

**STAGE DIRECTIONS:  
SHAKESPEARE'S USE OF THE MAP**

by

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**SYNOPSIS**

This study argues that sixteenth-century map culture is a source for Shakespeare's plays, and that his use of the map, as cartographic language and as stage property, is a factor in understanding Shakespeare's representation of power. Maps empower their users and their makers, at the expense of those who are mapped — those who live on the land represented. However, the stage counters the map's effectiveness as a tool of power. In Shakespeare's plays, characters using the map to achieve power fail, partly because of their inability to read maps and use them properly, and partly because the map and the stage's relationship with the space they represent is different. Land is staged refusing to yield to the map's attempts to break it down, and those living on the land are staged resisting their inclusion or exclusion from it.

Plays and issues discussed include the mis-use of the map in *The Second Tetralogy*, the weaknesses of cartography and stage-mapping in *Richard III* and *King Lear*, the presence of death on the map in relation to *Antony and Cleopatra*, and mapping body-space in *Cymbeline*.

c. 40, 000

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## INTRODUCTION

The king of Bohemia, an' please your honour, replied the corporal, was unfortunate as thus — That taking great pleasure and delight in navigation and all sort of sea affairs — and there happening throughout the whole kingdom of Bohemia, to be no sea-port town whatever —

How the deuce should there be Trim? — Cried my uncle Toby; for Bohemia being totally inland it could have happened no otherwise — It might, said Trim, if it had pleased God.<sup>1</sup>

There are only two maps in Shakespeare. One is used by the rebels to divide up their portions of land in *I Henry IV*, and the other is used by King Lear to distribute his kingdom between his daughters. Shakespeare's maps have a combined stage time of approximately ten minutes. It may seem curious therefore that *The Norton Shakespeare* should choose a map as its cover. The Fool's Cap World, which is a map of the world framed by a jester's hat, was chosen because 'the Latin inscriptions [...], among them "Who does not have asses' ears?" and "The number of fools is infinite," evoke an Erasmian vision of universal folly frequently voiced by Shakespeare's comic characters'.<sup>2</sup> While such pronouncements are common in Shakespeare (from comic and tragic

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<sup>1</sup> Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* (London: R & J Dodsley 1760-67; repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1997), p. 473.

<sup>2</sup> *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. by Stephen Greenblatt and others (London: W.W. Norton, 1997), p. iv. All Shakespeare quotations are taken from this edition and will be referenced as act-scene-line number in the text, unless otherwise indicated.

characters), and in the period as a whole, surely any image of folly would suffice. *The Norton Shakespeare's* second reason, that 'the global image serves as well to suggest the astonishing worldwide success of Shakespeare's drama', apart from being rather banal, also fails to take into account Shakespeare's apparent geographical ignorance.

Corporal Trim and Uncle Toby are not the only ones to notice Shakespeare's wayward geography. The debate about Shakespeare's geographical knowledge dates back to Shakespeare's time. Ben Jonson's reported ridicule in 1619 of Bohemia having a coastline in *The Winter's Tale* even though 'there is no Sea neer by some 100 miles' has filtered through the centuries to become known as Shakespeare's biggest and most famous howler.<sup>3</sup> Its presence is surely one of the factors contributing to Alexander Pope's conclusion in his edition of Shakespeare (1723-5) that 'only some characters, single scenes, or perhaps a few particular passages, were of his hand'.<sup>4</sup> Thomas Hanmer, in his collected works of Shakespeare (1744), changed Bohemia to Bithynia, claiming that the former was a print-house error for the latter. In performance, both David Garrick in his adaptation *Florizel and Perdita* (1756), and Charles Kean in his historically rationalised *The Winter's Tale* (1856) adopted Hanmer's emendation — the logic in Kean's production

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<sup>3</sup> Quoted in E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), II, 207.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Pope, 'Preface to Edition of Shakespeare', repr. in *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*, ed. by Nichol Smith (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1903), pp. 47-62 (p.60).



being that Bohemia did not exist in the fourth century, when his version was set. More recently in a series of correspondences in *The Times* there was a debate concerning Shakespeare's geographical knowledge in *The Winter's Tale* and other plays. Within a month Shakespeare was labelled a geographical naïf, a playwright with Italian connections, an astute geographer with in-depth knowledge of waterways and tide patterns, and a keen European traveller with a soft spot for the Venetian taxi-service.<sup>5</sup>

Such attention is not surprising given that 'the deserts of Bohemia' is not the only geographical inaccuracy in the works of William Shakespeare. In *The Taming of the Shrew* characters sail to inland Padua. In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Valentine and Proteus sail from land-locked Verona to land-locked Milan, a mistake that is repeated some thirty-odd plays later when Milan is blessed with a port in *The Tempest*. A flick through Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, the first world atlas, would have corrected these errors; although only published in an English translation in 1606, it was clearly in circulation in London earlier, as Christopher Marlowe used the Asia maps as a source for *Tamburlaine*.<sup>6</sup> However, Shakespeare chooses either to ignore this source of information, or was unaware that these places were not coastal, and not separated by oceans. This has led some to conclude that 'geographical

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<sup>5</sup> J.L. Wilson, *The Times* (11 April 2000), 23; Harry McWilliam, *The Times* (20 April 2000), 25; Elizabeth Imlay, *The Times* (1 May 2000), 19; John Julius Norwich, *The Times* (5 May 2000), 21; R.G. Fletcher, *The Times* (8 May 2000), 22; John Goodhand, *The Times* (10 May 2000), 21. All letters are subtitled 'Il Bardo'. Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

<sup>6</sup> See Ethel Seaton, 'Marlowe's Maps', *Essays and Studies*, 10 (1924), 13-35.

exactitude was no part of the [English Renaissance] literary tradition, and even those writers who “should have known better” show astonishing carelessness about place-names and modes of transport, using them for their associations, not their reality’.<sup>7</sup> Italy (including Ancient Rome) is the most featured location in Shakespeare after England, and yet it is the staging of Italy that features the majority of Shakespeare’s geographical gaffs. With this in mind, it becomes difficult to agree with John Gillies’s contention that Shakespeare knew Ortelius’s *Theatrum*.<sup>8</sup>

Geographical confusions abound in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Valentine sails from Verona to Milan with his servant, Speed. Proteus, under order from his father Antonio, is despatched to Milan, where he can ‘be in eye of every exercise / Worthy his youth and nobleness of birth’ (1. 3. 32-33); he too goes by waterway. However there is no sea between the two cities; a journey around the foot of Italy would have taken a long time. According to Elizabeth Imlay, in her letter to *The Times* (1 May 2000), there is no inaccuracy here, as ‘Verona was known as *La Porta d’Italia*, because it was a transit point for water traffic’. Italy, she points out, had ‘an extensive network of waterways’. Imlay does not account for the fact that this network would not have easily connected Verona in the east to Milan in the west. The best method of travel between the

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<sup>7</sup> G.K. Hunter, *Dramatic Identities and Cultural Tradition: Studies in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), p.10.

<sup>8</sup> *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 50-1. Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

two cities would have been by land. She also fails to acknowledge the internal inconsistencies of the play. The imagined expanse of water between Verona and Milan disappears for the rest of the play. Julia, following her beloved, walks to Milan. Lucetta tells her that ‘the way is wearisome and long’ (2. 7. 8); ‘A true-devoted pilgrim is not weary / To measure kingdoms with his feeble step’ (9-10) is Julia’s emphatic reply: she will ‘make a pastime of each weary step’ (35). Despite the imagery of Julia’s ‘love’s hot fire’ (2. 7. 21) straying ‘by many winding nooks [...] / With willing sport to the wild ocean’ (31-2), and her claim that she will be ‘as patient as a gentle stream’ (34), there is no indication that she will be literally following in Proteus’ wake. On his return journey, Valentine, held up by a group of bandits, tells them he is on his way from ‘Milan’ to ‘Verona’; he has also been walking. The play subverts its locations in relation to their ‘real’ counterparts.

The inconsistency of distance and place is complicated by the incoherence of the text. Speed, presumably in Milan, welcomes Lance to ‘Padua’ (2. 5. 1).<sup>9</sup> The Duke, forgetting where his Dukedom is, tells Valentine about ‘a lady in Verona here’ (3. 1. 81). It is possible to see similar inconsistencies in other plays. In the first two quartos and the First Folio version of *The Merchant of Venice*, Balthazar is sent to seek Doctor Bellario in Mantua

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<sup>9</sup> I have adopted the spelling of La(u)nce used in *The Norton Shakespeare*, along with the editors’ choices for the spelling of Silvia and Proteus. I have however kept faith with alternative spellings when quoting other sources, even if this appears to be an inconsistency on my part. Similarly, American spellings will be maintained where I am quoting a source that uses them.

(3. 4. 49), even though all other references to the lawyer situates him and Portia/Balthasar in Padua (4. 1. 108; 118; 399). In *The Taming of the Shrew*, the Pedant, pretending to be Lucentio's father, declares that he 'is come from Padua and here looking out at the window', even though this scene is set in Padua (5. 1. 26-27). It is possible to argue that these mistakes, along with the varying and inconsistent spatial contexts of and relationships between Verona, Milan, Padua, and Mantua, would probably have little bothered the Elizabethan playgoer, as they little bother us in performance now. These errors may indicate that Shakespeare was little interested in geography, and was not map-minded.

This study will argue the opposite. It will contend that Shakespeare knew maps, read maps, used maps, and understood maps, and employed cartographic imagery at crucial moments in his drama. This is not because he had any specific insights into cartography that were unavailable to mere mortals or mere playwrights. Cartography and geography in general were significant parts of the culture Shakespeare was writing in. This can be attributed to New World discoveries, and the expansion of man's geographical horizons. Maps of the world were available in a variety of forms and in a variety of editions; travel journals were popular reading matter. It can also be linked to the professionalisation of surveying, which resulted both in an increase of surveys being made, and gave surveyors and their maps a higher profile. Even in urban areas, surveying was a recognisable trade. In the surveyor John Norden's *The Surveiors Dialogue*, the Farmer describes passing 'through London' where he

has 'seene many [surveyors'] Bills sired upon posts in the streetes, to sollicite men to affoord them some service'.<sup>10</sup> Maps had become a part of people's lives, affecting rich and poor, whether they liked it or not.

As the following chapters will show, my own research has led me to consider specific maps, and specific geographical information, and use them to comment on facets of the plays under discussion. I am not however trying to claim that individual maps are sources. It is impossible to prove what Shakespeare may or may not have read or seen, nor is it particularly necessary to. Shakespeare clearly knew maps, as his plays contain maps, references to maps, mapmaking, and mapreading, but his geographical understanding was far greater than simply being able to read them. This study will focus on the dramaturgical uses of these maps — how they are staged, how they reflect and infect the dramatic action, and how the dramatic action comments on facets of the map and its position in the culture of the time. This study is divided into two parts. The focus of Part One will be on those who are or who try to be empowered by the map. The first chapter will discuss the relationship between power and the map, and how this is affected when the map is staged. Subsequent chapters examine bad mapreading in The Second Tetralogy, and the wayward geography of the stage maps of *Richard III* and *King Lear*. The focus of Part Two will be on those who live on the land that the surveyors map,

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<sup>10</sup> *The Surveyors Dialogue*, 2nd edn (London: I Busby, 1610: *Early English Books*; Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1949- ), STC1/Reel 967:22, p. 14.

and will discuss how they are affected by cartography. In the first chapter, I will discuss this through the presence of death on contemporary maps, and how this relates to the Roman plays, especially *Antony and Cleopatra*. In the final chapter, the relationship between the map and what is mapped will be examined in *Cymbeline*, through the Welsh landscape's resistance to assimilation, and Innogen's resistance to patriarchy. Integral to this study is the belief that Shakespeare used maps for dramatic ends, not to present accurate world pictures. Shakespeare may well have been as geographically knowledgeable as his contemporaries. What is interesting is how this knowledge is manipulated, and how the map is re-staged.

Returning to *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, it is possible to argue, along with Margaret Maurer, that the place-name errors are deliberate components of the play. Voicing a place-name locates the action of a play, even it is a simple 'this is Illyria, lady'. In *The Defense of Poesy*, Sir Philip Sidney complains that 'the player, when he cometh in, must ever begin with telling where he is, or else the tale will not be conceived'.<sup>11</sup> In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, the players do not tell us in any coherent fashion where the events of the play are taking place. Maurer argues that, 'when the place-name subordinates its capacity to locate something and behaves figuratively, the coherence or significance of the action is threatened.'<sup>12</sup> In performance and in editions of the play the Duke's 'lady in

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<sup>11</sup> *The Defense of Poesy*, in *The Oxford Authors: Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 212-250 (p. 243).

<sup>12</sup> 'Figure, Place, and the End of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*', *Style*, 23, no. 3 (Fall 1989), 405-429 (406).

Verona here' becomes either the rather clumsy 'of Milano here' or the more satisfactory 'of Verona here'. 'Padua' is often emended to 'Milan', where the scene presumably takes place.<sup>13</sup> However, by making this alteration editors ignore the context of Speed's welcome within the play as a whole. The preceding scene has presented another welcome — Proteus' welcome to the court in Milan. Silvia welcomes him by promoting his 'worth', on account of Valentine's praise for him (2. 4. 95-96). Worth becomes the operative word for their ensuing verbal (fore) play. Silvia declares that she is 'too low a mistress for so high a servant' (99). Proteus picks up the baton, declaring that she is 'too mean a servant / To have a look of such a worthy mistress' (100-101). The exchange concludes with Silvia as victor:

SILVIA	Servant, you are welcome to a worthless mistress.
PROTEUS	I'll die on him that says so but yourself.
SILVIA	That you are welcome?
PROTEUS	That you are worthless. (106-108)

Silvia has made Proteus say that she is worthless, even though he has sworn to take revenge against anybody who says that about her. She has also exposed the fraudulent nature of the welcome, by doubting that he is welcome at all. In Maurer's terms, she has 'baited her hook with only the transparent self-

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<sup>13</sup> See *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. by G. Blakemore Evans and others (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974), for example of the former emendation, and *The Oxford Shakespeare*, ed. Stanley Wells and others (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) (and subsequently used in the *Norton* edition), for an example of the latter.

deprecation of *worthless*' (420).

Speed's welcoming of Lance to 'Padua' re-enacts the welcome of Proteus by Silvia, as it is a challenge from one clown to another; 'by mine honesty' is akin to Silvia's 'worthless'. Lance, unlike Proteus, side-steps the challenge, and like Silvia quibbles on the nature of the word 'welcome':

Forswear not thyself, sweet youth, for I am not welcome. I reckon this always, that a man is never undone till he be hanged, nor never welcome to a place till some certain shot be paid and the hostess say 'Welcome'. (2. 5. 2-5)

Lance transforms the meaning of the word 'welcome' to mean 'ale'. Speed continues, appropriating this definition, and promising that at 'the alehouse [...] for one shot of five pence, thou shalt have five thousand welcomes' (6-8). If the meaning of welcome can change three times in six lines, then surely Padua can mean Milan and vice-versa. The temptation to misconstrue the place-name Speed offers is a strong one:

There is scarcely a director, editor, or critic who does not succumb to it. Yet preoccupied with conceiving the tale, they miss the figurative sense in which *Padua*, functioning like *worthless*, cannot, regardless of where the clowns are, be denied. The audience has already got the joke. (Maurer, 420)



The clowns throughout *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* re-play the conventions of love and language initially played out and played with by the four lovers. As Inga-Stina Ewbank argues, in relation to Lance's tearful farewell to his imagined family, which comes after Julia and Proteus part, 'Launce makes comically explicit a critical perspective on the absorption in the conventional attitudes and language of love [...] which the "serious" scenes have implicitly demonstrated.'<sup>14</sup> In this light, *The Norton Shakespeare's* choice of cover seems peculiarly apt. Shakespeare's geography is reshaped by fools.

Drawing on the fact that the most often voiced criticism of the play is the unease audiences and readers feel when Valentine gives Proteus 'all that was [his] in Silvia' (5. 4. 83), Maurer argues that geographical inconsistency and human (and especially male) inconstancy are linked. This can be read through the presence of water in the play. Those who complain about Shakespeare's inconsistency, and those who defend the accuracy of Shakespeare's geography, fail to register the dramatic significance of the gentlemen taking a sea voyage. This journey produces a 'sea-change' in both men. Valentine is scornful of love while in Verona ('To be in love, where scorn is bought with groans' (1. 1. 29)), but after his sea voyage, he falls in love with Silvia. Proteus, 'metamorphosed' by Julia (1. 1. 66), changes again on disembarking in Milan, where like his friend he is drawn to Silvia ('To leave my Julia shall I be forsworn; / To love fair Silvia shall

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<sup>14</sup> "'Were Man But Constant, He were Perfect": Constancy and Consistency in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*', in *Two Gentlemen of Verona: Critical Essays*, ed. by June Schlueter (New York and London: Garland, 1996), pp. 91-114 (p. 101).

I be forsworn' (2. 6. 1-2)). It is not for nothing that he shares his name with the shape-shifter of Greek mythology, described in *The Odyssey* as 'the Old Man of the Sea'.<sup>15</sup> Julia undergoes no such character change; her transformation into Sebastian is conscious, she still knows who she is. She declares that 'it is the lesser blot, modesty finds, / Women to change their shapes than men their minds' (5. 4. 106-107). It is possible to make similar claims for the dramatic necessity of characters sailing to Padua in *The Taming of the Shrew*, as it is for the sea-journeys undertaken in *Pericles*, *The Tempest*, and *The Winter's Tale*.

Following the sea imagery through *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* yields an astonishing chain of metaphorical switches. A series of protean verbal slights gives an insight into the figurative nature of the landscape in which the plot unfolds. Landscape is subject to the words that describe it. Speed puns on the word 'ship' making it a 'sheep' (1. 1. 72-73), and then he and Proteus work their way through a series of puns that prove far worse than their bite. The watery landscape of the ship becomes a pastoral landscape of sheep. On leaving Verona, Proteus says that 'the tide is now' and then despairs at Julia's 'tide of tears, / [which] will stay me longer than I should' (2. 2. 14-15). Lance takes up the image in the following scene, playing out his own tearful farewell with his family using his shoes, staff, and hat as stand-ins ('Now should not the shoe speak a word for weeping' (2. 3. 21-22)). Panthino exhorts him to hurry or he'll 'lose the

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<sup>15</sup> Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. E.V. Rieu, rev. by D.C.H. Rieu (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), p. 55, l. 65.

