water: "The whirling of the waters reunited after the object which had divided them will circle back towards the percussed obstacle; and so this torturous motion will proceed, like an augur shell, up to the water surface, always slanting with the water current."[114] While we can now use computers to generate statistical models based on the initial conditions of a flow, Leonardo attempted this very feat through the visual representation of individual events, which resulted not in a finished treatise on water but a descent into "madness" and acceptance of ungovernable turbulence as the governing

[113] BN 2038 31r-30v, Urb. 53r-v; 85r
[114] *Leonardo da Vinci: The Codex Leicester—Notebook of a Genius*, ed. Carlo Pedretti (Sydney: Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, 2000), 142.

motion in the world.

In the later years of his life, Leonardo broke with the Aristotelian model of the universe that tightly linked humanity with nature, a model in which everything has its place in the universe and an object's motion is simply its desire to find its correct place. Leonardo could not accept analogies between the microcosm and the macrocosm when experience showed him otherwise. For example, while the vessels in the body close up in old age, the vessels in the earth widen through erosion. Nor did he find Aristotle's explanation of motion and natural place as persuasive after conducting studies of fossils and springs high in the mountains (water must go up somehow instead of naturally descending to its proper place). Leonardo became more and more convinced that stasis was not the teleological goal of things in the world. Kemp writes,

> What remains unsatisfactory is the gap between the erosion of received wisdom and the advent of any new framework of natural law that could supply adequate models for the phenomena. He posited qualifications to the traditional laws, limiting their practical applicability, but he did not doubt that they retained their ultimate validity. …It did not cross his mind that a different kind of mathematics might be required, and a different set of basic assumptions about dynamics.[115]

Leonardo glimpsed a world beyond solid-state mechanics, of a theory of turbulence that accounted for the material conditions of the world and delighted not in the end goal of movement but in the movement itself.

The Deluge Series serves as an apocalyptic coda to a life spent navigating the volatile waters of the Medici court, Renaissance Italy, and a rapidly changing natural philosophy. These sketches utilize his studies of turbulence to depict a world of destruction and violence. He describes his methodology in such a manner that through the words we visualize the accompanying image. The mimetic power of language points towards Shakespeare's evocation of turbulent events as the backdrop for the descent into tragedy. Here is Leonardo:

[115] Kemp, *Leonardo*, 157-8.

> Let the pent up water go coursing round the vast lake that encloses it with eddying whirlpools that strike against various objects and rebound into the air as muddied foam, which, as it falls, splashes the water that it strikes back up into the air. The waves that in concentric circles flee the point of impact are carried by their impetus across the path of other circular waves moving out of step with them, and after the moment of percussion leap up into the air without breaking formation.[116]

The description continues with lightening, wind, hail, uprooted trees, rivers, animals, men, tables, bedsteads, and boats, corpses, lions, wolves, hopelessness, suicide, infanticide, cannibalism, hunger, fire. And above all, "Neptune could be seen amidst the waters with his trident, and Aeolus, enveloping in his winds the uprooted vegetation that bobbed up and down on the immense waves."[117] This, and not the Vitruvian man, is Leonardo's final vision of the world, a world governed by turbulence, just as his mind whirled with ideas and inventions that were never realized. Nevertheless, innovation is perhaps his most lasting legacy. Unceasing disorder, constant percussion, never-ending violence, the pursuit of knowledge.

If Art was to imitate or perfect Nature, invention and imagination were the avenues to this brave new world of representation. By throwing out the old books and moving beyond the old masters, Leonardo sought solutions to age-old problems. Leonardo's tendency for improvisation, of devising new ways to solve old problems, characterizes both Vasari's criticism of Leonardo's genius and the promise he held for the future. Leonardo credits turbulence, the originary form of motion in the world, with this power of perpetually new creation (no turbulent event is the same

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[116] Kemp, *Leonardo on Painting*, 234. And here is Shakespeare in *The Winter's Tale*. Although spoken by the Clown, the lines evoke the tempestuous, destructive power of nature aligned with the tragic climax of the play:

> I have seen two such sights, by sea and by land! But I am not to say it is a sea, for it is now the sky. Betwixt the firmament and it you cannot thrust a bodkin's point. …I would you did but see how it chafes, how it rages, how it takes up the shore. But that's not the point. O, the most piteous cry of the poor souls! Sometimes to see 'em, and not to see 'em; now the ship boring the moon with her mainmast, and anon swallowed with yeast and froth, as you'd thrust a cork into a hogshead. (3.3.79-88)

[117] Kemp, *Leonardo on Painting*, 237.

as another). The conundrum for Leonardo was how to represent turbulence, an event whose individual occurrences are truly unique so that no standard models are possible, only statistically probable. Thus, observing turbulence requires both investigation of the event in nature as well as imagining events that had not yet been observed—essentially devising experiments. In this way, Art could pick up where Nature left off.

2. Bacon and the Metaphor of Turbulence

For Francis Bacon, art and science were interchangeable. Like Leonardo, Bacon was obsessed with uncovering all instances of a phenomenon in order to discover formal causes, or the universal rules of nature. From these he would craft a new science. Evidence of Nature's power lay scattered in the world, and the duties of the natural philosopher was to collect/observe individual occurrences and compile them according to a new method that broke with the Aristotelian logic of the syllogism.[118] Truth was found in experience unconstrained by knowledge passed down from the ancients. This is the leap Leonardo could not make, as received wisdom had yet to be as challenged as it was during the mid-sixteenth century and the Reformation. It was perhaps convenient that the charge to reform the sciences came from an Englishmen, heir to the great reformations of Luther and Henry VIII. Disgruntled with Aristotle and Plato, Bacon plotted his Great Instauration. His scheme replaced the old logical method of syllogism (Aristotle) with a new logic, the inductive method, which would progress from the particulars to general causes by observing nature using new technologies and experiments. While the Aristotelian method relied on the acceptance of received premises (like the source of underground springs), Bacon contended that the premises themselves must be examined by

[118] See Gerard Passannate on Bacon and the Homeric tradition of scattering and collecting in terms of Renaissance materialism and book history, "Homer Atomized: Francis Bacon and the Matter of Tradition" *ELH* 76.4 (2009).

exhaustive observation and experimentation; "Bacon…regarded observation and experiment—particularly experiments designed to test how nature would behave under previously unobserved circumstances—as the very foundation of science and its generalised methodology."[119] This calls to mind Leonardo's exhaustive chronicling of the possible configurations of obstacles in water in his study of turbulence. But, as Thomas Bodley expressed skeptically of the Baconian project, starting from scratch would surely just bring science around full circle to where the ancients left off.[120]

In the opening to *The Great Renewal* Bacon explains how heretofore men have been caught in "perpetual agitation and going in a circle."[121] He details two avenues of intellectual inquiry. The one that appears easy in the beginning (correlated for him with the syllogism) actually ends up on the brink of disaster, while the other that appears impassable at first results in a wider world than imagined possible: "Another error is an impatience of doubt and haste to assertion without due and mature suspension of judgment. For the two ways of contemplation are not unlike the two ways of action commonly spoken of by the ancients; the one plain and smooth in the beginning, and in the end impassable; the other rough and troublesome in the entrance, but after a while fair and even."[122] We should consider this aphorism in light of the frontispiece for the 1620 edition of Bacon's *Novum Organum*.

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[119] Francis Bacon, *The New Organon*, ed. Lisa Jardine and Michael Silverthorne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), xv.
[120] Bacon, *The New Organon*, xxvi. Bacon's *History of the Winds* might also be relevant as a study of turbulence, as is Chapter 16 in Bacon's list of proposed histories: "History of Land and Sea; of their Shape and Extent and their Structure in relation to each other, and of their Extent in breadth or narrowness; of Land Islands in the Sea, of Gulfs of the Sea, and of salt Lakes on Land, of Isthmuses, Promontories."
[121] Bacon, *The New Organon*, 2.
[122] Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, *Book 1*, ed. William Aldis Wright (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869), 41.

Figure 4. *Title page for Novum organum scientiarum*, 1645, by Francis Bacon, EC.B1328.620ib, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

The image utilizes the trope of the Pillars of Heracles (or Learning) that mark the Straits of Gibraltar between the turbid waters of the Mediterranean and the much calmer waters of the Atlantic. Philemon Holland's translation of Pliny describes "*the very mouth thereof, are to be seene many barres and shallow shelves of white sands (so ebbe is the water) to the great terrour of shippes and Sailers passing that way.*"[123] The Straits are full of dangers: exposed rocks, sea creatures, and violent waves. And the frontispiece shows a ship tossed about, turned off course by the vortices (or what Bacon would come to term the Idols).[124] Comparatively, Bacon invokes

[123] Philemon Holland, *The historie of the world: commonly called, The naturall historie of C. Plinius Secundus* (London, 1634), 50.
[124] In *The Pace of Modernity: Reading with Blumenburg* (Melbourne: re.press, 2012), O. Bradley Bassler claims we are looking at the scene from the *far side* of the pillars based on the sails (38,

in *The Advancement of Learning*, a "hidden rock" whereon the bark of knowledge has floundered.[125] This iconographic program implies that if the ship weathers the trials of the turbulent straits, it will be rewarded with the treasure of the new world, or new knowledge and science. The motto, "*Multi pertransibunt et augebitur scientia.* [Many will pass through and knowledge will be greater.]," misguides the reader.[126] Many will precisely not survive the trials of the straits of Gibraltar; many will continue round in the whirl of ignorance. And I believe that Bacon wants it this way. True advancements in science will only come to those who diligently follow his new method and are able to banish the Idols from their minds. The "hidden rock" to which science has been prey is the leap to final causes without spending time understanding real, physical causes. Daniel's prophesy, as much as the maritime dangers lurking in the turbulent straits, is intended to test the amateur practitioner of arts and sciences.[127]

It's all too easy to look out to the open ocean and dream of what awaits without dwelling on the more immediate necessities—like navigational skill/critical reading practices. Rather,

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40). Philip Edwards, in *Sea-Mark: The Metaphorical Voyage, Spenser to Milton* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997), argues that Simon Passe's engraving on the title page could be ships returning from the ocean as well (151). These could be the ships returning with pre-Lapsarian knowledge or the discoverers leaving the known world for the unknown. Bacon's project required initial coasting around received wisdom and then venturing out to the open sea. Would depicting ships returning with knowledge presume completion of his great instauration? The world oceans had been traversed for centuries before Bacon, bringing back knowledge and goods from the new worlds. The successful voyages of discovery turn into Bacon's metaphors for science, which must undertake similar risks and explore what was previously presumed and what had yet to be discovered.

[125] Bacon, *Advancement*, 186.

[126] Daniel, 12:4.

[127] In "Redefining the Plain Style: Francis Bacon, Linguistic Extension, and Semantic Change in 'The Advancement of Learning'" *Studies in Philology* 97.1 (2000), Kate Aughterson makes a more general argument about Bacon's style by revising Kroll's thesis about the emergence of neoclassical skepticism in the mid-seventeenth century that does not dismiss figurative language but "makes visible its necessity" in the service of "finding a rhetoric that continually demonstrates both the contingency and the tropologic nature of language" (99). She points to how Bacon engages metaphor and metonymy to suit his own scientific practice.

entering the vortex is the first step in advancing the sciences. Bacon writes in *The Advancement of Learning* regarding the contemplative life of the scholastic, "And for the conceit that Learning should dispose men to leisure and privateness, and make men slothful; it were a strange thing if that which accustometh the mind to a perpetual motion and agitation should induce slothfulness."[128] Navigational skill is a prerequisite for passing through the Straits. More specifically, Bacon references "coasting," the skill of traveling along known coastlines to reach one's destination instead of crossing open water, for which is needed a compass and knowledge of mathematics instead of charts compiled through time that detail coastal characteristics and known routes.[129] Coasting was the primary form of travel around the Mediterranean due to unpredictable winds and storms, and safe harbor was a necessity for successful voyaging.[130]

While Timothy J. Reiss calls up the famous frontispiece to the *Novum Organum* as depicting the meeting of old knowledge (the Mediterranean) with the new (the Atlantic), he does not spend as much time in the turbulent straits as I feel the image forces the reader to consider.[131]

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[128] Bacon, *Advancement*, 15.

[129] Robert Norman's translation of a Dutch sailing manual, *The Safegard of Sailers: or great Rutter. Containing the Courses, Distances, Depthes, Soundings, Flouds and Ebbes, with the Markes for the entringes of sundry Harboroughs both of England, Fraunce, Spaine, Ireland, Flaunders and the Sounds of Denmark, with other necessarye Rules of common Navigation* (London, 1584) was reprinted multiple times up to 1671. It begins with a "Commendation of the painefull Seamen" narrating the potential dangers a ship faces at sea and how the pilot must weather the storm using his wits and resources, "his art," and then "his hazards past he makes a great discourse," passing on his knowledge for future seamen. In this way, navigators, like fraternities of painters and scientists, ensure that knowledge is passed down through the generations, each adding to the volume his own experience. We can see this tradition in Norman's work of translation. Navigational knowledge crosses national boundaries, just as sea travel traverses non-national space.

[130] We might consider the different concerns of Barabas in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*, whose ships arrive safely from Egypt "smoothly gliding down by Candy-shore" (1.1.46) and Antonio in *The Merchant of Venice* whose argosies cross the ocean for Mexico, England, and India in addition to the local ports of Tripoli, Lisbon, and Barbary.

[131] However, Reiss' essay deftly captures the simultaneous imperial and methodological project of Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning*. He reads the multitudinous maritime metaphors as

Neither does Brian Vickers consider the foreground turbulence as part of Bacon's scheme: "he chose the device [the motto from the prophet Daniel in the Vulgate] for the magnificent engraved title-page of the *Novum Organum*, showing the ship of learning in full sail, passing between the two pillars, and heading confidently for the open sea."[132] However, a ship under full sail would flounder in the straits precisely because it did not fully consider what the new practitioner should take from the ancient arts (for Bacon, the analogy is with coasting).[133] Moreover, local, specialized knowledge of currents and tides in the straits is necessary for successful navigation since the larger part of the flow through the Straits is eastward into the Mediterranean.

Bacon claims in the preface to *The Great Renewal* that the arts are like the Pillars of Hercules in that man's lack of desire to progress beyond what is already known (aka, the Mediterranean) has resulted in the paucity of new work in the arts and sciences. Bacon goes on to compare the "current state of letters" to Scylla, the hybrid with the tempting face of a virgin and the body of barking monsters beneath. He could have used Charybdis, the whirlpool, as an analogy for man caught in the whirl of old knowledge, captivated and unable to escape the turbulent system. Both Homeric monstrosities are located in the Straits of Messina, which, like

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accurate representations of how Bacon envisioned his work alongside the voyages of discovery and natural histories of the Americas ("'Seated Between the Old World and the New': Geopolitics, Natural Philosophy and Proficient Method" in *Francis Bacon And the Refiguring of Early Modern Thought: Essays to Commemorate the Advancement of Learning (1605-2005)*, eds. Julie Robin Solomon and Catherine Gimelli Martin (London: Ashgate, 2005).

[132] Brian Vickers, *Francis Bacon and Renaissance Prose* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 186.

[133] An interesting figure here is Ulysses and the theory that his unexplained nine days of wandering were actually out into the world ocean and perhaps to the New World (George Fowler) or Morocco (Henrietta Mertz) where he and his crew encounter all sorts of monsters and marvels. Fowler puts Charybdis in the Bay of Fundy in Nova Scotia, while Mertz associates the Lotus-Eaters with marijuana growers in Morocco. Alternatively, we are reminded of Dante's final voyage of Ulysses past the Pillars of Hercules in the search of new knowledge. Ulysses' ship is wrecked in a whirlwind ("*un turbo*," *Inferno*, XXVI) just as the crew spies a mountain in the distance.

those of Gibraltar, exhibit tidal action uncommon in the Mediterranean Basin. Tides present another danger of once turbid water being pushed through a narrower course and acquiring turbulent characteristics.

Bacon's project purports to free man from the persistent agitation of received belief (indeed, he compares the Pillars of Hercules to "a fewe received Authors" at the beginning of Book II of *The Advancement of Learning*) into the world of the experiment and revitalization of sensory perception. He chastises even "those who have set out to learn for themselves and to commit themselves to the sciences and extend their limits, [but] have not dared to abandon the received sciences completely or to seek the sources of things."[134] This is Martin Kemp's ultimate claim about Leonardo—unhappy with how old texts explained the world, he nevertheless was unable to abandon the tenants of received learning. We might even see Bacon criticizing a mind like Leonardo's precisely in terms of turbulence: "Those who have had sufficient spirit to want other men to join their inquiries, because they were not enslaved to their own or to other people's dogmas but favoured freedom, have doubtless been honest in intention, but they have been ineffective in practice. For they seem to have followed only probable reasoning, and *are carried round and round in a whirlpool of arguments*, and take all the power out of their investigation by their undisciplined license in raising questions."[135] What Bacon would have thought of Leonardo's notebooks! Another type of intellect immerses itself in the "waves of experience" but rather aimlessly, without the rigorous methodology that Bacon proposes in his program for the Great Renewal.

Using the analogy of a labyrinthine forest, Bacon invokes an Ariadne-like solution, a thread (or method) to help guide the mind through the pitfalls of experience. Bacon vacillates

[134] Bacon, *The New Organon*, 8-9.
[135] Bacon, *The New Organon*, 9.

between the forest and the sea as his metaphorical ground, for he next describes how "in previous centuries when men set their course in sailing simply by observations of the stars, they were certainly able to follow the shores of the old continent and cross some relatively small inland seas, but before the ocean could be crossed and the territories of the new world revealed, it was necessary to have a knowledge of the nautical compass as a more reliable and certain guide."[136] The compass that Bacon has devised for his new science focuses on things in the world without the influence of opinion, the intellect, fantasies, personal belief, or classical learning. Bacon claims that he has "fortified [his] mind against violent attacks" and his method that has "opened the way for us was certainly a true and proper humiliation of the human spirit."[137] Until now, man has been transfixed by the Idols of the Tribe, the Cave, the Marketplace, and the Theatre. In aphorism XLII of Book I of *The New Organon*, Bacon describes how "words do violence to the understanding, and confuse everything *[omnia turbant]*."[138] Moreover, Bacon compares the current state of the arts and sciences to a poorly laid road so that sensory observation becomes muddled in moving from particulars to causes. He writes in Aphorism LXXXII, "everything has been left to the darkness of traditions, or to the eddy and whirl of arguments *[vel argumentorum vertigini et turbini]*, or to the waves and windings of change and casual, unregulated experience."[139] He is amazed that man has been left to wander, unguided, through the forest of experience: "they have altogether deserted and abandoned experience, or trapped themselves in it (as in a maze) and gone round in circles *[circumcursando]*" instead of following the path through the "woods of experience" to the "open

[136] Bacon, *The New Organon*, 10.
[137] Bacon, *The New Organon*, 11.
[138] Bacon, *The New Organon*, 42.
[139] Bacon, *The New Organon*, 67.

country," or sea.[140] Bacon frequently finds the metaphor of the forest inadequate to describe the dilemma of scientific inquiry and constantly adds the shifting, violent nature of water to his descriptions. Moreover, philosophic and scientific inquiry is often figured in terms of a voyage of discovery, as the frontispiece above clearly depicts.[141]

Bacon's rhetorical maneuvers show how poetic language can be translated into political action. His fondness for simile and analogy, like in the previous maritime and sylvan imagery, demonstrates his political project of reining in the reigning passions through poetry rather than force or reason.[142] Proper self-governance can lead to the proper investigation into the natural world and the subsequent determination of nature's truths. The problem with theoretical texts, Bacon claims, is that they try to force man into a system of belief through the syllogism instead of laying open the pathway for the imagination, via poetry and, specifically, the aphorism. And yet, even Bacon's words retain the potential violence he ascribes to them early in *The New Organon*. Moving from idea to word muddies the syllogistic waters. Moreover, since the Fall,

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[140] Bacon, *The New Organon*, 68.

[141] Vickers explains this shift from journey by land to the journey by sea: "As an image for triumph, however, it [the voyage by land] lacks the sense of completion attained by the corresponding image in the parallel group of images, those of voyage by sea, which is, of course, the harbour" (*Francis Bacon and Renaissance Prose*, 183). Yet Vickers identifies Bacon's rhetorical finesse in moving between image families: "Again we see that the ability to think in images does not involve a rigid development of one vehicle, but a fluid movement which is always responsive to variations in the thought" (184).

[142] Experience needed to be made literate through language. And poetic language was the most facile in representing wonder, the first of the passions. Peter Pesic writes in "Proteus Unbound: Francis Bacon's Successors and the Defense of Experiment" (*Studies in Philology* 98.4 (2001): "Especially in its formative stages, the new science called on metaphorical language to clarify its scope and legitimacy even before its activities had fully unfolded. Francis Bacon, in particular, used a rich variety of figurative language to try to address these questions, especially to an audience steeped in classical literature but ignorant of the emergent science" (428). Similarly, and despite their varying opinions on Bacon's "torture of nature," Carolyn Merchant opens her essay, "Francis Bacon and the Origins of Experimentation" (*Isis* 99 (2008): "From his early writings in the 1590s to his mature concept of the experiment in the 1620s, he struggled by means of vivid metaphor to define a new method of gaining truth about the natural world" (731).

man has been separated from Adamic language in which word and thing agreed. Now, due to the Idols of the Marketplace, "words retort and turn their force back upon the understanding…. words resist."[143] Bacon's project then seeks endlessly to find the right metaphor for his new science. What he requires is performance, action, and innovation, since "[c]ertain it is, that the matter is in a perpetual flux, and never at a stay."[144] Poetic language can capture this chaotic swirl of matter through metaphor but always remains one remove from the truth. Finding new metaphors seems to be integral to Bacon's project but he continually repurposes the old, despite claiming that the maintenance of custom when it is beyond utility is as "turbulent a thing as an innovation" that challenges accepted belief.[145] Bacon found salvation in the providential, the unfailing belief that there was something beyond the Pillars of Hercules to be discovered, if not by him, then by the inheritors of his new science. Like Leonardo, Bacon is caught between the old and the new, the ancient and the modern: the dilemma of the early, not-yet modern subject. As has often been noted, Hamlet represents the prototype of the modern subject. Like Elsinore's culture of war and travel that echoes the sphere of maritime Europe at the turn of the seventeenth century, Hamlet presents a subject moving out of the influence of family and state and towards a new subjective position like Bacon's new scientist, one prepared to test the turbulent waters beyond the known and familiar world.

II. Shakespeare's Whirling *Hamlet*

In the first act of *Hamlet*, Horatio turns our attention from Marcellus' "subject of the land" (1.1.71) to the sea:

> What if it tempt you toward the flood, my lord,

[143] Bacon, *The New Organon*, 48.
[144] Bacon, "Of Vicissitude of Things," *The Essays*, ed. John Pitcher (London: Penguin Books, 1985), 228.
[145] Bacon, "Of Innovation," *Essays*, 132.

> Or to the dreadful summit of the cliff
> That beetles o'er his base into the sea,
> And there assume some other horrible form
> Which might deprive your sovereignty of reason
> And draw you into madness? Think of it:
> The very place puts toys of desperation
> Without more motive into every brain
> That looks so many fathoms to the sea
> And hears it roar beneath. (1.4.69-78)

Horatio aligns the "roar" of the sea with the depths of "madness," while "reason" is associated with the earth, and perhaps Horatio's Christian neo-Stoic theology. The ghost too becomes part of the liminal space between land and sea, or heaven and hell, and presents a very real physical threat to Hamlet's body and psyche. The play and its tragic hero are thus situated in a space of geographic and elemental indeterminacy. *Hamlet*'s under-studied maritime ecology of turbulent seas and dangerous coasts reflects England's similar turn at the end of Elizabeth's reign away from insularity towards the unknown waters of international trade and politics.[146]

In a remark that often goes unnoticed, the first scene of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* establishes

[146] Criticism frequently assumes that land, nation, and family are the play's central dramatic axes. See, for example, Margreta de Grazia on land and earth in "Weeping for Hecuba," *Historicism, Psychoanalysis, and Early Modern Culture*, eds. Carla Mazzio and Douglas Trevor (New York: Routledge, 2000), which draws attention the much overlooked fact that Shakespeare purchased land in 1602, the year after the death of his father that Freud found so illuminating of Hamlet's unconscious; Gail Kern Paster on the elements in *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), which redirects the modern impulse to divorce self from environment by implicating Hamlet's embodied passions with early modern conceptions of body and world; Daryl W. Palmer on the cold in "Hamlet's Northern Lineage: Masculinity, Climate, and the Mechanician in Early Modern Britain," *Embodiment and Environment in Early Modern Drama and Performance*, eds. Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan Jr. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2006), which points to the connection between climate and temperament in fashioning a northern masculinity; and Mary Floyd-Wilson, "Hamlet, the Pirate's Son." *Early Modern Literary Studies*, Special Issue 19 (2009), in which she notes that most readings tend to associate the pirate with Hamlet's mental state and perforce obscure the historical relevance of Danish pirates to a Renaissance audience and thus their relation to Hamlet's "personal and national heritage" (3). I would add to Floyd-Wilson's emphasis on environmental forces the specific relevance of the pirate's relation to the sea as a space of negotiated, *non*-national boundaries, and perhaps a forgotten history set adrift from the solidifying drama of the nation-state.

the maritime zone of Elsinore quite specifically—"Why such impress of shipwrights, whose sore task / Does not divide Sunday from the week" (1.1.74-5)—thereby establishing a connection between medieval Danish sea power and England's burgeoning maritime sphere in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The first scene of *Hamlet* thus evokes not simply a landscape but a seascape, as it situates the action of the play in a liminal zone between land and sea. The castle, upon whose battlements Marcellus and Barnado are imaginatively situated, commands the entrance to the Baltic and overlooks the narrow strait of the Oresund between the Danish island of Zealand and the Swedish coast. Since the Middle Ages the Danish crown had demanded a duty in recompense for maintaining navigational markers in these waters.[147] At Elsinore, ships would take on a pilot to help navigate the sound, and often, if the winds and currents prevailed, they would be unable to pass Kronborg point. By the early modern period, Elsinore had served as a maritime capital long before the Danish prince ever traced the boards in London. I will redirect our critical eye towards the sea from the embankments and shoals of history to a destabilizing and transformative space that might lend shape to what I will describe as *Hamlet*'s "whirlpool logic" and Hamlet's "whirlpool subjectivity." The maritime ecology of the play and its imagined location can illuminate under considered aspects of the political and psychological disturbances that plague the prince.

Lisa Collinson's argument for a new etymology of "Hamlet" can help us focus on the play's briny turbulence of grief, revenge, and subjectivity.[148] As has been long noted by

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[147] Danish National Archives, Øresunds toldkammarets arkiv, Øresunds skiblistebøger 1503–1850 from Jari Ojala, "The Sound Toll as an Information Exchange," 4: Failure to pay often resulted in retributive action by Danish ships. Between 1590 and 1600, over 5,000 merchant ships stopped at Elsinore to pay the Sound Duty, perhaps a historical corollary for the "neglected tribute" demanded by Claudius in *Hamlet* (3.1.169).