'tide' (31). Lance translates this meaning: 'It is no matter if the tied were lost, for it is the unkindest tied that ever any man tied' (33-34). He is referring to the 'tied' dog, Crab. As Maurer neatly puts it,

Crab stands before us as the consequence of playing with the word [tide / tied]. As Launce and Proteus and, for that matter, any actors playing them will discover to their discomfort, he will move about at will, defying any conception or purpose to the tale but his own. (417)

'Tide' and 'tied' in the First Folio are both spelt 'tide'. Crab is thus linked through a complex sequence of metaphors back to the sea itself; a sea which not only has no geographical equivalent, but also no geographical logic. There is water anywhere the play needs there to be water. Therefore a sea vessel (Valentine's ship) is translated into a land creature (Speed's sheep), and a land creature is associated with the sea (through being 'tide') and named after a sea creature (Crab).

Further evidence of the deliberate nature of these errors can be seen in Valentine's contemplation of his space. Three landscapes are invoked and a further landscape implied:

This shadowy desert, unfrequented woods  
I better brook than flourishing peopled towns. (5. 4. 2-3)

A fourth landscape can be seen in the word 'brook', which, although it here means 'endure', has aquatic overtones. By 'desert' we can understand 'uninhabited place', accompanying 'unfrequented' which describes the 'woods'. However, when the word is used by Antigonus to describe where he and the baby Perdita have landed in Bohemia in *The Winter's Tale*, it is in reference to a treeless place (a beach). Nor does 'desert' act as an adjective, describing the wood, in this reading (which is adopted by Oxford, Norton and Riverside editors); if it was an adjective, there would be a comma after 'shadowy'.<sup>16</sup> Although Valentine's description seems straightforward, there are ghosts of different landscapes present. One landscape yields many others. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* consistently undermines geographical certainties. Despite apparent illogic in the text, a dramaturgical geography is at play here, one that uses the names 'Verona', 'Milan', and 'Mantua' and even 'Padua', and the various spaces in-between, in ever-fluctuating relationships, depending on the needs of the play.

*The Norton Shakespeare's* use of the Fool's Cap World as its cover may not be inappropriate, even if the justification for using it is unsatisfactory. Shakespeare's geographies fool; they do not conform to accurate ideas about the world's form. Peter Whitfeld provides the following analysis of the Fool's Cap World:

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<sup>16</sup> J. Payne Collier's edition of Shakespeare's *Works* (1842-4) does include this comma. Although this reading seems sensible to me, no editor since appears to have followed his example.

It is the earliest known use of the world map in a visual joke, although other world maps of his time do contain elements of *jeu d'esprit*. Its central visual metaphor is the universality of human folly, and the various mottoes around the map serve to reinforce that theme [...] [The fool] was licenced [*sic*] to break rules, speak painful truths, and mock at power and pretension, and the grotesque shape he bore was a kind of living punishment. This frame of reference would have been quite familiar to the audience for this engraving in the 1590's, and they would have recognized in this map a radical visual interpretation of the Fool's role: it is now the whole world which takes on the Fool's costume, thus forcing the viewer to confront the possibility that the whole created order is irrational, alien and threatening.<sup>17</sup>

The viewer looks at the map, which s/he supposes will represent an ordered world, and finds that the world is not as ordered as s/he would like to believe.

The same could be said of the theatre audience. Shakespeare's geography breaks rules, speaks painful truths, and mocks at power and pretensions. The stage map and the printed map relate to each other, but the former frequently undermines the latter. Stage geography, like Crab the dog, never remains tied down for long.

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<sup>17</sup> Peter Whitfield, *The Image of the World: 20 Centuries of World Maps* (London: British Library, 1994), p. 78.

## **PART ONE**

Give me a map; then let me see how much  
Is left for me to conquer all the world.

*Tamburlaine Part Two 5. 3. 123-24.*

## **'THIS WIDE AND UNIVERSAL THEATRE': THE THEATRE AS MAP AND THE MAP AS THEATRE**

The growth of cartography in the sixteenth century can be attributed to many factors. It can be explained partly by the discovery of the New World. Maps could illustrate the position and to some degree the nature of these recent *terrae cognitae*. The New World also presented new commercial opportunities for European nations. The quality of information increased to aid this exploitation. This was not particular to the Americas, and was extended to all areas of the known world; as Jerry Brotton notes, 'Map-buyers increasingly demanded that such maps be ever more detailed, reflecting the growing complexity of the changing political geography of late sixteenth-century Europe.'<sup>18</sup> The birth of print revolutionised the way maps were produced and provided maps with a market place:

Once the cartographic image was transferred to a printing block or plate, it could be repeatedly reproduced, a standardized visual image free from the endless variations and idiosyncratic embellishments which a single illustration could experience at the hands of even the most gifted scribe or miniaturist. (Brotton, *Trading*, p. 35)

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<sup>18</sup> *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), p. 170. Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

Such a press could facilitate additions and corrections with ease. By the end of the sixteenth century, there was a market for maps; the image of the world was a commodity. Mapmakers and mapsellers increasingly realised there was a demand for their product, and met it.

The marketability of maps and particularly atlases can be summed up by Robert Herrick's poem 'A Country Life: To His Brother, Master Thomas Herrick': 'at home without tyde or gale, / Canst in thy map securely saile [...] / And from thy Compasse taking small advice / Buy'st Travell at the lowest price'<sup>19</sup> — 'small', in comparison to the unwieldy wall maps and charts; low priced, not just in comparison to travelling, but also because the Atlas, or collection of maps, was a cheaper way of getting knowledge about the world than amassing individual maps. This is why Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* was such a success. Ortelius recognised that there was a market for a map in 'small forme [...] [so] that the whole Mappe might be contein'd in one leaf' of a book.<sup>20</sup> In the first edition (1570) there was not only a world map (the *Typus Orbis Terrarum*), but also maps of America, Asia (with 6 regional maps), Africa (with 3 regional maps), and Europe (with 56), all within a single volume. The venture was praised for having 'compress[ed] the immense structure of land and sea into a narrow space [...] [and for making] the earth portable, which a great many people assert

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<sup>19</sup> *The Complete Poems of Robert Herrick*, ed. by Max J. Patrick (New York: New York University Press, 1963), p. 52, l. 76-82.

<sup>20</sup> *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, trans. William Bedwell (London: John Norton, 1606: *Early English Books*; Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1949- ), p. 4. STC1/Reel 968:4. Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.



to be immoveable'.<sup>21</sup> Ortelius, in his address 'to the courteous reader', imagined that 'every student would afford a place in his Library' for the *Theatrum*. From the comfort of his home the mapreader was able to make journeys across continents with his or her finger. The world was in the mapreader's hands.

Print disseminated the image of the world far and wide. Atlases were among the first printed books. Ptolemy's *Geographia*, an atlas accompanied by geographical accounts, originally produced in Alexandria in the second century AD, was republished in Bologna in 1477. Such was the popularity of this atlas that publishing houses across Europe launched their own *Geographia*-based collections onto an eager market. However, less historical and more contemporary pictorial accounts of the world became more desirable as the sixteenth century wore on. The *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* contained the most up-to-date maps from the various mapmakers from across Europe. The book increased in size and detail from edition to edition, from 70 maps on 53 leaves in 1570, to 97 map sheets by 1579.<sup>22</sup> It sold itself on its currency. As Jerry Brotton has noted, whereas the only previous atlases were based on 'redrawn Ptolemy's maps', and 'earlier printers and editors had [...] made little explicit attempt to market such a product as being of prime importance in interpreting and defining the contemporary world of political geography', Ortelius's *Theatrum* did just the opposite: 'it was to be an indispensable tool in understanding the social and

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<sup>21</sup> Quoted in Brotton, *Trading Territories*, p. 175.

<sup>22</sup> figures from *Trading Territories*, pp. 171-4.

political changes which were transforming the society of late sixteenth-century Europe' (p. 170).

Similar claims were made of the theatre. Thomas Platter, a young Swiss traveller who was in England in 1599, describes Londoners as 'learning at the play what is happening abroad; indeed men and womenfolk visit such places without scruple, since the English for the most part do not travel much, but prefer to learn foreign matters and take their pleasures at home'.<sup>23</sup> In the period, the word 'plot' could mean both a map and the breakdown of the scenes of a play displayed backstage at a theatre. It is possible to equate the map and the theatre further when one considers John Dee's view of the map in his influential *Preface to Euclid*:

[it could depict] things past, as battles fought, earthquakes, heavenly firings, and such occurrences, in histories mentioned: thereby lively as it were to view the place, the region adjoining the distance from us, and such other circumstances: some other, presently to view the large dominion of the Turk: the wide Empire of the Muscovite: and the little morcel of ground where Christiandom (by profession) is certainly known.<sup>24</sup>

The map becomes a stage for history, 'as it were to view the place', almost as if the reader is there. It is not simply a tool for discerning spatial relationships. It is

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<sup>23</sup> *Thomas Platter's Travels in England 1599*, trans. by Clare Williams (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937), p. 170.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in J.B. Harley, 'Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography' *English Map-Making 1500-1650: Historical Essays*, edited by Sarah Tyacke (British Library: London, 1983), pp. 22-45 (p. 27).

a window to the world, 'a mirror up to nature'. The theatre meets all of the criteria in David Woodward and J.B. Harley's definition of maps as 'graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world'.<sup>25</sup> It is possible to see a relationship between Shakespeare's theatre on the South Bank, and indeed all the London theatres, and the maps produced by Ortelius and his contemporaries, including English cartographers such as Christopher Saxton, John Norden, and John Speed. Not for nothing was that famous establishment called 'The Globe Theatre' — virtually a direct translation of the title of Ortelius's atlas.

As it seems appropriate that the theatre should make considerable use of the world-as-stage metaphor, so it seems appropriate that mapmakers make use of it as well. Ortelius used it for the title of his atlas, as did the English cartographer John Speed (*The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, 1611), and the French cartographer Maurice Bouguerea (*Theatre Francoys*, 1594). Gerardus Mercator and Abraham Ortelius used the trope partly to dramatise their maps. In his introduction Ortelius writes:

were it not that by reason of the narrownesse of the roomes and places, broad and large Mappes cannot so be opened or spread, that every thing in them may easily and well be seene and discern'd [...] And he that will in order hang them all along upon a wall, had need not only a very large and wide house, but even a Princes gallery or a spacious Theater. (p. 3)

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<sup>25</sup> 'Preface', *The History of Cartography Volume 1: Cartography in Pre-Historic, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. by J.B. Harley and David Woodward, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987), p. xvi.

Ortelius makes a comparison between the wall map, which was often so large that it would fill the walls of an entire room, and the theatre. His own single volume atlas created the same effect, but on a smaller, more manageable scale; it was a 'theatre' that could be held. An analysis of the frontispiece of the first edition of the *Theatrum* shows how self-consciously dramatised it is. The continents are personified as women, each with props suggestive of their nature. America, for example, is surrounded by props suggesting her barbarity – spear, bow and arrow, decapitated head. Europe sits on top of the arch, Africa and Asia stand on plinths, with America and Magellanica (represented only by a bust because the body of the country was yet to be discovered) on the floor. The arrangement is staged on a structure somewhere between a triumphal arch, with Europe triumphant, and a *frons scenae*. The frontispieces of different editions of Gerardus Mercator's Atlas became more dramatised in subsequent editions. The first edition (1595) depicts Atlas drawing onto a blank globe, using the real globe as the model. He stands in a structure similar to that displaying Ortelius's continents, although here it seems to be more arch-like than stage-like, with Atlas as a statue rather than a dramatised snapshot. Volume two of the 1636 edition is conceptually similar to Ortelius's, with six continents staged around Atlas in the same pose. Volume one of the 1636 edition features a cast of men wearing different ethnic clothing, with Atlas this time standing on the roof of the stage, bearing the cosmos, surrounded by learned figures. Both volumes'

frontispieces are more stage orientated than the 1595 edition. The figures appear more animated and less statuesque. However, it must be noted that this style of frontispiece was commonplace in books of the period. *The King James Bible* (1611), for example, also uses the image of persons (religious figures) framed by a stage / arch design on its frontispiece.

The maps themselves are dramatised by their decorations, which became more and more elaborate. On Ortelius's map of Asia, for example, the blank spaces of sea are filled by ships and sea creatures, including, just west of Sumatra, a monster eating the contents of a wrecked boat. Blank spaces of land are filled in Southern China by an elephant and in the corner of Africa by a lion and lioness. His Africa map also features lions, elephants, ostriches, crocodiles, and other exotica. The world map from Mercator's 1636 edition depicts the four elements in elegant cartouches. Claes Janszoon Visscher's world map (c.1617) takes this trend for elegant cartouches to a ludicrous extreme, as it features not only the four continents and the four elements, but also finds room to depict the twelve months, the four seasons, 'four ancient conquerors legendarily credited with extending the boundaries of the ancient world' (Gillies, *Geography*, p. 163), and the seven charitable works of St. Matthew. The image of the world is subsumed by this welter of visual stimulus; the decorations, which dramatise and personify aspects of the order of the world, take over from the visual representation of the world. The relevance of these details is often neglected. A.G Hodgkiss calls 'the overpoweringly decorative cartouches, [...] sea monsters

and other ornamentation on many sixteenth century maps' a 'distraction', and states that the information that the map conveys 'may relate more to aesthetic pleasure than to an enhanced understanding of the environment, simply because the topographical information which should have come through strongly has been rendered subservient to the decorative elements'.<sup>26</sup> Hodgkiss does not consider that decorations give the reader a visual idea of the historical and the contemporary state of the landscape, which may be more difficult to establish in written accounts. They also provide a window for modern mapreaders into the map's message and the culture of its creation. The map can be seen as a space of action, in a similar way to the stage. The map provided a space for reading action across a flat plain for armchair travelling, in much the same way as the theatre.

However, both the map's and the theatre's use of the world-as-stage metaphor have different resonances. This is apparent when the ubiquity of the metaphor in the period is considered. Titles of books that used the metaphor indicate its variety of uses. Some authors chose the word in the title of their historical works. Pierre Boistuaud produced *Theatre du Monde* in 1558, which was translated into English by John Alday in 1566. J.J. Boissard produced *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* in 1596. John Thorie's *The Theatre of the Earth* was published in 1599. Andrew Favyn's *Theater of Honour and Knight-Hood* was

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<sup>26</sup> *Understanding Maps: A Systematic History of their Use and Development* (Folkestone: Dawson, 1981), p. 24.

one of the books that was being composited at the time of Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories, Tragedies*, and may well have caused the delay of its publication in 1622.<sup>27</sup> John Parkinson produced *Theatrum Botanicum* in 1640. These examples use the theatre to connote extensive knowledge. The Oxford English Dictionary defines one aspect of the word theatre as 'a book giving a "view" or "conspectus" of some object: a text book, manual, and treatise'. However, Samuel Purchas's 1657 *A Theatre of Political Flying-Insects*, and Robert Allot's *Wits Theater of the Little World*, published in 1599, both use the term to define a satirical or humorous tract.

Several religious books and tracts use the word 'theatre' in their titles. Thomas Beard's translation of Jean de Chassanion's *Histoires Memorables des grands et merueilleux jugements et punitions de Dieu* was titled *The Theatre of Gods Judgement*. The second edition promised on its title page to represent 'the admirable justice of God against all notorious sinners, both great and small, but especially against the most eminent persons in the world'.<sup>28</sup> I.C., self-proclaimed 'student of divinitie', titled his twelve volume tome *The Theatre of Catolique and Protestant Religion*, promising on his title page a work 'wherein the zealous Catholike may plainelie see, the manifest truth, perspicuitie, evident foundations and demonstrations of the Catholique religion'.<sup>29</sup> Moral lessons are suggested by

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<sup>27</sup> See Peter Blayney, *The First Folio of Shakespeare* (Washington: Folger Library Publications, 1991), pp. 5-7.

<sup>28</sup> *The Theatre of Gods Judgement*, 2nd edn., 12 vols (London: Adam Islip, 1612: *Early English Books*; Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1949- ). STC1/ Reel 1227:1.

<sup>29</sup> *The Theatre of Catolique and Protestant Religion* (Saint Omer: C. Boscard, 1620: *Early English Books*; Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1949- ). STC1/ Reel 1441:5.

the title of Guillaume de la Perrière's *Le théâtre des bons engins: auquel sont contenuz cent emblemes moraulx* (1539). Jan van der Boot suggests a moral message in the title of his *Het Theatre oft Toon-nel* ('Theatre of Worldlings'; 1568), translated into English in 1569 under the title *A theatre wherein be represented as wel the miseries and calamities that follow the voluptuous worldlings*. The general use of 'theatre' promoted the moral and religious aspects of the book. The term also promoted the book as a commercial product; the title was capable of selling books because it promised to encapsulate all knowledge on a particular subject.

These uses of 'theatre' — word and concept — are complex, and have little if anything to do with the Shakespearean theatre. John Speed, in his introductory address to the reader in *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, shows how its title has more to do with the structure of the building itself:

So great was the attempt to assay the erection of this large and laborious THEATRE, whose only platforme might well have expected the readiest hand of the best Artist, that even in the entrance of the first draught as one altogether discouraged, I found my selfe farre unfit and unfurnished both of matter and meanes, either to build, or to beautifie so stately a project. [...] But with what content to thy eye (gentle Reader) I stand in suspence, so many Maister-builders having in this subject gone before me, and I the least, not worthy to hew (much lesse to lay) the least stone in so beautifull a Building [...] [I] have laid my building upon other mens foundations [...] And applying my selfe wholly to the frame of this most goodly Building, have as a poore labourer



carried the carved stones and polished Pillars from the hands of the more skillful Architects.<sup>30</sup>

'Erection', 'build', 'Maister-builders [...] gone before', 'foundations', 'true plot of the whole land': there is no concession to a notion of performance in the address 'To The Well-Affected and Favourable Reader'. The world-as-stage metaphor is developed in the 'Summary Conclusion of the Whole', when Speed, discussing the history of the British Isles, states that 'the next Actors upon Britaines faire Stage [after the Romans], were the Saxons, a people of Germany, fierce, bold and irreligious, as, for the most part, the rest of Nations in those daies were' (p. 896). This is the only instance in his historical account where such terms are used. Actors are rarely present in the mapmaker's theatre. The emphasis of the analogy appears to be on the structure that the theatre provides, and the structure that previous mapmakers have provided for him in their work. It has little or nothing to do with the map's theatrical properties. One might question why 'theatre'? Surely any building would do.

The world-as-stage metaphor is classical in origin. Pythagoras is attributed as the formulator of the idea; Plato used the image on a number of occasions; Suetonius claimed that Augustus Caesar died with the following on his lips:

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<sup>30</sup> *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (London: William Hall, 1611: *Early English Books*; Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1949- ), pp.ix-x, STC1/ Reel 730:1. Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

Since well I've played my part, all clap your hands  
And from the stage dismiss me with applause.<sup>31</sup>

Erasmus's treatise on foolosophy, *Moriae Incomium*, or *In Praise of Folly*, takes up this image from antiquity. Folly declares that 'what else is the life of man but a kind of play in which men in various costumes perform until the director motions them off the stage'.<sup>32</sup> The Renaissance was, put simply, the rediscovery of classical antiquity as a basis of art and philosophy. Geography and cartography were no different. While Ortelius's *Theatrum* or Mercator's *Atlas* were sold on their novelty, both were quick to acknowledge that the authority of their work resided in the work of their classical forefathers. The up-to-date quality of their maps' information was backed up through classical analogies, thus giving their books an air of respectability. Mapmakers were not seeking to replace classical Ptolemaic geography; they were supplementing the *Geographia*. The four continents and the four winds feature on a variety of maps in the period are classical, even though these were known to be geographically inaccurate in the period. 'In the case of each of the classical motifs' observes John Gillies, 'a deep contradiction between ancient poetry and new geography is observed' (*Geography*, p. 160).<sup>33</sup> The four elements that persistently featured on maps also have classical origins. Gillies states that 'it is not uncommon to find troops of

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<sup>31</sup> *Suetonius*, trans. by J.C. Rolfe, The Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols (London: Heinemann, 1913-14; repr. 1959-60), I (1960), book ii, section xcix, 80-1.

<sup>32</sup> *The Essential Erasmus*, ed. and trans. by John P. Dolan (New York: Mentor-Omega, 1964), pp. 94-173 (p. 119). Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

<sup>33</sup> See his 'Chapter 5: The frame of the new geography', for a discussion of classical v. contemporary geographical representation and theory.

stage Romans disputing rights of cartographic possession with the true heirs of the new geography, the great Renaissance voyagers: Columbus, Vespucci, Magellan, Drake, Cavendish, and others' (*Geography*, pp.159-60). The influence of classical architecture can be seen on the frontispieces of Ortelius's and Mercator's maps. The stages that the continents and Atlas are depicted on are not Shakespearean stages but classical stages. They are influenced by Vitruvius, first discussed in the English Renaissance by John Dee in his *Preface to Euclid*, but a common inspiration in continental architecture.<sup>34</sup> Thus, when John Speed is so forthright about the quality of the building of his theatre, he is not only commending the influence of his immediate predecessors, but also utilizing fashionable classical influences; the analogy, which extends beyond the world-as-theatre metaphor, is a mark of quality.

These claims for classical precedence, coupled with religious aspects drawn from the writings of Erasmus, gives the map authority. The trope, as used by mapmakers, suggests that the information given could be trusted, and would be accurate. It projected the notion that the map was science, and that the map was the truth. Through the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, or *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, and through other maps of the period that displayed these traits, the reader would encounter aspects of the world in an ordered, authoritative fashion. The emergence of the term 'theatre' in non-theatrical texts is symbiotic with the increased knowledge of the world, and the desire to conquer

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<sup>34</sup> For a discussion of this, see Frances Yates, *Theatre of the World* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), chapters 1 and 2.

it. The title of Ortelius's map collection is significant because it suggests that by reducing the world to a series of grid patterns all of it was now known and possessable. This knowledge, and the desires it produced, were religiously ordained, with ancient authority, as a moral enterprise. Ortelius created his theatre so that the world could be handled easily. The world-as-stage is a political as well as theatrical and geographical metaphor. The metaphor contributes to the sense of the map as an instrument of power.

The power offered by the map was far from democratic. The map was a tool of the empowered; it was the instrument of the monarch, the trader, to be used in military campaigns, or as part of a survey for wealthy landowners. Indeed, when one makes the rather obvious point that not many Elizabethans had libraries, and that Ortelius, Mercator, and other mapmakers, had audiences who either needed accurate maps (merchants, politicians), or who could afford to buy them, one must conclude that there was a far from widespread cross-over between mapreader and play-goer. Even though Ortelius hoped that his maps would be used by students, Catherine Delano Smith suggests that atlases were unaffordable for most of them. In her investigation of probate inventories in sixteenth-century Cambridge, only one student, Andrew Perne of Peterhouse, had a copy of Ortelius's and Christopher Saxton's atlases, although many individual maps owned by other students may have originally come from these sources: 'Atlases can be deemed too expensive for the average Fellow, let alone

junior college member.<sup>35</sup> The map's cost, its prospective audience, and its marketing all suggest that the map was an instrument that empowered a certain type of reader. The theatre was far more accessible than the map. On publication in Amsterdam in 1570 a copy of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* cost Fl. 6 10st. or Fl. 16 for an illuminated printed copy. By 1580 the cost of an unilluminated copy had risen to Fl. 12, which was equivalent to one month's wage for its printer.<sup>36</sup> Compare that to the maximum price at The Globe Theatre, and it is clear that if only as regards cost the map's 'audience' was far more select than the theatre's.<sup>37</sup>

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, maps were being commissioned by monarchies and governments. Philip II of Spain, who had inherited so vast an empire that he couldn't possibly see most of it (a geographical fact not helped by his hatred of public display, even in Spain), wanted his New World territories mapped precisely because they were so far beyond his physical reach. These maps projected his royal image onto his empire. His chief cartographers, Alonso de Santa Cruz (c.1505-1567) and then Juan López de Velasco (d.1598) were presented with the seemingly impossible task of mapping regions they had never seen, basing their maps on first hand accounts and, in the case of the latter cartographer, through the *Relaciones Geográficas*.<sup>38</sup> Ortelius himself became

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<sup>35</sup> 'Map Ownership in Sixteenth Century Cambridge: the Evidence of Probate Inventories', in *Imago Mundi*, 47 (1995), pp. 67-93 (p.77).

<sup>36</sup> Figures taken from Brotton, *Trading*, pp. 171-74.

<sup>37</sup> Ironically, one could say the opposite today.

<sup>38</sup> For a fascinating account of this project, read Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

Philip's royal cartographer in 1575. In England, Christopher Saxton's *Atlas* project was financed by Sir Thomas Seckford but was of great interest to Lord Burghley, and was encouraged by the Queen herself. In March 1574 she granted him Grigston Manor in Suffolk 'for certain good causes, grand charges and expenses lately had, and sustained, in the survey of divers parts of England'<sup>39</sup>; in July 1579 he was awarded The Grant of Arms. The map became a visual symbol of power. Paintings depicting Elizabeth frequently imagined her bestriding the kingdom, Europe, and the world; she is even depicted holding the world as a bauble in her hand in the portrait painted of her commemorating the victory over the Armada in 1588.

Maps were not solely for monarchs. By the end of the century maps were being put together by printers, publishers, and cartographers with an eye for the market. Antonio, in *The Merchant of Venice*, is imagined by Solanio 'peering in maps for ports and piers and roads', checking up on his various ships trading around the world (1. 1. 19); as a merchant, he would have been a prime client of mapmakers and map-sellers. It is significant to note that most of the major mapmakers of the early seventeenth century onwards were in the pay of the Dutch and English East India Companies. They had become the new patrons. If for the monarch the map was a symbol of authority, for the trading companies it was a symbol of wealth. At the bottom of the World Map in Mercator's *Atlas* (Volume one, 1636), there is a vignette depicting Europe, staged on a throne,

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<sup>39</sup> Quoted in Sarah Tyacke and John Huddy, *Christopher Saxton and Tudor Map-Making* (London: British Library, 1980), p. 6.

with Africa, America and Asia offering gifts. This was the image that the mercantile classes wanted to see — the countries they were trading with from afar yielding their goods up to them.

Maps were used not simply to create an aura of power and dominance. They could be used to exact power through military campaigns, as well as to celebrate military conquest. We should not forget that spatial terminology is similar to military terminology:

The point that needs to be emphasized here is that certain spatial metaphors are equally geographical and strategic, which is only natural since geography grew up in the shadow of the military. A circulation of notions can be observed between geographical and strategic discourses. The *region* of the geographers is the military region (from *regere*, to command), a *province* is a conquered territory (from *vincere*). *Field* evokes the battlefield.<sup>40</sup>

It is possible to claim that cartographers and travellers who bring back tales from far-flung places contributed greatly to the desire to conquer and to form empires. Lesley B. Cormack claims that 'imperial images of expansion were used by sixteenth-century geographers to advise, endorse and coerce Tudor sovereigns'.<sup>41</sup> Maps were also useful instruments of defence. In the reign of Henry VIII, Italian surveyors such as Vincenzo Volpe and Girolamo da Treviso

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<sup>40</sup> Michel Foucault, 'Questions on Geography', in *Power / Knowledge: Selected Interviews and other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. by Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980), pp. 63-77 (p. 69).

<sup>41</sup> Lesley B. Cormack, 'The Fashioning of an Empire: Geography and the State in Elizabethan England', in *Geography and Empire*, ed. by Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 15-30 (p.16).

were hired to improve fortifications in coastal regions prone to foreign attack (Rye and Hastings in the case of the former in 1530; Montreuil in Picardy in the case of the latter in 1538). They included maps of what fortifications were there when they started their project and maps of what they intended to improve in the region. Their innovations, especially the need for drawing to scale, rubbed off on their English counterparts. The first extant English maps to include scale bars are two of Richard Lee's and John Rogers's maps of Guines (territory around Calais) in 1540. Even when scales bars or explanations of scale (the Lee/Rogers series includes a third map which features the phrase 'the inshe containeth L foot') were not included, there is an understanding from this point on in cartographic history of scale in map composition, which meant that most maps conformed to a sense of scale if not to an actual scale. In order that fortifications were accurately built, scale was a necessary *lingua franca*.

Landowners realised the commercial viability of maps. On a local level, maps were used more and more in estate surveying. As Peter Eden estimates,

The period 1558-1598 was one of great change in surveying practice. At its commencement estate maps were a rarity; by the end of it they were a commonplace.<sup>42</sup>

Increasingly towards the end of the sixteenth century in England, landowners

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<sup>42</sup> 'Three Elizabethan Estate Surveyors: Peter Kempe, Thomas Clerke and Thomas Langdon', in *English Map-Making 1500-1650: Historical Essays*, ed. by Sarah Tyacke (London: British Library, 1983), pp. 68-84 (p. 68).



commissioned surveyors to produce detailed surveys of their land, which were accompanied by maps. As J.B. Harley writes, 'Accurate, large-scale plans were a means by which land could be more efficiently exploited, by which rent rolls could be increased, and by which legal obligations could be enforced or tenures modified.'<sup>43</sup> Whereas in the earlier part of the sixteenth century 'the average surveyor was ignorant of the mathematical principles and practices required to utilise advanced surveying techniques', the adoption of scientific methods, and the need for specialised knowledge espoused in the multiple surveying tracts published in the second half of the century, made surveying a profession rather than a past-time:

In wearing the badge of the theodolite, the surveyor attests to his status as master of a set of practices inaccessible to most. More importantly, these practices, rooted as they are in mathematics, lend to surveying the credibility of a science. Thus, surveys begin to make scientific truth claims; they take on the status of fact.<sup>44</sup>

The surveyor provided the landowner with a 'true' view of their property, which they could then use for their own ends. This view was more easily accessible in a visual image than in a written account. As John Norden's Surveyor explains in *The Surveyors Dialogue*, 'a plot rightly drawne by true information, describeth so

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<sup>43</sup> 'Maps, Knowledge, and Power', in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design, and Use of Past Environments*, ed. by Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, repr. 1997), pp. 277-312 (p. 285). Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

<sup>44</sup> Garret A. Sullivan Jr., *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 41. Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

the lively image of a Mannor, and every branch and member of the same, as the Lord sitting in his chayre, may see what he hath, where and how it lyeth, and in whose use and occupation every particular is upon suddaine view' (pp.15-16). The landlord becomes sovereign over their land.

The map also places the reader in the position of God. For Erasmus, in *In Praise of Folly*, the God (or the gods) was the only spectator of the foolishness of mankind. Folly, the narrator, tells the reader that he or she 'would never believe the sport and entertainment that your human puppets provide daily for the gods [...] [who], when their minds are well clouded from the nectar and they have no desire to transact business, [...] sit there, gazing down at mortal men and watching them argue' (p. 136). The titles of I.C.'s treatise and Beard's translation of de Chassanion discussed above use the religious aspect of the world-as-stage metaphor. The Renaissance map offered a similar perspective. The notion of the celestial audience looking down on the world features on many contemporary maps. The perspective offered was a god's eye view. The world map in the 1570 edition of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* is surrounded by clouds. The same design is incorporated into Hugh Broughton's *Map of the Earth with names (the most) from Scriptures* (c. 1590). Both maps not only give the reader a privileged view of the world from a great height, but also position the reader in the place of the gods peering through the clouds.

Medieval Morality and Mystery plays engage with the world-as-theatre metaphor in a similar way to mapmakers. The evocation of *theatrum mundi* had a

significant relationship with the medieval *mappae mundi*. As Evelyn Edson has shown, medieval maps were conceptual maps, combining biblical, historical, and classical themes to produce a chronicle through geography. The more complex maps of the thirteenth century were based on the simple T-O world maps, which showed the three known continents (Europe, Asia, and Africa), and often included lists of place-names with historical, classical, or biblical resonances written on those continents regardless of whether those places were still known by that name. They were also based on zonal maps, which divided the world into five zones (two frigid, two habitable, of which only one was known, and one torrid, dividing the known from the unknown, unpassable because of extreme heat). Even though Marco Polo's reports of Cathay (China) and other travel narratives of the late medieval period made substantial advances in the quality of geographical information presented, the most prominent parts of the *mappae mundis*' designs in this period are their conceptual elements. It is possible to read the maps of the medieval period as narrative, as the history of the world. Even though on the Hereford World Map (c.1283) parts of the world are immediately recognisable, the fact that the names of Europe and Africa have been reversed, even though the place names ascribed on each continent are in the correct place, indicates that geographical accuracy was not the main concern. Nobody was going to use the map for any practical purpose.

The Hereford World Map calls itself an 'estorie' (history), but it is a multi-layered one. Reading from east to west, this map can be understood partly as a

biblical chronology. Paradise is in the east, as a fortified island, from which the four rivers of Eden (the Ganges, the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Nile) flow; Adam and Eve are depicted in paradise, and then being dismissed by an angel with a flaming sword, with Enoch, the first city, behind them. Lot's wife, Noah's Ark (complete with passengers looking out of the window), and Babel are all presented, as are places of pilgrimage of Paul and the Apostles. Jerusalem is centrally located, even though this exaggerates the size of Palestine. There are fifteen biblical scenes in total. There are also five classical scenes, and there are place-names based on the routes travelled by Odysseus and Jason. There are also contemporary pilgrimage routes, including for example the main stations in France. Moving west, it is possible to detect more contemporary influences, and Spain, the furthest western land on the map, includes recently completed churches. As on other world maps of the period, it is possible to read the history of the world that was born in the east, but will end in the west. The map is surrounded by the word *mors* (the Latin for death); the last day was believed to be coming soon. Perhaps this is the kind of map imagined by Queen Elizabeth in *Richard III*, which depicts 'the end of all' (2. 4. 53). On the same map there are places and scenes from a multitude of sources, from different periods of history, which are presented in harmony, complementing each other within the same conceptualised space.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> I am indebted in this discussion to Evelyn Edson's book, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed their World* (London: The British Library, 1997), pp. 139-144.

The *theatrum mundi* of the medieval period is designed in the shape of the *mappa mundi*. The carts that Mystery Cycles were performed on had three levels, the lower level representing hell, the highest level representing heaven, with middle stage representing an earth squashed somewhere between. The use of the marketplace as auditorium is significant, because, as Martin Stevens suggests, it is 'the center of the urban stage, just as Jerusalem is the center of the world [on *mappae mundi*]; the ritual enactment transforms the ordinary city into the *theatrum mundi*'.<sup>46</sup> The relationship between the two is obvious on the stage plan for *The Castle of Perseverance*.<sup>47</sup> East, while not positioned at the top of the plan, is the locus of the heaven pageant, and this is where God sits and watches the struggle of Mankind. South is the home of flesh (*caro*), i.e. lechery — on *mappae mundi* this is where Africa, famously carnal, is situated. West is the habitat of *mundus*, the known world — on *mappae mundi*, the westernmost point is Gibraltar, the furthest reach of the world, and the position of the pillars of Hercules, which bore the inscription *non plus ultra* (no further). It may seem perverse to situate hell in the north, but this is not uncommon. In *Isaiah* 14:13, Lucifer sits 'upon the mount of the Congregation, in the sides of the North'.<sup>48</sup> Gog and Magog were believed to be in the north east. In the centre of the plan lies the castle, which in the play is the locus of regenerated humanity; on the map,

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<sup>46</sup> Martin Stevens, 'From *Mappa Mundi* to *Theatrum Mundi*: The World as Stage in Early English Drama', in *From Page to Performance: Essays in Early English Drama*, ed. by John A. Alford (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1995), pp. 25-49 (p. 28).

<sup>47</sup> Reprinted in Stevens, p. 36.

<sup>48</sup> *The Bible: The Authorized King James Version With Apocrypha*, ed. by Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

this is Jerusalem. Mankind's journey in *The Castle of Perseverance* is towards the East, towards the kingdom of heaven. Geographical zones are associated with moral observance and transgression both on the stage and on the map.

Such close associations between map and theatre are not followed through onto the Shakespearean stage. There are similarities, and Martin Stevens is surely correct when he writes that 'the Renaissance inherited [the] scheme, or an abstraction of a design, that governed its theatrical outlook and dramaturgy' (p. 42). The design of the theatre maintains the three tier structure of the pageant cart with balcony, stage, and trap, although in the later period only the trap literally represented hell; this is presumably where '*Hell is Discovered*' in *Doctor Faustus*.<sup>49</sup> Traces of characters, episodes, and themes of Morality and Mystery plays, which some critics have conjectured Shakespeare was likely to have seen in his youth, are evident in many plays leading up to the Civil War.<sup>50</sup> However, the relationship between the world map and the stage map is far more complex than in the Medieval period.