[148] Lisa Collinson, "A New Etymology for Hamlet? The Names *Amlethus*, *Amloði*, and *Admlithi*." *Review of English Studies* (Advance Access) 3 March 2011. Collinson traces the Hamlet-name

philologists and *Hamlet*-scholars, "Hamlet" refers quite clearly to the grinding sea in verse from the tenth century *Snorra Edda*: "Here the sea is called Amlodi's Churn," or "mill."[149] This mythical mill is described in nautical terms: "They [the maidens] had ground but a little while, when down sank the ship; and from that time there has been a whirlpool in the sea where the water falls through the hole in the mill-stone. It was then that the sea became salt."[150] Collinson's contribution comes from a heretofore-unconsidered medieval Irish tale, "The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel."[151] The names *Mlithi* and *Admlithi*, etymologically related to the Old Irish verb *melid* for "grinds," only occur once in the text. *Meile* can mean "fool" (the characters are traveling players) as well as "the act of grinding" or a "hand-mill." Furthermore, Collinson argues that *Admlithi* had alternative uses to describe a "specific area of the sea when indirect expression was, for superstitious or poetic reasons, desirable."[152] Traces of this association with grinding and the sea are evident in Saxo's Danish history when Hamlet comes across the dunes: "They also came by some sand dunes and told him to look at the flour, meaning the sand. He replied that it had been ground fine and bleached by the storms of the sea."[153] Collinson points to how we might refigure Hamlet:

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from Saxo Grammaticus's *Amlethus* to an Icelandic name, *Amloði*, in the skaldic verse of the *Snorra Edda*, conventionally dated to the tenth century. "Although *Amloði* has predominantly been read as a human name, functioning as only one element in a sea-kenning, it is equally possible to interpret it as a poetic term which in itself signifies the sea. The capture of the name *Amloði* within an especially rocky, risky seascape here, together with its great obscurity, make it tempting to see this as a possible nautical noa-term: a non-taboo word, employed to avoid speaking a dangerous, taboo sea-word out loud" (5).

[149] *The Prose Edda of Snorri Sturlson*, trans. Arthur Gilchrist Brodeur (Boston: Merrymount Press, 1916), 140; Snorri Sturlson, *Edda: Skáldskaparmál*, ed. Anthony Faulkes, 2 vols. (London, 1998), cited by Collinson, 3-4.

[150] *The Prose Edda*…, 162.

[151] *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, ed. Eleanor Knott, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series 8 (Dublin, 1936).

[152] Collinson, "A New Etymology for Hamlet," 10.

[153] *Saxo Grammaticus and the Life of Hamlet*, trans. William F. Hansen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 99-100.

> Assuming that Hamlet did (in its Shakespearian context) derive from Admlithi and that Admlithi had previously been used to denote an infamous eddy would mean, in fact, that the name of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, once described not merely a man "as mad as the sea" or threatened by a "sea of troubles," but rather, the sort of "gulf" to which Shakespeare had Rosenkrantz compare the "cess [cease] of majesty" itself. Viewed in this light, Hamlet would become, by name, a multi-identitied, triple-gendered whirlpool-incarnate—in essence, a saltwater-vortex, somehow made flesh.[154]

Hamlet's heritage then extends to not simply the sea, but the turbulent relationship between land and water. Hamlet inherits elemental sovereignty, etymologically even, but needs to learn how to not just *be* but *act.* He needs to set the elements in motion.

Hamlet as "saltwater-vortex, somehow made flesh," highlights emotional and epistemological states in the play linked specifically with water, whirlpools, and sea changes of subjectivity such as confusion and madness, but also impulsivity and improvisation. The ability to navigate or become the whirlpool that inundates and devours leads to profitable action. This whirlpool-logic challenges land-based readings of the play's political and subject formations and turns instead upon the fraught liminal zone between land and sea that figures literally and metaphorically throughout *Hamlet* but most notably in the last two acts. Hamlet's sea voyage is crucial for locating the play within a northern maritime ecology that unites human agency (king, prince, sailor, pirate) with geographic, material, and cultural forces associated with the sea. Hamlet-as-whirlpool can represent the grinding forces of history, the narrative drive of the play, and the long history of *Hamlet* criticism in addition to serving as a metaphor for cognition.

"Whirlpool" appears only once in the Shakespearean canon, in *King Lear*, when Edgar, disguised as mad Tom laments upon his existence: "Who gives anything to poor Tom? whom the foul fiend hath led through fire and through flame, through ford and whirlpool, o'er bog and quagmire" (3.4.50-2). More often, Shakespeare uses "gulf" to reference this sea feature. This is

[154] Collinson, "A New Etymology for Hamlet," 20.

what Rosencrantz refers to as the "cess of majesty" which "like a gulf doth draw / What's near it with it..." (3.3.16-17), what Horatio might be alluding to when he describes Hamlet's speech as "but wild and whirling words" (1.5.132), and what Claudius references when he describes Hamlet's madness as "turbulent and dangerous" (3.1.4). Jane Bennett has revitalized Serres' definition of vital materialism as a "strange logic of vortices, spirals, or eddies," a Lucretian materiality governed by vectors and the turbulent dynamic between order and disorder.[155] The use of whirlpool physics to describe this material theory emphasizes the nonconformist, regenerative power of fluid dynamics within a specific environment. Whirlpools form when a body of water meets either a landmass or another body of water with different properties. Most often, a whirlpool, or maelstrom (from *malen*, "to grind, to whirl round" and *stroom*, or "stream"), forms in a body of water pinched into a narrow strait (this is often, additionally, where pirates lie in wait.)[156]

In a Renaissance translation of a late medieval treatise on natural philosophy, Stephen Batman describes the sea's many dangers to sailors and ships, including Caribdis, which "swalloweth shippes in many privy swallowes. For ther ye sea is ful of swallows, as it wer flowing in it selfe, whirling about, turning & winding."[157] Although obsolete, "swallow" was also commonly used to describe a whirlpool. The narrow topography of seacoasts carved by glaciers encourages sea currents into dangerous eddies that threaten ships and sailors. Pilots needed "room enough" to ensure the safety of the vessel, and hazardous coastlines could present greater

[155] Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*, 118.
[156] "maelstrom, s.v, etymology," OED Online.
[157] Batman, Stephen, *De proprietatibus rerum, newly corrected, enlarged and amended: with such additions as are requisite, vnto euery seuerall booke: taken foorth of the most approued authors, the like heretofore not translated in English. Profitable for all estates, as well for the benefite of the mind as the bodie* (London, 1582), 197v.

dangers than the unfathomable vastness of the great oceans.[158] George Abbott's 1600 sermon on the story of Jonah highlights the danger of the sea in terms of its intersection with land: "at sea … a man is stil within foure or at most seven inches of his death...where rocks, and sands, and gulfs are readie to devoure."[159] This fear is manifested not by the open ocean but by the dangerous intersection of land and water where the turbulence of the whirlpool grinds the bones of ships and sailors into the sand and gravel of seabed and coast.

While the dangers of the sea, often registered in terms of tempest and shipwreck, threaten Horatio's firm grasp on reality, the early modern imagination also considered the sea as a space of transformation and restoration. Batman thus describes "the ground & shore of the sea" as "hard, sad, and gravelly" and of "divers precious stones of vertue bred & gendred, & made faire & clene by froting of gravel." Moreover, "the sea cleanseth it selfe and throweth out of it selfe all carrens and uncleane things." And though seawater is not potable, "yet it is ful profitable in effect and doing, for it saveth & healeth many sicknesses."[160] Salt water cleanses and preserves but also erodes and decomposes. Consider what is washed on the shore by waves: not just rounded stones and smooth driftwood, but dead fish, stinking seaweed, corpses.

Ostensibly, Claudius sends Hamlet on a sea-voyage in order to cure his troubled state: "Haply the seas, and countries different, / With variable objects, shall expel / This something-settled matter in his heart" (3.1.170-72). Claudius points to the "something-settled matter" that needs to be rejuvenated so that Hamlet can recover his identity as prince and heir. But the identity expelled from the whirlpool is one for which Claudius is unprepared. Claudius, like Bacon, assumes a mechanism that can contain turbulent flow by increasing the viscosity of

[158] William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, 1.1.7.
[159] George Abbot, *An exposition upon the prophet Ionah Contained in certaine sermons, preached in S. Maries church in Oxford* (London, 1600), 40.
[160] Batman, *De proprietatibus rerum*…, 196v-r.

Hamlet's passion in order to realign him with predictable laminar flow. If the maritime subject is to be bound, he must be located in an environment that does not feed his turbulence but rather allows it to decay. Otherwise, like Laertes crashing back into Elsinore like a wave, turbulent spots "grow rapidly and merge with each other when they become large and numerous to form a field of developed turbulent flow."[161] Thus is born the revolution.

In *Hamlet*, military activity operates in the background of the revenge plot, and often it is combined with registers of naval preparation. Read in terms of a maritime port and castle even the reference to "enginer" (4.1.206) takes on nautical connotations, as Kronborg Castle's defenses would be fortified against seaborne attacks. In the play, we hear references to navigation, "levies" and "lists" (1.2.31-2), shipwrights, cannons, winds, sails, voyages, currents, and oceans. Hamlet describes his own madness as but "north-north-west" (2.2.315), referring to the compass demarcations on sea charts. Nautical and maritime terminology thus forms the metaphorical underpinning and the political concerns of the play. If "Denmark's a prison" (2.2.240), then Hamlet's only real option is to turn towards the sea and the frontiers of "Neptune's empire" (1.1.119). On the ship born for England, Hamlet trades his "inky cloak" for the "sea-gown" (5.2.13) and assumes the role of captain and pilot of his own action. It is an agency not solely aligned with land-based nationalism, as some critics argue, but one that ultimately suits Hamlet's psychological state that had floundered on land and sought its watery home.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many men put to sea to venture lives and livelihoods in the hopes of profit and prestige. Elizabeth's sea-dogs, Raleigh and Drake, are exemplary of a culture of discovery and plunder that required the simultaneous development of

[161] Tennekes and Lumley, 8.

the crafts of navigation and shipbuilding to provide the vehicles for successful voyaging. Seafaring necessitated information that combined the scholarly practices of mathematicians and cartographers with practical knowledge from first-hand or related accounts of experiences at sea. Published in at least ten editions from 1574 to 1620, William Bourne's *A Regiment for the Sea* was intended for "the simplest sort of Seafaring men."[162] In his preface, Bourne insists on the importance of navigational knowledge for the defense of the state, trade, and security. Since England is bound by seas on all sides, "Navigation is not the least but one of the principal matters to be knowne."[163] Similar treatises on navigation stress the necessity of knowing the seascape—coastlines, ports, ship types, distances, meteorology, winds, and currents—through the use of charts, calendars, and rutters, or sailing manuals. The amount of knowledge a mariner must have is illustrative of Hamlet's abilities at sea, seemingly in contrast with his lack of agency on land, which is not to claim, as A.F. Falconer does, that Shakespeare "must have learned it at first hand."[164] Rather, I would point to an increasing interest in maritime narratives across the population following the defeat of the Spanish Armada and the voyages of discovery by Raleigh and Drake. This conjunction between the theoretical and the practical, or what I would argue as the land-based and water-based, characterizes Hamlet's fraught metaphysical state and the political intrigue of the Danish court, threatened from beyond the sea and rotting from within.

Gertrude pronounces Hamlet "mad as the sea and wind when both contend" (4.1.7), so the King orders to "ship him hence" (4.1.30). Claudius informs him of the plan: "The bark is

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[162] William Bourne, *A Regiment for the Sea: Conteyning most profitable Rules, Mathematical experiences, and perfect knowledge of Nauigation, for all Coastes and Countreys: most needefull and necessarie for all Seafaring men and Trauellers, as Pilotes, Mariners, Marchants. &c. Exactly deuised and made by VVilliam Bourne* (London, 1574), A4

[163] Bourne, *A Regiment*…, A3r

[164] A.F. Falconer, *Shakespeare and the Sea* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1964), xiii.

ready, and the wind at help, / Th'associates tend, and every thing is bent / For England" (4.3.42-4). Hurried towards the coast, Hamlet encounters Fortinbras' army, perhaps just disembarked from their ships, as they march across Denmark towards "a little patch of ground" (4.4.17), the "small village" to which Hamlet is often etymologically linked. Hamlet's soliloquy, omitted in the Folio text and often excised in performance, includes some clues regarding the comparison of this massive land army with "examples gross as earth" (4.4.46) that waste enormous resources to gain "an egg-shell" (4.4.53). Instead, Hamlet puts to sea to adopt an alternative model of martial comportment, the pirate as opposed to the general.

In the play's immediate source texts from both Saxo and Belleforest, Hamlet's father, Horwendile, is a notorious pirate. Belleforest writes, "the greatest honor that men of noble birth could at that time win and obtaine, was in exercising the art of piracie on the seas."[165] Although Shakespeare's Old Hamlet is not clearly identified as a pirate, he comes in "warlike form" (1.1.46) and later in Hamlet describes the pirate in "very warlike appointment" (4.16.16). Moreover, Horatio asks the Ghost whether he "hast uphoarded in thy life / Exhorted treasure in the womb of earth" (1.1.135-6), and even Hamlet accuses Claudius of being a "cutpurse of the empire" (3.4.97). Piracy was both a subversive activity and one necessary not only for stocking the Crown's coffers but also for regulating the waters. This "licensed illegality" earned the pirate a place at the borderlines of identity and authority, and the borders maritime between land and sea. Raleigh and Drake, known as sea-dogs, were both privateers and instruments of the state, and often the boundary between the two lead to tense international relations with England's main competitors, Spain, Portugal, and the Low Countries.

[165] F. de Belleforest, *The Hystorie of Hamblet* (London, 1608) in Israel Gollancz, *The Sources of Hamlet* (London: Frank Cass, 1967), 181.

Towards the end of Act 4, "sea-faring men" (4.6.2) bring letters to Horatio from "th'embassador that was bound for England" (10-11). In the letter, Hamlet asks that the sailors be shown to the king to distribute more letters, and then he describes his encounter with the pirate:

> Ere we were two days old at sea, a pirate of very warlike appointment gave us chase. Finding ourselves too slow of sail, we put on a compell'd valor, and in the grapple I boarded them. On the instant they got clear of our ship, so I alone became their prisoner. They have dealt with me like thieves of mercy, but they knew what they did: I am to do a [good] turn for them. (4.6.15-21)

The pirate joins forces with Hamlet as a means of avoiding retribution by the Danish crown since Hamlet will be able to secure their safe passage through the Sound, presumably the "[good] turn" to which he alludes. Hamlet's cryptic letter to the king further explains that he has been "set naked on [his] kingdom" (4.7.43-4). Hamlet emerges from the sea, claiming his namesake: "This is I, / Hamlet the Dane" (5.1.244), who also happens to be his father, a pirate-king, and, etymologically speaking, a whirlpool. Metaphorically, we could argue that Hamlet encounters the vortex of history, wherein identities are wrought by the friction between land and sea.

In order to assume his father's authority, Hamlet forges the sealed letters given to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. Thus the sea change is marked by not only a change in costume but also a forgery, or piracy, of official documents, like forged letters marque that pirates used to evade royal authority. Hamlet reveals to Horatio his misgivings about the contents of the letters his friends carried, fearing he "lay / Worse than the mutines in the bilboes" (5.2.5-6). Feeling confined like a shackled mutineer, Hamlet acts "rashly" (6) for once, without his regular rumination, to change the course of events, so he steals to his friends' cabin and finds the letters which famously instruct the English to chop off Hamlet's head immediately. Rather than studiously prepare his plot, as with the Mousetrap, Hamlet "devised a new commission" (5.2.32)

that sends Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to their deaths in Hamlet's place. He is able to "write fair" (34), a "yeoman's service" (36), and thus avoid the suspicion of forgery. Coincidentally, Hamlet also has his father's signet ring with the Danish seal, which allows him to authorize the new commission. The conjunction of the signet ring, fair handwriting, heavy sleepers, and the sea-fight enable Hamlet to escape the boat headed for England and make his way quickly back to Denmark. Hamlet's ship encounters a whirlpool of time, identity, history, and materiality that reorganizes the matter of source text, dramatic trajectory, and character to eject a newly formed creature, naked on the icy shores of Elsinore. Hamlet substitutes one letter for another so that his history might not take the course of previous Hamlets, and instead embraces an older folkloric and shifty identity with the pirate-king Horwendile, the sea-mill Amloði, Collinson's Irish player-sailor, Admlithi, and the nautical locution for dangers at sea. Hamlet acquires the skills of the navigator, or we might say, of the playwright.

Michel Serres questions the being of man and finds the answer within the physics of fluid dynamics: "Who am I? A vortex."[166] Like Hamlet, Serres identifies with the turbulent qualities of the vortex. Viewing Hamlet as a proto-modern maritime subject demonstrates his affinity with the skills and occupations associated with seafaring states. These are the skills England desired but was unable to coordinate after the defeat of the Armada. Despite her bombastic talk, the English state failed to capitalize on her dramatic maritime victory, and like Hamlet at the close of the play, would live on only in narrative. The following chapter demonstrates how court drama repeatedly addressed the failure of the English state to evolve into a European power. Styled as Neptune, James I embodies English sovereignty and the court his maritime subjects. He too will fail to manage the coming turbulence of the seventeenth century.

[166] Serres, *The Birth of Physics*, 37.

CHAPTER THREE

Stage Waves: Representing Water in the Jacobean Court Masque

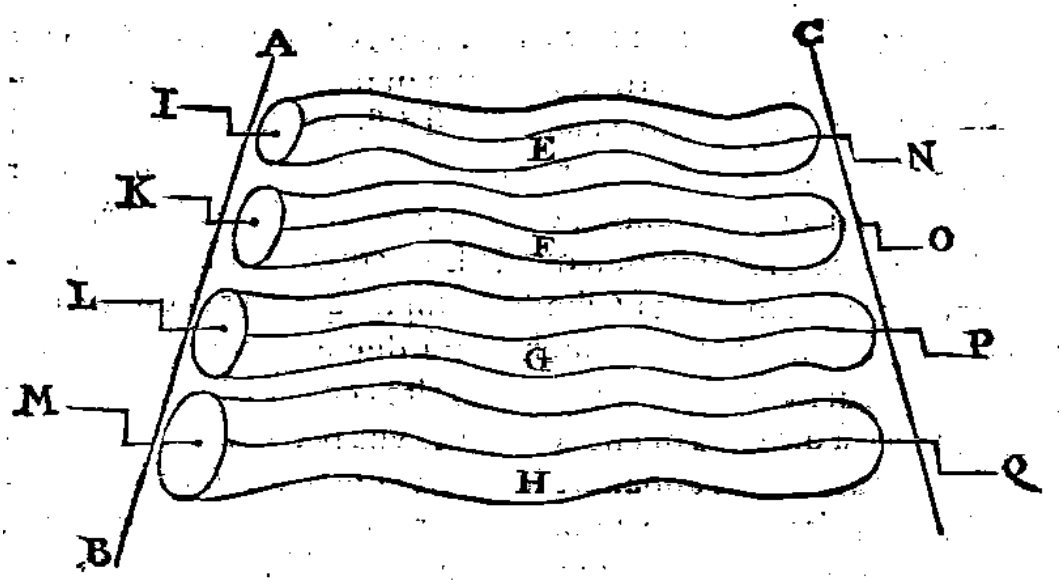

Figure 5. Nicola Sabbatini, *Column wave machine from Practica di facribar scene e machine ne' teatri*, 1638, woodcut, Getty Library.

Methods for staging water were brought to the Jacobean court from the Continent along with the perspectival set. This chapter will look specifically at how the English waterscape was represented for a monarch and a monarchy that was attempting to figure itself as British. How does the representation of water, both domestic and foreign, affect the political mechanisms that positioned James as the divine king, the royal father, who was to unify the disparate parts of the British archipelago? In chapter one, water was the literal stage for various entertainments for Queen Elizabeth on her summer progresses. In chapter two, water was imagined through language and action, as the drama of the public theater painted worlds in the minds of the audience rather than on wood. In the drama under consideration in this chapter, water is presented artificially, through stage machinery and costuming, in order to represent the maritime settings and characters frequently invoked in the Jacobean court masque.

Italian architect and set designer Nicola Sabbatini described three ways of representing water on stage, methods which may have also influenced English set designer Inigo Jones who spent time in Italy attending performances at the Medici Court in Florence. The first method involves a cloth painted like the sea, under which were strung ropes to be shaken by workmen in the wings. The second, depicted above, was a column wave machine, whereby cylinders were painted to represent waves and then turned with cranks. The third method for representing a stormy sea combined the column waves with boards painted black and tipped in silver that were moved up and down between the cylinders.[167] What does this imply for the allegories presented in the masque when the representation of water is so clearly artificial? The strain between material and metaphor begins to break down the boundaries we assume exist between the real and the symbolic, nature and art. This chapter looks at how masques use the occasion of sovereignty as a vehicle to elaborate a materialist and ecological view of the world. It thus then approaches the destructive undercurrents of a dramatic form meant to elevate the king and unify a nation.

In *The Masque of Blacknesse*, Jonson describes the depiction of "a *Landtschape*, consisting of small woods, and here and there a voide place filld with huntings; which falling, an artificiall Sea was seene to shoote forth, as if it flowed to the land, raised with waves, which seemed to moove, and in some places the billow to breake, as imitating that orderly disorder, which is common in nature."[168] Jonson's reference to "orderly disorder" as the defining feature of nature demonstrates how the oceanic turbulence discussed in the previous chapter becomes

[167] Nicola Sabbatini, *Practica di facribar scene e machine ne' teatri* (Ravenna, 1638).
[168] Ben Jonson, *The Characters of Two Royall Masques. The one of Blacknesse, The other of Beautie. personated By the most magnificent of Queenes Anne Queene of great Britaine, &c With her honorable Ladyes, 1605 and 1608. at Whitehall*, A4r. All subsequent references will be provided in text by page number from this edition.

transposed onto local and national projects. In *Hamlet*, Shakespeare identified the problems of the political subject who must move into action despite, or because of, the turbulent forces of nature. In the maritime-themed masques of the Jacobean court, the sovereign must tame the unruly water, bringing this active, mutable element under control. He must funnel coastal waters through breakwaters, ports, and havens; he must engineer rivers into watery highways that support the national economies of fish and wool. Thus the writers and designers of court masques represented maritime scenes and characters on the stage at Whitehall and later Jones' new Banqueting House. This chapter draws on the "occasionality" and regionality of the estate entertainments to consider how the Jacobean court masque brought the sea to the land.[169] The period under question, 1605-1622, demonstrates how the union project and its cultural representation shifted focus from home waters to foreign waters as James' national agenda aged alongside his physical body.

In 1604, the newly crowned James I declared himself "King of Great Brittaine," defending his proclamation before Parliament by invoking the language of unity, notably the geographic unity of the island. His speech also draws upon the language of marital, familial, religious, and linguistic union: "For…That the Isle within it selfe hath almost none but imaginarie bounds of separation without, but one common limit or rather Gard of the Ocean Sea, making the whole a little world within it selfe…we thinke it unreasonable, that the thing, which is by the worke of God and Nature so much in effect one, should not be one in name."[170] While

[169] See Karen Britland, "Masques, courtly and provincial" in *Ben Jonson in Context*, edited by Julie Sanders (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): "Most significantly, during the early years of James I's reign, [court masques] were influenced by summer progress entertainments provided for Queen Elizabeth. These entertainments helped to promulgate Elizabeth's personal iconography" (154).

[170] James I, *As often as we call to minde the most ioyfull and iust recognition made by the whole body of our realme...* (London, 1604), 2.

nodding towards the inherent fictions of political territory as "imaginarie bounds," he considers only the ocean to be the true boundary to the island.[171] James' fictional unity is predicated on multiplicity, the very paradox of religious belief, marriage vows, and hydrological theory, that two (or more) become one. Rivers eventually merge and empty into the world ocean, but only after shaping and defining regional landscapes and populations. In this manner, Drayton's Muses bless the River Isis as she flows along towards her marital union with the River Tame in the fifteenth song of his chorographical epic *Poly-Olbion*. Drayton adopts and transforms the imaginative geography that runs through Spenser's *Fairie Queene* to the celebratory tone of Spenser's "Prothalmion"—"Sweet Thames! run softly, till I end my song"—and by doing so presents a British landscape defined by its waterways. King James' Union Project imagines a unified nation despite the realities of geography.

The representation of water in court masques during the reign of James I offered poets of spectacle a pliable metaphor with which to examine the role of the sun king in a hydrological network of clouds, waves, rivers, oceans, etc. My argument displaces a vertical/centripetal reading of the court masque—all action leads towards sovereign sublimation—onto a horizontal plane through the problem of representing water. The masques under consideration in this chapter engage the metaphor and the materiality of water to demonstrate how sovereignty can be imagined as a network of power and exchange. They demonstrate how very real materials and elements, human and nonhuman, perform the work of idealization. Furthermore, through their use of aquatic settings, costumes, plots, and performers, these masques complicate a reading of

[171] In *The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590-1612* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Claire McEachern writes, "Whereas James sought to overwhelm cultural and economic differences with the comprehensive unity of a single island geography, the English cited the local texture of indigenous boundaries to property" (144). Continuing further, she acknowledges that "Try as unionists might to assert the confluent tendency of all things—'even as little brooks are swallowed up into great rivers'—some claims of local allegiance just won't wash away" (161).

"*Landtschape*," or landscape, as stable land and thus add to the ecocritical work being done in the "blue humanities."[172] Instead of green, these masques force the question of what it means to be blue.

Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blacknesse* (1605) and its sequel *The Masque of Beauty* (1608) use the visual and literary language of river networks and hydrology as a means of representing the purification of bloodlines through marriage. Samuel Daniel's *Tethys Festival: Or The Queenes Wake* (1610), and the preceding water-shows that celebrate the creation of Henry as Prince of Wales, inscribe on the bodies of the female masquers the tradition of the river nymph. Francis Beaumont's *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Grayes Inne* (1612) takes this collision of the gendered political and ecological body one step further by staging the marriage of Tame and Isis that Drayton will invoke in his epic poem ten years later. Finally, Jonson's last masque for James, printed but not staged in 1623 as *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion*, performed the following year as *The Fortunate Isles and their Union*, transports the English waterscapes of the previous masques into the European maritime sphere to mark the failure of the match of Prince Charles with the Spanish Infanta. If the masques in question point towards the promise but ultimate futility of union, then the performance history of Jonson's last Jacobean

[172] The OED's earliest citation for the latter is Thomas Nashe's *Lenten Stuffe* (1599)—"I care not, if in a dimme farre of launce-skippe, I take the paines to describe this…Metropolis of the redde Fish"—in which the term is defined as "distant prospect; a vista" ("landscape, *n.*, 4b"), while Jonson and Joshua Sylvester, a translator, are cited as early adopters of the Dutch term in 1605 in its more common definition as "[a] picture representing natural inland scenery, as distinguished from a sea picture, a portrait, etc." (1a). In both definitions, the OED obscures the complementary aspects of land and water, preferring the former to be the defining feature of the genre of landscape painting, when Nashe's reference to Great Yarmouth could only have been driven by the city's location on the mouth of the River Yare and the eastern coast of England on North Sea (thus its description in terms of its fisheries). That English usage came from the Dutch, with the country's inherently watery landscape, is further evidence that early use of the term was not limited to the description of terrestrial environments. Henry Peachem includes "seas" in his definition of "landtskip" in *The Art of Drawing with the Pen and Limning in Water Colours* (London, 1606).

masque is representative of the disintegration of both James' Union Project and the Stuart court, which will only further decline under Charles I.

I. The Ecology of Performance

Like in chapter one, this chapter situates a single performance within its environment. However the environment under consideration here could not be more different, with the exception of the river pageant staged prior to Daniels' *Tethys' Festival*. Whereas the estate entertainment used the external spaces of the country estate, the court masque was set within the palace at Whitehall. Thus, the ecology I am examining is highly artificial, created through the labor and work of human hands. The *ecology of performance* draws attention to both the paradramatic elements of staging the masque and also to the nonhuman elements represented through the staging and language of the performance. This expansive undertaking is hard to capture, but recent scholars have attempted to place the court masque within its larger cultural and political milieu by emphasizing the aesthetics of costume and sets, the importance of the dance, the composition of the audience, the spatial affordances of the hall, etc. Here, I consider both the physical mechanisms by which water is represented in performance (often the task of the set designer) and the type of water represented by both the performers and the sets: African river, British coast, English river, etc. I am concerned with how water complicates a network of meaning that new historicism has centered on the king. We might say that bringing water on stage upends the drive towards sublimation, which even the use of perspectival sets drove towards.[173] Water is horizontal. Unlike land, which can be built up into defenses, castle

[173] Sabbatini describes the seat for the best perspective: in the middle of the seventh row. Here was the *œil du prince*" ("The eye of the prince"). On sublimation, see George Ripley, "Of Sublimation: The eight Gate" in *The compound of alchymy. Or The ancient hidden art of archemie conteining the right & perfectest meanes to make the philosophers stone, aurum potabile, with other excellent experiments* (London, 1591):

fortifications, watchtowers, water resists the verticality of sovereign power that extends down through a social hierarchy. (Although modern science describes the hydrological cycle in which water evaporates upwards, the visual experience of water is always down and out.) Water on stage brings this resistance to the fore. Many of the masques with maritime settings depict either moving water or maritime backdrops, and some even dress the masquers in aquatic costumes and makeup so that water and bodies are united. Human and nonhuman, art and nature, are thus demonstrably blurred.

Allardyce Nicoll begins his study of the Stuart masque by entering Whitehall to explore the place of spectacle. Here, he writes, "a monarch displayed to an admiring world his mighty magnamity."[174] Nicoll situates the court masque within an environment where the display of sovereign power is ubiquitous, from feasts, banquets, tournaments, dances, architecture, sculptors, and visual art—all were in service to the king. The masque was thus one part of an elaborate performance meant to support and make visible the centralized role of the monarch. According to Ben Jonson, Roy Strong and Stephen Orgel argue, "The court saw not an imitation of itself, but its true self."[175] If staged successfully, then, the masque reflected the king back to himself. Following this vein, then, there could be a direct connection between symbol and

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And Sublimations we make for causes three,
The first cause is, to make the bodie spirituall;
The second is, that the spirite may corporal bee,
And become fixt with it, and consubstantiall;
The third cause is, that from his filthie original
He may be cleansed, and his saltnes sulphurious
May be minished in him, which is infectious. (H4r)

[174]Allardyce Nicoll, *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage* (New York: Harcourt Brace), 1938, 28.

[175] Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 2.

meaning, a one-to-one relationship between "idealization and reality."[176] As the audience joined in the apotheosis at the end of the performance, the meaning, like the identity of the masquers, was revealed. Strong and Orgel go as far to suggest that the masque was "scientific": "For the masque is the form that most consistently projects a world in which all the laws of nature have been understood and the attacks on mutability defeated by the rational power of the mind. Nature in the masque is the nature envisioned by Baconian science…."[177] And this nature is controlled by the poet, designer, and king. However, as I showed in my previous chapter, Bacon's ideal science remained far from realized in the early seventeenth century. Like his need to solve the problem of stagnant water on his estate, or to harness the power of hydraulics in garden fountains, perfect knowledge of the natural world offered an aspirational, if ultimately unachievable, goal.

This ideology of top-down power is propelled through twentieth-century literary criticism as Foucauldian readings of the display of power transition into New Historicist claims about the residual and emergent cultural elements that work from within and without the political structure. For early modern critics, the court masque was the prime example of how cultural productions offered both propaganda and critique. The masque's perspectival horizon drew the gaze of the audience from scene to king, while only the royal seat enjoyed the perfect line of sight with which to view the elaborate staging and dancing of these court performances.[178] And, as opposed to stage plays, the masque concluded with the dissolution of the boundary between the real and

[176] Orgel and Strong, 11.
[177] Orgel and Strong, 13.
[178] Continuing the work done by Nicoll, Orgel and Strong emphasize the productive antipathy between Jonson and Inigo Jones: "Jones's stage subtly changed the character of both plays and masques by transforming *audiences* into *spectators*, fixing the viewer, and directing the theatrical experience toward a single point in the hall from which the perspective achieved its fullest effect, the royal throne" (7).

the imagined as the masquers joined the audience in elaborate dances. Thus, everyone participated in the sublime aura of kingship that the masque presumably staged.

Recent criticism has moved beyond reading the masque as overt praise of the king and his policy to show how the masque participates in a political culture of praise and hostility. At the same time however, it has lost the focus on the occasionality and site-specificity of these performances that Nicoll's volume highlights.[179] As Malcolm Smuts reminds us, the printed texts of the masque only offer one avenue from which to explore what was a multi-faceted and collaborative (despite Jonson's claims) art form: "Reading a masque can therefore provide a highly misleading impression of what the original historical audience experienced. Modern scholarship has generally reflected this bias…."[180] Recent work on gender and performance practices have moved beyond the focus on royal power and either its dominance or resistance, and frequently beyond the poetic texts, towards an horizontal reading of the masque's *ecology of performance*, looking at dance, costumes, lighting, acoustics, audience, and staging in light of political and social contexts.[181] Douglas Lanier writes, "Scholars interested in political topicality have tended to focus on the masque text (particularly on the antimasque) and, to a somewhat lesser degree, its staging. This focus is easy to understand, since these elements are the most fully documented and, not incidentally of most interest to theater scholars. But our stress upon

[179] See for example Nicoll's explication of Nicola Sabbatini's designs for wave machines that Inigo Jones probably used in his staging of Jonson's *The Masque of Blacknesse*, 59.
[180] Malcolm R. Smuts, "Occasional events, literary texts and historical interpretations" in *Neo-Historicism: Studies in Renaissance Literature, History and Politics*, eds. Robin Headlam Wells, Glenn Burgess, and Rowland Wymer (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000), 180.
[181] See Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture, 2000); Clare McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court (1590-1619)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

text and scenic design is arguably a distortion. Evidence suggests that the Jacobean masque's raison d'être is its culminating dances."[182] Lanier argues that though James was physically unable to join the dances, he functioned as the "unmoving mover," the sun king whose gaze animated the erotic dance that promised fertility and generativity in his kingdom. Read hydrologically, James animates the waters of the nation, sublimating them to into their gaseous state. Thus the representation of water on stage was a necessary addition to the elemental network of the physical ("land") bodies and the sun-king ("fire") drawing all upwards to heavenly heights ("air"). These elements are thus important components of the masque's ecology. Drawing them into a networked performance was the work of the masque writers and designers. But at the end of the dance and snuffing of the stage lights, this artificial vision faded. Rather than real water or sun or land, the artificiality of the performance materials highlights the artificiality of centralized power.

This chapter demonstrates moreover how the representation of aquatic landscapes in the Jacobean masque then had a specific political function. As Julie Sanders has argued, "Coastlines and shorelines were, perhaps, the most ambivalent geographical site in this context, performing, as they did, national and local functions, speaking, as they did, to the supposedly firm fact of land—ownable, mappable, definable real estate—and the unpredictable element of water."[183] She highlights how these "lines" are only "notionally fixed" cartographically. Rather, their very liquid nature renders them mutable, changeable, and erosive. In its inherent potentiality, Sanders claims, drama has the unique ability to demonstrate the turbulent potentiality of water, and the masque in particular seemed obsessed with the element:

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[182] Douglas Lanier, "Fertile Visions: Jacobean Revels and the Erotics of Occasion," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 39.2 (1999): 328.
[183] Julie Sanders, *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama, 1620-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 53.

> The ways in which the river was associated with theatre, spectacle, and performance in this period were, then, many and diverse and extended far beyond formal subgenres of the dramatic such as the pageant, to encompass everything from ceremonial to plague, from celebration to punishment (secular and divine), and from civic ritual to storm. Drama was able to rely on a multifaceted understanding of the theatrical potential of rivers on the part of its audiences when restaging these liquid landscapes in the form of play, entertainment, and masque.[184]

By combining this discourse of geography with the representation of sovereignty, we can begin to interrogate how the representation of "liquid landscapes" problematized James' union project. Geographic reality comes under siege in the masques under consideration, perhaps in conscious and politically subversive ways. However, in some ways, geography is always already a fictional construct, like the king and the nation, which needs to be continually rewritten against the forces of man and nature. Lines unify as much as they delineate, whether in the terms of a river's shore or a nation's coast. We thus might extend to the Jacobean masque Bernhard Klein's claim about Drayton's chorographic project, "the existence of discord and dissent, is re-imported into the poem through the explicit segregation, and mutual incompatibility, of the discursive communities assembled on its pages."[185] In terms of the court masque, we can begin to see how the community assembled on the stage, and the artistic decisions in terms of set, costume, make-up, and speech, demonstrate the trope of *discordia concors* through both praise and critique of the sovereign, illustrating the dangers of geopolitical fantasies of union in terms of river and coastal geographies.

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[184] Sanders, *Cultural Geography*, 43.
[185] Bernhard Klein, "Imaginary journeys: Spenser, Drayton, and the Poetics of National Space," in *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*, eds. Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 214.

II. Neptune's Masques

1. Black to Blue

Ben Jonson's first Jacobean masque, *The Masque of Blacknesse*, was performed at the Old Banqueting House on the 6th of January 1605, the same Christmas season that saw the marriage of Philip Herbert and Susan de Vere and the investiture of the young Prince Charles as Duke of York. [186] The masque is noteworthy for a variety of reasons and has figured centrally in masque criticism that looks to move beyond the printed, poetic texts. *Blacknesse* is the first collaboration between Jonson and Inigo Jones, and Jonson's preface reveals much about the relationship between poetic and visual aesthetics. Jones' set design might be the first use of the perspectival stage, despite the masque's restriction to a single scene of action. Politically, the masque has been read in terms of the balance of power between James and his wife, Anne of Denmark.[187] Moreover, her supposed desire to perform in blackface has been central to discussions of race and gender in the early modern period.[188] David Lindley writes in his introduction to *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson* that the masque "fulfills political purpose in asserting the importance of the uniting of the kingdoms of England and

[186] Ben Jonson, *The Characters of Two Royall Masques. The one of Blacknesse, The other of Beautie. personated By the most magnificent of Queenes Anne Queene of great Britaine, &c With her honorable Ladyes, 1605 and 1608. at Whitehall.* All references will be made in text by page number from this edition.

[187] See Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

[188] Plenty of commentary has been made about Dudley Carleton's hostile comments regarding the appearance of the queen and her ladies as a "loathsome sight" (Carleton, 1972, 68; Electronic Edition, Masque Archive, *Blackness*, 6). For gender critique see Clare McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002) and her essay, "'Defacing the Carcass': Anne of Denmark and Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness*," in *Refashioning Ben Jonson: Gender, Politics, and the Jonsonian Canon*, eds. Julie Sanders, Kate Chedgzoy, and Susan Wiseman (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1998).

Scotland in the person of James."[189] The masque's narrative presents the daughters of the river Niger to the English court, presided over by Oceanus. The ladies have come in search of suitable marriages in Britannia, as foretold by the goddess Aethiope, a spectral presence over the masque who serves as a reminder of the female power of Elizabeth. Thus the masque positions James' sovereign, male authority, through the bodies of Niger and Oceanus, against the older, female power of the queen, both Anne of Denmark and the newly-deceased Elizabeth. Anne's patronage of Jonson's masque, and her participation in its conception and production, indicates how female authority could operate within and against the centralizing pull of the king.

While Stephen Orgel privileges the king's control over the queen's authority, more recent criticism has revised this panoptic reading of sovereign power.[190] Glenn A. Odom argues that the masque lacks any clear allegorical interpretation and that there are "multiple possible spatial centers around which to organize an allegory of power."[191] Odom continues to argue that the masque presents this multiplicity in the face of James' claim to singular interpretative will, and pertinently for my argument, Odom locates the productive tension between James and Jonson in the masque's maritime symbology: "Given that *Blacknesse* personifies several bodies of water, it is doubly correct to say that interpretation is fluid in Jonson's masque. It is in this fluid multitude of meanings that Jonson's resistance inheres, and, just as importantly, this context of fluid (re)definitions of symbology is essential to understanding other theatrical ventures of the

[189] David Lindley, "Introduction" to *The Masque of Blackness* in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, vol. 2, ed. David Bevington, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
[190] See Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theatre in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).
[191] Glenn A. Odom, "Jacobean Politics of Interpretation in Jonson's Masque of Blacknesse" *SEL* 51 (2011): 370.

period."[192] Likewise, Russell West makes a similar multi-modal critique of the masque but through Jones' set design more than Jonson's poetry. He too finds the sea imagery central to the masque's critique of royal power: "The masque was a way of dramatizing concepts of order and disorder, and the visual medium employed to do this issued a pointed message about the spaces of order under the monarch's jurisdiction." Although he is less willing than Odom to break with the neohistoricist reading of residual and emergent discourses of power, seeing instead the masque "hover[ing] uncertainly on the border" between the two, West continues, "This principle of control extended to Jones's power to reproduce, via mechanical means (the cunningly contrived sea which could imitate the force of untamed nature) unlimited control of unruly nature, seen here in its tamed form as 'orderly disorder'."[193] Similarly, Molly Murray writes that the masque's central trope of cleansing "further complicate the significance of the masque's pervasive water imagery, seen both in Jones's marine sets and in Jonson's hieroglyphic depictions of urns, cups, fountains, and streams. At the masque's end, water ceases to be a medium of clarification at all, becoming instead a sign of continuing elusiveness."[194]

If, as Mary Floyd-Wilson writes, the "flowing movement of water" is the masque's central stage action, then we can use the representation of water as a means of tracing the political and cultural ramifications of such maritime imagery.[195] I argue that these critics have been angling in the right direction but that none takes on a thorough analysis of how the masque's fluid ecology bears on the political and cultural climate of England during the early

[192] Odom, "Jacobean Politics…," 379.
[193] Russell West, "Perplexive Perspectives: The Court and Contestation in the Jacobean Masque," *The Seventeenth Century* 18 (2003): 26-7.
[194] Molly Murray, "Performing Devotion in The Masque of Blacknesse," *SEL* 47.2 (2007): 442.
[195] Mary Floyd-Wilson, "Temperature, Temperance, and Racial Difference in Ben Jonson's The Masque of Blackness" *English Literary Renaissance* 28 (1998): 202.

years of James' reign.[196] I propose that the hydrological impossibilities represented by the confluence of Niger and his daughters with Oceanus and his Albion, further complicated by the presence of Aethiopoia, demonstrate for the king and court how fictional geographies can both serve and undercut the project of a united Britain. The project would require the management of, as Jonson writes, "orderly disorder," a realization, like we saw with Leonardo in the previous chapter, that the natural state of the world is turbulence. What the tragic subjects of Shakespeare's drama came to learn is here transposed onto the political stage at the heart of power. This argument also captures the mechanisms through which water was literally, rather than metaphorically, presented to the audience through two forms: stage machinery and the bodies of the masquers. To this end, set design and costuming are as integral to the masque's symbolic goals as Jonson's poetry.

Jonson clarifies the masque's geography early in his preface to the printed edition by calling upon the wisdom of Pliny, Solinus, and Ptolomy, who "remember unto us a river in Æthiopia, famous by the name of Niger; of which the people were called Nigritæ, now Negro's: & are the blackest nation of the world. This river taketh spring out of a certain Lake, east-ward; & after a long race, falleth into the westerne Ocean. Hence (because it was her Majesties will, to have them Black-mores at first) the invention was derived by me, & presented thus" (A3v). Jonson yokes two impossibilities to his decision to use the river Niger, that the queen and her court could present Africans and that the river and his daughters could possibly make it to England. Because Anne wanted to perform in blackface, Jonson had to contrive a hydrological impossibility, but one poignant with meaning for the unification of England and Scotland: that Niger could remain unmixed through his travel to English shores. Or as Gabriel Heaton writes,

[196] Floyd-Wilson comes the closest to this ecocritical analysis but her focus is temperamental and climatic humours rather than geographic ecologies.

"One can easily imagine the famously pedantic King James reading the text and expressing his wonder that an African river could cross the ocean undiluted."[197] Heaton refers to the pre-performance printed text that Jonson presented for royal approval that would have influenced this early clarification of the masque's choice of fluid landscapes. From here, Jonson describes the set design in terms of a "landscape," but he probably referred to the union of water and land in the set design, Niger come to Albion. For while the scene depicted, "small woods," it is the sea that overwhelms the scene, was "seene to shoote forth, as if it flowed to the land, raised with waves, which seemed to moove, and in some places the billow to breake, as imitating that orderly disorder, which is common in nature" (A3v). Since the waves on the stage "seemed to moove" and "breake" against the shore, or the edge of the stage, Jones probably used a column wave machine, perhaps combined with "breaker" waves tipped with silvery foam. These wooden waves are intended to demonstrate moving water that pulses against the land, and court audiences may have found this set design evocative of an aquatic setting. Behind the stage waves, tritons and sea-maids are flanked by great sea-horses, "mounting" and "writhing" and "seem[ing] to sinck forwards" (A3v). The problem of seeming and being is highlighted by the impossibility of bringing a world ocean within the banqueting hall. One the one hand, this feat is made possible by Jones' stage waves. On the other, these waves are so obviously artificial that the fantasy of geographic and sovereign union is predicated on the performance of and in a vibrant material ecology, or network of human and nonhuman actors. The stage waves are one aspect of the materials that comprise the ecology of performance, and the blue make-up and aquatic costumes of the masquers present another.

[197] Gabriel Heaton, *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments: From George Gascoigne to Ben Jonson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 213.

While the court ladies in blackface have drawn much attention from contemporary accounts of the masque to recent trends in gender and race criticism, fewer comment upon the blue bodies of the tritons and torchbearers. If the black skin of the Africans is a marker of otherness to be purified by the gaze of the king, what do we make of the blue bodies of the otherworldly sea creatures? Is there a similar "greening" that might metaphorically assimilate them into the landscape of the nation, or do they remain perpetually foreign to domestic affairs? Jonson describes the tritons in amphibious terms: "their upper parts humane, save that their haires were blew, as pertaking of the Sea-colour: their definent parts, fishe, mounted above their heads, and all varied in disposition. From their backs were borne out certaine light pieces of Taffata, as if carried by the winde, and their Musique made out of wreathed shells" (A3v). The tritons have blue hair and fish headpieces, while their costume includes panels of taffeta flowing off their backs like water. Oceanus, in a more human form, has blue flesh and wears "a robe of Sea-greene; his head grey, & horned; as he described by the Antients: his beard of the like mixt colour. he was gyrlonded with Alga, or Sea-grasse; and in his hand a Trident" (A4r). These tritons and torchbearers, rather than the masquers, interest me in the use of blue makeup. While the masquer's black skin is set off by pearls, the torchbearers' are attired, like the tritons, so as to impersonate their watery domain. Their hair is "gyrlanded with Sea-grasse, and that stuck with branches of Corall," their dress flowing with the colors of the ocean (A4r).

Figure 6. Inigo Jones, *Costume design for torchbearer of Oceania for "The Masque of Blacknesse,"* 1605, oil on canvas, Chatsworth.

The blue make-up used on the skin of the torch-bearers would have been made from lapis lazuli, an expensive imported mineral from Afghanistan, which when ground into a powder called ultramarine (from the Latin *ultra* + *mare*, "beyond the sea") was one of the finest, and most expensive, pigments available to medieval and Renaissance artists. Dürer laments that 100 florins only got him one pound.[198] (The alternative to lapis lazuli, azurite, is derived from copper and thus would be toxic if used as make-up. Lapis lazuli is still used today in mineral make-up and has naturopathic qualities.) We trace then the blue make-up from Whitehall across the seas through Venice to the east. The bodies of the performers are literally made into foreign waters through the ultramarine pigment. And paradoxically, like the wood on which the waves are painted, ultramarine comes from a rock. Oceanus' tritons and torchbearers perform through their bodies a similar function as Jones' stage machinery that created the billowing waves. Jonson

[198] Victoria Finlay, *Color: A Natural History of the Palette* (New York: Random House, 2004), 287.

describes Jones' setting for the masquers in "a great concave shell, like mother of Pearle, curiously made to move on those waters, and rise with the billow…. On sides of the shell, did swim sixe huge Sea-monsters, varied in their shapes, and dispositions, bearing on their backs the twelve Torch bearers; …all having their lights burning out of Whelks, or Murex shells" (A4r). Imagine the moving waves, writhing sea horses, flowing costumes, and great shell that rises and falls with the movement of the waves. Nothing is static in this representation of the sea. If we combine performance practice with ecological practice we can begin to consider the wood on which the waves are painted, the shells, beads, pearls, taffeta, silks, and make-up, the props and mechanisms, both human and non, by which the performance is made to happen.

The masque's narrative also employs a maritime conceit, and its concerns with hydrological systems emphasizes how a performance can be ecological through not only its material properties but also its plot, speeches, and symbolism. We learn that Niger, the impersonation of an African river, has come to the shore of Britain on behalf of his daughters. Triton and two sea-maids welcome Niger as the son of Oceanus, and Jonson footnotes the accepted belief that "All Rivers are sayd to be the sonnes of the Ocean: for, as the Antients thought, out of the vapours, exhaled by the heate of the sunne, Rivers, and Fountaines were begotten." Thus an ecological cycle is rewritten in genealogical terms, establishing the ocean's king as the head of household with sons and daughters serving as internal waterways. And yet, Oceanus questions why Niger has left his home and invaded Oceanus' territory: "My ceaselesse current, now amazed stands! / To see thy labor, through so many lands, / Mixe thy fresh billow, with my brackishe streame" (B1r). Oceanus is so stunned to see his African progeny so far west that his perpetually moving water has stopped. He presumes that this hydrological/geographical impossibility has resulted in the mixing of Niger's freshwater with Oceanus' salt, which would

essentially alter Niger but do little to affect Oceanus' salinity. Niger reassures Oceanus through the language of body/soul dualism. While a body may become diseased or infected, the soul can remain unaltered, and so too can Niger's purity be protected from Oceanus' "powerful saltnes" (B2v). While generally critics have read the cleansing motif through the prophecy that Niger's daughters could be blanched by "a Sunne… / Whose Beames shine day, and night, and are of force / To blanche an Æthiope" (B3v), the potential mixing of waters here is the first threat to stable symbolic identifications. Niger, rather than Oceanus, is threatened by leaving his homeland to fulfill his daughters' prophecy. Niger explains how their features are essential while color is superficial (literally so in the case of stage make-up), but they were so distraught by their darkness that their tears caused Niger to overflow his banks. One evening, Aethiopia, an avatar of the moon/Cynthia/Elizabeth, presents the prophecy that "they a Land must forthwith seeke, / Whose termination (of the Greeke) / Sounds TANIA," where the sun submits to "a greater Light / Who forms all beauty, with his sight" (B2v), here equating James with the divine light of sovereignty.

Niger describes passing Mauritania, Lusitania, and Aquitania, thus giving us a cartographic vision of the river's journey, and Oceanus tells him that now he is in Albion (but that doesn't end in TANIA!). The revelation is left to Aethiopia, "Goddesse of our shore" (B3r), who appears as the moon goddess in the upper part of the house, presumably level with the throne: "With that great name Britainia, this blest Isle / Hath wonne her ancient dignitie, and stile, / A World, divided from the world" (B3v). Curiously, the goddess who appeared before Niger has been transposed into the virgin goddess that protects Britain, recalling the cultic personae of Elizabeth I. Jonson has installed an avatar of Elizabeth as a counterpoint to James' Albion. And doing so shows the continuity from one reign to the next and the movement from virginal to

wedded state, but she also represents the residue of past political policy and cultural propaganda. She advises Niger's daughters to be "blanched" by the light of the sun/son of Britannia, in other words, James.[199] She urges Niger "to Cal forth thy honor'd Daughters, then; / And let them, 'fore the Brittaine men, / Indent the Land…" (B4r). Thus, Aethiopia/Elizabeth is presented as blessing James' project of Anglo-Scottish union through marriage. As Floyd-Wilson has acutely pointed out, the alliance of the Aethiopian with the Scottish body actually does the reverse of equating it with barbarism. The Scots as descendants of the Egyptians aligns them with refinement and purity rather than the coarse barbarism that comes in colder climes. The "incorporation of southern waters," she writes, actually elevates the temperaments of the English.[200] Anne's performance as an Ethiop incorporates the foreign into the English court and simultaneously demonstrates its ultimate independence. The water nymphs of the Niger "indent" the territory of England. In the movement from drama to dance, the masquers break the fourth wall and join the court. But not for long.

Perhaps because this was Jonson's first Jacobean masque, it ends on equivocal terms. The masquers do not remain with the audience, on the "land." There must be an appropriate courting period, so they are called back by a song that warns the nymphs of the "Syrens of the land" (B4r). It continues, "They are but Earth, & what you vowd was Water" (C1r). Instead of joining the landscape of British nationalism—Albion—the nymphs must remain in Oceanus' court and bathe themselves in his briny water before they can be admitted into the land. The masque concludes with a further nod to Elizabeth and the preservation of female chastity: "Now Dian, with her burning face, / Declines apace: / By which our Waters know / To ebbe, that late did

[199] See Hardin Aasand, "'To Blanch an Ethiop, and Revive a Corse': Queen Anne and The Masque of Blackness," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 32.2 (Spring 1992).
[200] Floyd-Wilson, "Temperature, Temperance…," 208.

flow" (C2r). This tidal/menstrual movement gestures towards the difficulties of recalcitrant unions. The coastal waters around England, just as they flow towards the shore, must also flow away. Even the sun/James cannot control this celestial power, as it resonates with the Elizabethan not the Jacobean state body. It also shows James that recognizing the power of the female/fluid form, and its capability to be harnessed to the stable male/terrestrial body through marriage, involves both accepting its creative power and using it for political ends. The masque thus ends not with movements towards royal authority but movement away. Despite the vibrancy of Jones' set and costumes, in his printed text, Jonson tries to redirect the energy of the masque towards the king: "the Scene behind, seemed a vast Sea (and united with this that flowed forth) from the termination, or horizon of which (being the level of the State, which was placed in the upper end of the Hall) was drawne, by the lines of Prospective, the whole worke shooting downewards, from the eye" (A4r).[201] Jonson equates the horizon of the shoreline with the throne of state, to which presumably flows all water. The representation of aquatic forces through the materiality of the stage waves and the masquers threatens to detract from the omnipotence of the sun-king as the center of state. The masque's staging (aligned if we like with the power of the queens, Anne and Aethiopia) advocates for the agency of water. For while it may be the sun-king that bleaches Niger's daughters, Aethiopia advises the ladies be drenched in "Ros-marine" (Cv), the spray of the sea, or also arguably rosemary, a plant that grows near the shore.[202]

[201] The horizon of shore is equated with throne of state.

[202] "Rosmarine, n.1," OED Online. Rosemary is associated with remembrance and was used in both funerals and weddings. Elisa Oh comments on the agency of the nymphs in "In motion swift and even": Perpetual Motion and Othering in Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* and *The Masque of Beauty*" *Upstart* (8 Dec. 2014): "In their reprise of the "washing the Ethiop white" adage, *Blackness* and *Beauty* appropriate the aesthetic denigration of blackness, water imagery, and perpetual motion in their fictional pursuit of transformation; but more importantly, they revise the basic premise of the adage by locating the agency in the washing with the black(ened) women themselves."

Three years later, the sequel to *Blacknesse*, *The Masque of Beauty*, reveals the fate of Niger's daughters. Boreas, the North Wind, recounts how the ladies "were in the waves to leave / Theyr blacknesse, and true beauty to receave" (C3v), but they failed to return to court after a year. Boreas learned from Proteus, prophet of the seas, that four more daughters of Niger sought their sisters and the promised land of Britannia. However, Night envied the nymphs' ability to change from dark to light and "tost / The Nymphes at Sea" (C4r). Salvation arrived in the form of an island "[t]hat floted in the mayne; … For, ever since, with error hath she held / Them wandring in the Ocean, and so quell'd / Their hopes beneath their toyle" (C4r-v). Vulturnes enters the scene and reports that the island has been found and the nymphs rescued. He begins to describe the island but realizes that "nere thy coast, they floating be;"

> For, so their virtuous Goddesse, the chast Moone,
> Told them, the Fate of th'Iland should, & soone
> Would fixe itself unto thy continent,
> As being the place, by Destiny fore-ment,
> Where they should flow forth. (D1v)

Jonson describes how the curtain was drawn back "the Scene discover'd. which (because the former was marine, and these, yet of necessity, to come from the Sea) I devisd, should bee an Island, floting on a calme water" (D1v). The queen and her ladies sit enthroned on the island which Jones fabricated so as to move forward to the front of the stage all the while turning right to left, "imitating that which we cal *Motum mundi*, From the East to the West" (D3v). Calm water may have been represented as still waves, and now it is the land that moves. The island moves laterally towards the front of the stage as it also revolves like the motion of the earth.[203]

[203] In *Playing Spaces in Early Women's Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Alison Findlay writes, "Royal competition for power was embedded in the material circumstances of production. …James had ordered the new banqueting hall to be painted, marbled and gilded to appear like stone. What attracted the ambassador's attention, however, were the moving elements of the spectacle. He reported, 'the stage machinery was a miracle'….