The map as *theatrum mundi* is two-dimensional; the Shakespearean stage as *theatrum mundi* was multi-dimensional. In *Hamlet*, the Prince declares

that this goodly frame, the earth, seems to me a sterile promontory.  
This most excellent canopy the air, look you, this brave  
o'erhanging, this majestic roof fretted with golden fire – why, it

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<sup>49</sup> *Christopher Marlowe: Complete Plays and Poems*, ed. by E.D. Pendry (London: Everyman, 1976), 5. 2. 116 SD. Subsequent citations to Marlowe's plays are referenced in the text.

<sup>50</sup> 'During his childhood in Stratford, Shakespeare may have had the opportunity and the occasion to experience the famed Corpus Christi play that was performed annually in nearby Coventry'. Louis A. Montrose, 'A Kingdom of Shadows', in *A Midsummer Night's Dream: Critical Essays*, ed. by Dorothea Kehler (London: Garland, 1998), pp. 217-240 (p.220).

appears no other thing to me than a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours. (2. 2. 289-293)

The 'frame' refers both to the structure of the world and the structure of the theatre (*Hamlet* was first performed at The Globe c. 1600-1). The 'canopy', 'brave o'erhanging', lends credence to the idea that The Globe's stage was roofed with an overhanging decorated with stars ('fretted with golden fire'). The 'promontory' may refer to the stage that Hamlet is standing on, and the 'foul and pestilent congregation of vapours' may be related to the smell of the theatre, and especially the smell of the groundlings. John Marston in 1600 commented as such in *Jack Drum's Entertainment*: 'A man shall not be choakte / With the stench of Garlicke, nor be pasted / To the barmy Jacket of a Beer-Brewer.'<sup>51</sup> Marston's play was produced in the more refined locale of St. Paul's. Imagine what 'foul and pestilent' smells would have been congregating in The Globe. On the one hand Hamlet is surveying the world around him as he sees it, and on the other hand Hamlet is looking at The Globe in front of him as he sees it. These perspectives do not cancel each other out, but as Anne Barton (writing as Anne Righter) has suggested, 'Contact with the audience, no longer dependent upon the unwieldy means of extra-dramatic address [of the morality play], is sustained through recognition of the innumerable meeting-places of life and the play.'<sup>52</sup> The allusion is to the material nature of the theatre that the speech is spoken in, and

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<sup>51</sup> Quoted in Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 38.

<sup>52</sup> Anne Righter, *Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), p. 77.

is not a simple world-as-theatre metaphor. The metaphor has taken on some concrete authority.

Hamlet exposes the play's theatricality. For Erasmus this is unacceptable:

If someone should attempt to take off the masks and costumes of the actors in a play and show to the audience their real appearances, would he not ruin the whole play? And would everyone not think he deserved to be chased out of the theater with brickbats as a madman? For, suddenly, a new appearance of things would arise so that the player who played a woman turns out to be a man; who was before a young man is now old; who was before a king is now a slave; who was before a god now suddenly appears as a sorry little man. To destroy the illusion, then, is to destroy the whole play. (pp. 118-9)

Erasmus's player is unaware that he is in a play; God creates the theatre, and the actors are unaware that there is an illusory nature to their existence. This is very different to the binary nature of awareness displayed by the actor-character; Jacques would presumably not have been chased out of The Globe by a brickbat wielding public for declaring that 'all the world's a stage'. This is not say that the illusion of the stage is destroyed by its acknowledgement; rather it is an example of the complex relationship between the world and its supposed 'mirror', the stage. For the mapmaker, the world-as-theatre metaphor is used to promote the authority of its presentation of the real world, and to give the mapreader a sense of power over the landscape that they are viewing. For Shakespeare, the metaphor is placed in the mouths of characters on stage to diminish the authority of a singular presentation of the real world.



Further analysis of Hamlet's speech reveals another aspect of the ways in which the Shakespearean theatre rejects both map and medieval *theatrum mundi* discourses. Hamlet eschews a centralised perspective. He has not situated himself on the promontory where he can view 'this goodly frame' with greater dominance, although it is likely that this speech was originally delivered from the front of The Globe's stage. He is not situating himself above the action of the world. He is both viewing and viewed, placing himself in the position of Rosencrantz and Guildensterne ('look you'), and of the audience, who can see better than him 'this brave o'erhanging', and 'the majesticall roof', and also the example of the 'piece of work' that is 'man' (293-4) — Hamlet himself — standing in front of them. Actors/characters are viewable from a variety of different angles by a widely different audience, from the penny-paying public in the pit to those paying sixpence to watch from the galleries. No perspective is privileged above another.

Catherine Belsey's analysis of the plan of *The Castle of Perseverance* shows how the Medieval theatre encourages a singular perspective viewpoint:

The spectators participate in [Mankind's] choices; they are enlisted in the debate between good and evil; they are asked, in other words, to take sides; but at the same time, to the extent that they are able to see the visual network of meanings established by the stage plan, as Mankind evidently is not, they are offered a single, stable position from which to understand the nature of human life.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Catherine Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama* (London: Methuen, 1985), pp. 22. Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

*The Castle of Perseverance* was staged as a kind of world map, and the spectator was encouraged to watch the morality play from a singular moral perspective even if this perspective was visually impossible. On the Shakesperean stage, this was impossible. As Catherine Belsey notes,

there were no backcloths, no perspective scenes, focusing and containing the gaze, and offering a single and unifying coherence to a single and unified point of view. In consequence, the plays are able to move between two kinds of spectacle, one emblematic, implicating the spectator in its meanings, the signified, and the other illusionist, showing the transcendent spectator sense-data, referents which constitute the raw material of experience. The conjunction of the two, or indeed the superimposition of one on the other, is capable of generating a radical uncertainty precisely by withholding from the spectator the single position from which a single and unified meaning is produced. (pp. 28-29)

There was no single visual perspective on the Shakespearean stage; there was no single moral perspective on the Shakespearean stage.

The power of the map, and the power it provides, is consistently undermined by the action of the play on the Shakespearean stage. While the map encourages a monocular vision, and is best viewed from a front-on vantage, the theatre encourages a multi-ocular perspective. Each member of the Elizabethan and Jacobean audience had a unique vantage point, and was free, in the yard at least, to change his or her position (although depending on the

popularity of the show, crowd congestion may have prevented this). The world is mapped onto the stage, but the illusory nature of this mapping, and the malleability of the image, is always present. As Philip Armstrong suggests, 'wherever [the world-as-stage metaphor] appears in Shakespearean drama, this guaranteed stability granted by the privileged central viewing position in the scopic economy will prove to be both illusory and liable to dissolution.'<sup>54</sup> The world-as-theatre metaphor was involved in different discourses for mapmakers and theatre practitioners at the London amphitheatres. While both were acknowledging neo-classical associations, the reasons for doing so were very different.

Not all theatrical representation in the sixteenth and seventeenth century undermined the singular perspective. The Masques of Jonson and Jones in the early-to-mid sixteen hundreds were designed with a singular optimum position in mind — the position of James I. The Restoration court stage was also designed with a singular optimum position for which the perspective scenery was most effective (again the position of the monarch). The world-as-stage metaphor was also used by playwrights contemporary to Shakespeare to promote the single viewpoint. In a poem heralding his *Apology for Actors*, Thomas Heywood rehearses the familiar phrase: 'The world's a theater, the earth a stage'. Heywood offers a condensed version of the Ages of Man:

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<sup>54</sup> Philip Armstrong, 'Spheres of Influence: Cartography and the Gaze in Shakespearean Tragedy and History', *Shakespeare Studies*, 23 (1995), 39-70 (50).

Then our play's begun  
 When we are borne, and to the world first enter,  
 And all finde exits when their parts are done.<sup>55</sup>

Heywood wrote a number of plays produced at a variety of different venues, from *The Royal King and Loyal Subject* performed at The Curtain in 1602, *A Woman Killed With Kindness* performed at The Rose in 1603, *The Rape of Lucrece*, first performed at The Red Bull (c. 1608), and later at The Cockpit, as were many of his later plays. His collaboration with Richard Brome, *The Late Lancashire Witches*, was performed at The Globe in 1634. However, his introductory poem is distinctly untheatrical, as the multiple viewpoints that the performance of the world-as-stage metaphor exposes on stage is abandoned.

If then the world a theater present,  
 As by the roundnesse it appears most fit,  
 Built with starre galleries of hye ascent,  
 In which Jehove doth as spectator sit,  
 And chiefe determiner to applaud the best,  
 And their indevours crowne with more then merit. ( p.13)

Although the world's and the theatre's 'roundnesse' seems to refer to the Shakespearean theatre (maybe The Globe itself), actors are conspicuous by their absence in Heywood's text, despite it being an apology for them. Only one page is devoted to the stars of the Elizabethan and Jacobean age (p. 43). The

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<sup>55</sup> *An Apology for Actors in Three Books* (London, 1612; repr. London: The Shakespeare Society, 1841), p.13. Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

theatre culture in which he spent his career writing is also largely ignored. When it is mentioned it is through apocryphal tales about criminals guilt-struck by similar crimes portrayed on stage and moved to confess, thus serving to highlight the theatre's moral nature (pp. 57-60). This theme is introduced by another introductory poem by John Taylor, which proclaims a play to be 'a true transparant christall mirror, / To shew good minds their mirth, the bad their terror' (Heywood, p.12). Heywood's account justifies contemporary drama as a moral and pious enterprise. However, it cannot achieve this by providing analysis of it.

Heywood builds his defence on classical precedent. Heywood dates his argument back to Romulus, who built the first theatre, and to Dionysius, who built the first public theatre in Athens. He also concentrates on the make-up of the ancient theatre audience, pointing out that plays were attended by the great and good:

In the principall galleries were special, remote, selected, and chosen seats for the emperour, *patres conscripti*, dictators, consuls, prætors, tribunes, triumviri, decemviri, ædiles, curules, and other noble officers among the senators: all other roomes were free for the plebe, or multitude. (p. 35)

The classical precedent of the world-as-theatre image is used to bolster respectability and to give an air of authority, as it had been in the examples discussed earlier in this chapter. The spectators are the powerful members of society; the multitude are unindividuated, and are almost an afterthought.

Heywood's use of the world-as-stage metaphor is more like the mapmakers' than the contemporary theatres'. The metatheatrical effect of the metaphor, achieved in self-conscious pronouncements, and also in moments of map-mindedness, is denied by Heywood's account, as this could damage his case. Little emerges on the state of the theatre and its audience. Even in his apology for his profession, he shows how a centralised singular moral perspective is not applicable by limiting his discussion of contemporary performance. *An Apology for Actors* conceives modern theatre as somewhere between a classical archetype and a morality play; the theatre had moved beyond those narrow confines. For the theatre the concentration was on the actor as much as on the stage: for the mapmaker the theatre was a building within which to place the image of the world.

The definition of the map by Woodward and Harley quoted earlier is not sufficient for explaining the meaning of the map in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their definition is broad enough to cover all kinds of mapping which are featured in their history, from pre-historic maps to Aboriginal 'dreamings', to maps of the London Underground. The relationship between the map and the stage in this period is more complex: both are representations of the world, but their use and cultural meaning were very different and often at odds. The differences between the map of the world and the theatre of the world can be summed up in the relationship between (the) Atlas and Hercules. As John Gillies attests, the term 'theatre' and 'Atlas' were interchangeable by the end of the

sixteenth century (*Geography*, p. 70-1). The numerous references in Shakespeare's plays, and in plays of the period as a whole, show that Hercules was aligned to the acting profession. Hercules only held the world for a brief period, while Atlas fetched the golden apples; he then succeeded in tricking Atlas into taking the world back again. This is what Rosencrantz is referring to when he mentions 'Hercules and his load' in the conversation about the plight of the Player's company (*Hamlet*, 2. 2. 345). As Richard Dutton gleefully sums up, this was 'deception on a heroic, even cosmic scale, which is the stock-in-trade of the actors, who pick up the world/universe with every performance and then make those who regularly bear it (the audience) take it back again at the end'.<sup>56</sup> The term 'theatre' meaning 'Atlas' quickly disappeared in the seventeenth century, perhaps as an acknowledgement that the contemporary theatre was not a good model on which to base contemporary cartography. The relationship between Atlas and Hercules, where one mimics and then deludes the other, thus highlighting that for all the former's might he still has weaknesses, is emblematic of the relationship between the Atlas and the stage. Certainly, as the following chapters aim to prove, Shakespeare showed how the power of the map could be undone by the power of the theatre.

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<sup>56</sup> Richard Dutton, 'Hamlet, An Apology for Actors, and the Sign of the Globe', *Shakespeare Survey*, 41 (1989), 35-43 (43).

**'I HAVE FORGOT THE MAP': LOSING THE MAP IN THE SECOND  
TETRALOGY**

Reach me the map, we may allot their portions,  
and part the realm amongst them equally.  
Your four shall here by us divide yourselves  
into the nine-and-thirty shires and counties of my kingdom  
parted thus:-  
(Come stand by me and mark those shires assigned ye).

So the King distributes his land between his subjects. Here, however, there are four recipients of the division. One receives 'Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall'; one receives 'Wales, together with our counties of Gloster, Wo'ster, Hereford, Shropshire, Staffordshire and Cheshire'; one receives 'All Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmoreland and Northumberland'; the last receives 'London, Middlesex, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Rutlandshire, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Huntingdonshire and Lincolnshire'. All of the recipients are male; all are court favourites, rather than family members. The division is not based on a declaration of love; all four men must pay £7,000 per month for their portion of land, which is forfeit on non-payment. Only the south eastern counties are disbursed on account of affection, as the King gives this subject the best lands: 'I kept thee last to make thy part the greatest.' This



apportioning does not mean that the King yields his power; the crown is still his. The King is not Lear, but Richard II, and the subjects not Goneril and Albany, Regan and Cornwall, and Cordelia, but Sir Henry Greene, Sir Edward Bagot, Sir William Bushy, and Sir Thomas Scroope, the 'caterpillars' of England.

Nor is this scene, of course, from Shakespeare's *Richard II*. In act four scene one of the anonymous play *Woodstock*, King Richard divides his land between four flatterers.<sup>57</sup> Bushy, Bagot, Greene, and Scroope become the four most powerful men in the kingdom — more powerful than their rivals, the Dukes of York and Lancaster, and Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of the Gloucester, and arguably more powerful than the King himself. The terms of the deal are announced by Sir Robert Tresilian, the Lord Chief Justice:

These gentlemen [...] all jointly here stand bound to pay your majesty, or your deputy, wherever you remain, seven thousand pounds a month for this your kingdom; for which your grace, by these writings, surrenders to their hands: all your crown lands, lordships: manors, rents: taxes, subsidies, fifteens, imposts; foreign customs, staples for wool, tin, lead and cloth: all forfeitures of goods or lands confiscate; and all other duties that *do*, shall, or may appertain to the king or crown's revenues; and for non-payment of the sum or sums aforesaid, your majesty to seize the lands and goods of the said gentlemen above named, and their bodies to be imprisoned at your grace's pleasure. (180-193)

This division is not staged in Shakespeare's play, but it is referred to. Richard is 'enforced to farm our royal realm, / The revenue whereof shall furnish us / For

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<sup>57</sup> *Woodstock*, ed. by A.P. Rossiter (London: Chatto and Windus, 1946). Above quotations are 4. 1. 220-5; 227-9; 233-5; 238-9; 252-7; 246. Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.



our affairs in hand', because his 'coffers with too great a court / And liberal largess are grown somewhat light' (1. 4. 42-46). John of Gaunt says that 'this England [...] / Is now leased out [...] / Like to a tenement or a pelting farm' (2. 1. 50-60), and calls Richard 'Landlord of England [...] not king' (113). In *Woodstock*, Bagot states that 'the realm must be divided presently, and we four must farm it' (4. 1. 54-55). Richard says that he must 'rent out our kingdom like a pelting farm' (147). He is continually referred to as a 'landlord' rather than a King; Lancaster (John of Gaunt) is one of the many to use the phrase (5. 3. 106-107). Richard even calls himself one, saying 'never had English subjects such a landlord' (4. 1. 210). This is regarded by the King's virtuous uncles, York, Lancaster, and Woodstock, as a great wrong, and this seems to be the pervading attitude of the play. *Richard II* is far more ambivalent towards this episode of Richard's reign.

*Richard II* makes reference to the means by which this farming out process has been exacted, but the process is staged in the other play.<sup>58</sup> In *Woodstock*, King Richard launches a money-making scheme to pay for his lavish expenditure, such as the erection of a new banqueting hall at Westminster capable of feeding ten thousand people each night. Taking Lord Tresilian's advice, 'blank charters' are devised 'to fill up our treasury' (3. 1. 7). Tresilian explains that these

shall be forthwith sent

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<sup>58</sup> I am aware on writing this of a soon to be published article by MacDonald P. Jackson which claims that *Woodstock* is a much later play than *Richard II*.

To every shrieve through all the shires of England,  
 With charge to call before them presently  
 All landed men, freeholders, farmers, graziers,  
 Or any else that have ability.  
 Then in your highness' name they shall be charged  
 To set their names, and forthwith seal these blanks;  
 That done, these shall return to court again,  
 But cartloads of money shall soon follow them. (3. 1. 16-24)

This brings about an enforced survey of all these landowners' properties. Tresilian has his servant Nimble 'inquire what rents / What lands, or what revenues they spend by th'year'(127-8). Lancaster calls the distribution of blank charters a 'strange unheard-of vile taxation' (3. 2. 67). As John of Gaunt, 'time-honoured Lancaster' in *Richard II*, he says that 'England [...] is now bound in with shame, / With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds' (1. 1. 1; 2. 1. 61-64). In *Richard II*, the King uses blank charters to fund his war against 'the rebels which stand out in Ireland', because leasing his right to taxation does not bring in enough revenue (1. 4. 37). He only uses the revenue from the Lancaster estate after the death of John of Gaunt in the following scene. Ross, Willoughby, and Northumberland partly use Richard's taxation as a justification for backing Bolingbroke's campaign. Ross says that Richard has 'pilled' the commons 'with grievous taxes', presumably as a result of the surveys enforced by Tresilian's men in the other play (2. 1. 247). Willoughby says that 'daily new exactions are devised, / As blanks, benevolences, and I wot not what' (250-1). Both plays deal with the same aspects of Richard's realm. However, in *Woodstock*, the blank charters and the division of the kingdom are far more explicit. In Shakespeare's

version of the story, these events are background to the main plot — the deposition of King Richard.