As the island moves towards the audience, Vulturnus the wind addresses the River Thamesis that lay between the shores:

> Rise aged Thames, and by the hand
> Receive these Nymphes, within the land:
> And, in those curious Squares, and Rounds,
> Wherewith thou flow'st betwixt the grounds
> Of fruictfull Kent, and Essex faire,
> That lend thee gyrlands for thy haire;
> Instruct their silver feete to tread,
> Whilst we, againe to sea, are fled.

Reading this speech in riverine terms, the "aged Thames" is that which enters the North Sea at the Thames estuary, not the newborn Thames described by Drayton. We see here a meeting of international waters with the English waters of Thames pouring out between Kent and Essex. Kent actually shares a border with Calais, midway through the Channel, and stems etymologically from an ancient Celtic word, cantus, meaning "rim" or "border." This liminal estuarial zone is the border between domestic and foreign, tidal and non-tidal, fresh and brackish water. The underlying claim of *Blacknesse* is that all water on earth is connected, which the modern hydrological cycle proves true to some extent, and thus it all shares some basic properties. It then becomes a superficial change for Niger's daughters to change from black to white. It does not alter their basic essence as water. The "curious Squares, and Rounds" between the river describes the gardens on the country estates in Kent and Essex and also the movement from drama to dance.[204]

The design of the masque relocates power from the King's Chair of State to the body politic of the Queen's court in the setting. The island is a microcosm of the royal banqueting house…" (126).

[204] Findlay argues that this references the gardens at the country estates visited by Elizabeth on her progresses. In the Jacobean masque, however, "The monarch seems to hold absolute power in this new abstraction of the geographical state, since it moves in front of him, rather than he having to move through the kingdom on progress, as Elizabeth had done" (125).

Vulturnus renders the nymphs to Thames, who must teach them to be English, while the winds return to the sea:

> So Beauty on the waters stood,
> (When Love had sever'd earth, from flood!
> So when he parted ayre, from fire,
> He did with concord all inspire!
> And then a Motion he them taught,
> That elder then himself was thought.
> Which thought was, yet, the child of earth,
> For Love is elder then his birth. (E1r)

Jonson's cryptic statement establishes an elemental order of earth, water, air, and fire and sets them in motion based on an originary principle that prioritizes motion over stasis. Love is responsible for the simultaneous separation and unity, through amity, of elements.[205] Concord is thus achieved through action and movement, dance and song, which bring the elements into collaboration, much like the genre of the masque, but maintains their independence. If this is a vision for national unity, orderly disorder or *discordia concors*, then it finds its most pliable metaphor in the representation of waterscapes: Niger and Oceanus, river nymphs, naiads and tritons, the Thames, wandering islands, and the "flood," the elemental nature of water itself. Januarius concludes the masque by enjoining the nymphs to "let your State, the while, / Be fixed as the Isle" (E2v). If we consider the masque to mirror concerns of the state, then Jonson voices here the prospect of a unified Britain, now that the "uncertayne" island (Scotland) has joined the rightful land. But this figment of national imagination, that a state can be fixed, is belied by the masques' previous emphasis on unstable nature.

[205] "Beauty on the waters stood" recalls Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* (c. 1486), in which Aphrodite emerges from a half shell, like that used on stage in *The Masque of Blackness*. Botticelli makes effective use of turbulent lines in the painting; water and air are set in motion as waves and breezes that breathe life into the hair and clothing in the painting. The painting is also an evocative representation of the intersection between land and water.

We can consider the *ecology of performance* on multiple levels. A performance involves the many material properties and human actors necessary for its staging. These materials and actors bring their own networks, and thus agencies, to bear on the performance. We can begin to consider the political networks of the audience, masquers, and royals, and their equivalent roles on stage in the masque. Furthermore, Jonson's first two masques present unique visions of a world ecology that brings African and English rivers into the same geographic network. By considering the nonhuman, from the wooden waves, to the ultramarine makeup, to the maritime geography, the court masque presents a vision of the world in which sovereignty is less a divine mystery than something very tangible and present, a creation out of wood, makeup, costume, and mythology. If we accept that the masque reflects kingship back on itself, then what James, and the audience, saw were mechanical waves and blue women. The work then was to transform the materiality of the performance into the fantasies of sovereignty.

2. Prince of Whales

Five years after Jonson's first masque, court entertainments had become even more elaborate, thanks in large part to Jones' aesthetic vision. However, I would like to move away from the focus on Jonson and Jones to examine the texts that record the celebrations surrounding the investiture of James' son Henry as Prince of Wales, heir apparent to the throne of England, on the 4th of June 1610.[206] The first recounts the civic celebration on the River Thames, as recorded by Anthony Munday in *Londons Love, to the Royal Prince Henrie*.[207] Against it we can

[206] James' eldest son, Henry, was the 12th Prince of Wales, a title originally given to the strongest Welsh ruler, as the region was independent until its subjugation by the English King Henry IV in 1409. However, the naming tradition was begun in 1301 by Edward I of England, whose son had been born on Welsh soil, but was not continued by Edward II and did not thus become an automatic conferral upon the birth of an heir apparent.

[207] Anthony Munday, *Londons Love, to the Royal Prince Henrie, Meeting Him on the River Thames, at his returne from Richmonde, with a worthie fleete of her Cittizens, on Thursday the*

compare the more "official" account of the investiture ceremonies that also includes Samuel Daniel's masque, *Tethys Festival: Or the Queenes Wake*.[208] If Jonson's first masques negotiated the boundaries between foreign and domestic waters, this dramatic event turns inward to the heart of English identity, one shrouded in the language of Welsh suppression.

In his dedication to Lord Mayor Thomas Campbell, Munday comments on the short amount of time he had to prepare the river show. This civic entertainment was performed along the Thames, which, like its magistrate, was "the Anchor, Head, and Soule of any Citty" (B4v). David Bergeron argues that the prince's security was far better managed on the Thames than the narrow streets of London, and moreover, "we cannot arrive at the Banqueting House without passing along the river at Chelsea and Whitehall."[209] The Thames was and is the central artery of the capital, moving people and goods upstream into the heart of England, and downstream through the Thames estuary and out into international waters.[210]

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last of May, 1610. With a breife reporte of the water Fight, and Fireworkes (London, 1610). All references will be made in text by page number from this edition.

[208] *The Order and Solemnitie of the Creation of the High and mightie Prince Henrie, Eldest Sonne to our Sacred Soveraigne, Prince of Wales… Together with the Ceremonies of the Knights of Bath… Whereunto is annexed the Royall Maske, presented by the Queene and her Ladies* (London, 1610). All references will be made in text by page number from this edition.

[209] David M. Bergeron, "Creating Entertainments for Prince Henry's Creation (1610)," *Comparative Drama* 42.4 (2008): 438.

[210] Sanders writes, "The river functioned both internally through the networks of canals and inland waterways that led into the regions, and externally leading out, as it did, towards the wider oceans and maritime spaces of trade and export" (*Cultural Geography*, 22).

Figure 7. Claes Jansz Visscher, *London, looking north across the River Thames, depicting the Bear Garden and The Globe theatres*, 1616, engraving, Getty Library.

Claes Jansz Visscher's engraving of London offers a visual example of what Nashe and Jonson would consider a "landscape," yet central to image is the *Thamesis Fluvius*, or River Thames, cutting the body of the city in two. On the south bank are the liberties of Southwark and its accompanying theatres, bear gardens, whorehouses (which have received plenty of critical attention since the spatial turn in early modern studies), and to the north are the civic and royal hearts of the city. The urban spaces are crowded and generally undifferentiated, save for the major architectural landmarks. By contrast, the river (like the sky) offers the viewer's eye a spot to rest. Compared to the city, the Thames is largely blank space, but it is hardly inactive. In contrast to the vertical spires of the city, the boats on the Thames are leaning into the wind with puffed sails. The cityscape literally points towards God as its progenitor, while the river leans in a different direction, leveling, equating, and flowing away from a hierarchical, sovereign relationship. It is almost like this space is moving on the static page. Important as well is the engraver's decision to label the river with its Latin nomenclature, while the city is simply "London." It is through the river that London can trace its lineage to previous civilizations and riverine empires that similarly developed on the banks of fertile rivers like the Ganges, the Nile, and the Tiber.

Jonathan Bate identifies the friction between the regional and the national: "On its way to being an emblem of all human life, the river is an emblem of the nation. The nation is, however, grounded in the region. …If national identity is to be grounded in regional identity, county boundaries, being markers of regional differentiation, are pressure-points."[211] While rivers do serve to unite regions, they are often used as the county boundaries that Bate references and as fodder for arguments against James Union Project: "Whereas James sought to overwhelm cultural and economic differences with the comprehensive unity of a single island geography, the English cited the local texture of indigenous boundaries to property."[212] The Severn and the Humber divide England from Wales and Scotland, and the Thames crosses multiple counties. While the myths surrounding the border rivers are grounded in violence, the birth of the Thames is instead a fiction of "fluvial espousal."[213] To craft a national ethos, English poets like Spenser and Drayton represent the marriage of Tame and Isis as the foundational myth for England's greatest river. Through this union is born the greatest of English rivers, Thamesis.[214] Simon Schama characterizes the movement of the Thames as emblematic of English history:

> Upstream, the union of Tame and Isis (who, in keeping with her Egyptian namesake, is now feminine) takes place in a fleecy arcadian world where zephyrs puff over the smiling water. Once born the stripling Thames passes below the guardian citadel of Windsor… By the time he reaches Westminster, Youngblood Thames has accepted the crown of fortune… The climax of the journey is a second union: that of Thames and Medway, from which another, still mightier pregnancy is conceived. For within the womb of the swollen waters, salt and sweet, pastoral and commercial, floats the awesome embryo of the British Empire. Its birth on the open sea is to usher in a new epoch of historical power. And since it was an axiom of the hydrological cycle that the vapors of the sea would return

[211] Jonathan Bate, *The Song of the Earth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 223-4.
[212] McEachern, *Poetics of English Nationhood*, 144.
[213] Bate, *Song of the Earth*, 225.
[214] Some argue that the name Isis is simply the shortening of the Roman name, Thamesis, used to delineate the upper portion of the river above Dorchester from the larger flow, but its Egyptian valences usefully yoke English geography to the great empire.

> again to the springs of the British Grotto, the future of that empire seemed self-fulfilling.[215]

But the cycles identified by Schama, both hydrological and maternal, demand the spillage of water or blood. McEachern echoes Schama's idealization: "Drayton's rivers unite, erode, and quench difference, dissolving the boundaries between native and foreign…. Even as these rivers base their respective claims to sovereignty on the strength of ideological differences, so in their conjunction such differences are themselves resolved."[216] Andrew Hadfield modifies McEachern's claim, ""The land in *Poly-Olbion* brings with it a multifarious history of success and failure, unions and divisions. …The seemingly benign landscape of the British Isles—at least the section represented in Drayton's poem—is replete with signs of danger…. Just as Spenser's rivers carry a history with them which is not always what people want to hear or believe, so do the natural features of *Poly-Olbion*."[217] The possibility of geographic union, as played out either through the marriage of Isis and Tame in Drayton's poem, or, as we shall see, by the representation of waterways in the Jacobean masque, present fictions of ecological harmony that retain hostility towards a "more perfect union." In both Spenser and Drayton, the union of rivers is accompanied by an undercurrent of violence and resistance. Moreover, the metaphor of birth—of sovereignty and empire—is possible only through the breaking of waters and the spillage of blood. Similarly, James' Union Project is predicated on the marrying of bloodlines from across the Isle and of his own daughter to the Elector Palatine. Water indeed carves out a nation, as Jonson's previous masques and as the river ceremonies for the investitures and marriages of the royal children demonstrate.

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[215] Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Knopf, 1995), 330-331.
[216] McEachern, *Poetics of English Nationhood*, 162.
[217] Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Matter of Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 146-7.

The long tradition of river ceremonies and folklore is testimony to the Thames' importance for the city, and thus for the crown. Staging entertainment on the river serves similar functions to staging shows on estate lakes and ponds, like at Kenilworth and Elvetham, but adds the component of nonhuman motion, or turbulence. It thus provides a powerful metaphor for the confluence of city and crown. The river entertainment disperses the singular gaze of the monarch that was integral to the court masque onto a host of spectators, royal, aristocratic, merchant, and pauper alike. Munday utilizes the same mythology that we saw in Jonson's *Masque of Blacknesse*, but the pageant's environment allowed for more spectacular and vibrant demonstrations of the city's love for Prince Henry. Munday writes, "…it seemd that Neptune smyled theron auspitiouslie, and would not suffer so famous a Citties affection, to goe unfurnished of some favour from him: especially, because it is the Metropolis and cheife honor of the Island, whereunto himself ever bare such endeared affection" (B3r). He provides a genealogy of the gods of water: Neptune and his wife Amphitrea bestowed upon their children the islands of the world. Britain, which Neptune labeled "*Insula beata*," he gave to Albion (B3v). The spectacle, and following masque, allegorizes the royal family, James and Anne, as the parental gods, and Albion, their precious first-born son, Henry.

The prince and his retinue boarded their barges by 8 in the morning, accompanied by a peal of ordinance, the "noyse of Hermonie" (B2v). They were presented with a pageant organized by Neptune, who,

> out of his spacious watrie wilderness, he then suddenly sent a huge Whale and a Dolphin, and by the power of his commanding Trident, had seated two of his choicest Trytons on them, altering their deformed Sea-shapes, bestowing on them the borrowed bodies of two absolute Actors, even the verie best our instat time can yield; & personating in them, the severall Genii of Corinea, the beautiful Queene of Cornewall, and Amphion the Father of hermonie or Musick. (B4r)

Munday deciphers the symbols of the whale and dolphin, one for the Principality of Wales and the other representing the Dukedom of Cornwall.[218] Dressed in a "watrie habit," Corinea, the nymph of Cornwall and genius of the ancient ruler Corineus' queen, salutes the prince and prays that "unpolluted soules may be ever about [him]" (C2v). Her statement reveals the paradox of purity while standing on the shores of the Thames, which served not only as highway but also sewer and washbasin. Even in the early modern period, pollution of the river was cause for concern.[219]

Munday records the passage of the prince down the river from Chelsea to Whitehall for the naming ceremony:

> And thus they set on towards White Hall, in so soft, milde and gentle a pace, as the very Thames appeared proude of this gallant burden, swelling her breast to beare them with pompe and Majestie: and not one wrinckle appeared in her brow, but as plaine and even, as the smoothest yvorie. Nor durst any rude storme peepe foorth his head, or the leaste noyse of an ungentle winde stirre: but all were whist and still, as forgetfull of those uncivill offices, and overcome with admiration of the dayes delight (C3r-v)

Counter to previous descriptions of the river as male, here the Thames is gendered female, with "swelling…breast" and smooth "brow." The Thames and the elements are personified as part of

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[218] Referring to Shakespeare's use of cetacean metaphor in his book *Shakespeare's Ocean* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012), Dan Brayton writes, "Shakespeare frequently negotiates the humanity of princely characters by comparing them with whales, which are emblematic of immense power and of sovereignty, of grandeur and huge appetites" (109). Brayton notes that the dolphin was often a symbol for the Dauphin of France. Both names come from geographic regions on the edges of the kingdoms, and both, interestingly, have marine animal homonyms.

[219] In *Environmental Degradation in Jacobean Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (2013), Bruce Boehrer notes the emergence of "conservation" in the late fifteenth century especially in terms of caring for the Thames. He writes, "The new usage can hardly have been coincidental, for during the late medieval and early modern periods the Thames estuary was in need of conservation as never before" By 1750, almost all the Thames' London tributaries had been lost—filled in, diverted, or dried up (19). While contemporary descriptions of the river's pollution are difficult to find, one can only imagine the real experience of life in and near the river compared to the encomiums to the river as silver and clear.

the audience. The banks surely swelled with spectators, lords and laymen, ladies and whores, all coming together on the common stage of history and nation. As opposed to the masque, which had the most highly selective audience, the river pageants, like the estate entertainments, present the most diverse ecology of participants and must weather more contingencies than indoor drama. Munday's text reports that the sea-fight and fireworks show had to be rescheduled to Wednesday. The water fight utilized the river's capacity as port, with room for large merchant and men-of-wars:

> A Turkish Pirate prowling on the Seas, to maintaine a Turkish Castle…but his spoyle & rapine, of Merchants, and other Passengers; sculking abroade to finde a bootie: he descried two Merchants Shippes, the one whereof bearing to winde somewhat before her fellowe, made the Pirate waste her to strike sayle… (D2v)

The merchant ships admirably returned the fight and were assisted by the men-of-war, which blew up the Turkish castle in a great fireworks show.

Like the estate entertainment, Munday's river pageant makes great use of real water that could actually move and invigorate the performance without artificial mechanism. But like real water, the performance was subject to the whims (and whiffs) of the Thames. These same river entertainments are briefly mentioned in *The Order and Solemnitie of the Creation of the High and mightie Prince Henrie, Eldest Sonne to our Sacred Soveraigne, Prince of Wales… Together with the Ceremonies of the Knights of Bath… Whereunto is annexed the Royall Maske, presented by the Queene and her Ladies* (1610), which describes the ceremony of for the Knights of Bath and includes the text for Samuel Daniel's masque, *Tethys' Festival*.[220] Of the river pageant, it reports, "The same day the devise of the fireworks & Seafight upon the Thames should like-wise have bene shewed, but for some respects were put of till the wedensday following, and then performed to the much content and admiration of the beholders" (B3v-B4r). This text also

[220] All references will be made in text by page number to this edition.

provides a report of the prince's river travel from Chelsea to Whitehall for the investiture. While Munday is more focused on the civic pageant, this text provides details about the prince's actions and the nature of the audience for his performance of sovereignty rather than the one presented on the river. While Munday describes the river's "swelling" welcome for her cargo, here the river is described as the backdrop for human action:

> Passing softly downe the streame, he was severally encountered by divers Lords, swhich came to meete him on the way: the Thames began soone to flote with Botes and Barges, hasting from all parts to meete him, and the shores on eyther side, where conveniency of place would give way to their desires, swarmed with multitudes of people, which stood wayting with greedy eyes to beholde his triumphant passage. (A3v-A4r)

And while Munday describes the Thames and even the weather as paying homage to the prince, this report provides what we might consider more accurate hydrologic detail: "understanding that the tide was falne so low, as there would not be convenient roome for all the Barges in his traine to go orderly downe, notwithstanding his first appointment was to have come to London about no one, and dinner prepared for him accordingly at White-hall, hee made stay at Barne Elmes" (A4r). The river's tides impede the prince's progress to Whitehall, so he puts ashore to wait for a more propitious current. The text records the same water pageant viewed at Chelsea. Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Companies of the City await him, "their Barges deck't with banners, streamers and engines, and sundry sortes of loud-sounding Instruments, aptly placed amongst them" (A4r). The text describes the whale and dolphin, and the "well furnish't Fleete of the City," which upon conclusion of the pageant, "turned their stemmes, and so proceeded towards London" (A4v). And then again the river is described as falling short of its duties to the prince: "it seemed the River (though then enlarged to her utmost limits by the tides friendly advantage) was too little to containe them: as likewise the land on eyther shore, which never felt the weight of such an infinity of people upon any former occasion" (B1r). The river served then as the stage for both

the dramatic procession of the prince, his train, and the city's leaders, as well as the stage for the pageant, water fight, and firework show. It provided multiple perspectives for viewing the performance of sovereignty, and multiple access points for both major players and the audience of the commons. As the previous quotation describes, never had the river felt such a mass of people as those who came to show see the prince. The river's banks are spaces that bring the land to the water, and zones that experience the ebb and flow of both tides and time. In one sense we can read this ecological zone of performance as a hostile and contingent, manifesting one perspective on the sovereign relation between king and people, and on the other, a river network provides a metaphor for sustenance, profit, and promise. Performing sovereignty means managing the orderly disorder inherent in ecological systems, from the people to the pollutants.

From the river to the court. On Monday, James and Henry took the Thames from Whitehall to Westminster for the investiture, and that evening enjoyed feasting and Samuel Daniel's *Tethys Festival: Or The Queenes Wake*. I propose we read Daniel's subtitle in two ways. The more relevant definition of "wake" would be a nocturnal festival common in parishes and market towns.[221] But a secondary definition, more nautical in scope and thus relevant to the masque's themes of aquatic mythology and naval industry, is the "track left on the water's surface left by a ship," or "course or general line of direction, that a ship has taken, or is to take."[222] Unlike Jonson's masques, with their narrative arc, Daniels' masque more overtly presents James and Anne's vision for their son and heir. The masque depicts Britain's prospective power in territorial waters as a way of unifying the nation. The masque's closing

[221] The word stems from the Latin *vigilia*, or "vigil": staying awake all night to celebrate a holy day (see "wake *n.1*, 4.a and b," OED Online). This would align well with Daniel's statement in the preface that "shewes and spectacles of this nature…being Complements of state, both to shew magnificence and to celebrate the feasts to our greatest respects" (E1r).
[222] "wake," *n.2.*, 1.a, 3," OED Online.

advises Henry to abandon dreams of international ventures and focus on domestic waters and the fishing industry, and this second definition of "wake" encourages him to follow in the, albeit misguided, footsteps of his father and turn his sights away from the wealth of the east and the New World.[223] Elizabeth worked to secure England's position on the global stage, but James would turn away from growing the country's maritime presence in favor of securing alliances through marriages and politics rather than action on the world stage.

While we may have left the real river Thames behind with Munday's pageants, Daniels' masque brings Britain's rivers to life through the bodies of the female masquers. Queen Anne performed the role of Tethys, wife of Neptune, and 13 ladies performed the rivers based on the their "dignitie, Signiories or places of birth" (E2v). Thus, we see geographic bodies aligned with human bodies in an attempt at national unity. Local place is important as long as it serves the larger project, the way we might read Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*. The masque purports to normalize heterogeneity by subsuming the local into the national through marital union. As we might expect, James and Anne's daughter Elizabeth is the Thames, with lesser ladies performing the Trent, the Arun, the Darwent, the Lee, the Ayr, the Severn, the Rother, and the Medway. Furthermore, appropriate to the investing of Henry as Prince of Wales, four minor Welsh rivers are impersonated, the Dulesse, the Olwy, the Wy, and the Uske.

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[223] John Pitcher writes, "The advice to Henry is straightforward: be satisfied with an empire of the British Isles, keep within its political frontiers, and prosper from fishing home waters" (in John Lindley's *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments, 1605-1640* [Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984], 38). Graham Parry concurs, "there is more than a hint that a policy of restraint and limitation was being conducted, reflecting the king's and queen's anxieties about their over-active son. …The advice coming from the queen is to stay within the limits of Great Britain: here is world enough for all your heroic strength. The scarf is more like a bridle. Worse is to come. For his maintenance and income, the prince is told to turn to fish" ("The Politics of the Jacobean Masque" in *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993], 97).

Jones' set designs had certainly advanced in the five years since *The Masque of Blacknesse*, due in some part to the development of the masque form but also to an enlargement of his aesthetic vision beyond Jonson's "landscapes." The first scene is "discovered":

> …on eyther side stood a great statue of twelve foot high, representing Neptune and Nereus. Neptune holding a Trident, with an Anchor made to it, and this Mot. *His artibus*: that is, *Regendo, & retinendo*, alluding to this verse of Virgill, *He tibi erunt artes, &c.* Nereus holding out a golden fish in a net, with this word *Industria*… (E2v-E3r)

As Neptune represents James, the trident and anchor are powerful symbols of maritime power. Virgil's quotation from the *Aenied* describes the arts of empire, which Daniel aligns here with Nereus' call to industry. The scene between the statues is a "Port or Haven,"

> with Bulworkes at the entrance, and the figure of a Castle commaunding a fortified towne: within this Port were many Ships, small and great, seeming to lie at Anchor, some nearer, and some further off, according to perspective: beyond all appeared the Horison or termination of the Sea, which seemed to moove with a gentle gale, and many Sayles, lying some to come into the Port, and others passing out. (E3r)

The Turkish garrison and castle from Munday's water pageant has been replaced with an English haven. Jones uses perspective to depict the comings and goings of a busy port, and again we have the wave action being used to depict water realistically on stage, though like Julie Sanders reminds modern readers of masques, real water was never used to depict waterscapes.[224] These stage waves, unlike those in *Blacknesse*, were probably made by moving a painted cloth. The industrious port scene then shifts to the mythological as Zephyrus, played by the Duke of York, and his naiads, fountain nymphs, and tritons bring Tethys' message to the court. Like the torchbearers in *The Masque of Blacknesse* the Tritons embody their watery element (though without the use of blue makeup): "skin-coates of watchet Taffata (lightned with silver) to shew the Muscles of their bodies," "finnes of silver," "a mantle of Sea-greene," "on their heads

[224] Sanders, *Cultural Geography*, 20.

garlands of Sedge, with trumpets of writhen shells in their hand" (E3v). The song praises the "birth / Unto new types of State, / So let it blisse create" (E4r). Tethys is reported as bringing happiness to Neptune/James' "Ilands and his Seas" and congratulations to his son Meliades/Henry. Triton delivers Tethys' gifts: a trident for James, and the sword of Astræa and scarf for Henry, "favours" returned by "Seas / And lands" to the men who grace them with their presence (E4r). The scarf Tethys intends for Henry to Triton goes on to describe Tethys' visit to "The sweete, and pleasant Shores of Cambria," enjoying the land's comforts and abundance in addition to "the joy of the Investiture at hand / Of their new Prince, whose Rites, with acts renownd / Were here to be solemniz'd on this Strand" (E4r). Daniel's speech calls attention to the island nature of Britain, the shore and strands are the location for the performance of both geography and sovereignty. However, as is next revealed, this is an imaginative geography, for here in Milford Haven all the attending rivers meet to honor the prince:

> All these within the goodly spacious Bay
> Of manifold inharboring Milford meete,
> The happy Port of Union, which gave way
> To that great Heros Henry, and his fleete. (E4v)

And present him Tethys' gifts scripted in geographical terms. For her son, the "Prince of th'Iles," the scarf is meant to "T'ingird the [northern nations]; wherein he may survey / Infigur'd all the spacious Emperie / That he is borne unto another day" (E4v). The queen sends her warning:

> But thinke Alcides pillars are the knot
> For there will be within the large extent
> Of these my waves, and watry Governement
> More treasure, and more certaine riches got
> Then all the Indies to Iberus brought,
> For Nereus will by industry unfold
> A Chimicke secret, and turne fishe to gold. (F1r)

Tethys argues that the Straits of Gibraltar should serve as the endpoint for Henry's ambition, and let Spain and Portugal venture to the Indies for gold. Instead, in good English fashion, "industry"

(written in alchemical terms of sublimating base elements into gold) rather than speculation will fill the state coffers.

At this point the scene changes to Tethys' throne room where she and her nymphs appear in five niches, framed by dolphins, whales, and sea horses, and two fountains that ran with water. The fountains are described in elaborate detail, recalling Jones' Italian influences and the landscape designs of Salomon and Isaac de Caus.[225] They were,

> inchased worke with a freeze of fishes, and a battaile of Tritons, out of whole mouthes sprang water into the Bowle underneath. On the top of this was a round globe of gold full of holes, out of which issued aboundance of water, some falling into the receipt below, some into the Ovall vase, borne up by the Dolphines, and indeed there was no place in this great aquatick throne, that was not filled with the sprinckling of these two naturall seeming waters (F1v-F2r).

Presumably, Jones created a real working fountain for the stage. Moreover, the costumes for the queen and her ladies likewise ensconce them into the maritime grotto: their "head-tire was composed of shells and corrall, and from a great Muriake shell in forme of the crest of an helme, hung a thin waving vaile. Their upper garments had the bodies of sky-colored taffataes for lightnes, all embroidered with *maritime invention*." And "[t]he long skirt was wrought with lace, waved round about like a River, and on the bankes sedge and Sea-weedes, all of gold." The effect was the "winding meanders like a River" (F2v). The ladies become part of the maritime landscape of fish, water, shells, and seaweed, like the inverse of the portraits by Giuseppe Arcimboldo where objects become human.[226] Here, humans become objects in the maritime landscape. As the pageant and the masque celebrating Henry's investiture demonstrate, the Jacobean court was taking its maritime role quite seriously. The ecology of this performance

[225] De Caus was designing a baroque garden for Henry's palace at Richmond. At his death in 1612, de Caus left for the court of the Elector Palatine and his wife Elizabeth Stuart, for whom he designed the *Hortus Palatinus*.
[226] See *Water*, 1566, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Austria.

works quite curiously as we move from the real Thames to the artificial Thames. As the performance ecology morphs into the Banqueting House, the perspective also shifts. The horizontal axes of the river and its banks (and the affordances they provide for a diverse audience) shift into the Banqueting House where the king is confronted by a vision of his court as aquatic deities ensconced in a maritime palace. Bodies perform the hydraulic ecology of his nation, and the set demonstrates the moving power of water through backdrops, props, and set pieces.

3. A Bridal Riverbed

Francis Beaumont's *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Grayes Inne* was performed in the new Banqueting House at Whitehall on the 20th of February 1612 in honor of the marriage between the Princess Elizabeth and Frederick, the Elector Palatine. Presumably sponsored by Prince Henry and collaborated on by Beaumont and Francis Bacon, this masque transforms Elizabeth from virgin Thames to bridal Thames. The masque was supposed to be performed on Shrove Tuesday, when the masquers and other gentlemen went by boat down the Thames to Whitehall, "attended with a multitude of barges and gallies, with all variety of lowed Musicke, and severall peales of Ordnance; And led by two Admiralls" (A3v). However, the king and wedding couple found the hall too full for the performance and postponed it for the following Saturday. In the text's dedicatory letter to Francis Bacon, Beaumont provides the argument of the masque: "Jupiter and Juno willing to doe honour to the Mariage of the two famous Rivers, Thamesis and Rhene, imploy their Messengers severally, Mercurie and Iris for that purpose" (B2r). Iris explains her presence in Olympia in honor of the wedding "Betwixt two goodly Rivers, which have mixt / Their gentle rising waves, and are to grow / Into a thousand streames, great as themselves" (B4r). While Iris' blessing is suitable for the wedding and the fruit of the bridal bed,

it is a hydrological conundrum. When rivers merge, they do not then disperse into a stream. Instead, smaller streams join up until they empty into the larger lakes, seas, or oceans. Iris furthermore challenges Jove's involvement in nuptial rights, which should be the domain of her mistress, Juno. Mercury responds, when the " match concernes his general government" (B4v). He voices James' continued project of marital and national union, here stabilizing his authority by uniting his daughter to the Protestant power in Europe.

For the masque's entertainment, the two deities collaborate in devising suitable entertainment. Mercury's first attempt, an anti-masque of "divine Natures" dressed in diverse costumes rather than a singular style as in previous masques and in "consort like broken Musicke," attempts to represent the discordant harmonies of nature. Beaumont claims the "propertie of the devise" is based on the knowledge "that Rivers in nature are maintained either by Springs from beneath, or Shewers from above," so "He raiseth foure of the Naiades out of the Fountaines, and bringeth (B2r) downe five of the Hyades out of the Cloudes" (B2r-v). Mercury addresses the nymphs as the nursemaids of the river couple. Like previous incarnations of water deities, these "Naiades arise gentlie out of their severall Fountaines, and present themselves upon the Stage, attired in long habits of sea-greene Taffita, with bubbles of Christall intermixt with powdering of silver resembling drops of water, blewish Tresses on their heads, garlands of Water-Lillies" (C4r). The masque's bodies become the canvas for the representation of water. Their gowns are adorned with crystal drops colored with silver to look like drops of water falling from their blue hair. Iris complains that a wedding masque cannot be performed by one gender, so Mercury adds Cupids. Iris follows this with a dance of statues and a rural dance, and eventually submits to Mercury/Jove's authority in geographic terms: "if they snakie rod / Have power to search the heavens, or sound the sea, / Or call together all the ends of earth,…" (C4r).

The sovereign has the power to imagine geography on his terms. He brings together inhospitable elements and incompatible geographies. The masque concludes with displays of martial valor, probably under Henry's patronage.

4. Neptune's Failure

In November of 1612, Henry was dead and his younger brother Charles invested as the Prince of Wales. Twelve years later, Prince Charles would fail to woo the Spanish Infanta, a match that James sought to further solidify his allegiances on the Continent. The English, however, were more than relieved to see Charles return without a Spanish bride. Ben Jonson's *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion* was intended for performance in Jones' new Banqueting House at Whitehall on the 6th of January 1624, but it was never staged. The allegory of a glorious return was too obvious for James' taste.[227] Martin Butler writes, "When Charles returned to his rapturous welcome, he was in the position of challenging his father's most cherished policy" of protecting the stability of Europe through a marital alliance with Spanish

[227] The Venetian ambassador Alvise Valaresso wrote to the Doge and Senate that the masque was not performed because it one, "contain[ed] some rather free remarks against the Spaniards," and two, "They had almost decided to invite the Spanish ambassadors this year, it being their turn, in the course of the usual alternation, but France protested that he desired his place" (*CSP, Venetian* XVIII (1623-25), ed. Allen B. Hinds (London, 1912), 196-7. Valaresso's remarks reveal that the king had read Jonson's pre-performance text and suggested emendations before ultimately cancelling the whole performance. Jerzy Limon writes, "This can also serve as an example of the importance attached in those days to theatrical performances at court, with James fulfilling the function of 'high censor,' and also the widely acknowledged fact that a dramatic text had the potential to become a political instrument of propaganda" (*Dangerous Matter: English Drama and Politics in 1623/24* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986], 23). Limon follows Goldberg's reading of the masque as presenting the king as the focal point for the masque, through him the masque's message reaches both audience and reader. Without the king, "[t]he text becomes, or rather remains, meaningless" (27). Limon argues that James as Neptune "triumphs" because his test of the Spaniards is a success: "it was his wisdom that revealed the cunning falsehood of the seeming friends" (35).

Hapsburg cousins.[228] Jonson's masque had to please both the king and the prince by presenting national unity. To do so, Jonson employed tropes from both romance and classical epic. Charles is cast as an Achilles, Ulysses, or Aeneas, while James was again put in the role of Neptune. The pre-performance text does little to explain the masque's suppression, but Butler argues that its cancellation "indicates how acute was the crisis in which James's government found itself."[229] In 1625, Jonson recycles the main masque as *The Fortunate Isles and their Union*, completely rewriting the opening anti-masque. For my purposes, I will look at the text for *Neptune's Triumph* as a representation of the failure of James' union project. Islands do not wander; rivers do not marry. The geographic fictions scripted into the Jacobean masques present fantastic examples of sovereign authority but remain firmly entrenched in an unachievable mythos.

Jonson's anti-masque involves a conversation between a cook (Jones) and a poet (Jonson). The poet offers the argument for the masque:

> The mightie Neptune, mightie in his styles,
> And large command of waters, and of Isles,
> Not, as the Lord and Soveraigne of the Seas,
> But, Chiefe in the art of riding, late did please
> To send his Albion [Charles, Prince of Wales] forth, the most of his owne, (A4r)

Neptune is acknowledged as "Chiefe in the art of riding" so as to emphasize his court's maintenance of older chivalric codes and move away from the over-use of the oceanic imagery to the king's pastoral role.[230] James' Manager of Horse, the Duke of Buckingham, accompanies Albion as Proteus. When James as Neptune is desirous for his son to return, he uses his chorographical power to send an island to bring him home:

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[228] Martin Butler, "Introduction" to *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion* in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, vol. 5, ed. David Bevington, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 645.
[229] Butler, "Introduction," 648.
[230] Limon reminds us that Neptune's lineage through Poseidon included the creation of the horse and the instruction of men in the use of the bridle (*Dangerous Matter*, 28).

His great commands being done,
And he desirous to review his Sonne,
He doth dispatch a floting Ile, from hence,
Unto the Hesperian shores, to waft him thence. (A4r)

The Cook asks about the delay between Charles return and the performance of the masque. To which the Poet responds that he wanted to wait until the "tumultuous verse" and all the "bels, and bonfires, and good cheere was spent" and "all the tales and stories now were old / Of the Sea-Monster Archy, or grown cold" so that the Muses' song might be better appreciated (i.e. James did not like the attention that the failed match was getting from the people). The Cook contributes a floating island of his own,

In a braue broth, and of a sprightly greene,
Iust to the colour of the Sea; and then,
Some twentie *Syrens,* singing in the kettel,
With an *Arion,* mounted on the backe
Of a growne Conger, but in such a posture,
As, all the world should take him for a Dolphin:
O, 'twould ha' made such musick! Ha' you nothing,
But a bare Island? (B1r)

Here is a farcical miniature of the masques we have examined thus far. In the cook's pot are a sea-green broth and twenty Sirens, and Arion mounted on an eel made to look like a Dolphin. The cook emphasizes the distance between what is seen on stage and what is to be imagined, the wooden boards are waves, that painted canvas is a port, that a conger eel is a dolphin.

The Cook then sends out a dance of foods to humorous effect. Jonson describes the Cook's dancing bouillabaisse replaced by Jones' moving island, upon which sit the masquers. As the island floats to shore, Apollo sings,

Look forth, the Shepherd of the seas,
And of the Ports, that keep'st the keyes,
And to your Neptune tell,
His Albion, Prince of all his Isles,
For whome the sea, and land, so smiles,

Is home returned well. (B3v)

When the stage machinery brings the island to the front of the scene, Proteus, Portunus, and Saron descend and sing in homage to the State but capitalizing on the prince's popularity with the people. The Chorus urges festivities in order to "mingle all their sweets, and salts" (C1v). Oceanus' warning in *The Masque of Blacknesse*, that fresh and salt waters might be mixed, is here revised to illustrate the necessity of accommodating difference.

With the masquers descended, the island recedes and the scene changes to Oceanus' maritime palace and then again to the "prospect of the Sea" (C1v). The Poet orders the audience to "turne and view the wonders of the deepe, / Where Proteus heards, and Neptunes orkes do keep, / Where all is plough'd, yet still the pasture greene / The wayes are found, and yet no path is seene" (Cv). We see here a return to the concept of a "wake" from *Tethys Festival*; however, Neptune/James' wake is at once written and it vanishes, like wakes at sea. The "green" sea was a common trope (see Macbeth's worry about "turning the green one red"). Following the dance, the scene changes again to reveal the English fleet and the Poet describes how the quick scene-changes "refresh" the eyes with "part of Neptunes strength / See, yond, his fleete, ready to goe, or come, / Or fetch the riches of the Ocean home, / So to secure him both in peace, and warres, / Till not one ship alone, but all be starres" (C2v). Again, the queen's admonition to Henry to avoid the temptations of overseas conquest and trade is rewritten by Jonson, whose eyes are directed less towards James, who would die a few months later, and more towards his successor, Charles, "one of [whose] first acts as king was to commence the sea campaign against Spain that his father had so long refused."[231] To lighten the mood, the Cook re-enters and offers the Poet his further services: "I have another service fer you, Bother Poet, a dish of pickled Saylors, fine salt

[231] Butler, "Introduction," 687.

Sea-boyes, shall relish like Anchoves, or Caveare, to draw downe a cup of nectar, in the skirts of a night" (C2v). The sailors dance and leave for revelry on the town in homage to their "young Master" (Charles), who the Poet praises as knowing "the Compasse and the Care" (C2v). The masque concludes with Proteus, Portunus, and Saron asking Neptune to for release, like Ariel at the end of *The Tempest.* The Chorus wishes that "thy Subjects hearts be all on flame":

> Whilst thou dost keepe the earth in firme estate,
> And, 'mongst the winds, dost suffer no debate.
> But both at sea, and land, our powers increase,
> With health, and all the golden gifts of peace. (C3r)

Through the combination of land and sea, James is offered a vision of peace and plenty, which he would not live long enough to see realized. His perspective remained turned inwards through the end of his reign.[232] As William Davenant addresses the now King Charles I in his 1638 masque *Britannia Triumphans,* acknowledging the power of both land and sea could provide Britain's needed security and global prestige:

> What to thy power is hard or strange?
> Since not alone confined unto the land;
> Thy sceptre to a trident change!
> And straight unruly seas thou canst command![233]

The representation of sovereignty, maritime or otherwise, in the Jacobean masque is predicated on elemental, material networks. By recovering the masque's networks, through its stage materials, performers, locations, etc, we can reconstruct the ecology of performance. Moreover, the masques stage networks, here maritime, with which the sovereign is supposed to identify. The difference between Elizabeth and James is that the former, if only metaphorically,

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[232] "King James was reluctant to make use of England's greatest power, the navy, favouring instead, if necessary, a limited military involvement on land" (Limon, *Dangerous Matter*, 37).
[233] William Davenant, *Britannia Triumphans* in *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, vol. 1, eds. Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), lines 523-6.

considered herself married to the land of England, while the latter preferred to lord over the marriages of his subjects, written as waterways in the masques under question in this chapter. James preferred to remove himself from the ecology of sovereignty and of performance. In the banqueting halls of the royal palaces, the masques demonstrated how sovereign power is comprised of very real elements and materials. James must be Neptune, Elizabeth the Thames, and the court turned into the maritime landscape. But as the masques elevate James to the position of "shepherd of the seas" they reveal the artificiality and networks required to maintain this level of imaginative fantasy—wooden waves, blue skin, singing fish. While the sovereign is represented as part of the masque's network, Neptune is given the chair of state; his silence and sublimated authority work against the vibrant materiality of the masque.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Strange Islands of John Fletcher's *The Indian Princess* and *The Sea Voyage*

> Ne was it Island then, ne was it paysd
> Amid the *Ocean* waues, ne was it sought
> Of marchants farre, for profits therein prasyed,
> But all was desolate, and of some thought
> By sea to have bene from the *Celticke* mayn-land brought.[234]

> The third sort of maritime increase are islands arising *de novo* in the king's seas, or the king's arms thereof. These upon the same account and reason *primâ facie* and of common right belong to the king; for they are part of that soil of the sea, that belonged before in point of propriety to the king; for when islands *de novo* arise, it is either be the recess or sinking of the water, or else by the exaggeration of sand and slubb, which in the process of time grow firm land invironed with water…[235]

> Islands are geographical features which can emerge, change and even disappear.[236]

> The island is both a real place and a metaphor for itself at the same time.[237]

Although there are no English in John Fletcher's island plays, this chapter moves from the British island under consideration in chapter three to "other" islands where the British had begun to flex their maritime sovereignty in the beginning of the seventeenth century. John Fletcher's *The Indian Princess* (1620) and *The Sea Voyage* (1622) are set on occasional islands—temporary and imaginary spaces—where maritime sensibilities can be tried and

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[234] Spenser, *The Fairie Queene*, Book II, Canto X, stanza 5. Spenser goes on to describe the white cliffs of Dover, named Albion by a "venturous Mariner" for whom they functioned as a "sea-marke" for "vnheedie wrecke and rash decay." That is, the cliffs mark hazardous coastal topographies; they warn the sailor *away* from the land until, Spenser argues, fishermen found the area fit with "ports for…trade" and then "invade" (stanza 6).

[235] From Matthew Hale' *De Jure Maris* (1676) in Stuart A. Moore's *A History of the Foreshore and The Law Relating Thereto. With A Hitherto Unpublished Treatise by Lord Hale* (London: Stevens & Haynes, 1888), 383.

[236] Klaus Dodds and Stephen A. Royle. "The Historical Geography of Islands." *Journal of Historical Geography* 29.4 (2003): 487.

[237] Judith Schalansky, *Atlas of Remote Islands: Fifty Islands I Have Never Set Foot On and Never Will*, trans. Christine Lo (New York: Penguin, 2010), 23.

tested.[238] Islands are mostly shore, as the immense coastline of England and the archipelagic chains of the Scotland and Indonesia attest. Islands are also contained spaces of representation and thus on one hand, a closed ecological system. However, as ships plied the world's oceans, each island became subject to the infiltrating Europeans and their commerce, diseases, technologies, and sex drives. Islands offered stages for social and political experiments, and also tested the capabilities of travelers. In order to reach the far-flung lands that tempted with their promise of wealth and prestige, travelers had to navigate perilous seas and geographic obstacles, with the threat of shipwreck, rebellion, or catastrophe always on the horizon. While coasting in the Mediterranean provided one set of challenges, crossing the open ocean presented another.

"Lay her a-hold, a-hold! set her two courses off to / sea again; lay her off," the sailors cry in *The Tempest*.[239] The combination of rocky coasts and stormy seas is more hazardous than open ocean. In drama, too, managing the elements of the coast (the border between audience and stage) proves to be a critical skill for the actor. While prose narratives can rely on the expansiveness of the page to hold the vastness of epic and romance, stage plays makes humans *act* in a constrained space, highlighting the artificiality of romance, and thus of time and place.[240] Drama provides the crucible in which to throw characters, places, and objects and see what

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[238] The stage is an island, a petri dish for experiments. See Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576-1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): "…[W]ith rich trappings and strong rhetoric, playhouses projected fictions of geographic mastery, making action in distant lands present to the imagination of islanded spectators. …A book of maps was a theatre, the playhouse a habitable map, of the world" (40).
[239] William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, 1.1.58.
[240] Cyrus Mulready, "'Asia of the One Side, and Afric of the Other': Sidney's Unities and the Staging of Romance," *Staging Early Modern Romance: Prose Fiction, Dramatic Romance, and Shakespeare*, edited by Mary Ellen Lamb and Valerie Wayne (New York: Routledge, 2009): ""The opening of England's borders to the rest of the world, it seems, necessitates fundamental changes to dramatic practice. …[Sidney's] geographic allusions point to the desire among playwrights and poets in the period to turn to romance as a means of 'representing' the 'many places and times' of an expanding world" (59).

happens. More specifically for this chapter, stage romance, or tragicomedy, *improvises* with its materials and makes *improvisation* a central part of successfully navigating the risky seascape. To that end, this chapter will examine two island types, the exotic Eastern Indian Spice Island and the fictional, nameless island, as two examples of what I call the "occasional island," one that emerges in geography or literature, or both, in order to test the spirit and drive of the European traveler. The plays employ a language of marking and turning as means to identify friend or foe, port or hazard. They strive to determine if strangeness—strange geography, strange women, and strange wonders—can be turned to profitable political and social ends.

I. The Occasional Island

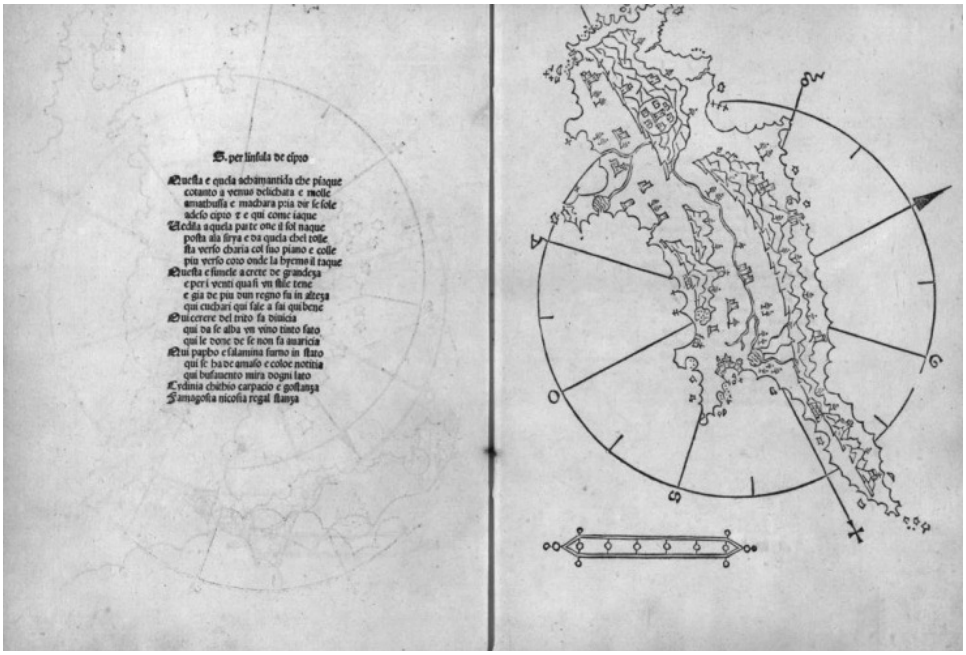

Figure 8. Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti, *Isolario, Per Insula de Cipro*, 1485, chart, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.

Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti's fifteenth century portolan charts of 49 Aegean islands visualize the nexus of poetry, cartography, and navigation in a curious manner: each cartographic rendering is accompanied by a sonnet describing the island's geography, flora and fauna,

population, and landmarks.[241] In the accompanying image, the island is superimposed over a wind rose, and marks indicate rocks and shallow waters. The first printed collection of maps, Bartolommeo's *Isolario* bears little use value. The sonnets are surrounded by white space, a rare feature when paper was a highly valued commodity, but one that re-enforces the analogy between the poem and the island. Moreover, the extraction of the islands from their context prohibits actual navigational use, especially in the Aegean archipelago filled with rock outcroppings, reefs, shallows, and small islands. The writer, a Venetian with considerable maritime experience, displays little inheritance of Ptolemaic knowledge and presumably relied on first-hand experience navigating his triremes in the eastern Mediterranean. However, he translated this knowledge into an imaginative geography on the page in which the text exists as island, the island as text, turning real geographic formations into aesthetic imaginings. The *Isolario* demonstrates the Renaissance fascination with the "island." The blank space around the sonnet could be filled with the reader's own experience or musings on these Hellenic spaces, spaces that are at once entirely familiar yet rendered with a flair for the exotic.

Likewise, this chapter's epigraph from *The Fairie Queene* reconstructs the origin story of the island of Britain. In Book II's chronicle of British kings, Spenser describes how some "believed" that the island was at one point part of the European mainland. After breaking apart, the island drifted to its current position in northern waters, where a mariner chanced upon Dover's white cliffs and, finding them hazardous, named them Albion so that they would be a seamark on charts for future sailors. While a minor instance of occasional geography, Spenser's invocation of continental break-up sets him apart from traditional foundation stories from English chroniclers like Geoffrey of Monmouth and Raphael Holinshed, for whom the island

[241] See Anastasia Stouraiti, "Talk, script and print: the making of island books in early modern Venice" *Historical Research* 86.232 (2013).

was already surrounded by western seas.[242] Bart van Es rightly contends that this stanza defines "the island entirely in terms of what it is not," but I would argue one step further, that Spenser pulls this island literally "out of the blue."[243] It is a poetic "island making," wherein the poet adopts the power of geology to shape the world of romance and epic, genres intimately tied to island geographies. Moreover, Spenser's mariner does not name the island as a promised land but as danger zone. The cliffs, rocks, and waves threaten his skiff. While now emblematic of Britain's stability and strength, they are in fact markers of a hazardous coast. The "sea-mark" is a reminder of this paradox—it is at once the desired ending point, the location of safe havens, but often the littoral zone is the most threatening for pilots, with shoals, reefs, rocks, and waves all aiming to break the ship apart before it even reaches the shore.[244]

While continents remain relatively stable over long geologic periods, islands are more susceptible to eroding, shifting, flooding, expanding, and in the extreme, creation *ex nihilo* and destruction and disappearance. Islands are formed from either the continental plate, like Great Britain and Long Island, or the oceanic floor and are often volcanic in origin, like Iceland and Hawaii. In most cases, the island emerges as a product of geologic change, plates shifting, sea levels rising, sand accumulation. As much as they are exposed by these processes, they can also disappear. Island-nations, then, demand a model of government that can accommodate the flux of a restless, violent planet. As sites of conquest and colonization, islands present an interesting set of contrasting features: as clearly bounded geographic units, claims of sovereignty are more

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[242] Albion was the name of the first giant-king, son of Neptune, to rule Britain. See Raphael Holinshed, *The Historie of Englande*, vol. 1, 4.
[243] Bart van Es, *Spenser's Forms of History*, 39.
[244] "sea-mark, n. 1," OED Online: "The boundary or limit of the flow of the sea. *lit*. and *fig*. 2.a. A conspicuous object distinguishable at sea which serves *to guide or warn* sailors in navigation" (italics added). *The Tempest*, 1.1: *A confused noise within: 'Mercy on us!'-- 'We split, we split!'-- 'Farewell, my wife and children!'-- 'Farewell, brother!'--'We split, we split, we split!'"*

easily made and also easily challenged; islands are easily encompassed and settled but also quick to be deforested, strip-mined, eroded, and invaded. Islands are sites of paradox. They are at once supremely local, isolated from the "mainland" by the sea, often considered Edenic, virgin territory, and they are also integral to global exploration and imperial expansion.[245] Fictional islands have been used for social and political experiments (Plato's Atlantis, More's Utopia, and Bacon's New Atlantis, Harington's Oceana), as obstacles in the drive of epic and empire (Homer and Virgil's Mediterranean isles), as sites to reconsider man in the state of nature (in *The Swiss Family Robinson* and Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*).

Carl Schmitt writes,

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[245] See Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty*: "The multiple real and imagined uses of islands influenced contrasting representations of island sovereignty. As naturally bounded spaces that could be thoroughly discovered and surveyed, islands seemed by their very nature to simplify the process of taking possession and making dominion transparent. What could be confusing about sovereignty over an island? Yet the same conditions that made islands seemingly easy objects of dominion rendered their rule a matter of legal complexity. Precisely because claims to islands referred to neatly bounded territories and implied a perfect match between authority and jurisdiction, individual or corporate authorities with control over islands often exercised an unusual degree of autonomy and presented novel challenges to imperial constitutions" (164). Rather than calling upon islands as players in global geopolitics, Greene's "Island Logic" in *The Tempest and its Travels*, eds. Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), positions the island against "worldmaking." In his discussion of *The Tempest*, which Benton uses as an epigraph to her chapter on penal colonies, Greene argues against reading the location of Prospero's island in terms of Mediterranean or Caribbean colonial politics: "Space that had been conceived within an established political order now seems open and unscripted" (142). Richard Grove writes in *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), "There may have been a particular attraction in islands for the English, being islanders themselves." As sites of paradox, he argues that "[t]he geography of an island actually offered a contradictory set of opportunities: the social opportunity for redemption and newness as well as an encapsulation of problems posed by the need for physical and mental survival and health. The related emergence, or re-emergence, of the island as a powerful cultural metaphor in Western European thought, particularly in the context of colonization, can be closely traced in the literature. Indeed, the island metaphor could be said to constitute a vital part of the symbolic discourse of early colonialism, albeit an ambiguous part" (33). However, Grove's subsequent analysis of Shakespeare's island in *The Tempest* ignores the ambiguity of the site and its inhabitants. Caliban is no more "indigenous inhabitant" than Prospero, who is less "natural scientist" than alchemical philosopher (34).