*Woodstock* is often called *Richard II Part One*.<sup>59</sup> Historically *Woodstock* covers an earlier period in the reign, although some episodes are conflated. The division of the kingdom did not take place until 1398, which is when the opening scenes of *Richard II* are set, after the murder of Thomas of Woodstock in 1397. In *Woodstock* this division seems to take place c.1388-9. The *Woodstock* author conflates the beneficiaries of Richard's division policy, Bushy, Bagot, Greene, and Scroope, with the earlier flatterers of the reign, Robert De Vere the Earl of Oxford and later Duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole the Earl of Suffolk, Alexander Neville the Archbishop of York, and Thomas Mowbray, Earl Marshal and Duke of Norfolk (accused by Bolingbroke for the murder of Woodstock at the beginning of *Richard II*). These four were opponents of Woodstock; De Vere was implicated in the Duke's murder. In *Woodstock*, the favourites of 1398-9 are implicated in a murder that occurred before their rise to prominence. These are not errors on the part of the *Woodstock* author but are structural decisions. As is suggested by A.P. Rossiter's subtitle to his edition of the play, *Woodstock* is a historical morality play. These changes complement this aim, by making the flatterers evil and making the King's wise uncles, especially Woodstock, noble, honest, plain, and good. Shakespeare's version of the story disrupts these boundaries. There are significant inconsistencies between the two plays. In

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<sup>59</sup> The recent rehearsed reading of the play at the RSC, to accompany their current production of *Richard II*, used both titles, presumably for marketing reasons.

*Woodstock*, Greene is killed in battle against the combined forces of the houses of York and Lancaster that historically never took place — a battle which seems to be heading for a defeat for the King (unfortunately, the play's ending is incomplete, so it is impossible to determine if the King is defeated or not.). In *Richard II*, Green is alive and well until the beginning of act three, when Bolingbroke kills him and Bushy. The dispersal of blank charters and the map division that governs the action of *Woodstock* are only mentioned briefly in *Richard II*. Bolingbroke does not use it in his argument for killing Bushy and Green. While keen to point out their influence over the King, his ire is mainly provoked by their abuse of his land and his name (3. 1. 22-27). The four flatterers' rule over a quarter of the country each is never specifically referred to in *Richard II*. Indeed, they have little impact in the play as a whole; as A.P. Rossiter remarks, 'the Favourites are zeros'.<sup>60</sup>

The relationship between *Woodstock* and *Richard II* has lead Rossiter to conclude that the latter play is deeply flawed:

*Richard II's* value as first term in an epic-historical series is seriously flawed by its peculiar dependence on *Woodstock*: peculiar since Shakespeare not only took items from it, but also *left behind* in it explanations badly needed in his play, items taken for granted, or as read, which produce puzzles that cannot be cleared up without reference to the earlier play. To some extent, then, *Richard II* as a play does not contain within itself the reason why it is thus and not otherwise. If so, the alleged epic scheme is faulty, since the 'beginning' is not a beginning. (*Angel*, p. 29)

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<sup>60</sup> A.P. Rossiter, *Angel with Horns and Other Shakespeare Lectures*, ed. by Graham Storey (London: Longmans, 1961), p. 25. Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

A.L. French acknowledges the play's debt to *Woodstock*, but does not agree with Rossiter that this means that *Richard II* is flawed. He contends that audiences need only know a handful of historical facts to make sense of 'the basic motives of the characters'.<sup>61</sup> Neither critic however looks at the impact of the events depicted in *Woodstock* on the remainder of the cycle. The murder of the Duke of Gloucester in Calais launches a chain of events that sees Harry Hereford win the crown, and eventually leads to the glories at Agincourt depicted in *Henry V*. Thematically, *Woodstock* acts as a palimpsest for all four plays, primarily regarding the blank charters and the 'division of the kingdom'. Maps and surveys feature prominently in the *Henry IV* plays and *Henry V*.

Even though the 'division of the kingdom' historically occurred within the time-frame of *Richard II*, there is no map-division scene. Audiences would have to wait until the next instalment of the story, and the map division scene between Mortimer, Glyndwr, and Hotspur, in *Henry IV*. The absence of a clear picture of the kingdom obscures the landscape, which is the site of conflict and the prize at stake. Whereas in *Woodstock*, the importance of the power struggles are on a national scale — as the scenes in Dunstable suggest — in *Richard II* they are personal battles between competing nobles. The map of England haunts *Richard II* as much as the ghost of *Woodstock*, both *in absentia*. Bolingbroke and Northumberland, travelling south from Ravenspurgh to the Cotswolds, get

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<sup>61</sup> A.L. French, 'Richard II and the Woodstock Murder', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 22 (1971), 337-344 (344).

completely lost in Gloucestershire. 'How far is it' asks Bolingbroke 'to Berkeley now' (2. 3. 1). Northumberland replies:

I am a stranger here in Gloucestershire.  
 These high wild hills and rough uneven ways  
 Draws out our miles and makes them wearisome. (3-5)

When Northumberland asks his son Hotspur the distance later in the scene, he is told 'there stands the castle, by yon tuft of trees' — right in front of him (53). Clearly neither Northumberland nor Bolingbroke thought of bringing a map with them.<sup>62</sup> Whereas in *Woodstock* the map scene locates the whole land that the factions contest, in *Richard II* nobody has a clear idea of the land they are fighting over.

There are two maps in *Richard II*. John of Gaunt, on his death-bed, becomes a 'prophet new-inspired' (2. 1. 31). He creates the first map:

This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,  
 This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,  
 This other Eden, demi-paradise,  
 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  
 Against the envy of less happier lands;

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<sup>62</sup> In Stephen Pimlott's production (RSC 2000), Northumberland enters with an Ordnance Survey map of Gloucestershire, but appears completely befuddled by it. All audience members could immediately tell however that the easiest way to go would be to take the M5 to Gloucester.

This blessèd plot, this earth, this realm, this England,  
 This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,  
 Feared by their breed and famous by their birth,  
 Renownèd for their deeds as far from home  
 For Christian service and true chivalry  
 As is the sepulchre, in stubborn Jewry,  
 Of the world's ransom, blessèd Mary's son;  
 This land of such dear souls, this dear dear land,  
 Dear for her reputation through the world,  
 Is now leased out — I die pronouncing it —  
 Like to a tenement or a pelting farm.  
 England, bound in with the triumphant sea,  
 Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege  
 Of wat'ry Neptune, is now bound in with shame,  
 With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds. (2. 1. 40-64)

The perspective that this speech imagines is of somebody poring over a map. The reference to England as a 'blessèd plot' has two meanings — plot meaning plot of land, and plot meaning map ('plot/plat' was synonymous with 'map' in this period). The comparison of England with 'stubborn Jewry' echoes Jerusalem's position at the centre of Medieval *mappae mundi*, as on the Hereford World Map (discussed in the previous chapter). John of Gaunt's map resonates throughout the rest of the plays. The comparison with Jerusalem is echoed by King Henry IV's oft-repeated but continually thwarted desire to travel to the Holy Land. Ironically he dies in a room called 'Jerusalem' (2 *Henry IV*, 4. 3. 360-68). The comparison of England to a moated house is echoed by Lord Bardolph's analogy of the rebels' plot and the surveyor's plot in 2 *Henry IV* (1. 3. 41-62). 'This happy breed of men' is echoed in *Henry V* in the King's Saint Crispin's Day speech: 'We few, we happy few, we band of brothers' (4. 3. 60). However, despite the



speech's importance in the structure of the whole sequence of plays, the map it presents is inaccurate. Leaving aside its fantastical elements and its mythological comparisons, its most important inaccuracy is its claim that 'England' is an island. Gaunt excludes Wales and Scotland from his account, even though they are implicit in the image he is presenting. This map does not know its limits. In the following plays, Wales in the form of Glyndwr, and Scotland in the form of Douglas will force their presence on the map. England's self-destruction through taxation and division in *Richard II* leads to Britain's self-destruction in the *Henry IV* plays. England's impregnability from foreign invasion is counteracted by its susceptibility to internal riot.

The confused boundaries of the map reflect the confused boundaries of power. Richard's authority is blurred by his refusal to accept the limits of his power; it is significant that he is the second 'map' in the play, the 'map of honour' according to his queen (5. 1. 12). Richard banishes Bolingbroke and Mowbray at Coventry for respectively ten years and indefinitely. However, Richard seeks to extend the boundaries of his power over them by forbidding them to plot in exile:

You never shall, so help you truth and God,  
 Embrace each other's love in banishment,  
 Nor never look upon each other's face,  
 Not never write, regret, nor reconcile  
 This low'ring tempest of your home-bred hate,  
 Nor never by advised purpose meet  
 To plot, contrive, or complot any ill  
 'Gainst us, our state, our subjects, or our land. (1. 3. 177-184)

This oath is insubstantial, as Bolingbroke and Mowbray are required to leave 'our fair dominions / [and] tread the stranger paths of banishment' and live beyond Richard's authority (1.3.6-7). Although both men do not meet in exile, Bolingbroke is soon making his way back to English soil. Richard's power cannot extend beyond the boundaries of his kingdom. When he tries to extend his authority in Ireland by overcoming the rebels, England is left prone under the command of the Duke of York, and is invaded by Bolingbroke. Nor can Richard use his power in the outer reaches of Britain, even though nominally they are part of his kingdom. Richard is abandoned by the Welsh Army, who assume that 'the King is dead' (2.4.7). On his return, Richard eulogises about his 'kingdom', his 'dear earth', even though he is in Wales (3.2.5-6). However, the Welsh captain in the earlier scene refers to Wales as 'our country' and to the Welsh as 'our countrymen', rather than the King's country and countrymen (2.4.8; 2.4.16). Even though maps and surveys have supplemented Richard's power by providing him with funds, the image of the map, the 'blessèd plot', also shows the limits of Richard's powers, and his inability to acknowledge them, which plays a significant part in his downfall, both in *Woodstock* and in *Richard II*. As Garret A. Sullivan Jr. writes,

Through its visual representation of the country, the map allows its reader to behold England, and that very act of beholding opens up possibilities for interpretation that are both enabling and undermining. [...] While the map purports to offer a transparent view of the land it represents, both its opacity and its peculiar efficacy are explored in a play in which the limits of the monarch's

authority are as uncertain as are the geographic boundaries of the “blessed plot” over which he rules. The map aids Richard in the construction of a landscape of sovereignty, and that landscape is finally revealed to be both incoherent and exploitative. (pp. 121-2)

The act of leasing this land undermines his authority, while at the same time providing the means for expanding it. The absence of a map scene in *Richard II*, and its partial replacement by John of Gaunt’s prophecy, blurs both the map of the kingdom and also the nature of the powers wielded by Bushy, Bagot, Green and Scroope, and by Richard II.

‘A plague upon it, I have forgot the map’: Hotspur’s forgetfulness in *Henry IV* is emblematic of the map in The Second Tetralogy (3. 1. 5). The map is evoked only for it to disappear. In *Henry IV*, there is a map scene similar to *Woodstock*’s, and to *King Lear*’s. A map of England is used to ‘divide’ the ‘right’ of Hotspur, Mortimer and Glyndwr ‘according to [their] threefold order ta’en’ (3. 1. 67-68), which ‘the Archdeacon [presumably of Bangor, where according to Holinshed the events of this scene took place, although he is not present on stage] hath divided [...] / Into three limits very equally’ (69-70). Like the map division in *Woodstock*, each party’s portion is bordered by rivers. Mortimer claims ‘England from Trent and Severn hitherto / By south and east’ (71-2). Glyndwr is awarded ‘all westward — Wales beyond the Severn shore, / And all the fertile land within that bound’ (73-4). Hotspur is apportioned ‘the remnant northward lying off from Trent’ (76). As David Read suggests, ‘the map’s immediate

significance is that it stabilizes in a visible way the plans, motives, and internal relations of the rebel leaders, literally giving shape and line to the future course of the rebellion.’<sup>63</sup>

Rather than being used by those in power, the map here is being used for rebellion. Some nations in sixteenth century Europe were very secretive of their maps, to restrict them from passing into enemy hands. Only England and Austria-Hungary undertook nationwide surveys in this period (the latter by Wolfgang Lazius, 1556-1561). As J.B. Harley comments, ‘Just as the printing press was facilitating the much wider dissemination of survey data, and just as regional topographical maps were being made for the first time, so, some states and their princes were determinedly keeping their maps secret through prohibiting their publication.’<sup>64</sup> This would have been for strategic or commercial reasons: just as governments did not want their enemies to know their country’s landscape, which would ease any invasion they may plan, so they did not want their enemies to know their trade routes. In Portugal and Spain at the beginning of the century ‘nautical charts issued before a voyage were handed back on its completion while the duty of another official was to screen intended recipients lest there might be objections to their handling of charts’ (Harley, ‘Silences’, 61). The map

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<sup>63</sup> ‘Losing the Map: Topographical Understanding in the Henriad’, *Modern Philology*, 94, no. 4 (May 1997), 475-495 (476).

<sup>64</sup> J.B. Harley, ‘Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe’, *Imago Mundi*, 40 (1988), 57-76 (60). Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

was considered dangerous in the opposition's hands. In this case however, the map used by the Archdeacon is not strategic. It is for the division of spoils.

This division of the kingdom is a display of the power of the rebels as a united front and also of the individual power of the three men who are the recipients of the Archdeacon's portions of land. However, this display of power is premature. Whereas in *Woodstock* the division is performed by someone who actually has power to do so — the King — in this scene the kingdom is being divided before the rebels have any power to exact it. The equilibrium of the division is disrupted by Hotspur, who claims that his

moiety north from Burton here  
 In quantity equals not one of yours.  
 See how this river comes me cranking in,  
 And cuts me from the best of all my land  
 A huge half-moon, a monstrous cantle, out.  
 (93-97)

Hotspur shows how landscape is open for redevelopment, for ravaging, and even for reimagination. The borders on the map are open to reinterpretation. The power that the rebels will achieve will permit this rearrangement of the landscape. Hotspur's desire to reroute the river that is the boundary of his and Mortimer's land is also an attempt to unsettle his fellow rebels. He suggests that he has greater power over the land, and therefore over them. However, Hotspur's rerouting desire augurs badly for the rebels. Worcester suggests an engineering

solution to the problem: 'a little charge will trench him here, / And on this north side win this cape of land, / And then he runs straight and even' (108-10). This explosiveness is indicative of the rebels' explosive relationship. They are already a disparate group and find it difficult to hide their differences. Hotspur winds Glyndwr up for speaking 'Welsh' — i.e. nonsense (48); Mortimer cannot even communicate with his own wife, the daughter of Glyndwr. When the rebellion gathers a head at Shrewsbury, the rebels are already depleted. Northumberland absents himself because of sickness. Glyndwr 'cannot draw his power this fourteen days' (4. 1. 127). Mortimer, as the Archbishop of York reveals, 'is not there', although no explanation for his absence is given (4. 4. 22). Instead the rebels are made up of Vernon, Worcester, Douglas, and Mordake, although the latter is not seen on stage. As the Archbishop of York comments to Sir Michael, 'needful 'tis to fear' (4. 4. 33). None of these men have been promised portions of the kingdom, even though they are involved in the main conflict; Worcester was present, but received no share. Even if they defeat the King's army, their alliance may not last. The map is an instrument of power not yet won. Its division is symbolic of the divisions already rife between the rebels, rather than a symbol of their united front.

There is another image of the world in the scene — the earth as mother. Hotspur's argument with Glyndwr centres around the Welshman's earth-shaking birth:

At my nativity  
 The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes,  
 Of burning cressets; and at my birth  
 The frame and huge foundation of the earth  
 Shaked like a coward. (12-16)

Hotspur mocks this portentousness, saying that the earth shook because the heavens were on fire, not because of Glyndwr's birth. He continues:

Diseasèd nature oftentimes breaks forth  
 In strange eruptions; oft the teeming earth  
 Is with a kind colic pinched and vexed  
 By the imprisoning of unruly wind  
 Within her womb, which for enlargement striving  
 Shakes the old beldam earth, and topples down  
 Steeples and moss-grown towers. (25-31)

Instead of an event bursting with omen and portent, Glyndwr's birth is aligned with a different kind of burst — mother earth farting. The image of the world is used by both men to contest their superiority. Glyndwr and Hotspur display an arrogant assurance that they are masters of the land they are fighting for. Hotspur seeks to violate the image of the world, as he seeks to violate the land and the people who live on it, who will be forced to leave their flooded homes if his desire to alter the course of the Trent is realised. Hotspur's proposed rearrangement of the physical landscape, and his forgetting of the map, shows that he doesn't have an understanding of or affiliation with the land he is fighting for. As Read writes:

Hotspur has lost or abandoned his sense of place, his connection to the land as a presence which is simultaneously concrete and conceptual, a network of tangible, visible topoi around which meanings accumulate and which thus serve to orient the person in time as well as in space, to locate the person as a historical being. (480)

At the end of the play, Hotspur's grandiose land-claims are mockingly reduced: 'now two paces of the vilest earth / Is room enough' for his dead body (5. 4. 90-91). Glyndwr on the other hand finds the map ('here it is' (3. 1. 6)). Unlike John of Gaunt in *Richard II*, he acknowledges Scotland and Wales, and gives them coastlines: 'Where is he living, clipped in with the sea / That chides the banks of England, Scotland, Wales, / Which calls me pupil or hath read to me' (42-4). Unlike Hotspur, he knows the land he is fighting for. The map and their images of the world display the world of difference between the two men, and show how the map undermines power as well as promotes it.