> England is an island. But in order to deserve being called an "island" in the sense given to that word in the sentence "England is an island," she first had to become the carrier and the focus of the elemental transition from land to high seas and to inherit all the maritime surge released during that period. It was only by turning into an "island" in a new sense, previously unknown, that England could succeed in conquering the oceans and win the first round of the planetary spatial revolution.
>
> …While talking of maritime communications, we speak of maritime routes, whereas in reality, there are but lines and no routes as on dry land. A ship on high seas recalls a piece of territory afloat, a "floating extension of the national territory," to use the words sanctioned by the international law. A man-of-war makes us think of a floating fortress, and an island like England, of a fortified castle with waves lapping round it as in a moat.[246]

Schmitt returns this vision of a maritime globe to the description of Kenilworth by Gaunt in Shakespeare's *Richard II*. He links the oceangoing ships to the island of England (while for Schmitt, England was considered an island, for Gaunt, England was but a portion of the British island, what we now call an archipelago) to a moated castle. He argues that it was because England understood *island logic*, being herself an island, that she was able to become the maritime superpower of the modern era. Schmitt calls this English heritage "insular consciousness," noting that it was not always maritime but rather land-bound for much of England's early history. During the sixteenth century, Schmitt argues that the English ceased considering themselves as a piece of the continent and rather thought of themselves as a part of the sea. They began to imagine themselves as an oceanic, rather than continental, island (despite the geologic unrealities). The English could imagine a geopolitical world not from the view of the land, but from the sea.

During an age expansion and empire, islands served as crucial stopping points on the voyages east and west from Europe.[247] In the South Atlantic, St. Helena, uninhabited until

[246] Schmitt, *Land and Sea*, Part 17.
[247] See Spenser, *The Fairie Queene*, Book I, Canto XII, stanza 42.

discovered by the Portuguese in 1502, was an important stopping point for ships coming from Asia. English warships eventually plied its waters to ransack Spanish and Portuguese shipping. Islands closer to home were similarly closer in feeling. The further away the traveler got, the more foreign and exotic the lands became. Often, natives were happy to trade and provision decimated ships; other times, they offered resistance if not outright threats. Stories of cannibals and amazons, burning lakes, pygmies, and monsters existed alongside voyage narratives of encounter and exchange.[248] Both reveal the European viewpoint of the wide, watery globe. Voyaging across either the Atlantic or the Indian Ocean required plenty of navigational expertise and a fair amount of luck. Knowledge of stopping places along navigational routes was key for a successful voyage to replenish stores of water and food.[249] Moreover, the destination was often an island amongst other islands. Topographic features figure prominently in maritime charts alongside water depths, sounding samples, currents, winds, and hazards. Shipwreck, scurvy, or hostile natives could turn a well-invested voyage fruitless. As a zone of exception, fluidity, and imperfection, the littoral is the most important landmark for the pilot of a ship. In legal terms, the "shore" is defined as the space between high and low tides. Thus a shore is neither land nor water, but both. As such, it is the dominion of the king, like the seawater and land that extends out from the continental shelf. Ships must navigate this space, the zone between land and sea, in order to anchor and go ashore, but it is a space continually rewritten by tides, floods, storms, and human engineering so that maritime charts must continually be updated. The pilot or captain

[248] Sir Walter Raleigh's *The Discoverie of Guiana* (1595)*;* Richard Hakylut*, Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (1582) and *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation* (1589–1600); John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (1624); Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625).

[249] See Spenser, end of Book I, *The Fairie Queene*; Grove, "the matter of water is paramount" (*Green imperialism*, 43).

must manage such contingent knowledge. He must be able to read the tides, winds, and waters in addition to the more stable landmarks of villages, coasts, church steeples, mountains, and when he gets half way around the world to the Ring of Fire, volcanoes.

The transformative verge between land and sea as the space of perilous potential provocatively represents the imaginative drive of romance. Set in locales far removed from the cultural hub of London, the focus of the previous chapter, John Fletcher's *The Island Princess* (1619/20) and *The Sea Voyage* (1622) present islands as settings for the staging of colonial and sexual anxieties and the failure of a masculine, European hegemony endemic to both ship of state and the state of the ship. This chapter juxtaposes two island types, the exotic island of *The Island Princess* and the imaginary island of *The Sea Voyage*. I argue that both plays invoke an occasional maritime geography that presents various threats and temptations to the European travelers. In *The Island Princess*, romance is played out in terms of maritime politics between the Filipino natives and the Portuguese merchants and courtiers. Fletcher and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage*, based in part on Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, exaggerates the relationship between knowledge and action by positioning various social and gendered groups around a fantastic pair of islands. Critical discourse has engaged both the colonialist and misogynistic posturing of the sea travelers that solidifies national constructions; as in the court masque, appropriate marriages must be made in order to reinstitute the sovereign order. However, Fletcher's tragicomedies also use island topographies to explore a different model of sovereignty, one that prizes contingent knowledge over other forms of action. Movement from land to sea and back again necessitates the reconsideration of epistemological and political agency, questioning who maintains control over the littoral zone that is by its very nature indeterminable and ungovernable.

II. Fletcher's Island Resorts

1. *The Island Princess* (1619/20)

In 1620, the price of cloves rose to its highest point since the first recorded sale in 1607. For the next ten years, cloves would trade at their highest prices until supply outran the demand.[250] Before the seventeenth century, cloves could only be found on a string of five islands of the North Moluccas. Each island "is little more than a volcanic cone jutting from the water, fringed by a thin strip of habitable land…. Together they represent a few dozen square miles of millions of miles of islands and ocean."[251] The Moluccans are part of the Indonesian archipelago, and their tropical, volcanic micro-climates provide the ideal combination of soil acidity, rainfall, and temperature for cloves, along with nutmeg and mace (though the latter are even more restricted to just the Bandas islands). These were the spices of Paradise, and they drove Europeans to voyage around the world and engage in maritime altercations far from their homeports.[252] It is this multinational, transoceanic context in which John Fletcher's *The Island Princess* takes place. Fletcher's play provocatively demonstrates the collision between multiple European and island ideologies. Though cloaked in a romantic plot, *The Island Princess* argues for the adoption of "island logic," or action based on contingency and improvisation.

Seventeenth century tropical botanist Georg Eberhard Rumph claimed, "God had deliberately planted the precious clove and nutmeg 'on a few small islets…hidden in the outermost corner of the Eastern ocean.'"[253] Thomas Clayborne describes the multiple courses

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[250] K.N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company 1600-1640* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1965), 170.
[251] Jack Turner, *Spice: The History of a Temptation* (New York: Knopf, 2004), 29.
[252] "Spices were a taste of Paradise in a world submerged in filth; they were far more than mere foodstuffs" (Turner, 43). In addition to culinary uses sweet and savory, cloves were used as aphrodisiacs, incense, medicine, and perfume.
[253] Quoted in Donkin, *Between East and West*, 4.

heading north from Celebes that ships must take in order to reach the Spice Islands. Various shoals, sandbars, ooze, shallows, and islets must be navigated. Once through the Straits of Makyan, almost on the equator, you can "see all the Clove Ilands, which shew like piked hills in the middest of them. You may steere with any of them at your pleasure, if wind and weather serve, for there is no danger lying neere them."[254] The Moluccan islands of Ternate and Tidore, the setting for Fletcher's The *Island Princess*, occupy what one might call the most peripheral of locales for the early modern mindset. These islands are represented at the easterly edge of Renaissance world maps, often covered by cartouches, roses, or other cartographic markings. They rest at the edge of the world, when that world is compressed onto a two-dimensional page.[255] On the other hand, the Moluccas reside at the center of the Spanish-Portuguese struggle to divide up the globe in the fifteenth century. The Atlantic meridian—370 leagues west of the

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[254] *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, 1604*-1606, edited by William Foster (Germany: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1967), 73.

[255] In *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance 1545-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), Andrew Hadfield concludes that the "the location of *The Island Princess* is undoubtedly significant. The East Indian setting strongly implies that, if fruitful exchanges were to be established between Europe and the rest of the world, it was more likely to occur through trade in commodities such as cloves than through the Manichean fantasies of adventurers" (263). In *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics, 1589-1642: Real and Imagined Worlds* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), Claire Jowitt reads the narrative of voyage and trade as "a carefully coded and obfuscated view of Stuart personalities and policies—marriage to Spanish Infanta. Fletcher's use of a female, monarchic character, a distant geographical location, and the Portuguese nation as 'heroes', allow him to make available an allegory of considerable force as he confronts some of the most contentious and sensitive issues facing the Stuart dynasty at this time" (134). In *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher* (Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), Gordon McMullan calls the play "ostensibly Virginian," an argument also made by Hadfield, but which overlooks the importance of the play's East Asian island geography. By looking to religious conversion and colonial anxieties in the Indies, Ania Loomba reads beyond the Pocahontas/indian princess trope in her article 'Break her will, and bruise no bone sir': Colonial and Sexual Mastery in Fletcher's *The Island Princess*," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 2.1 (2002). Loomba argues that reading the Moluccas as stand-ins for the Americas ignores the degree to which "[e]astern lands were not…equally malleable for construction as virginal, nor could possession be represented so easily as outright rape. These lands had a longer history of being visited by European men…" (71).

Cape Verde Islands—had been determined by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494: the Portuguese controlled everything east of the line (the African and Indian continents), while the Spanish controlled everything west of the line (all of the Americas save the tip of Brazil).[256] This line in the sea was completely arbitrary, based on longitudes only measurable on stable land before the invention of the marine chronometer by John Harrison in the late seventeenth century.[257] However, the delineation provided the Iberian powers with a monopoly on trade and colonization.

The problem with this division is that the antemeridian, where Portuguese dominion stopped and Spanish began, was much harder to determine since no one had reached the East Indian Spice Islands. At the time, Columbus' claim to discovering the outer islands of the East Indies was under harsh scrutiny, so the Portuguese were eager to reach the Spice Islands before the Spanish arrived via the Pacific. The Portuguese already had footholds in India and Sri Lanka and were sending cinnamon, pepper, and ginger back to Europe, but clove, mace, and nutmeg were not as regularly available since no European really knew where they came from. De Gama claimed that they came from "Malequa"—the name for the strait that lead to the Moluccas, which many believed ruled by a Muslim sultan who traded with the Arabs, Gujerati, Malabari, and the Chinese.

The sultans of Ternate and Tidore frequently changed allegiances, but this rivalry was conducive to stability in the larger region. Like political affiliation, Leonard Andaya writes that Moluccans viewed the competing forces of Islam and Christianity as complimentary rather than

[256] Turner, *Spice,* 25.
[257] "The demarcation was for all intents and purposes a legal fiction. Navigators heading west into the Atlantic had to rely on dead reckoning to determine whether they were in the Spanish or Portuguese zone" (Turner, *Spice*, 25). Even more unclear was the meeting point of these hemispheres of influence in the Pacific.

conflicting belief systems: "The Malukans easily accommodated aspects of both new belief systems."[258] However, as viewed from the outside, the fluid nature of the Moluccans was rewritten into stories of conquest and conversion, despite the regularity with which the natives changed their beliefs. What we can see from this native perspective is a system of improvisation and contingency (the islanders) confronting the centrifugal and hegemonic nature of European governance. Andaya records that the most important feature of sixteenth century Moluccan history was the shift from sovereignty centered on the land to sovereignty centered on the sea. The *pinate*, "an office which reinforced the symbolic role of the jogugu as lord of the land," came to be superseded by the *syahbandar*, "a Persian title."[259] This reflected a shift in power from the *jogugu* (land-based) to the sultan (sea and trade-based). Moreover, another foreign title was added, the *kapita laut*: admiral of the sea. Andaya concludes,

> By the establishment of these new posts, the sultan was able to construct a whole new authority structure which bypassed the jogugu in his role as 'lord of the land.' The dominance of the sultan, symbolically representing the 'outside' and the 'sea,' over the jogugu/pinate representing the 'inside' and the 'land,' became assured once the powerholders with the land were replaced by those associated with the sea.[260]

Just as the English were turning from the land to the sea in the sixteenth century, as my previous chapters have argued, so too on the other side of the world were the Moluccans realizing their maritime power in the face of Iberian hostility. This Moluccan dualism was antithetical to the European need to identify "the enemy" in order to justify war or amity. For the Moluccans, strangeness trumped enmity, and was much easier to assimilate into cultural and political systems. As the following brief history will demonstrate, Ternate and Tidore played host to a

[258] Leonard Y. Andaya, *The World of Malaku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 146.
[259] Andaya, *World of Malaku*, 148.
[260] Andaya, *World of Malaku*, 149.

veritable cast of Europeans. The islanders accommodated them as the occasion demanded but resisted wholesale colonization until the Dutch demolished clove production in the seventeenth century.

The early history of the discovery of the Moluccas foreshadows themes in Fletcher's play. Several adventurers ended up living and prospering on the islands, while also becoming engaged in the long-running enmity between the sultans of Ternate and Tidore. Furthermore, successful location of the islands required maritime skill and local knowledge in piloting ships through the East Indies and dealing with native authorities. The first European power to claim landfall in the Spice Islands was the Portuguese. Towards the end of 1511, Alfonso de Albuquerque sent three ships led by Antonio d'Abreu to find the islands. He based his decision largely on Ludovico de Varthema's story of his journey to the islands, which he claims deserve little praise in terms of their geography or inhabitants and were only valuable for the spices. Even if Varthema's report was meant to deter Spanish interest by describing the worthlessness of these paradisiacal islands, he was the first to link cloves to the Moluccas and nutmeg and mace to Banda, a neighboring island. Varthema described the voyage as covering 300 miles, but it is more like 1,000 miles between Malacca and the Moluccas. (Portugal closely guarded reports of their exploits because it was still unclear whether the Moluccas were in Spanish or Portuguese waters.)[261] Joining d'Abreu was Francisco Serrão, close acquaintance of Ferdinand Magellan, who had returned with Albuquerque to India and then westward home. Albuquerque charged d'Abreu to "take no prizes…and never to go ashore except for the purchase of spices."[262] In terms of exploration and colonization, the Portuguese approached the Spice Islands as merchants,

[261] See John Keay, *The Spice Route: A History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 194-5; Turner, *Spice*, 31.
[262] Keay, *Spice Route*, 196.

not discoverers or conquerors.[263] During the expedition's return from Ambon, a port between Banda and the Moluccas, Serrão's ship became separated from the group and wrecked upon a reef. Commandeering an approaching boat, Serrão returned to the north of Ambon and was soon rescued by a Ternatean prince who had heard of the Portuguese's prowess. In Ternate, Serrão married a Javanese woman and had many children. In addition to providing the Portuguese with a real claim to the Spice Islands, he would also undertake important correspondence with Ferdinand Magellan.

In 1519, Magellan made his way west to join Serrão, since by then he had allied himself with Charles I of Spain after becoming disillusioned with the Portuguese. Magellan claimed that his circumnavigation would locate the counterpoint to the Tordesillas line and thus satisfy the pope rather than the monarchs, but neither power was comfortable with the result. This would require demarcation that placed the Spice Islands within the zone of Spanish control. Fifteen months after leaving Spain in 1519, three of his five ships entered the Pacific. Magellan's voyage was hamstrung by two uncertainties: just how big the American continent was (a problem solved when they passed through the Tierra del Fuego) and how big the Pacific Ocean was (far larger than presumed). Fortunately, they wandered into a westward current.[264] However, instead of continuing west to the islands, Magellan stayed on Zzubu (Cebu) to convert the natives but ended up being slaughtered in the surf during a battle with a neighboring king. In 1521, two of Magellan's ships reached the Moluccas, by which time Serrão had died. Keay writes, "The expedition was not unequivocally Spanish, while Ternate was seen as a Portuguese, and so

[263] Loomba, "'Break her will'": "The East is figured as a wealthy, occasionally gracious and beautiful, but needy woman, and the European merchant-colonist is her knight-errant who will be suitably rewarded for his bravery, but who needs to woo rather than simply ravish her" (72).
[264] Turner, *Spice*, 33.

hostile, dependency." The fort and incoming governor made Ternate a less than desirable landing point so the Spanish turned south to Tidore.

> Though the location of the Moluccas in terms of longitude remained unclear, Portugal's eastward progress had finally been overlapped by Spain's westward progress. A line of collision, if not demarcation, had been established; and it passed straight through the Spice Islands.[265]

In 1522, the Spanish had lost their position in the islands, with Tidore coming under Ternatean control and the remaining Spanish sent to Goa for trial, but this meant little in Europe since Magellan's *Victoria* had returned safely to Spain, laden with spices, and proving that the world was indeed round, and in the eyes of the Spanish, under their command. But the Portuguese would not give up their claim to the Islands. In ;4, parties from the two countries met at the Spain-Portugal border to decide where to draw the meridian in the East. The Spanish preposterously proposed the meeting be moved to the West Pacific so the line could be determined physically. Neither wanted to give up their claim to the Moluccas.

Over the course of the next century, the islands changed hands based in part on who had more man and ship-power. The Iberians "sought to claim Malaku's riches by proving that the islands fell within their domain, moving the islands to either side of the hemisphere line to do so. Hence the struggle for possession of Ternate and Tidore determined where the division of the hemispheres fell and shaped the mapping of the globe."[266] While the longitude line remained fixed, the exact coordinates of the islands was less definitive. For bureaucrats back in Europe, geography could be invented to serve their own ends.[267] The antemeridian agreed to in the Treaty

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[265] Keay, *The Spice Route*, 205.
[266] Clare McManus, "Introduction," *The Indian Princess* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 9.
[267] "From a tight focus on the straits that separate the islands, we can pull back and see the vast, fiercely opposed Malukan maritime empires of which each island was the centre, with Ternatean territories spread out to the west and Tidorean to the east. From there we can pull further back to see the islands as the dividing point of opposing European empires—first of the Portuguese and

of Zaragoza in 1529 gave the Moluccas to Portugal in exchange for 350,000 ducats to pay for a royal wedding and until science could accurately determine which side of the meridian the islands lay on (it would ultimately be Portugal's but the claim was rendered null by the union of the crowns in 1580).[268] Another result of these voyages to the east was the opening of "blue water" trade routes that did not rely on isthmuses or peninsulas; however, a papal bull barred navigation in the Indian Ocean by anyone other than Portugal. This would change in the later half of the sixteenth century when England and the Dutch provinces rejected papal dominion and plunged into the maritime world once monopolized by the Spanish and Portuguese.[269]

In 1579, Francis Drake followed the wake of Magellan west from Europe, around South America, and across the Pacific to the Moluccas, where he stayed for one week, adding spices to his already treasure-filled holds. Surprisingly for Drake, the Portuguese were now in Tidore, so Drake landed in Ternate and was well received by the sultan who gifted him a signet ring for Queen Elizabeth. Drake was also granted the right to build factories and control the clove trade. This was to be the first and last successful voyage for the English to the Spice Islands until the establishment of the East India Company in 1600, based on the successful ventures by the Dutch

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the Spanish, later of the English and Dutch—and further still until the islands are revealed as the dividing point of the hemispheres themselves. And yet despite the precision of Fletcher's setting, his islands are uncannily hard to place. …Floating freely, Ternate and Tidore become the antithesis of the stable 'sea-mark' (1.2.10), the marker between land and sea with which Quisara identifies herself" (McManus, "Introduction," 31).

[268] Keay, *Spice Route*, 208.

[269] "In the Atlantic, the Caribbean, and then the Pacific and the East, the ravenous sea-dogs of Elizabeth's England and of the about-to-be United Provinces of the Netherlands enjoyed good hunting and rich pickings. War and peace made little difference. Yesterday's admiral became today's privateer. The royal standard was lowered yet royal approval was still needed and the sovereign usually took a cut of the profits; doctrinal differences did the rest, sanctioning, even sanctifying, outrages that would today be accounted acts of the most contemptible terrorism and that then, as now, elicited outraged cries for vengeance" (Keay, *Spice Route*, 216-7).

to the Moluccas.[270] In 1605, Henry Middleton commanded the EIC's voyage to the Moluccas under the auspices of the treaty between Drake and Sultan Babu.[271] In Ambon, Middleton's ships stood by while the Dutch wrested Ambon's Castle Victoria from the Portuguese with nary a shot, but the new stewards of Ambon's spice trade refused to share with the English. Middleton decided to take his ship, the *Red Dragon*, on to Ternate.[272] Coming upon Tidore, Middleton witnessed two galleys fleeing the island with more in pursuit. Aboard, Sultan Said and some Dutch merchants pleaded for assistance while the pursuers overtook the second boat and slaughtered its passengers. On Ternate, Said promised Middleton cloves and factories if he would not assist the Portuguese. It turned out, however, that Said had permitted a Dutch monopoly on cloves, so he was ultimately unable to grant Middleton's requests unless the English were willing to protect his sovereignty from the Dutch and the Portuguese, which Middleton's reduced fleet was unable to do.[273] By 1606, Spain was able to assert complete control over Ternate and thus displace the power of the sultanate. Despite this treaty, the Dutch were a constant threat to the Spanish and thus a natural ally to the Ternateans. Overall, the Dutch were able to assert superiority due to their naval power and extensive supply lines.[274]

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[270] Keay, *Spice Route,* 220-1.
[271] "Sir Francys Drake, uppon a contract with the King of Teronanta [*sic*] for the trade of cloves in that island and the rest of the islandes under his dominion, assisted him in his warres against the King of Tidore and [the King?] confirm'd that agreement by delivering him a ring with a faire emerald stone in the same" (*First Letter Book of the East India Company*, eds. George Birkwood and William Foster (London), 429). Sultan Babu's "contract" with Queen Elizabeth stipulated that the Ternateans would allow the English to trade cloves and build factories if they would offer support and ammunition in the fight with the Portuguese on Tidore, but since the English never sent further aid, any agreement was invalid. Cavendish never stopped during his circumnavigation in 1588.
[272] During the *Red Dragon*'s second voyage for the East India Company (1607-1610), the sailors reportedly performed *Hamlet* and *Richard II*, according to William Keeling's journal.
[273] William Foster, *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, 1604*-1606 (Germany: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1967), xxv-xxix.
[274] Andaya, *World of Malaku*, 155.

Subsequently they put in motion wholesale ecological and economic change in the region. The transplanting of cloves from the Moluccas to Ambon led to the decline of the original Spice Islands. Moreover, clove farmers were hunted down, their crops and villages burned, and "clove trees uprooted in the tens of thousands. Favoured villages, especially in Ambon, were forced to cultivate cloves and nothing else."[275] The Dutch East India Company extirpated clove trees, as well as the coconut and sago palm, to punish smugglers and prevent the English from accessing their supply.[276] Cloves became a mono-crop much to the devastation of the islanders and the profit and pleasure of the Dutch, who would control the Moluccans until Japanese occupation in World War II.

Fletcher's island romance thus begins with a retelling of Middleton's arrival on a scene already full of players: the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Dutch, and the various island leaders.[277] In the play, the dual problems of the kidnapping of the King of Tidore by the Governor of Ternate and the marriage suits of the island princes to his sister, Princess Quisara, are to be solved by a quest to save the King. Whichever suitor succeeds wins the princess' hand in marriage. As a prize commodity, Quisara is desired even by the Governor of Ternate, who naturally has the best opportunity to return the king. Quisara designs the quest so that her lover, the Portuguese captain Rui Dias, can outmaneuver the island princes of Bacan and Siana, though we later learn that he is incapable of such impulsive action. However, a newcomer to the island, Armusia, saves the king and wins the prize, at which point the play turns away from tragedy

[275] Keay, *Spice Route*, 237.
[276] Paul H. Kratoska, *South East Asia, Colonial History: Imperialism before 1800* (London: Routledge, 2001), 118.
[277] In addition to this story from Walter Burre's 1606 printing of the anonymous *The Last East-Indian Voyage*, Fletcher drew the Dias/Quisana story from Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola's *La Conquista de las Islas Malvcas* (Madrid, 1609) and its French retelling by Louis Gédoyn, *L'Histoire Mémorable de Dias Espagnol, et de Quixaire Princesse des Moluques* (appended to Cervantes' *Novelas Exemplares* (Paris, 1614).

towards romance.[278] Armusia represents the replacement of Portuguese colonial influence by improvisatory English influence. The play questions whether strangeness, in terms of geography, sexuality, and race, can be turned into a successful political and romantic union. Frequently read in terms of colonialism, religion, and gender, the play's maritime geography and the islands' history make "island logic" the key to successful action.

At the beginning of the play, Pinheiro, nephew of the Portuguese captain Rui Dias, cries, "Open the ports" (1.1.1).[279] His opening speech establishes the major thrust of the play: the Portuguese are suspicious of the islanders because of their "cruel and crafty souls" (6). He orders that they be watched closely because the recent kidnapping of Tidore by Ternate reveals that, despite terms of friendship, the natives cannot be trusted. Pinheiro recounts that the King of Tidore "…for his recreation he was rowing / Between both lands…" (11-12). The Portuguese are shocked that the king finds sport in rowing, which they account among "poor and base pleasures (16). "Tugging at an oar or skill in steerage" are tasks for sailors not gallants or captains. Pinheiro elaborates, laying out another European fear: sexuality and accompanying venereal disease.

> Base breedings love base pleasure.
> They take as much delight in a baratto—
> A little scurvy boat—to row her tightly
> And have the art to turn and wind her nimbly—
> …
> As we Portugals or the Spaniards do in riding,
> In managing a great horse… (1.1.18-21, 24-5)

[278] In her note to the List of Roles, McManus identifies Armusia with both Hormuz, a strategic island in the Persian Gulf that came under English control in 1622 and "the literary figure of the virile English merchant" in order to mark "both the play's mercantile geography and Fletcher's distance from his Spanish sources" (103).
[279] *The Island Princess* will hereafter be cited in text by act, scene, and line number according to the Arden Edition edited by Clare McManus (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

"The art to turn" offers a useful phrase for knowledge of the islands. Being able to navigate a small boat, rather than the large ocean-going galleys, results in profitable action. "Turn" will also take on religious and cultural connotations as the islanders and the Portuguese are threatened with conversion. Pedro, a gallant, comments that the king was "strangely taken." Like "turn," "strange" frequently recurs in the play. We hear that Quisara, the king's sister, who now rules absolutely in Tidore, stridently attempts to rescue her brother instead of relishing her power. Pinheiro cautions Pedro not to be fooled by such noble actions when upon closer inspection her outward virtues are contradicted by inward immorality and bestiality.

The opening scene works to establish the dualism of the play: water versus land, Ternate versus Tidore, Portuguese versus the islanders, virtue versus sin. The native characters in the play can traverse this dualism, but the Europeans struggle to maintain their worldviews in the face of such fluid and improvisatory natures. The Tidoreans are able to "turn" from one position to the next as the occasion demands. And at first, the new merchant, Armusia, seems similarly capable before being reabsorbed into the European mindset that ultimately converts Quisara at the play's end. The play's geography similarly highlights this under-considered theme of the play. The islands are difficult to reach but once there easily navigated. Their volcanoes are dangerous but also provide the perfect microclimates for the clove trees. The islands are similar in geography but fiercely independent and continually fighting each other. The Portuguese are attracted and repulsed by the islander's behavior. This is explicitly demonstrated by Quisara, who describes herself as "a sea-mark" (1.2.10). McManus writes in her note to the Arden edition:

> Spenser's sea-marks are England's south-eastern white cliffs, the boundary of the nation for the 'venturous mariner' (*FQ* 2.10.6); thus, Quisara is the mark by which virtue is measured and, like Elizabeth I in the Ditchley Portrait (Gheeraerts, *c.* 1592), is identified with the borders of the island nation (cf. *Oth*, 5.2.265-6). The *sea-mark*'s stability is undermined by the characterization of Ternate and

> Tidore as the floating islands of masque or romance (see 1.3.16.n.); Quisara, defined by changeability, is an ironic choice for a constant marker" (1.2.10.n).[280]

She links the term to virtue, geography, and sovereignty. However, I wish to elaborate upon the seamark as a theoretical term for this text in order to demonstrate how this critical maritime term can be seen as an unstable marker for virtue. McManus cites Spenser's description of Britain that I use in the chapter's epigraph. For her, the seamark is stable and constant, something by which distance or virtue can be measured. But the seamark, as the goal towards which one should strive, indicates not only positive attributes (havens, ports, beaches) but also negative (shoals, rocks, cliffs). It can mark what one should turn *away from* not *towards*. "Mark" then becomes both the action of noticing--"Mark me," the Ghost demands in *Hamlet*—and that which is noticed or flagged as important, like the sea-mark. Thus if Quisara is the sea-mark, virtue lies in being able to accurately "mark" the virtues of her "mark," but her qualities, unlike coastal hazards, are subjective. For the Portuguese, Quisara's beauty and intelligence are virtues undermined by her skin color and thus latent sexuality. Success then requires action based on observed behavior, which one could deem hazardous or helpful.

A competent sailor or navigator could rely on previous experience or the charts that proliferated during the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth. Sailor's rutters and navigational treatises rely on tidal, geographic, astronomical, and observed knowledge to provide pilots and captains with the information necessary to get where one is going, and this information is based on the relationship between land and sea. Distances are measured between seamarks; shallow water, sand bars, rocks and reefs all pose mortal dangers to the wooden-hulled galleys that plied the world's oceans. The "rutter" thus becomes a provocative analogy for navigating

[280] McManus, *The Island Princess*, 114.

between the prominent volcanic islands and the princess's bosom.[281] Armusia would need a rutter to both sail to and from Ternate as well as navigate the hostilities and alliances of the Tidorean court.

While Quisara identifies herself with the island, she does so in terms of the fluid qualities of the sea. As we see in the play, her allegiances turn like the tide, highlighting her own ambivalence towards governance, territory, and fidelity. Knowing she is watched from all corners, she vows to her aunt to behave cautiously, like a good mariner. Clearly she manifests similar skills as her brother, the expert rower, but through metaphor. We see Quisara's lack of affiliation to her state or family through her private conversation with Rui Dias. She devises the quest for her brother so that Dias may do something to "force her conversion" and make him worthy of a princess, and Dias responds like an "old-school" Portuguese adventurer: "When I grow so cold and disgrace my nation / That from their hardy nurses suck adventures" (1.2.86-7). Like Albuquerque, Serrão, and Magellan, Dias considers the conquest of the east, and thus Quisara, as his birthright.

Pinheiro describes this Iberian vision to the newly arrived Armusia in 1.3:

> Where time is and the sun gives light, brave countrymen,
> Our names are known: new worlds disclose their riches,
> Their beauties and their prides to our embraces
> And we, the first of nations, find these wonders (1.3.9-12).

The land actively bows to the Portuguese, giving up its treasure. There is a lack of effort in this description. The wonders are simply there for the taking.[282] Armusia continues in this vein in a

[281] Though "rutter" and "rudder," the steering mechanism for a ship, sound etymologically related, they are in fact quite distinct. "Rudder" stems from Old English and West Germanic for a special oar, while "rutter" stems from the Latin for "route." See "rudder" and "rutter, n. 2" in OED.

classic set piece of European colonial adventuring that echoes Gonzalo's utopian speech in *The Tempest*:

> We are arrived among the blessed islands
> Where every wind that rises blows perfumes
> And every breath of air is like an incense.
> The treasure of the sun dwells here. Each tree,
> As if it envied the old Paradise,
> Strives to bring forth immortal fruit—the spices[283]
> Renewing nature, though not deifying;
> And when that falls by time, scorning the earth,
> The sullen earth, should taint or suck their beauties,
> But, as we dreamt, for ever so preserve us.
> Nothing we see but breeds an admiration.
> The very rivers, as we float along,
> Throw up their pearls and curl their heads to court us.
> The bowels of the earth swell with the births
> Of thousand unknown gems and thousand riches.
> Nothing that bears a life but brings a treasure. (1.3.16-31)

Like Pinheiro, Armusia describes the natural world willingly submitting to the explorers like a woman ready for the taking. The earth is pregnant with riches and the penetration of the Europeans into the virgin territory results in the profitable birth of treasures of every natural variety. Armusia also associates the people and government with the wonder of the natural world. All are courteous and humble, "…all excellent, / The government exact" (1.3.38-9). When the court enters, Sousa, one of Armusia's men, comments in the vein of Shakespeare's Miranda, "We are fire already: / The wealthy magazine of nature, sure, / Inhabits here" (1.3.42-4), lines which take on a foreboding meaning when their plan to rescue the king involves setting afire Ternate's armory. The court has gathered so that Quisara can detail her plan to rescue the King and choose a suitor. She says in her own words that she must be won by "travel" and by

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[282] McManus notes to these lines: "Hence, it is a concise blending of religion, national destiny and the technology of maritime travel, to bring Malaku the technology of time is to bring it Christianity" (121).
[283] The play's only reference to the clove.

"put[ting] his hasty rage off and put[ting] on / A well-confined, temperate and true valour" (1.3.123-127). She attempts to distinguish here between the neighboring island princes who enflame each other and the cool, calculating quality of the Europeans. While the prince of Bacan vows to "raise an army" (167), Armusia decides that all he needs is "[a] boat, that's all / That's unprovided, and habits like to merchants" (1.3.239-40).

Fletcher characterizes this turn from the divide and conquest narrative of the earlier Iberian explorers to a more English/Dutch mercantile sensibility. Armusia is a pirate or raider rather than a noble soldier.[284] Armusia's "policy" turned to "manly force" (16-17), prefigures his later inability to "go with the flow." His plan to set the city on fire also includes burning down their places of worship, so that the flames of conversion might work their magic. Arriving on Ternate, Armusia exclaims that their safe passage was due to the cooperation of the elements: "The sea and wind strove who should most befriend us / And, as they favoured our design and loved us, / So led us forth…" (2.2.3-5). His journey has been underwritten by Providence, who authorizes the use of deadly force against an enemy. Armusia introduces a third element to the binary of land and water that till now remained in the background: fire.[285] If Quisara is representative of the seacoast, then Armusia is the volcano at its center. With the city aflame, the citizens cry for both water and ale. The sea has saved Armusia, his crew, and the King of Tidore, while the Governor's boats are unprepared to sail in pursuit. He vows,

> By both these hands held up and by that brightness
> That gilds the world with light, by all our worships,

[284] In "'Break her will'," Loomba reads Armusia as a blend of the merchant and the knight, like Drake, a gentleman pirate (95). She continues, "[The Moluccas] was a region, then, that demanded the composite colonizer—gentleman, adventurer, merchant…" (96).
[285] Moreover, their plan for the rescue rewrites the Catholic Gunpowder Plot as a Protestant revenge. Europeans often brought gunpowder to trade for spices, but it was a threat to the storehouses. Furthermore the introduction of gunpowder enlarges the trade network of the play to include Morocco, where the saltpeter was acquired. See note to 2.2.38 (McManus, 150).

> The hidden ebbs and flows of the blue ocean,
> I will not rest, no mirth shall dwell upon me,
> Wine touch my mouth, nor anything refresh me,
> Till I be wholly quit of this dishonor.
> Make ready my barattos instantly (2.5.22-28)

Fletcher uses the language of pagan worship in the Governor's words. Although he would most likely have been Muslim, the Governor represents the fluid quality of the islanders to improvise as the occasion demands. His later disguise as a Moorish priest, though ultimately a failure, demonstrates the ease with which the islanders can navigate tricky political and cultural situations. On the other hand, when news reaches Quisara that Rui Dias failed to rescue her brother before Armusia, she is quick to see that her esteem of them is less than worthy: "Give me the man that dares do, to deserve that. / I thought you Portugals had been rare wonders" (2.6.13-4). She turns the language of wonder back onto the Europeans and finds the individual far removed from the legendary stereotype.

In 2.6, the King of Tidore is reunited with his sister and his savior, Armusia, introduced to Quisara as a "stranger" since he is newly arrived in the islands (2.6.65). Rui Dias writes him off as "[o]ne scarce arrived, not hardened yet, not / Read in dangers and great deeds, sea-sick, not seasoned" (2.6.132-3). Rui Dias aligns himself with men like Serrão who come to see the islands as home, but he uncomfortably straddles the divide between Portuguese noble and native lording. He fails to understand that Armusia's success at saving the king is due to his skills as a seaman and a soldier. The king even calls him a "noble bulwark."[286] However, Quisara, wishing to delay her promise of marriage, considers them "both strangers" (2.6.173). Rui Dias echoes this in the next scene, calling Armusia "that new thing, that stranger" (3.1.43), "that brave thing has

[286] According to the OED Online, "bulwark" was first used for an earthen defense wall (n.1.a), but by the mid-sixteenth century had come to describe a "sea-wall" or "breakwater" (n.1.b). By the early nineteenth century, it was nautical term for the "raised woodwork running along the sides of a vessel above the level of the deck" (n.3).

undone me, has sunk me, / Had trod me like a name in sand to nothing (51-2). It is interesting to track who is considered a stranger in this context. While we would assume that Rui Dias would find confraternity with a fellow Portuguese, instead he sees him (rightfully) as a challenger to his position in Tidore, and a man built from different mettle, that of the merchant-sailor rather than the knight-conqueror. Armusia soon becomes an enemy to Rui Dias, who vows to kill him in a duel. For Quisara, Armusia is strange not because he looks different from the Portugals but simply because he is "new." We see here the typical colonial narrative reversed. Instead of the Europeans arriving and proclaiming upon the wonder of the newfound land, we have an already established colonial and native alliance commenting on the "strangeness" of a newcomer.

Armusia thus far has succeeded in navigating the island court, allying himself first with the King, another practiced seaman, and secondly with Quisara once she disavows her love for Rui Dias. He engages the language of the "sea-mark" or "bulwark" to convince Quisara that he is unable to force himself on her because "[t]he holy powers bear shields to defend chastity" (3.3.76). He cannot breach her defenses, like the island's, without permission. Like the explorers and traders from Serrão onward, the islands were never exploited like the new worlds of the Americas. Moluccan rulers had already established trading networks within Asia and other powerful sovereigns, later Islamic sultans. These were hardly mirrors of what Europeans claimed to find in the New World. Now favoring Armusia's virile action over Rui Dias' hesitant policy, Quisara condemns the old Portuguese as "being nothing but a sound, a shape, / The mere sign of a soldier—of a lover— / The dregs and draffy part, disgrace and jealousy, / I scorn thee and contemn thee" (3.3.155-8). We might say that Quisara can sense which way the winds/tides are turning. Finding her way onto the right current will ensure the safety of her island kingdom and her female body.

We see this concern for sovereignty voiced through the unlikely person of the Governor. Disguised as a Moorish priest, he vows to revenge himself on the Tidoreans and their Portuguese allies. He offers the King a prediction for "the country's good":

> Many a mystic vision, have I seen, son
> And many a sight from heaven which has been terrible,
> Wherein the goods and evils of these islands
> Were lively shadowed. Many a charge I have had, too,
> Still as the time grew ripe, to reveal these,
> To travel and discover. Now I am come, son:
> The hour is appointed, my tongue is touched
> And now I speak.[287]
> Beware these Portugals (4.1.24-32)

He then proceeds to offer the reverse vision of colonial mercantile encounters, which I will quote at length because it presents an under-analyzed counterpoint to the predominant themes of sexuality and economy.

> Oh, son, the future aims of men—observe me—
> Above their present actions and their glory,
> Are to be looked at. The stars show many turnings,
> If you could see: mark but with my eyes, pupil.
> These men came hither, as my vision tells me,
> Poor, weather-beaten, almost lost, starved, feebled;
> Their vessels, like themselves, most miserable;
> Made a long suit for traffic and for comfort,
> To vend their children's toys, cure their diseases.
> They had their suit, they landed, and to th'rate
> Grew rich and powerful, sucked the fat and freedom
> Of this most blessed isle, taught her to tremble.
> Witness the castle here, the citadel
> They have clapped upon the neck of your Tidore—
> This happy town till that she knew these strangers
> To check her when she's jolly.(40-55)
> […]
> Mark but the end, good King, the pin he shoots at:
> That was the man delivered ye, the mirror.

[287] See Machiavelli on prophets in *The Prince*: "Fortune, as it were, provided the matter but they gave it its form; without opportunity their prowess would have been extinguished, and without such prowess the opportunity would have come in vain" (Chap. VI, 20). If Fortune is a river, it must be constrained with bulwarks and safely navigated.

> Your sister is his due. What's she? Your heir, sir.
> And what's he? Akin then to the kingdom.
> But heirs are not ambitious! (4.1.61-65)

This speech picks up on the two major themes in the play, "turning" and "strangeness." The Governor recalls the state of the Europeans upon arrival, shells of the men and boats that left Europe. After crossing an entire hemisphere or more (far further than the coasts of the Americas), the Europeans are "miserable." But like the stars that circle in the sky (and provide navigational markers), their fortunes rise as they grow fat and comfortable off the literal fruits of the island. The "strangers" shackle the town like a slave with the fortress whose cannons "check" the town when it gets too rambunctious. The feminized town becomes the metaphor for Quisara, who will also receive binding chains, those of marriage and arguable also of slavery. When Armusia marries Quisara, he will become heir to the throne, turning quickly from stranger to family. The Governor proceeds to convince the King to have Quisara convert Armusia to Islam, knowing full well that the Portugal will never agree. He plots for the Tidoreans and Portuguese to turn against each other, thus opening a power vacuum for his own claims to the island and the princess, but the Portuguese are already fighting amongst themselves. Rui Dias has charged Armusia to a duel (instead of having him murdered) beneath Quisara's window so he can demonstrate his martial/marital virtue. Pinheiro, Dias' nephew congratulates his uncle's renewed since of valor in terms of conversion: "I was afraid fair honour had been bedrid / Or beaten out o'th' island" (4.2.59-60). Upon arriving on the beach in 4.3, Armusia offers a counterpoint, "'Tis, methinks, a strange dearth of enemies / When we seek foes among ourselves" (4.3.10-11). For Rui Dias, the definition of an enemy depends not on national identification (these are all Portuguese) and instead on strangeness. Armusia, the new merchant identified with the infant

maritime nations, relies more on the abstract national identities, describing his wonder at the older worldview.

Meanwhile, the Governor talks conversion with Quisara. He aligns Quisara, as mentioned above, with the island itself: "Bless ye, my royal daughter, / And, in you, bless this island heaven" (4.2.123-4).

> The Portugals like sharp thorns—mark me, lady
> Stick in our sides; like razors, wound religion,
> Draw deep; they wound till the life-blood follows.
> Our gods they spurn at and their worships scorn;
> A mighty hand they bear on our government.
> They are the men your miracle must work on,
> Your heavenly form: either to root them out—
> Which, as you may endeavor, will be easy
> (Remember whose great cause you have to execute)
> To nip their memory, that they may not spring more—
> Or fairly bring 'em home to our devotions,
> Which will be blessed and, for which, you sainted. (4.2.157-68)

The turning in this case is conversion. Quisara goes from island to the turning "star" whose "heavenly form" must guide the Europeans to Islam for the sake not only of religion but also of government. His intention is to "root them out," though their conversion he admits would also bless the island (though we're less likely to believe this).

While Armusia had been tending toward a native disposition, when the matter of religion comes to the fore, he retreats into the monolithic worldview of his European counterparts. He wonders,

> How terribly I shake! Is this the venture,
> The trial that you talked of? Where have I been?
> And how forgot myself, how lost my memory?
> When did I pray or look up steadfastly,
> Had any goodness in my heart to guide me?
> That I should give this vantage to mine enemy,
> The enemy to my peace—forsake my faith? (43-50)
> […]

How have I been wandering,
Wandering the way of lust, and left my maker?
How have I slept like cork upon a water
And had no feeling of the storm that tossed me,
Trod the blind paths of death, forsook assurance,
Eternity of blessedness for a women?
For a young, handsome face hazard my being? (57-63)
[…]
I adore the maker of that sun and moon
That gives those bodies light and influence,
That pointed out their paths and taught their motions.
They are not so great as we: they are our servants,
Placed there to teach us time, to give us knowledge
Of when and how the swellings of the main are
And their returns again; they are but our stewards
To make the earth fat with their influence,
That she may bring forth her increase and feed us. (4.5.74-82)[288]

Armusia's refusal reads like a voyage narrative, and he the sailor trembling in the face of the other. He wonders how "venture" he undertook to travel to the Spice Islands turned into moral trials and travails. Instead of navigating on his course, he has been "wandering" like a "cork upon a water," with no ability to steer, all for the beauty of a woman. The sun and the moon, he remembers, gave man time by which is gained navigational knowledge of the tides, by which water is brought to the land. The important geographical marker for Armusia is the coastline against which he can navigate and hazard his fortune but not his spirit. At this point, Armusia reads the "sea-mark" as that which should be navigated away from. Since he now remembers the tidal charts, this should be a feasible task.

He becomes the "bulwark" of Christianity, refusing to allow the pagan belief systems to infiltrate his own. However, and to the play's romantic ending, Quisara finds his ardent faith to be powerfully seductive. If his Christianity evokes such passion in him, then conversion for her

[288] McManus' note to this speech: "Armusia's Christianity is pragmatic, founded on the equation of technological, racial and religious superiority and described through a technical description of planetary motion, tidal influence, agricultural techniques and chronometers" (252).

now seems like a valid option. She lets him "storm a little" (98), and his retort, "I will have my devotion, / And let your whole state storm" (123-4) indicates how little he cares for the welfare of the islands. Armusia is taken into custody and the Portuguese plot how to enact his release, returning to the initial dilemma of the play. However, their position is more complicated because they need to retain some trading networks in the islands, when now they "may think to do wonders, aim at all, / And to blow us with a vengeance out o'th' islands" (5.1.8-9). In the end, Quisara converts to Christianity; her brother is half-convinced to convert himself after his advisor, the Moorish priest, is revealed to be his rival, the Governor of Ternate. At the close of the play, the king seizes Ternate on the basis that his father and himself have both "usurped it / And kept it by oppression" (5.5.79-81), placing us back into the Moluccan history of contingent alliances and shifting claims of sovereignty. The King gives the town and castle that have recently burnt to Pinheiro as the heir to a new period of Portuguese/Moluccan trade relations.

The play concludes with little major change. It does not seem to matter which Portuguese wields control or which sultan commands the trading relations. The lesson seems to be instead that navigating the twists of fate, reading the winds and tides so to say, allows one to stay above water. Strangers can easily turn into friends, and friends into enemies. Identifying the mark and steering the appropriate course can keep one's ship and soul out of harm's way. Island logic is based on contingency, and acting is ways appropriate for the occasion. Although Armusia adheres to his spiritual True North in the end, the play considers a more fluid model of morality and conviviality—ways for different people to live and prosper outside normal models of society and politics. This potential way of being is tested further in Fletcher and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage*, where permutations of gender, nationality, class, and morality are put into conflict to

determine how to resolve enmity when dramatic racial difference is not the determination of strangeness.

2. *The Sea Voyage* (1622)

> And now I fear England will be tempted by the thirst for gold, and rush forth in a body to the islands which Frobisher has lately discovered, and how much English blood do you suppose must be split in order that you may keep possession of them? There is not one of all our maritime nations which will not enter the lists against you for them.[289]

Almost fifty years before Fletcher's voyage dramas, Hubert Languet expressed concern to Philip Sidney that the gentry's new mercantile dreams of lands overflowing with gold would come at a cost. He foresaw the entry of the English and Dutch onto the world stage already dominated by the Spanish and Portuguese and the contention that would follow. If the islands of Fletcher's *The Island Princess* promised wealth in the form of spices, the travelers' in Fletcher and John Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* aim more directly at gold. In one sense, we could consider the travelers in *The Sea Voyage* to be Portuguese headed to the Spice Islands, but Aminta has "turned" Albert's mind to saving her long-lost brother, "put[ting] in" at every island they encounter.[290] Franville laments, We were bound, ye all know, / For happy places and most fertile islands / Where we had constant promises of all things" (3.1.82-4). Like "turn," "put" can be either towards land or towards sea, and determining the proper course of action demands navigational fortitude. *The Sea Voyage* has been examined through the historical contexts of

[289] Hubert Languet to Philip Sidney, 28th November 1577 (*The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet*, ed. W. Pickering, 1845, 124-5). See note on 153 in play text. One of the islands Frobisher claimed to have found during his third expedition in the North Atlantic, Buss Island, turned out to be a phantom island and was renamed to "sunken island" on charts up through the eighteenth century. Other times, what was taken for the continent, turned out to only be an island. Frisland, another phantom island, was depicted on world maps from the 1560s to 1660s.

[290] One of the nautical valances of "put in" is "to enter a port or harbour, esp. as a deviation from the intended course" ("put," *v.* 4.a., OED Online).

colonial adventuring, piracy, assertive women, statecraft, and mercantilism.[291] However, fewer critics tend explicitly to the play's island geography.[292] Jean Feerick labels *The Sea Voyage* an "island play," but rather than denoting drama, what if we considered the island itself to have agency? What if the island was doing the playing? Ascribing this active potential to the play's geography energizes the shifting, sliding representations of the island. What we have then, is an "occasional island." It pops up when the occasion demands, either literally as in the islands continually uncovered as Europeans plied the oceans, as in the previous examples of the Spice Islands where the Moluccas' geographic coordinates shifted based on who claimed them, and the imaginative islands of Atlantis and Utopia, and the islands once there and gone again, or which

[291] While the colonial context is certainly relevant, *The Sea Voyage* places it clearly in the background. There are no natives on these islands (except for the memory of the original Amazons who Rosellia describes), and there are no natural resources to exploit. Fletcher's sources are certainly colonial, but the play operates in a different register that heightens the movement from land to sea and back again. What the islands do have, treasure begotten elsewhere and an immigrant group of Portuguese-cum-Amazons, are products of a Western European maritime world. The play, as Parr's introduction claims, reflects back to its London audience concerns about land use, authority, and international relations. For recent critical work, see Jean Feerick on colonial romance in "'Divided in Soyle': Plantation and Degeneracy in *The Tempest* and *The Sea Voyage*," *Renaissance Drama* 35 (2006); Claire Jowitt on gender and commerce in *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics, 1589-1642: Real and Imagined Worlds* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Zachary Lesser on sovereignty and economics in "Tragical-Comical-Pastoral-Colonial: Economic Sovereignty, Globalization, and the Form of Tragicomedy," *ELH* 74.4 (2007); Gordon McMullan on sexuality and shipwreck in *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher* (Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1994); and Brian Gibbons on violence and utopias in "The Wrong End of the Telescope," Peter Holland on voyage drama in "'Travelling hopefully': The Dramatic Form of Journeys in English Renaissance Drama," and Michael Hattaway on the culture of romance in "'Seeing things': Amazons and Cannibals," all in Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michèle Willems, eds, *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[292] Feerick comments, "As with Shakespeare's play, what we have is an 'island play,' one that rejects specificity of place and even conjures multiple locations…. This obfuscation of geography is, for my purposes, of the essence" ("'Divided in Soyle'.") The play's "island logic" allows Lesser to observe the function of natural law in terms of sovereignty and economy, rather than ecology ("Tragical-Comical-Pastoral-Colonial," 898). For Gibbons, Shakespeare's "island is, like a ship, a model of a state" and remains a metaphor for human endeavor ("The Wrong End of the Telescope," 153-4). McMullan goes so far as to claim that "Fletcher places his island near Guyana" (*Politics of Unease*, 244), rendering meaningless the islands' unspecified geography.

were not islands at all but the coasts of great continents. *Island logic*, this play reveals, is actually no logic at all, but adapting as the occasion demands.

As the epigraphs to this chapter demonstrate, the concept of the "occasional island" was by no means new to the European imagination. As Spenser claims, the island of Britain floated away from the Celtic mainland to its current position in the northern seas. A further example from *The Fairie Queene* demonstrates how illogical "island logic" is. Islands must be made either through sea level changes, tectonic plate shift, or volcanic eruption. Spenser's exposition on property rights, in terms of land, money, and women, is based on a pair of islands constantly changing in size. After attending the wedding feast of Marinell and Florimell, which offered a representative example of imaginative geography in chapter two, Spenser's knight of justice, Artegall, leaves the "Castle on the strond," and immediately encounters on the "sea shore" two squires fighting over salvaged treasure. He listens to the story of how the two brothers were bequeathed a pair of islands by their father. Over time, the elder brother's island threw up sediment onto the younger brother's island so that it increased in size while the former decreased.[293] Seeing the younger's change in fortune, the elder's betrothed abandons him and elopes with the other brother. Meanwhile, the younger's betrothed, lovesick, throws herself into the sea hoping to die. Regaining her senses, she grasps a coffer floating by and washes upon the

[293] Regarding the force of water to shape the land, Michel de Montaigne writes in his essay "On Cannibals," "In Medoc, by the seashore, the Sieur d'Arsac, my brother, sees an estate he had there, buried under the sands which the sea vomits before it: where the tops of some houses are yet to be seen, and where his rents and domains are converted into pitiful barren pasturage. The inhabitants of this place affirm, that of late years the sea has driven so vehemently upon them, that they have lost above four leagues of land. These sands are her harbingers: and we now see great heaps of moving sand, that march half a league before her, and occupy the land" (*Essays of Michel de Montaigne*, trans. Charles Cotton, ed. William Carew Hazlitt, 1877).

elder's island.[294] Coming to her aid, the elder brother equally portions out the treasure in the coffer (revising the sovereign's right to salvage *in toto*). However, the younger's new wife claims that the treasure belonged to her because it washed upon her shore, "And that she did transport the same by sea, / To bring it to her husband new ordained, / But suffred cruell shipwracke by the way."[295] In doling out justice, Artegall asks the younger what basis he claims to own the land that "the sea hath layd / Unto your part." The younger argues that the sea gave it to him, so Artegall concludes, "That what the sea unto you sent, your own should seeme:" by virtue of the sea's action the younger brother gets the enlarged island, but the older brother gets the sea chest.[296] Whether by storm or wrack, early modern maritime justice reserves rights to salvage to the sovereign landowner. Furthermore, this vignette of "island logic" establishes a relationship between land, money, and women. While the younger brother has the greater share of land and his brother's lover, he does not have the money in the chest, which in the new century offered greater opportunity than plots of land.

For a venture capitalist bent on plantation life, money provided the means for outfitting a voyage, as we learn in the first scene of Fletcher and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage*. This play slowly accrues more material, like a good venture capitalist and like Spenser's fictional islands, multiplying stories, people, and places. Not one island, but two; not one storm and shipwreck, but two (and possibly a third); not one pirate captain, but two. Not one separated family, but two. The play complicates the maritime narrative of *The Island Princess*, throwing its characters into

[294] "And catching hold of this Sea-beaten chest, / The lucky Pylot of her passage sad, / After long tossing in the seas distrest, / Her weary barke at last uppon mine Isle did rest" (Spenser, *The Fairie Queene*, V.IV.11).
[295] Spenser, *The Fairie Queene*, V.IV.13.
[296] V.IV.17. This episode is followed by Artegall's encounter with the Amazon queen Radigund, providing the playwrights with further material to weave into their complicated narrative of wreck, treasure, women, and passion. See especially V.V.25.

a hazardous maelstrom and hoping for a romantic (and just) resolution. The play operates through permutations, setting groups against each other to determine the most profitable, equitable, or just combination. The play offers no native foil to the Europeans other than the islands themselves.

The play opens in a tempest.[297] Like *The Tempest*, the first two scenes of the play shift from sea to land. Unlike *The Tempest*, the land that the wayward passengers arrive at offers no relief and exacerbates the problems on the ship: problems of authority, navigation, and, for *The Sea Voyage*, gender and piracy. Fletcher's Master uses decidedly more humorous and poetic language in the opening speech than Shakespeare's technically accurate Boatswain, language that also references to the metaphor of the ship as woman:

> Lay her aloof![298] The sea grows dangerous.
> How it spits against the clouds, how it capers,
> And how the fiery element frights it back!
> There be devils dancing in the air: I think
> I saw a dolphin hang i'th'horns of the moon
> Shot from a wave. Heyday, heyday,
> How she kicks and yerks!
> Down with the main mast, lay her at hull,
> Furl up her linens and let her ride it out. (1.1.1-9)[299]

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[297] Fletcher and Massinger's sources other than Shakespeare's play include William Strachey's *True repertory of the wreck and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates* (1610) and John Nicholl's *An Houre Glass of Indian News.* Strachey, aboard the *Sea Venture*, experienced a hurricane off the Virginia coast, which caused his ship to be wrecked in the Bermudas. John Nicholl was a member of the English expedition to Guiana in 1605, which sailed off course and landed in St. Lucia in the West Indies. The expedition was rescued by Spaniards and Nicholl eventually (via a circuitous route) eventually made it home to England in 1607. Other critics have drawn comparison with the founding of the Virginia Company.