In *I Henry IV*, the map is used rashly, impetuously and impatiently. In *2 Henry IV*, the map image is used to encourage temperance. Again the rebels — the Archbishop of York, Thomas Mowbray the Earl Marshal and son of the man accused of Woodstock's death, Lord Hastings, and Lord Bardolph — find themselves depleted in numbers; again Northumberland has failed to show up; Glyndwr is occupying Henry and Hal in Wales, but is not part of this rebellion. The rebels are faced with a decision about whether to wait for reinforcements or to challenge the King's powers, just as they were in *I Henry IV*. Lord Bardolph,



citing the example of Hotspur who had been 'eating the air on promise of supply, / Flatt'ring himself with project of a power / Much smaller than the smallest of his thoughts' (1. 3. 28-30), urges a policy of caution. He uses the following analogy:

When we mean to build  
 We first survey the plot, then draw the model;  
 And when we see the figure of the house,  
 Then must we rate the cost of the erection,  
 Which if we find outweighs ability,  
 What do we then but draw anew the model  
 In fewer offices, or, at least, desist  
 To build at all? Much more in this great work —  
 Which is almost to pluck a kingdom down  
 And set another up — should we survey  
 The plot of situation and the model,  
 Consent upon a sure foundation,  
 Question surveyors, know our own estate,  
 How able such a work to undergo,  
 To weigh against his opposite; or else  
 We fortify in paper and in figures,  
 Using the names of men instead of men,  
 Like one that draws the model of an house  
 Beyond his power to build it, who, half-through,  
 Gives o'er, and leaves his part-created cost  
 A naked subject to the weeping clouds,  
 And waste for churlish winter's tyranny. (41-62)

Lord Bardolph uses the image of a man who needs to know the means by which he can build a house within the limit of possibility, and who therefore makes a map ('model') of the situation to weigh up the odds. His advised course of action is in direct contrast to Hotspur, who, believing he had the backing of his father and Glyndwr, fortified in 'paper and in figures'. The rebels of *Henry IV* also drew

a model of a house (England) which they did not have the power to build; they could not exact their planned divisions because they did not have the means. Bardolph's temperance falls on deaf ears. Hastings rejects his sentiments: 'I think we are a body strong enough, / Even as we are, to equal with the King' (66-7). The rebels, believing that the King's forces will be too occupied with Glyndwr in the west and the French in the east, do not heed the lessons of Bardolph's wise mapmaker. They follow Hotspur in defeat.

From kings, noblemen, and rebels, The Second Tetralogy is littered with unsuccessful mapmakers. Arguably, only Prince Hal / Henry V has a conception of the map of his kingdom. Through his apprenticeship in Eastcheap and his success on the battlefield, as a prince and a king he seems to successfully present an image of a united kingdom. In the taverns of London, Hal mixes with common people, who are absent from the lives of other monarchs and noblemen in the plays. The Welsh, Scots, and Irish, ignored by John of Gaunt, subdued by Richard II, and antagonistic towards Henry IV, are assimilated in *Henry V*. The Chorus requests that the audience 'into a thousand parts divide one man' (Prologue 24): Captain Gower represents the English, Captain Fluellen the Welsh, Captain MacMorris the Irish, and Captain Jamy the Scots. All these soldiers, and their countries, seem united as Henry's 'band of brothers', or John of Gaunt's 'happy breed of men'. The 'seat of Mars' is occupied by one who 'assume[s] the port of Mars' (P. 6). As David Read suggests, 'he is the king who comprehends the land [...] and thus represents an idealized feudal relationship

between ruler and nation' (486) — unlike Richard, Hotspur, Henry Bolingbroke, or the other rebels. However, the validity of this image is questionable. The only time that all four captains are on stage together, all of them argue (3. 3). Indeed, unity in the English camp on the eve of Agincourt is not in evidence. William's questioning of the disguised King reveals that the soldiers' loyalty cannot be taken for granted:

if the cause be not good, the King himself hath a heavy reckoning to make, when all those legs and arms and heads chopped off in a battle shall join together at the latter day, and cry all, 'We died at such a place'. (4. 1. 128-131)

At the end of the play, the Epilogue looks forward to the next phase in England's history, which will see the map of the kingdom redrawn. The infant King will lose France, and England will be made to 'bleed' again (ep. 12).<sup>65</sup> Unity in Henry's England is never less than fragile during his reign, and is shattered after his death.

The only map in evidence in *Henry V* is not wielded by the monarch but by one of the captains. Fluellen praises Henry V, comparing him to Alexander the Great. However, the comparison, which is supposed to be flattering, is offset immediately when Fluellen calls him 'Alexander the Pig' (4. 7. 10). Fluellen uses

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<sup>65</sup> Looking forward historically and looking back dramatically; the reign of Henry's son Henry VI is of course dramatised in *The First Tetralogy*.

the map to strengthen his analogy:

I think it is e'en Macedon where Alexander is born. I tell you, captain, if you look in the maps of the world I warrant you shall find, in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations, look you, is both alike. There is a river in Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth. It is called Wye at Monmouth, but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river – but 'tis all one, 'tis alike as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both. (18-25)

The image of the maps of the world should demonstrate how powerful a man Henry is, by comparing him to one of the great generals (one of the Nine Worthies, no less, in Holofernes' entertainment in *Love's Labour's Lost*). However, the flimsiness of Fluellen's comparison, coupled by the fact that he cannot remember name of the river, undermines his desire to show Henry's might. When he says that 'Harry of Monmouth's life is come after [Alexander's life] indifferent well' (26-7), Fluellen's analogy is barely sustainable. If this was a strong case, both men's lives would be almost identical. When Fluellen admits that 'there is figures in all things', the map is wholly discredited as a justifying image (27); anything can be compared to anything else, even two completely unrelated things. Fluellen goes on to inadvertently diminish Henry's stature. He compares Alexander's and Henry's 'rages', 'furies', 'wraths', 'cholers', 'moods', 'displeasures' and 'indignations' (28-31). Cleitus, whom Alexander killed, is compared to Falstaff, whom Henry 'killed' at the end of *2 Henry IV* ('As Alexander killed his friend Cleitus [...] so also Harry Monmouth [...] turned away the fat

knight with the great-belly doublet' (37-40)). Even though Henry's actions are approved of, the fact that Cleitus's death resulted from Alexander's excess consumption of 'ales' casts a long shadow over Hal's drinking days, dramatised in *Henry IV*. The joke of this scene is mostly at Fluellen's expense, as his pronunciation of the letter 'b' as 'p' and his belief that Alexander was 'the big' rather than 'the great' show — the latter being the same error as Costard's in *Love's Labour's Lost* (5. 2. 543). But his backfired praise not only highlights his foolishness but aspects of folly or weakness in the King, as well as the invalidity of the map itself.

The Chorus's request to the audience to 'piece out our imperfections with your thoughts' does not apply simply to the stage's inability to 'hold / The vasty fields of France' (P. 23; 11-12). Its first apology regards the presentation of Henry himself:

Then should the warlike Harry, like himself,  
Assume the port of Mars, and at his heels,  
Leashed in like hounds, should famine, sword, and fire  
Crouch for employment. But pardon, gentles all,  
The flat unraisèd spirits that hath dared  
On this unworthy scaffold to bring forth  
So great an object. (5-11)

A mere actor, argues the Chorus, cannot hope to present somebody of such heroic magnitude on stage. However, beneath this disclaimer there is a hint that the theatre cannot by its very nature present the image of the 'warlike Harry'.

John of Gaunt's prophecy, which seems on one level to have been answered by Henry V's greatness, is yet again exposed in The Second Tetralogy as a false map. Henry's unification after three plays of division is only partially successful. The image of the island of England, the 'seat of Mars', with its fabled king with Mars's bearing, is exposed as a fiction. The singular perspective of Henry as all-conquering hero cannot be sustained on the Elizabethan stage, which displays different perspectives on events and people. Henry's 'imperfections' — his impetuosity, the state and standard of his soldiers, his violent nature, his immaturity, and his luck — are to be 'pieced together' as much as the theatre's imperfections. As the theatre's inadequacy is addressed, so is the map's. Both inadequacies are caught up and entangled in the world-as-stage metaphor. In the next chapter, both inadequacies will be addressed in relation to the wayward geographies of *Richard III* and *King Lear*.

## 'DEFICIENT SIGHT': LOSING THE PLOT IN *RICHARD III* AND *KING LEAR*

Macbeth shall never vanquished be until  
Great Birnam Wood to high Dunsinane  
Shall come against him. (*Macbeth*, 4. 2. 108-110)

It does, and he is. However, being on the hill at Dunsinane should be a position of great vantage from which everything is visible. John Norden, the Elizabethan cartographer, placed himself in a similar vantage point when mapping Cornwall. Situating himself at 'Haynboro' (Hensbarrow, 313m.), where 'standeth the principall beacon in Cornwall', he noted that 'upon that hill a man bendinge his eye to whatsoever, parte shall observe that all the Countrie rounde about it as it were falleth at the feete of this'.<sup>66</sup> Height, of course, is crucial for the mapmaker. Philonicus explains to Spoudæus, his surveying pupil in William Cunningham's *The Cosmographical Glasse*, that he should go to 'some hie towre, steaple, or mountayne, so that [he] may on every part se the townes, and villages, about [him] adiacent in [his] Horizont'; from there, he should place his 'geographicall plaine sphere [...] flat and levell, [and] directe the ruler with hys two sightes unto anye one place that [he] see[s], and marke diligently the angle of sight'. To

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<sup>66</sup> Quoted in William Ravenhill, 'Christopher Saxton's Surveying: An Enigma', *English Map-Making 1500-1650: Historical Essays*, ed. by Sarah Tyacke (London: British Library, 1983), pp. 112-119 (pp. 117-8).

ascertain the distance between places involved going 'unto some other town, where in like manner [he] shall go up into the hiest place of the same, and there placinge [his] instrument as before, observe th'Angles of sight of such Townes and Villages as are in that Horizont'.<sup>67</sup> To map a place needed at least two location readings from positions where the horizon line was unobstructed — i.e. the highest point in the area. As *Macbeth* shows, the highest point is not necessarily the most advantageous. This chapter examines the weaknesses of the map itself, its inaccuracies through historical contingency, and its proneness to human error. These can progress from any point in the process of sorting map data, right back to the map's formative stages, with the surveyor standing on hill-tops taking measurements of the landscape before him. This chapter will demonstrate how the stage map and the landscape map engage in the same weaknesses; the more obvious limitations of the former, as revealed by the Chorus of *Henry V*, comment on the limitations of the latter.

No map is as accurate as we might think it is. The methodology of representation, what is included and what is excluded, what is silenced and stifled, are bound up in the ideologies of the mapmaker and his proposed readership; there are only degrees of accuracy. Even though most people would probably agree that a photograph taken from space would provide the most accurate type of map, 'In reality, such images are idealized; they are often

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<sup>67</sup> William Cunningham, *The Cosmographical Glasse* (London: John Day, 1559; repr. Amsterdam: Da Capo, 1968), pp. 137-9.



composites of satellite images taken over time, perhaps with colours added and clouds removed [...] [which] say nothing about the give and take of natural forces on the ground.<sup>68</sup> With any graphic representation there is distortion. The extent and cause of distortion depends on the motives of the mapmaker, and the mapmaker's patron(s):

'Mirror', 'window', 'objective', 'accurate', 'transparent', 'neutral': all conspire to disguise the map as a ... *reproduction* ... of the world, disabling us from recognizing it for a social construction, which with other social constructions, brings that world into being out of the past and into the present. Preeminent among these disguises is the general reference map, the topographical survey sheet, the map, which without a point of view, gives us the world ... *as it is*.<sup>69</sup>

Maps reveal their makers as much as they reveal the landscape they portray. What a map portrays, and what it chooses not to, reveal its purpose, its political and ideological affiliations, and its marketing strategy. What the map is unable to show can be just as important. In this chapter, I will be dealing with distortions on the map which can be attributed to error. Maps create an idea of power, but their practical usage is undermined by these mistakes.

The map, a representation of physical space, is only as useful as its last survey. It is subject to history; it is possible to understand all maps of the period

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<sup>68</sup> Alan Morantz, 'Here is Where you Are', *Canadian Geographic*, 120, no.1 (2000), pp. 18-22 (p. 22). For an example of this, see the discussion of Tom Van Sant's satellite composite map of the earth in Denis Wood, *The Power of Maps* (London: Routledge, 1993), chapter three, 'Every Map Shows This ... But Not That!', pp. 48-69.

<sup>69</sup> Denis Wood, *The Power of Maps* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 22. Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

as essentially historical. Even though Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* boasted about its comprehensive nature — it was 'A Description of the Whole World' — the author had to admit that there were gaps:

Some there are, peradventure, which will looke to find in this our Theater more descriptions of particular Countreys, (for every man naturally, for the love that he beareth to his native soile, would, I doubt not, wish that it were here severally described amongst the rest:) but let them know, that those which are here missing, are not left out and omitted, either by our negligence, or for that we were lothe to be at that cost and charges: but because that either we never saw any such, or at leastwayes for that there never came any such to our hands. (p. 4)

Ortelius could present only what had previously been represented. The distortion of North and South America can be attributed to the fact that knowledge about the continent was still limited. The lack of detail on the map of the African interior can be attributed to the fact that the continent remained substantially unmapped until Livingstone. Anybody using maps of the period of Africa and America for navigation may have found them useful in conjunction with other more detailed maps, because the coastlines of both continents had been substantially mapped by the end of the sixteenth century; anybody using Ortelius's maps, or any other's, to cross either continent would have soon lost his way.

The most accurate way to reproduce the world was in the form of a globe. Martin Behaim made the first globe at Nuremberg in 1492. As far as an image of power goes, the globe was as potent as the map, hence why Elizabeth I holds

one in her hand in the painting celebrating the Armada victory. However, the globe was practically useless. The map was much more practical, but whereas the globe at least replicated the shape of the world, the map distorted it to make it fit into a rectangular frame on a flat sheet of paper. The problem of the transference of data from three dimensions to two proved impossible to solve completely. Mercator's innovative map, *Nova et Aucta Orbis Terrae Descriptio ad Usum Navigatium Emendate Accomodata* (1569), provided a solution, but created problems of its own. Jerry Brotton's explanation of Mercator's projection is only partly satisfying:

Instead of taking awkward and imprecise bearings on board ship across the surface of a globe or a portolan chart, his new projection allowed for a line of bearing to be drawn accurately across the surface of a plane map, explicitly foregrounding, as its title suggests, its usefulness to the art of navigation. (*Trading*, p. 166)

Mercator's projection obscured the shapes of countries, so that Alaska appears to be the same size as Brazil, despite being a fifth of the landmass. Meridian lines do not converge but run parallel; the Arctic and Antarctic are infinite lands spread across the top and bottom of the world. This information would have proved sufficient for arm-chair voyagers like Robert Herrick, but anyone taking advice from Mercator's map in a practical way could have been in severe difficulties, as the information is only of certain use to navigation. While the projection made accurate direction plotting far more reliable, any sailor trying to

plot distance covered or distance left to travel would be misled. Mercator himself admitted this inaccuracy on publication:

If you wish to sail from one port to another here is a chart, and a straight line on it, and if you follow this line carefully you will certainly arrive at your destination. But the length of the line may not be correct. You may not get there as soon as you expected, but you will certainly get there.<sup>70</sup>

Greater distortion would have been apparent the further north travelled; as Brotton suggests, because the majority of voyages in the period were concerned with heading either east or west, the distortions would have been less significant for trade missions. A further problem is that the enormity of scale used to depict the whole of the world on a single sheet means that the detail is minimal. No seaman would have used Mercator's map to navigate his way around the intricacies of a coastline. Mercator's map, like Ortelius's *Theatrum*, is a symbol of the man's potential, rather than a practical tool, although Mercator's projection has its advantages.

Inaccuracies are not simply confined to a map's projection. The survey was prone to numerous errors. Surveying was a new profession, and it is clear that there were still many people who called themselves surveyors but who did not meet the standard or even understand how scale worked. Edward Worsop, castigating those who measured without a full grasp of geometry, wonders why, if

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<sup>70</sup> Quoted in A.G. Hodgkiss, *Understanding Maps: A Systematic History of their Use and Development* (Folkestone: Dawson, 1981), p. 35.

'everie man knoweth that land is our riches in the hiest nature [...] [,] true surveying, and valuing thereof is shoufled up, as though it were a matter of small importance'.<sup>71</sup> Ralph Agas refused to allow the title of Surveyor to those who didn't use maps: 'No man may arrogate to himselfe the name and title of a perfect and absolute Surveior of Castles, Manners, Lands, and Tenements, unlesse he be able in true forme, measure, quantitie, and proportion, to plat the same in their particulars *ad infinitum*.'<sup>72</sup> Both comments suggest that there were surveyors who did not make accurate maps of the lands they were surveying, even at the end of the sixteenth century. Shakespeare's audiences in London would have been familiar with bad surveyors. As John Norden's farmer suggests, the surveyors who plied their trade on London streets showed 'that either the trade decayeth, or they are not skilfull, that beg employment so publickely' (p. 14). For many, the image of the bumbling amateur surveyor still lingered, and perhaps with good reason.

Accuracy on localised levels of mapmaking was compromised by the surveying process. Ralph Agas commented that

the thing indeed which causeth their inevitable errors and hath persuaded many wise and excellent persons, to doubt whether there be perfection in mapping of landes and tenements for surveigh, yea or not, is the unevenes of the groundes, by their great difference, in hill and dale, from a level of superficies, in

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<sup>71</sup> *A Discoverie of Sundry Errours and Faults Daily Committed by Landmeaters* (London: Henrie Middleton, 1582: *Early English Books*; Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1949- ), STC1/Reel404:4, fol. Kv.

<sup>72</sup> Quotation taken from P.D.A. Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (London: The Public Record Office and The British Library, 1993), pp. 89-91.

that wee are necessarily compelled to put downe our practice upon bookes that are level and smooth, *Hoc opus est hic labor.*<sup>73</sup>

Saxton's county maps appear to be accurate to the modern eye. Certainly the access he was granted was widespread. An open letter to Welsh J.P.s dated June 1576 shows how each locality was expected to assist the mapmaker in his work:

The said Justic[e]s shalbe aiding and assisting unto him to see him conducted unto any towre, castle, highe place or hill to view that countrey, and that he may be accompanied w[i]th ii or iij honest men such as do best know the cuntrey, for the better accomplishment of that service, and that at his dep[ar]ture from any towne or place that he hath taken the view of the said towne do set forth a horseman that can speke both welshe and englishe to safe conduct him to the next market towne.

However, John Norden, in a more sullen mood than when atop Hensbarrow, complained about this local help. He claimed that his guides 'yet thorough their simplicitie or partialitie, may miscarry the most provident observer [...] and what I observe is from them, if the thing be hidden (as some time it is) from mine own view'.<sup>74</sup> If the information about localised landscape detail (hidden rivers, for example) is not always reliable, the authority of the map is questionable.

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<sup>73</sup> Quotation taken from Sarah Tyacke and John Huddy, *Christopher Saxton and Tudor Map-Making* (London: British Library, 1980), p. 57.

<sup>74</sup> Both quotations taken from Tyacke and Huddy, p. 32.

Norden's guides' 'simplicitie or partialitie' may be the reason why the open letter accompanying Saxton stresses the honesty of his guides. The surveyor was prone to being led astray, either by the vagaries of the landscape, or the spite or inadequacy of his guides. The vantage point of the mapmaker is not always all-encompassing.