[298] Like *The Tempest*'s "Lay her off!" (1.1.45), "Lay her aloof" means to steer the ship as close to the wind so as to avoid the shoreline's hazards. In both plays, the shipmen try to keep the boat from shore. Basing their orders on navigational knowledge, they resist the inevitable movement back to the land because of the dangers it poses to ship and cargo.

[299] Hereafter references to *The Sea Voyage* will be made by act, scene, and line from Anthony Parr's *Three Renaissance travel plays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995). Following general custom, Fletcher will be referred to as the dramatist, though I acknowledge his collaboration with Philip Massinger.

The First Sailor continues in this vein, "She's so deep laden that she'll bulge" (11). While we might expect the ship to be full of pirated treasure, or goods from the New World, Fletcher's carrack is laden with the money necessary to plant oneself in new lands. Later in the scene, the newly made merchant adventurers bemoan the casting of their money and goods overboard. Meanwhile, in contrast to Shakespeare's play, the Master and Boatswain debate about whether they should put in for the land sighted by the Second Sailor. The Master asks, "What's the coast?" and the Boatswain replies, "We know not yet. Shall we make in?" (29-30). Here the epistemological uncertainty of the seacoast makes this an important decision. If they don't know where they are at sea, due to the storm, and they don't know what land is before them, then they don't know what hazards the shore could present. The ship is capsizing in a storm, with land sighted. Unlike *The Tempest*, with the Boatswain's challenging of the authority of his passengers, here the Master is set against the Boatswain, captain, and sailors in his hesitancy to put in towards land. Even Albert, the captain, asks him "Is't not possible / To make in to th' land? 'Tis here before us," a course of action seconded by Morillat and Tibalt, gentlemen passengers. The Master is in charge of navigation, first and foremost, the day-to-day operation of the ship, and also the provisioning and maintenance of the hold. The Captain is in charge of combat and strategy.[300] As such, the Master is responsible for deciding whether to make for land. In *The Tempest*, the Boatswain orders the ship steered away from land. In a storm, ships needed room to manage the unpredictable wind and waves. Approaching land under such conditions was hazardous and generally avoided unless the port was readily accessible. For the Master, the unknown nature of the port renders his decision appropriate for the situation, even though he is

[300] "Whereas the master was normally an experienced seaman of yeoman rank, captains were gentlemen, either by birth or by attainment" (Loades, *The Tudor Navy*, 101).

alone in his belief. He is the counterpoint to the landed authority of the aristocrats and captains, Both Shakespeare and Fletcher's navigators choose the sea over the land, decisions that, while lacking drama, indicate the degree to which movement from sea to land and back again, along the littoral zone, initiates dramatic action. In both cases, tension is established between authority at sea and authority on land.

The first scene establishes the play's primary dualism, land versus sea. The coast, it turns out, could offer either salvation or destruction. The play could go one of two ways. Or, as we shall find out, a third. Though the seafarers encounter a couple of Portuguese sailors on the barren island, they are unknowingly pitted against a third group, the Amazonian women. Like Spenser's island, the play accumulates groups of travelers, who give accounts of their sea voyages. The first group on board the ship in the storm is led by a French pirate. They encounter Portuguese gentlemen, who steal the French ship to escape. The French encounter the Amazons, actually the Portuguese women "gone native." A second French ship, under a sovereign flag, carries more gentlemen. Thus, we have four groups, two French and two Portuguese, whose interactions and movement to and from the island is echoed by their descriptions of their travels. All arrive on the islands from a sea voyage but the play also continually puts the groups to sea. The play works out competing claims of authority, over treasure, women, and land, with the islands providing the occasional stage for the acting out of sovereignty without any of its usual trappings. The islands are nameless, deserted, and relatively featureless.

Scene two reveals how inhospitable the first island is. Like the second scene in *The Tempest*, it reorients our perspective from the sea to the land and the people observing the shipwreck. Sebastian and Nicusa, Portuguese gentlemen previously shipwrecked on the island, watch the French ship make its way "to harbour" (1.2.15). Sebastian voices the opposite concern

of Miranda (and any compassionate observer): "How happy had they been had the sea covered 'em! / They leap from one calamity to another. / Had they been drowned, they had ended all their sorrows" (17-9). Rarely should drowning be preferred to survival, but Sebastian continues by elaborating the state of the island:

> Here's nothing but rocks and barrenness,
> Hunger and cold to eat. Here's no vineyards
> To cheer the hear of man, no crystal rivers
> After his labour to refresh his body
> If he be feeble. Nothing to restore him
> But heavenly hopes. Nature that made those remedies
> Dares not come here, nor look on our distresses,
> For fear she turn wild like the place and barren. (23-31)[301]

Many islands are inhospitable. Often, they are little more than sandbars or exposed reefs, stretches of beach and rock with no vegetation or fresh water. Strachey describes the Bermudas as such: "The Bermudas be broken islands, five hundred of them in manner of an archipelagus (at least if you may call them all 'islands' that lie how little soever into the sea and by themselves) of small compass, some larger yet than other, as time and the sea hath won from them and eaten his passage through." The first of Fletcher's imaginary islands is almost deserted (there are two unfortunate souls) and is certainly desert, without sources for food or water. Sebastian bemoans that the land has been forsaken by Nature herself. Fletcher echoes Spenser's description of Britain as "desolate," profitless, barely fit to be called Island. We learn that French pirates displaced Sebastian and Nicusa from their plantation homes and put them to sea with

[301] Strachey, *True repertory*: "We found it to be the dangerous and dreaded island, or rather islands, of the Bermuda, whereof let me give Your Ladyship a brief description before I proceed to my narration; and that the rather, because they be so terrible to all that ever touched on them, and such tempests, thunders, and other fearful objects are seen and heard about them that they be called commonly 'the Devil's Islands,' and are feared and avoided of all sea travelers alive above any other place in the world." He goes on to describe the island topography and plant and animal life, revealing the islands were not desert, as in Fletcher's play, but capable of providing sustenance and water through human labor.

their family and treasure (an odd oversight on the part of the pirates). A "mighty storm" (1.2.43) (seasonal hurricanes if we are indeed in the Atlantic) then separated the two ships sending the women one way and the men and treasure another. Returning to the scene before him, Sebastian sees Albert swimming ashore with Aminta hanging around his neck—woman turned to shackle. Nicusa claims the ship has capsized—"turned over" (58)—but everyone has made it to shore. However, in the next scene, the Master describes the ship riding "fair" (1.3.3). There is already contention about knowledge of the ship—is it wrecked or sound? It turns out that the ship is fit enough for Sebastian and Nicusa to steal it and flee from the island.

When the newcomers encounter the Portuguese "natives," Aminta voices Miranda's naiveté: "But ha! What things are these? Are they / Human creatures?" (94-5). However, the situation has been reversed. The island has made Sebastian and Nicusa into something unrecognizable. Rather than the sea proving the unmaking of humanity, the island is yet more inhospitable. The stranded Portuguese plead for charity and friendship in the name of Christians (since as competing nations they would not usually offer assistance). They ask for deliverance from "this most wretched island" (122); "The greatest plagues that human nature suffers / Are seated here: wildness and wants innumerable" (125-6). Sebastian elaborates this extreme claim in a speech that offers the obverse of Armusia's homage to the Spice Islands in *The Island Princess*:

> Nor meat nor quiet;
> No summer here to promise anything,
> Nor autumn to make full the reaper's hands.
> The earth, obdurate to the tears of heaven,
> Lets nothing shoot but poisoned weeds.
> No rivers, nor no pleasant groves; no beasts.
> All that were made for man's use fly this desert;
> No airy fowl dares make his flight over it,
> It is so ominous.
> Serpents and ugly things, the shames of nature,

> Roots of malignant tastes, foul standing waters.
> Sometimes we find a fulsome sea-root
> And that's a delicate! A rat sometimes,
> And that we hunt like princes in their pleasure.
> And when we take a toad, we make a banquet. (1.3.133-48)

To which Aminta hastily replies, "For heaven's sake, let's aboard" (148). Whereas the islands in *The Island Princess* voluntarily offer wonders, here the dry earth offers nothing but noxious plants and stagnant water. The only available sustenance comes from the sea, the rat and the "sea-root." Interestingly, neither does the island offer "quiet." While Prospero's island, in the words of Caliban, resounds with "sounds and sweet airs" (3.2.149), this island offers no aural respite for the starving men. However, Sebastian and Nicusa

> …have sometimes seen
> The shadow of a place inhabited,
> And heard the noise of hunters, and have
> Attempted to find it. So far as a river,
> Deep, slow, and dangerous, fenced with high rocks
> We have gone; but, not able to achieve
> That hazard, return to our old miseries. (1.3.149-155)

The desert island turns out to have a neighbor, separated by a torrential river and cliffs. "Deep, slow, and dangerous," this Styx-like river divides the barren outcropping from an island that, based on the sound of the hunt, seems to have more in the way of food sources. The two men have been unable to cross the river, perhaps unwilling to take the risks associated with piracy, or perhaps they simply cannot swim. Later, Albert is able to swim across, having already demonstrated his swimming skill by saving Aminta. Like Armusia, Albert has the capability to "turn" with the time and tides.

Like the storm and shipwreck, Fletcher duplicates narratives. The play seems bent on multiplying its contents but still leaving the characters with nothing, like prospecting for gold in the Americas but coming home with worthless iron pyrite. The Portuguese hoard is worthless on

an island with nothing to buy. Even worse, gold is inedible. The gold, however, distracts the French so that the Portuguese can steal their ship and leave the newcomers stranded in their place. In the words of the Boatswain echoing Languet's warning to Sidney, "This gold, / This damned enticing gold!" (1.3.219) In the quarrel over stakes in the treasure, Albert is wounded, so Aminta tends to him and promises to serve him in recompense for saving her life. The besotted lover of romance has replaced the repulsed maid of the first scene. At the beginning of Act Two, Albert spies the other island, "[t]he seat of fortunate men" (2.1.68), but Aminta points out the "envious torrent" (70). However, like Armusia, Albert is willing to "try all hazards" (73). He has the mentality of the pirate-merchant rather than the gentleman-colonist, and yet he vows to Aminta, "Think you have sent me for discovery / Of some most fortunate continent, yet unknown, / Which you are to be queen of" (91-3), echoing the promise of discovering Virginia for Elizabeth I.

On the second island, the Amazonian women are in the midst of a stag hunt and have been separated from Clarinda, daughter of the island's governess, Rosellia (Sebastian's long-lost wife). In the little topographical detail we hear, the island has a "black lake," which could be the hellish river or a second natural feature. The lake, like the first island, is inimical to life. Birds dare not fly over. This "dreadful" (2.2.8) geography is partially why the women "live secure, / And have among ourselves a commonwealth" (16-17). Because no one has been able to access the island since the Portuguese women were stranded there, their society is doomed to perish without procreation. Like the men, they may have all the fertility in the world, but nothing to "spend" it on. The virgins are unhappy in their sexless state though are commanded to kill any man who ventures on to the island. Albert is cast from the river into this warrior society, and Juletta repeats Aminta's wonder over the wretched islanders: "What's cast here o'th' shore?"

(70) Albert emerges from his swim through the "Stygian gulf" (76) to reach "the blessed shore" (77). Clarinda enters and exclaims upon Albert's masculine shape, while her sisters warn her that her mother has ordered his immediate execution. To which she replies, in a surprisingly anti-authoritarian manner, "But if she command unjust and cruel things / We are not to obey it" (129-30). When Rosellia chances upon this scene, she orders Clarinda to "[u]nhand this monster" (184). While "monster" could simply be used to describe men, the term also seems to describe how the desert island affects its inhabitants—turning them into unclear markers of humanity. Like *The Island Princess*, the European travelers are marked by "strangeness" due to the conditions of the voyage and the conditions of island life. Rosellia has claimed sovereignty based on land ownership. As sovereign, whatever washes upon her shore, in this case Albert, she claims by salvage right. However, her subjects are restless. Hippolita cries in rebellion, "We must and will have men!" and Crocale, "Ay, or we'll shake off all obedience" (210-11). On the barren island, the men verge on mutiny over treasure, while on the fortunate island the women threaten to revolt over access to men. Appalled by the state of the men, Rosellia pleads with the women, "Can nothing persuade you to love yourselves / And place your happiness in cold and chaste / Embraces of each other?" (3.1.220-2) But the women will not be dissuaded from whetting their appetites. Rosellia realizes that these men must be the pirates that "deprived [her husband] of this treasure / But also took his life" (380-2). In the plays multiplication of plots and characters, Albert, who did in fact take Sebastian's treasure (though gave him his life in the form of a ship), is the son of the pirate who originally forced the Portuguese to sea. The men are taken into custody and allowed to live on their barren island, a fate worse than death.

The Sea Voyage claims that whoever is in control of a ship has the authority, despite attempts by other groups to exert power. Moreover, Fletcher makes the case for non-Iberian

maritime power. The French, rather than the Portuguese, control the littoral zone, and they do so through the very English practice of privateering. On the one hand, the play demonstrates an Elizabethan maritime policy, stealing gold from trading routes and plantations in the Americas, and displaces older practices of discovery and colonization, similarly to Armusia's success in *The Island Princess*. Having the ability to navigate to and from the islands' imaginative geography, the contingent knowledge proper to sailors, merchants, and pirates. We see this in the addition of another French pirate, Aminta's brother Raymond and another storm. These Frenchmen rescue Sebastian and Nicusa from "the furious sea" (4.1.24). The Portuguese offer their treasure in payment, but upon arriving to the "rocky desert" (4.1.4), there is no sign of the French (as they are in Amazonian custody). With no sign of life on the island, Raymond strands the Portuguese (again), with four days of food. He vows to search "all nooks of this strange island" (62). He seems to know that the barren island appears to be full of landing places, while the pleasant island has only one port.[302]

As Raymond and his crew begin their search, Rosellia has set up a human sacrifice on the anniversary of her marriage to Sebastian in order to execute "full justice" (4.2.16). Fletcher provides the men's potential lapse into cannibalism with a counterpoint in the women's practice of human sacrifice. Raymond enters the scene and is taken into custody along with the rest of the French. Fletcher provides this act with an eerie banquet scene like Prospero's in *The Tempest*, only these foods are aphrodisiacs because the Amazons still desire sexual congress. In captivity, Albert and Raymond meet and reconcile over their shared history (their fathers were the pirates who initially displace the Portuguese):

> Though we have many faults to answer for
> Upon our own account, our fathers' crimes

[302] See 5.1.21-6.

> Are in us punished. O Albert, the course
> They took to leave us rich was not honest,
> Nor can that friendship last which virtue joins not,
> When first they forced the industrious Portugals
> From their plantations in the happy islands. (5.2.82-88)
> […]
> And did omit no tyranny which men
> Inured to spoil and mischief could inflict
> On the grieved sufferers. When by lawless rapine
> They reaped the harvest which their labours sowed,
> And not content to force 'em from their dwelling
> But laid for 'em at sea, to ravish from 'em
> The last remainder of their wealth—(5.2.90-6)

Like Hamlet, the sons pay for their fathers crimes, here associated with piratical rapine. Raymond decries his father's decision to not just displace the Portuguese but also them to sea and chase their ships. We hear the other sea story from Rosellia, who provides a coherent account of the previously jumbled histories.[303] Tragedy is averted with the return of Crocale with Sebastian and Nicusa. Families and lovers are reunited, and Sebastian's closing lines nominally turns the play from tragedy to comedy:

> When awhile
> We have here refreshed ourselves, we'll return
> To our several homes; and well that voyage ends
> That makes of deadly enemies, faithful friends. (5.4.110-3)

Sebastian's tidy couplet yokes the concepts of enemy and friend, and demonstrates how amity *might* be an alternative to sovereignty. The horizontal relationships established at the play's close de-emphasize nationality and history on the assumption that, at voyage end, enemies are turned friends. Strangeness is reconciled; virtue restored; and authority predicated on joint action.

If we summarize the play's movement from land to sea, we originally have French and Portuguese ships, the former pirate and the second a trading carrack, leaving their home countries to cross the Atlantic. The Portuguese had been enjoying plantation life, perhaps in

[303] 5.4.20-45.

Brazil, when the French attack and force them to sea again. They founder in a storm and are shipwrecked on this pair of islands. Meanwhile, the second generation of French pirates takes to sea, enacting revenge on the parts of their fathers, is shipwrecked, and ends up on the barren island. The Portuguese men return to sea, only to be threatened again by a storm, saved by the French, and re-stranded on the barren island. Like the Bermuda Triangle, the desert island exerts a magnetic pull on anyone who tries to escape. Between the islands, we also see movement from land to sea. Albert swims to the pleasant island and returns via boat to his compatriots, who are then all transported in Act Five back to the Amazons' island in captivity, including the second French captain and crew. Identifying each movement along the littoral provides sites for competing claims to knowledge and authority. At sea, the navigational knowledge of the ship's master confronts the authority of the captain. On the barren island, the newly minted merchant-gentlemen (an odd mixture of land and sea) face the Portuguese's older claims to ownership and also the honesty of Tibalt, a gentleman-sailor. The disorganized, mutinous society of men is challenged by the commonwealth of quasi-Amazons, based on a landed sovereignty epitomized by the stag hunt but itself threatened by internal rebellion. The Amazons never desire to leave their island, while the French and Portuguese men will do anything to escape theirs.

Fletcher crafts a risk-laden maritime geography to highlight the instability of previously presumed categories of gender, geography, and authority. He demonstrates how the expanding reach of European culture confronts the unknown. And while all is happy in the end, both plays discussed here show that the voyage to and from the stable hierarchies of Europe are radically affected by different modes of confronting the natural and human worlds. The new global geographies may privilege a certain kind of contingent knowledge and authority, identified with the Tidorean rower-king, the Portuguese merchant-knight Armusia, and the French pirate

Albert—or with the Indian Princess Quisara and the woman whose very life hangs in the balance due to a sea voyage gone awry, Aminta. Both women are tied to the concept of voyaging and its associated worlds: sea, ship, and shore. "Island logic," predicated on navigational skill and impulsive action, and tied to the unstable, fluid nature of the island can turn antagonistic dualisms (land, sea; man, woman; old, young; Europe, Asia) to friendly and profitable ends.

EPILOGUE

Eco-politics and John Milton's *Comus, or A Masque presented at Ludlow Castle*

> …and if any place haue a wyde enterance, and then afterwardes is shut vp into a narow roume, hauing some distance to reuerse backe agayne, then the water dooth ryse and flowe very hygh, for that the water commeth in with a great sway, and will not vppon the sodayne reuerse backe agayne, as by ensample it may be seen in Seuern…[304]

Ludlow is situated at the confluence of the rivers Teme, Onny, and Corve, which join the River Severn at Worcester. Originating in the Cambrian Mountains and discharging in the Bristol Channel, the Severn is the longest river in the United Kingdom and also has the largest flow. The Severn is unique. It is one of the few locations in the world to witness the phenomenon of the tidal bore, a shock wave the results when the tides change so rapidly that a large mass of water is pushed into a narrow river or bay and overtakes the water flowing downstream. The bore can reach heights of nine feet. The key feature of this hydrologic phenomenon is its turbulence in both the nature of the wave and the mixing of the estuarial waters. Waves do not usually flow upriver to the dramatic extent of that in the Severn. The wave performs twice a day, on about 130 days a year, and changes in size based on the size of the tide. This dramatic event has influenced the representation of the river's titular deity, Sabrina, and her invocation by John Milton in *A Masque presented at Ludlow Castle*.

During Michaelmas in 1634, John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, was invested as the new Lord President of Wales. Milton's masque, written specifically for this occasion and performed by Bridgewater's three children, returns our focus to the highly local and situational drama that began this dissertation. Like the entertainments at Kenilworth in 1575, the masque draws upon

[304] William Bourne, *A booke called the treasure for traueilers deuided into fiue bookes or partes, contayning very necessary matters, for all sortes of trauailers, eyther by sea or by lande* (1578), Book 5, 11v.

local geography and its accompanying mythos to construct its narrative.[305] It thus merges elements of the estate entertainment with the splendor of the court masque. In debating the economics of Beauty with the Lady, Comus states, "Beauty is Nature's brag, and must be shown / In courts, at feasts, and high solemnities / Where most may wonder at her workmanship" (745-7). Although Milton argues that chastity—the proper management of the body—is a model for proper governance, his aesthetic vehicle is a court masque, albeit one stripped of its royal agenda and resurrected at the borders of the nation. Through the masque genre, Milton demonstrates the excesses that he desires to curb. Like the river's force, unbridled excess can lead to disaster, but invoked wisely, with due reverence and respect, the nation's resources can be profitably managed. However, the Lady takes Milton's argument too far with her "serious doctrine of virginity" (787), reminiscent of Elizabeth's court image towards the end of her reign. The masque seeks to rectify the older memories of Elizabeth with a new England confronting the excesses of her successor James. The masque moves away from centralized authority, figured in Comus and the Lady, towards a model of power defined by Sabrina and the river.[306]

Like the estate entertainments, the space of the woods is set in opposition to the space of the river. Comus lures the Lady to his palace in Ludlow's forests: "Within the navel of this wood, / Immured in cypress shades a sorcerer dwells" (520-1). The woods provide the masque's

[305] Julie Sanders, "The spectacular invocation of the Severn in the closing stages of the performance, as with the direct depiction of Ludlow Town and its inhabitants in the final change of 'scene', alludes both to the region and community that surrounded the castle and, by extension, makes visible the cultural geography with which the new president was being required to negotiate" (47)

[306] Heather Dubrow, "The Masquing of Genre in *Comus*," *Milton Studies* (2005), 62ff: "Thus, Bridgewater's position vis-à-vis the court is as double and ambiguous as that of the masque in his honor. And whereas the climactic rescue by Sabrina calls into question monarchical values and the form that celebrates them, in the denouement the text moves toward that chair of state and toward a castle and a seat of power, thus narrativizing Milton's own attraction to that movement; it offers, in other words, alternative and unreconciled conceptions of where power lies and how it should be evaluated."

immediate setting, while the titular deity of the river Severn, Sabrina, acts like the *deus ex machina* of the court masque and releases the Lady from Comus' thrall. Milton retells the naming of the river from Geoffrey of Monmouth and Spenser:

> There is a gentle nymph not far from hence,
> That with moist curb sways the smooth Severn stream,
> Sabrina is her name, a virgin pure,
> Whilom she was the daughter of Locrine,
> That had the scepter from his father Brute.
> The guiltless damsel flying the mad pursuit
> Of her enraged stepdame Guendolen,
> Commended her fair innocence to the flood
> That stayed her flight with his cross-flowing course…[307]

Sabrina is part of the foundational story of Britain. Her grandfather, Brutus, left Italy to found England and divided the island amongst his three sons, Albanus, Kamber, and Locrinus, Sabrina's father. Locrinus' first marriage to Gwendolen was arranged by her father and his ally, Corineus. However, Locrinus fell in love with Estrildis, with whom he fathered Habren, or Sabrina, and a boy. When Corineus died, Locrinus abandoned Gwendolen, but she returned with an army to enact her revenge, taking the opportunity upon Locrinus' death to drown Estrildis and Habren in the Severn. Gwendolen ruled England peacefully and eventually abdicated to her son. Apocryphally, the river saved Habren and brought her to Nereus, where she underwent a sea change into the river nymph Sabrina.

The Attendant Spirit calls Sabrina forth with this song:

> Sabrina fair
> Listen where thou art sitting
> Under the glassy, cool, translucent wave… (859-61)

And for a moment her description as "Goddess of the silver lake" (865) harkens back to the estate entertainments where Elizabeth would be called upon to ensure the chastity of the Lady of

[307] John Milton, *A Masque Presented at Ludlow Castle*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), lines 824-32.

the Lake at Kenilworth and and Nerea at Elvetham. The Spirit repeats a genealogy of aquatic characters straight out of the masques and entertainments of the previous chapters: Oceanus, Neptune, Tethys, Proteus, Nereus, Triton, Thetis. And he adds a mix of Sirens and nymphs to encourage Sabrina from her "coral-paven bed." The description of the sea deities evokes the lustrous costumes and sets from the court masques, "tinsel-slippered feet," "golden comb," and "diamond rocks." He urges Sabrina to "bridle in thy headlong wave, / Till thou our summons answered have" (887-8). The "headlong wave," I contend, is the bore phenomenon. As the epigraph for William Bourne demonstrates, the powerful tidal wave was observed during the early modern period. Sabrina responds and describes her gem-incrusted chariot, figured as part of the river: "By the rushy-fringèd bank, …My sliding chariot stays, / That set with agate, and the azurn sheen / Of turquoise blue, and emerald green" (890-4). References to the wave recur through Milton's narrative of Sabrina: "curb, "wave," "flood," "course," "sliding."

Sabrina's power is activated by a call to action from the Spirit, and she exercises her "office" (909) judiciously before returning to her proper place. When the time is appropriate for her to overrun the river's banks (essentially providing geographical probability for her arriving in Ludlow, riding the wave upstream to the Severn's tributaries), she enacts sovereign power. The bore is the exception that calls forth the power of the sovereign. If chastity is the basis for one economic model of government, ecology provides another. Elemental sovereignty involves the management of various elements within an environment and utilizing the local powers of place and people. While the estate entertainments, court masques, and even the stage plays discussed here point towards an argument of English sovereignty that extends across the Channel, seas, and oceans, Milton's masque reminds us of the importance of the local environment and directs our vision to the small ecologies that resonate within larger and larger networks. Maggie Kilgour,

writes, "Drawing upon Christian and neoplatonic depictions of the many flowing into a single source, the image of the rivers of a Britain surrounded by a sea suggested a national independence and wholeness which was achieved through the harmonious reconciliation of internal differences" (285). However, Milton inverts the image of the many flowing into the one. Instead, the one disperses into the many, a model for republican, not monarchical government.[308] We see this networked vision of power in the Spirit's farewell to Sabrina:

> May thy brimmed waves for this
> Their full tribute never miss
> From a thousand petty rills,
> That tumble down the snowy hills; (924-7)

The image moves from the estuarial tides of the coast, up the major river to the small streams, or tributaries like those that flow around Ludlow. A "rill" is the smallest form a river can take. Milton shifts the perspective from waves on the coastline up to the snowy mountains of Wales. Moreover, the bore phenomenon of the Severn imbues what would be a normal hydrological description with special force—the wave pushes water upstream against the current. The Spirit wishes for Sabrina the power to withstand the seasonal torrents and droughts:

> Summer drought, or singed air
> Never scorch thy tresses fair,
> Nor wet October's torrent flood
> Thy molten crystal filled with mud,
> May thy billows roll ashore
> The beryl, and the golden ore,
> May thy lofty head be crowned
> With many a tower and terrace round… (924-35)

This is a model of governance based on an active ecological network. If the deity can manage the natural cycles of drought and flood, like the great Egyptian empire founded on the Nile's fecundity, then she will be graced with crown and tower, the symbols of sovereign power, and

[308] Maggie Kilgour, "Writing on Water," *English Literary Renaissance* 29.3 (1999): 284.

the wealth to support a nation. Like the waves that constantly lap the contours of the nation, politics and government must perpetually adjust to the changing qualities of the environment.

An eco-politics attuned to nonhuman action in the world offers a version of governance defined not by human action, but the various elements, in both definitions—the major elements of earth, water, air, and fire—the micro- and macro- elements that comprise the world—tides, streams, mud, spices, sand, wind, etc. The border between land and sea offers one venue for the activation of eco-politics because of its perpetual reshaping. Eco-politics also recognizes that catastrophe is a necessary part of any ecological network. The network adjusts by reconfiguring itself based on specific contingencies. Sovereignty then is dispersed across the various vectors of the network and displaces human exceptionalism. Humans are necessary parts of the network, but they exist within a turbulent world that is always changing.

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