Through these difficulties in mapping it is possible to trace the movement — upwards and downwards — of Richard Duke of Gloucester, later Richard III. As has already been quoted, Richard (like Richard II) is described as a 'map'; he represents 'the end of all'. In *Richard Duke of York* he places himself in the mapmaker's optimum position:

Why, then, I do but dream on sovereignty  
 Like one that stands upon a promontory  
 And spies a far-off shore where he would tread,  
 Wishing his foot were equal with his eye. (3. 2. 134-137)

The distant shore that Richard imagines is on the horizon line. He is surveying the landscape to produce a map of his path to the crown. He desires to collapse perspective, to project his three dimensional view onto a two dimensional plane by making his foot equal with his eye. Later in this speech Richard imagines himself

like one lost in a thorny wood,  
 That rends the thorns and is rent with the thorns,  
 Seeking a way and straying from the way,

Not knowing how to find the open air,  
But toiling desperately to find it out. (174-178)

The crown is associated with the 'open air', a vantage point from which it would be possible to map a path to sovereignty and control the (political) landscape. At this point in the third part of the cycle he is plotting his ascendance. He desires the optimum position — that of the cartographer who can see to all horizons, and also of the mapreader, who is empowered by the view of the landscape — and will carve his own map through the thorny wood 'with a bloody axe' if he has to (181). The mapmaker here is therefore associated with violent conquest. The only way Richard can make it through to the crown is by cutting his own path to it. Most significantly Richard's comments reveal that the mapmaker and the mapreader cannot possess the land that they see. They cannot actually make their feet equal with their eye; they can only wish it so, through a map. The map can enable possession as a practical tool, but the power it suggests to the mapreader is illusory. When Richard becomes king in the final part of *The First Tetralogy*, he cannot achieve absolute power, and only reigns for two years (or ten scenes). The map can only claim ownership; it cannot actually realise it.

While mapping his way to power, Richard's progress will paradoxically involve his ability to remain unmapped. The Queen's comparison of Richard to a 'map' is inaccurate to some degree, because he lacks definition; he has no 'ends'. His self-description aligns him with wilderness: he says that his mother corrupted nature 'to shrink mine arm up like a withered shrub, / To make an



envious mountain on my back' (156-7). He is 'disproportion[ed] [...] in every part', and he 'carries no impression like the dam' (160-2); this landscape/body has no secure boundaries. Thus Richard 'can add colours to the chameleon, / [and] Change shapes with Proteus for advantages' (191-2). Like the chameleon, he can merge with the environment; as discussed in the introduction, Proteus was the Old Man of the Sea, so Richard is associated with another type of 'scape. The derogatory snipes made by those he tramples on in his ascendance in *Richard III* are often animalistic: 'unmannered dog', 'hedgehog', 'toad', 'basilisk', 'dog', 'bottled spider', 'bunch-backed toad', 'boar'. Nobody can quite decide what Richard most resembles; the sole consistency is the insistence on his diabolic nature (he is called or at least aligned with the devil nine times). As Henry VI says, "'Good Gloucester" and "good devil" were alike' (*Richard Duke of York*, 5. 6. 4); according to the deposed King, Richard was born 'an undigested and deformèd lump' (51).

When Richard is formed — crowned as king in *Richard III* — the flow of epithets nearly dries up. He is, more often than not, defined as 'King' or 'my Lord'. When he is abused, there are no new words, only repetitions: 'hell-hound', 'that bottled spider, that foul bunch-backed toad', 'thou toad, thou toad'. Elizabeth, denouncing Richard's claims on her daughter, declares that 'there is no other way' to woo her than to 'present to her [...] // A handkerchief' with Edward V's (her brother) blood on it, in repetition of an episode in *Richard Duke of York* (1. 4):

Unless thou couldst put on some other shape,  
And not be Richard, that hath done all this. (4. 4. 260-273)

Even though he is in the optimum position — he has made his foot equal with his eye, he has successfully mapped his way through the landscape of the ‘thorny wood’ to ‘the open air’ (a vantage point, the surveying hill, *the position of the mapmaker*) — his Protean nature is crippled. Richard’s fall can be further shown by his crying out for a horse moments before his death. Now unable to manipulate the environment around him, he is grounded and cannot get away from it. Henry Tudor at this point proves a far more adept shape-shifter; he sends out five bogus Richmonds at the Battle of Bosworth Field.

The limitations of the power of the mapmaker, surveying from high points to map as far as his eyes can see, and of the mapreader, who has vast landscapes in his hands, are mirrored by the limitations of the audience to map the play’s stage world. As the mapmaker can only dream of possession, so the audience can only imagine the scene: *Richard III* exposes the illusion of both types of knowledge. The opening scene of *Richard III* underlines both Richard’s ability to change places, and the stage-map’s ability to make the audience believe that the scene is located in a number of places. Act five scene five, at the end of the play, when both Richard and Richmond share the stage, also obfuscates the delineation of the space. Both scenes show the audience how the stage map creates what Catherine Belsey has called ‘radical uncertainty’ (quoted in chapter one, pp. 44-45). Act one scene one is often located in editions of the

play on a street in London. Following the lead of Capell, *The Norton Shakespeare* situates the scene there, and Janis Lull reasons in her edition that 'the Elizabethan audience would have known that the action takes place in London, since Clarence goes toward the Tower of London and Hastings comes from it'.<sup>75</sup> However, an Elizabethan audience may have assumed that the play begins somewhere in court. The *frons scenae* of the Elizabethan theatre resembled that available in the court theatre, hence why some commentators argue that it was consciously incorporated in the theatre design.<sup>76</sup> All three parts of *Henry VI* open with varieties of court scenes, which may well have lead an audience to expect that the final part of The First Tetralogy would begin in the same type of locale. This is not to suggest that this scene necessarily does take place at court, or that it cannot take place in the street. However, choosing one above the other in editions and on the stage limits the potential of the scene.

The opening of *Richard III* could take place in a number of locations.

Richard's method of address disables any concrete mapping of the stage:

Now is the winter of our discontent  
 Made glorious summer by this son of York;  
 And all the clouds that loured upon our house  
 In the deep bosom of the ocean buried.  
 Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths,  
 Our bruised arms hung up for monuments,  
 Our stern alarums changed to merry meetings,

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<sup>75</sup> Note, 1.1, *Richard III*, ed. by Janis Lull (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

<sup>76</sup> For a summary of the relationship between court and playhouse architecture, see Andrew Gurr, *The Shakesperean Stage 1574-1642*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 22-26.

Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.  
 Grim-visaged war hath smoothed his wrinkled front,  
 And now – instead of mounting barbèd steeds  
 To fright the souls of fearful adversaries –  
 He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber  
 To the lascivious pleasing of a lute. (1. 1. 1-13)

For the first eleven lines Richard is a monarchist; for last two lines he is a tabloid journalist. Richard begins as if he comes to praise King Edward IV, perhaps as part of some victory speech; the end reveals Richard's desire to bury him. Richard appears to shift his allegiance mid-speech, thus upsetting an audience's notion of where this opening is set. In Richard Loncraine's 1996 film version, Richard (Ian McKellen) delivers the opening eleven lines at Edward IV's victory banquet. The scene then cuts to a grubby lavatory, where Richard urinates while continuing with the derogatory part of the speech. Cutting away is a technique which theatre cannot achieve, but there is a shift in place here in Richard's language. He is no longer producing a choric catalogue of the new King's achievements (in terms of the tetralogy, only a few scenes earlier, although the historical Edward IV was on the throne for twenty two years) and the bright future of England. This is a man who is relaunching his manifesto, with the audience as conspirator.

There is a further shift in the sense of place. If we assume that this is still in court, even if it is not some great hall where Richard is declaiming his

brother's greatness but somewhere private, then the entrance of Clarence, under guard, *en route* to the Tower of London, may be a surprise. Of course this could still be at court; the scene in Laurence Olivier's film is set there.<sup>77</sup> However, it is conceivable that Richard is now somewhere between the court and the tower — i.e. a street in London. This ambiguity is further enhanced by the entrance of Hastings, who has just been released from the Tower ('Well are you welcome to the open air' (125)). This suggests that the scene has been taking place just outside the Tower. As Janis Lull suggests, after Sidney, 'Elizabethan staging would have indicated location by dialogue' (note 1. 1); the absence of any indication, and the way the scene is structured, unsettle the audience's expectations. An editor's decision to limit the staging to 'a street' limits the character of Richard whose power lies in unsettling and displacement. Richard is like a reverse chameleon, altering environments to his colours, rather than the other way round.

Act five scene five echoes the first scene of the play by also creating an ambiguous stage space that represents different locations in a single area. In this scene, two maps are on stage. In their tents, but on stage simultaneously, Richard and Richmond order 'some ink and paper', both presumably to 'draw the form and model of [their] battle' (5. 4. 21 and 5. 5. 3; 5. 4. 22). One mapmaker is in the ascendancy; the other is about to die. On the entrance of the ghosts the stage itself becomes a map. The angels trumpeting the final judgement on maps

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<sup>77</sup> *Richard III*. Dir. Laurence Olivier. London Film Productions, 1945. Video Collection International, 1991.

such as the Hereford World Map appear as the ghosts of Richard's slaughtered, pronouncing the elevation of one man to a lieutenant of God, and consigning the other to hell. These ghosts surround the on-stage maps, forming a damning live-action cartouche. However, despite representing a map — an image of order, of demarcation — the stage itself is not clearly delineated. Both men occupy the same space on stage, although they are in their own camps. The ghosts easily cross between the two, condemning one man and blessing the other. The stage is at once a map and an undefined location. It is both Richmond's camp and Richard's camp; both earth and heaven: the ghosts frame the map as well denying its authority. The stage is a space between.

*King Lear* also produces a map on stage, and then tears up its authority. Lear's 'darker purpose' is to divide 'in three [his] kingdom', so as 'to shake all cares and business from our age' as he approaches death (1. 1. 34-39).<sup>78</sup> He will 'divest' himself of 'rule, / Interest of territory, cares of state' (47-48). Using the map that he has requested, he marks out the territory he bequeaths first to Goneril:

Of all these bounds, even from this line to this,  
With shadowy forests and with champains riched,  
With plenteous rivers and wide-skirted meads. (61-63)

and then to Regan:

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<sup>78</sup> Line references to *King Lear* are taken from the *Norton Shakespeare's* conflated text, unless otherwise indicated.

To thee and thine hereditary ever  
 Remain this ample third of our fair kingdom;  
 No less in space, validity, and pleasure,  
 Than that conferred on Goneril. (78-81)

As ample as her elder sister's, maybe, but the 'third more opulent' is left for the youngest, Cordelia, 'our joy, / Although our last and least' (81-5), just as King Richard gives his favourite favourite Greene the best portion of land in *Woodstock*. The King is cartographer, dividing the land on political grounds, regardless of natural boundaries. Again it is possible to see how the map becomes an agent of power. However, this is a map of power being given away, not claimed. The map is an image of an united kingdom that slowly dissolves into nothing over the course of the play. The stage engages this dissolution, and staged England is diminished until it reveals merely a bare 'stage of fools'. This disintegration is evident in the very first scene. As in *I Henry IV* (and *Woodstock*), the 'division of the kingdom' augurs badly from its very conception. The map will lead to civil war and foreign invasion.

These divisions are not made solely because of love. They are also made to prevent violence and discord. Lear tells Cornwall and Albany that he is publishing his 'daughters' several dowers' to prevent 'future strife' (42-3). The play after all begins with Kent's expressed belief that 'the King had more affected the Duke of Albany than Cornwall' (1-2); Lear has been playing one side off against the other. For political reasons the two older daughters and their

husbands are given shares of the kingdom which are equal, and apart, with the youngest daughter's share a buffer between the two. The division of the kingdom reflects the internal divisions between the ranks of the aristocracy; as Kent reveals to the Gentleman, 'There is division [...] 'twixt Albany and Cornwall', who are engaged 'in snuffs and packings [quarrels and plots]' (3. 1. 19-26). Lear's subsequent redivision of the map counters his aims. It swallows up the middle portion and pushes the Dukes and Daughters together, with the border between the two presumably running straight through London. Enraged at his youngest daughter's refusal to play his game of greater love, he tells his two sons-in-law to 'digest [her] third' (128). This swallowing act echoes Lear's image of the 'the barbarous Scythian, / Or he that makes his generation messes / To gorge his appetite', with whom Lear would 'be as well neighbored' as his 'sometime daughter' (116-120). The new neighbours will prove as brutal as the Scythians. The map's digestion also recalls the description of Richard of Gloucester as 'an undigested and deformèd lump'; Lear, like Richard, is a violent mapmaker. The violence of the new map of England is encapsulated by Lear, raging on the Heath, invoking the 'all-shaking thunder, / [to] Smite flat the thick rotundity o' the world!' (3. 2. 6-7). Smite flat, or map.

Having produced the map, the rest of the action slowly but surely erodes the notion not only of England or Great Britain as a united entity, but of the world as a place which is comprehensible, reducible, knowable, mappable. The digestion has muddied the borderlands. W.W. Greg's valiant attempts to



map the landscape of the play and its timescheme, although misguided, highlight how unmappable the play's landscape becomes.<sup>79</sup> The process is reflected by the lack of definite locations in the play. As frequently edited, the action of the play takes place in Gloucester's castle, the Duke of Albany's home, a heath, land approaching Dover, a battlefield, and the British camp. However, none of these places are actually named or spoken by any of the characters in the Quartos and the Folio, apart from Dover. While it can be assumed, for example, that act two scene four takes place at Gloucester's castle, the fact that Lear, heading for his daughter's house, ends up at Gloucester's castle when he should be somewhere in Cornwall, and that the Duke of Cornwall on his arrival seems to take over the place even before the Earl of Gloucester's blinding, makes the location unclear. This lack of geographical certainty becomes increasingly more evident as the play continues. The fluidity of geography is visible through the constant motion of Albany and Cornwall, and Gloucester and Kent. The map of the kingdom is further torn up by their movement.<sup>80</sup> No wonder that Kent calls Britain 'this scattered kingdom' (3. 1. 31). As Frederick T. Flahiff suggests, 'there is a kind of mad pliancy about geographical reference in *King Lear*, as mad and pliant and indecorous in its own way as the progress — in Shakespeare's next play — of Birnam Wood to Dunsinane.'<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> W.W. Greg, 'Time, Place and Politics in *King Lear*', *Modern Language Review*, 35, no. 4 (October 1940), 431-446. Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

<sup>80</sup> Adrian Noble's 1992 production at the RSC had a map as its stage-cloth, which was torn up during the storm and finally removed during the civil war.

<sup>81</sup> Frederick T. Flahiff, 'Lear's Maps', *Cahiers Élizabéthains*, no. 30 (October 1986), pp. 17-33 (p. 19). All subsequent citations are embedded in the text.

Two examples of indefinite location are the 'heath' and Dover. The 'heath' is a borrowing, first used by Nahum Tate in his 1681 reworking of the play and pursued by Nicholas Rowe in his edited works in 1709, from the 'blasted heath' of Shakespeare's next play, *Macbeth* (perhaps it is adopted also because of Edgar's lines 'The wretch that thou hast blown unto the worst / Owes nothing to thy blasts' (4. 1. 8-9)). Subsequent editions have followed this reading. G.K. Hunter describes 'Lear and the Fool stumbl[ing] across a stage now representing "the heath" where man is fully exposed to the hostile physical world'.<sup>82</sup> John F. Andrews states that act three scene one 'takes place on a barren heath', and that scene two 'remains on the stormy heath'.<sup>83</sup> In fact, the nature of the landscape is largely indistinct. Gloucester says that 'for many miles about / There's scarce a bush' (2. 4. 296-97), and Edgar hides himself in 'the happy hollow of a tree' presumably not very far from where the 'heath' is imagined (2. 3. 2), but there is nothing else in the text to confirm the lay of the land. Frederick T. Flahiff makes a good case for the landscape to be more bog-like than heath-like, given Gloucestershire's propensity to flood (we need only remember the flooding problems of recent years in the area); he draws attention to Edgar/Poor Tom's descriptions of the 'ford and whirlpool [...] bog and quagmire' (3. 4. 52-3) and quotes John Leland, who described Gloucestershire as 'low grownd, subjecte to all sodeyne rysinges of [the river] Syverne' (p. 22). It seems far from the 'high

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<sup>82</sup> Note to 3. 2. in *King Lear*, ed. by G.K. Hunter (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972).

<sup>83</sup> Note in *King Lear*, ed. by John F. Andrews (London: Everyman, 1993).

wild hills and rough uneven ways' of Gloucestershire that so confuse Northumberland and Bolingbroke in *Richard II* (2. 3. 4). The location of these scenes can be no more certain than somewhere near Gloucester castle, given the speed at which the Earl travels back and forth from Lear's party.

Everybody desires to head to Dover. It is where Cordelia leads her freedom fighting army (in Q), and where Gloucester decides to die. It is a place of hope, or a 'promised end' of suffering, and is personified by the Duke of Kent (Dover's county), the man who seems to be the saviour figure of the play. As Greg correctly points out, 'Dover is [...] the only place mentioned in *King Lear* as connected with the action' (431). However, it is arguable whether anybody actually makes it to Dover, especially in the Folio version. The Folio removes Kent's words to the Gentleman, when he tells him that in Dover he 'shall find / Some that will thank [him]' (Q scene 8, 27-8).<sup>84</sup> Dover is first mentioned in the Folio in relation to Lear's escape (F 3. 7. 17). It takes until half-way through this version of the play before information about any precise location is divulged. After act four scene six the place is never referred to again. The location of Dover's 'cliff' is even more problematic than the 'heath'. The Riverside editors locate the scene as 'the country near Dover', as does Kenneth Muir in his Arden edition.<sup>85</sup> However, this scene need not take place near Dover at all. Edgar, in

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<sup>84</sup> I am using the Quarto and the Folio versions as printed in *The Norton Shakespeare*.

<sup>85</sup> 4.6 SD, *King Lear*, ed. by Kenneth Muir, The Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1972; repr. 1975)

the guise of a peasant commissioned to lead his father, misleads his dependant, telling him that he is at the edge of Dover Cliff, and watches him fall flat on his face. He then convinces Gloucester that he floated from the top, as if carried by angels. Dover Cliff is revealed to be a fake. It is critical that nobody makes it to the safety of Dover. As Jonathan Goldberg comments:

The refusal to allow the word *Dover* to arrive at the place it (apparently) names, the failure, in other words, for signifier to reach signified – the failure of the sign – establishes the place that Dover occupies in the text. It is the place of illusion – the illusion of the desire voiced by Kent or Gloucester, the illusion of recovery *and* the illusion of respite and end.<sup>86</sup>

Edgar and Gloucester are in no definable location and may well be nowhere 'near Dover'. Dover's false significance is further evident when Flahiff's argument that the death of Cordelia takes place in Dover Castle is considered (20-1). Kent is powerless to prevent death, even in his own house. Dover, as symbolically inscribed, does not exist. It is a staged space allowed only for despair.

By stating that this scene takes place in a definite place, editors restrict the meaning of geography in the text and on the stage. As Philip Sidney complained, the theatre audience had to be told the location of the play by the actor; in *King Lear*, the actor lies. In the Shakespearean theatre, the audience would have been at the very least ambivalent, and may have been completely

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<sup>86</sup> Jonathan Goldberg, 'Perspectives: Dover Cliff and the Conditions of Representation', in *Shakespeare's Tragedies*, ed. by Susan Zimmerman (London: MacMillan, 1998), pp. 155-166 (p. 157). Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

taken in by Edgar's description of the 'chalky bourn' of Dover. Gloucester's initial scepticism could have been mirrored by the audience's; his eventual gullibility may have been evident in the audience as well. The audience may support Gloucester's doubts that they have not climbed to the top of a cliff ('Methinks the ground is even' (3)). The audience can see that the stage is flat, so they cannot be on an incline. And yet Gloucester is a blind man, his 'senses' may have grown 'imperfect' by his 'eyes' anguish' (5-6); there has been no indication from anything Edgar has said before that he doesn't intend to lead his father to his death. Edgar's detail of what he sees below him may have been compelling evidence for the audience that he and his father are at the top of the cliff; it certainly is for his father. As Edgar stares down, he compensates for his father's loss of sight, and for the audience's lack of vantage:

Come on, sir; here's the place. Stand still. How fearful  
 And dizzy 'tis, to cast one's eyes so low!  
 The crows and choughs that wing the midway air  
 Show scarce so gross as beetles. Halfway down  
 Hangs one that gathers sampire, dreadful trade!  
 Methinks he seems no bigger than his head.  
 The fishermen, that walk upon the beach,  
 Appear like mice; and yond tall anchoring bark,  
 Diminished to her cock; her cock, a buoy  
 Almost too small for sight. The murmuring surge,  
 That on the unnumbered idle pebble chafes,  
 Cannot be heard so high. (11-22)

Edgar splits the view into midpoint and vanishing point, with the samphire gatherer 'half way down' and the boats in the waves 'almost too small for sight'.

He also produces an image to scale, with the 'crows and choughs' diminished to the size of beetles, the man practising his 'dreadful trade' seeming no bigger than the size of his head, the fishermen 'like mice', and the ship looking as if it is the size of its cockboat. After Gloucester's fall, Edgar creates another picture, looking back up the cliff to the summit, where the demonic figure he claims had lured Gloucester to fall is staring back with eyes that look like 'two full moons' (70). Edgar breaks down the perspective of the fall: 'Ten masts at each make not the altitude / Which thou hast perpendicularly fell' (53-4). He urges Gloucester to look up to the 'dread summit of this chalky bourn' where the 'shrill-gorged lark [...] / Cannot be seen or heard' (57-9). Goldberg suggests that Edgar is creating a kind of illusionist painting (*Perspectives*, p. 163-5); I would add to that that Edgar becomes a surveyor, collating information to be restructured as a map of Gloucester's fall. This map is unreliable, just as Lear's map has proved unreliable. Neither map presents a true depiction of the land it is supposed to represent. Both Dover Cliff and Britain as a whole are illusions.

Part of the problem with modern productions is that audiences are familiar with this scene. Also, with the expectations of modern staging, we do not think that a man kneeling in the middle of the stage can actually be on the edge of Dover Cliff. The trick is solely believed by Gloucester. However, if we go back further in time, and strip away modern notions of 'staging', we get a different idea of the location of the cliff. An audience may have believed that when Gloucester kneels he is 'within a foot / Of th'extreme verge' (25-27). The audience would

recognise the limitations of a theatre that never claimed within its wooden O to be able to hold the vasty fields of France and could not be expected to recreate an entire cliff. But as Goldberg writes, there is a crucial difference being played out in this scene. Whereas 'the Chorus of *Henry V* is intent upon a mathematics in which a "wooden O", the theatre-as-nothing, can contain all [...] [,] in *King Lear*, nothing comes of nothing, and the very language which would seem (to us) solidly to locate the world slides into an abyss, an uncreating, annihilative nothingness' (*Perspectives*, p. 163). Denied their own perspective, the audience has to evaluate the information provided by another. The stage-map the audience creates from this information would have been revealed as false. Thus the vantage of the mapmaker and mapreader is revealed as inaccurate and untrustworthy; the audience's own 'sight' is revealed as 'deficient'. In Gloucester, the audience witnesses its own blindness. Lear declares the world to be 'the great stage of fools', but this is a stage that fools the audience too (177).

## PART TWO

When souldiers turne surveyors and measure lands,  
God helpe poore farmers.

*Sir Thomas Wyatt, 4. 3. 5-6.*



## ‘THE END OF ALL’: DEATH ON AND OFF THE MAP

In *The Messingkauf Dialogues*, Bertold Brecht’s Actor argues that *King Lear* should ‘have an actual map torn up in the first scene’:

Lear could hand the pieces to his daughters in the hope of ensuring their love that way. He could take the third piece, the one meant for Cordelia, and tear that across once again to distribute to the others. That would be a particularly good way of making the audience stop and think.<sup>87</sup>

The audience would consider the physical space being divided; it would also be made to think of the people who live in that space. Lear’s division affects more than just his daughters; it affects everybody living in the kingdom, although Lear himself treats it ‘so plainly as his own private property’.<sup>88</sup> In the next two chapters I will be looking at the effects of mapmaking on those who live on the map — from tenants to conquered races and nations — instead of those who (land-) lord over it. The relationship between the map and its inhabitants will be discussed through the presence of death on the map. There are two types of death. The first type is the image of death depicted as part of the decorations of a map. The

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<sup>87</sup> Bertold Brecht, *The Messingkauf Dialogues*, trans. John Willett (London: Methuen, 1965), p. 63.

<sup>88</sup> Bertold Brecht, ‘Short Description of a New Technique of Acting’, in *Brecht on Theatre: The Development of an Aesthetic*, ed. and trans. by John Willett (London: Methuen, 1964), pp. 136-147 (p. 143).

second type is the deaths (actual or cultural) of the inhabitants of a map. The latter type of death is rarely depicted on maps, although it is implicit on all of them. On stage maps however, both forms of cartographic death are evident. This chapter will examine the presence of death on maps of the period. It will then discuss how these are staged in Shakespeare's plays, *Antony and Cleopatra* — a play of geographical expansiveness, concerned with geographical expansion, set in a map-minded empire concerned with boundaries and their preservation — in particular.

Hamlet's 'undiscovered country' is a literal place (3. 1. 81). On many maps of the period, the southern hemisphere features a land only half drawn called 'Terra Australis Incognita'. This is and is not Australia; Cook 'discovered' the country in the eighteenth century, although northern Australia is believed to have been landed on much earlier by Dutch explorers.<sup>89</sup> Cartographers depict these ghostly territories partly out of convention. The continents were widely believed to be symmetrical; a southern continent was assumed to balance out Asia, just as Europe was balanced out by Africa, North America and South America balanced each other in the west. In *Hamlet*, this undiscovered country is the place of death, 'from whose bourn / No traveller returns' (81-2). On some printed maps, this phantom country has deathly associations. One of the many images on Pieter Van Den Keere's 1611 world map is death wrestling with an hourglass with

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<sup>89</sup> In November 1605, Captain Willem Jansz led a crew on the Jacht Duyfken from Bantam. He assumed that the land-mass reached was part of New Guinea. The trip was disastrous, as nine of the crew were killed by cannibals when the crew landed with a view to trading with the inhabitants. Some early modern maps label this area Nova Hollandia.

a man over a large southern land-mass. Death, with all other vices and evils of the world, stands in Terra Australis on Jodocus Hondius's *The Christian Knight Map of the World* (c. 1597) — a morality play in printed map form — accompanying 'Diabolus', 'Caro', 'Peccatum' and 'Mundus'; death is pushed to the corner, as if it is the most feared of all these figures. Death's hourglass makes an appearance on Pseudo-Blaeu world map (1665) on the cartouche representing Magellanica, the other 'undiscovered country' south of Tierra del Fuego. It also appears in the hands of one of the supporters of the world, along with Death's scythe, on Ottavio Pisani's 1612 map. Martin Waldseemüller's 'Carta Marina' (1516) and Pierre Desceliers's 1550 world map both feature dog-headed creatures (a popular imaginary figure in pre-Columbian travel narratives such as *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*) performing brutal acts of dissection and cannibalism in the bottom right hand corner in 'Terre Australle'.

The presence of death can be traced back to maps of the medieval period. The Hereford World Map, discussed in chapter one, is bordered by the word *mors*. The world is surrounded by twelve fire-breathing dragons. Images of death appear at its edges, from cannibalism in the north-eastern region to an island infested with dragons in the south east. On top of the world stands Christ Pantocrater, an image synonymous with the Last Judgement. People rise from coffins to receive judgement to the left of Jesus, and those damned descend to hell to the right. These features are present in other maps of the period. The Psalter Map (c. 1250) is also framed by Christ Pantocrater; his feet stick out at

the bottom of the world. It depicts an array of godless creatures, from monopeds to cannibals, Anthropophagi to men with heads in their chests, in the south (Africa) – features that are also present on the Hereford and Ebstorf maps. The Psalter Map also walls off Gog and Magog from the rest of the world in the north-eastern corner. The suggestion in *mappae mundi* seems to be that the further from the centre-point (Jerusalem) one travels the closer one gets to danger, abnormality, and unholiness. Even if death's skeletal icon is not present on these maps, the visual information is particularly morbid. Significantly, all of these agents of death are placed within the world; they are acknowledged, but placed far away from the Holy City. The map is also framed by death; it looks forwards to Judgement day.

Images of mortality appear less commonly on early modern printed maps, but there are still examples of maps which have death-related decorations. I have mentioned the dog-heads dissecting and eating their own depicted on 'Terra Australis Incognita'. A similar image appears in a cartouche on Claes Janszoon Visscher's 1617 world map to the right of Peru. Cannibalism is also depicted on the South American continent on Pieter Van Den Keere's world map of 1611 and Willem Janszoon Blaeu's world map of 1618. The winds that often appear in the corners of maps as cherubic bellows are transformed into death's heads blowing from the south and the north on Peter Goos's 1660 world map. In the right hand corner of the version of the Fool's Cap World housed in the Biblioteque National in Paris is the word 'la Mort'. Death and its agents are pushed onto unknown or

little known countries and continents, away from civilised Europe, where these maps are produced. As the purpose of the map shifts from being an historical or biblical encyclopaedia to an accurate delineation of nationhood, as it shifts from emblem to instrument, so its spiritual frame becomes diminished. The representation of death is similar in both periods of cartography and the religious aspect is not altogether lost; after all, the majority of maps printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were published in books, including many bibles and religious tracts. However, the motives behind the presentation of death differ between the two periods, especially on large scale maps. Death on medieval *mappae mundi* is celebrated within a Christian context, as the natural 'end' of the journey of one's life; on the later maps death is feared, pushed to the edges, kept at arms length, or not featured on the map at all.

There are many examples of death lurking at the edges and borderlands of the geographies of Shakespeare's plays, even though many of these places are not staged. In *Hamlet*, England is at the edge of the action of the stage map; there death threatens the Prince and encounters Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. Mowbray's fear in *Richard II* that his banishment will lead to a 'speechless death' is rooted in the act of leaving England's borders (1. 3. 166). He will have to 'forgo' his language and speech in general (154). His words prove prophetic as he is never to return to England. After spending his life in battles with the enemies of mainland Europe — 'black pagans, Turks, and Saracens' — he dies in Venice, at the border of Europe and the rest of the world (4. 1. 86-88). Juliet's

reported death reaches Romeo in exile in Mantua, the furthest point *Romeo and Juliet* travels from Verona; this is where he also acquires his poison from the apothecary (5. 1). In *The Tempest*, Alonso and his party are making the long voyage back from Tunis when they are shipwrecked on the island. Gonzalo recounts how Carthage, the site of Dido's death as a result of Aeneas's departure, once stood at Tunis ('This Tunis, sir, was Carthage' (2. 1. 82)) — a rather tactless point when one considers that Alonso has just married off his daughter Claribel to the King of Tunis.<sup>90</sup> Antigonus dies in border country on a bear-infested 'desert' of Bohemia (*The Winter's Tale*, 3. 3). Othello has travelled to the ends of the earth and encountered fantastical and dangerous creatures — 'the cannibals that each other eat, / The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads / Do grow beneath their shoulders' who are featured on the Psalter and Hereford World Maps (*Othello*, 1. 3. 142-44). The majority of *Othello* is staged at an outpost against the threat of the Ottoman Empire on the edge of European civilisation. Othello's race, so often used by white Venetians instead of his name, is a pun on the Latin for death (moor / mors). Othello becomes the agent of death, and Cyprus the place of death; cartography is not on his side. In Marlowe's *Tamburlaine Part Two*, the map of the world, used to demonstrate Tamburlaine's conquests past and future, heralds his death (5. 3).

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<sup>90</sup> Stephen Orgel notes another Dido myth, an alternative to Virgil's, which does not feature Aeneas. However, Dido's suicide in this version occurs as a direct result of an enforced marriage, so it is perhaps even more inappropriate of Gonzalo to make the comparison. See his 'Introduction' to *The Tempest* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 39-42.

Characters who disrespect or ignore boundaries often meet with death. Like Richard II, Hotspur, and Richard III, Mark Antony flirts with death through his transgressive behaviour in *Antony and Cleopatra*. He crosses the boundaries that his empire erects. According to Cleopatra, 'His legs bestrid the ocean' (5. 2. 81). As he tells Octavia, he has 'not kept [his] square', and although he promises her that 'that to come / Shall all be done by th'rule' (2. 3. 6-7), he will soon break from his 'square' again. His love for Cleopatra is expressed in transgressive terms:

CLEOPATRA I'll set a bourn how far to be beloved.  
 ANTONY Then must thou needs find out new heaven, new earth.  
 (1. 1. 17).

This love is at odds with the carefully ordered and delineated Roman Empire; Cleopatra's un-Romanness, both in terms of the fact that she is an Egyptian, and because she displays un-Roman characteristics (she is passionate, she is sensual, and is a powerful woman), is seen as a threat to Rome, because of how transforms the Roman's 'triple pillar of the world [...] / Into a strumpet's fool' (1. 1. 12-13). Antony cross-dresses (2. 5. 21-23); he allows Cleopatra to put his armour on him (4. 4. 5-18); he takes advice from her instead of his leading generals; he behaves in what Romans deem an 'unmanly' fashion. His love for Cleopatra sends him over the borders of the Roman Empire and into Egypt — a world elsewhere as far as the Romans are concerned; it sends him over into the arms

of death herself. Cleopatra is often associated with death. She frequently wills death to befall her people on a biblical scale if she doesn't get her way. This kind of death is sexualised. Enobarbus mockingly recounts how he has seen Cleopatra 'die twenty times', and that 'she hath such a celerity in dying' (1. 2. 129-131). Die is a pun for orgasm; her deaths are thus linked to her sexual appetite, which makes Antony in Octavius's eyes 'not more manlike / Than Cleopatra' (1. 4. 5-6). This double meaning is evident in Scarus's wish that 'leprosy o'ertake' the 'riband-red nag of Egypt' (3. 10. 10-11); 'riband-red' suggests that Cleopatra is a whore whose face is covered with red blotches from the plague, and leprosy was commonly linked to sexual incontinence; the defeat of Antony's army is directly linked by the Romans to the fact that Cleopatra is a sexually aggressive woman (rather than a woman in the Roman mould, like Octavia). Her own death, through snake-bite, has sexual overtones; she has 'immortal longings' and imagines that she can see Antony 'rouse himself / To praise [her] noble act' (5. 2. 272-76). Cleopatra's ability to die with celerity (in both senses) directly leads to Antony's own death, which is ironically slow. The Queen of Egypt twice leads Antony into defeat; her fake death is the reason why Antony commits suicide. Antony's journeys to the edges of the known world lead him to death — at least in the terms set down by those who define the borders of the Empire.

Antony's downfall is signalled in the scene when the four soldiers on watch duty stand at the corners of the stage. This image is, as Maurice Charney



has pointed out, an emblem of 'the four corners of the earth'.<sup>91</sup> At this moment music is heard emanating from beneath the stage. This is interpreted by the soldiers as a sign that Hercules is abandoning Antony: "'Tis the god Hercules, whom Antony loved, / Now leaves him' (4. 3. 14-15). Like Hercules, Antony bears the world, and also travels to its ends and beyond; Antony calls Hercules his 'ancestor' (4. 13. 44). However, this scene undoes this image by presenting voices at the ends of the earth proclaiming Antony's imminent fall. Like the medieval *mappa mundi*, this scene places death at the ends of the map. The soldiers voice the fact that Antony is soon to die, just as the word *mors* and Christ himself on the Hereford World Map tell the viewer that he or she will soon die as well. As has been shown in previous chapters, the Shakespearean mapmaker or cartographic figure is undone, often by the map itself. The stage map of the four soldiers signifies the undoing of Antony, as the stage map created by the ghosts proclaim Richard's damnation at the hands of Richmond in *Richard III* (see chapter three, pp. 88-89). Within a few short scenes Antony will be defeated.

However, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Antony is frequently described in cartographic terms. He is described by Philo as 'the triple pillar of the world' (1. 1. 12). He describes himself as having 'quartered the world' with his sword, and 'oe'r green Neptune's back / With ships made cities' (4. 15. 57-59). Cleopatra calls him a 'demi-Atlas', in reference both to his and Octavius's rule over the

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<sup>91</sup> Maurice Charney, *Shakespeare's Roman Plays: The Function of Imagery in the Drama* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 81.

world, and to atlases, which also define the shape of the world (1. 5. 23). These cartographic references echo the map-mindedness of the Roman Empire throughout its existence. As Norman J.W. Thrower has pointed out, 'From the available evidence, the Romans appear to have been eminently practical in their own cartographic work, being concerned with maps to assist in the military, administrative, and other concerns of the empire.'<sup>92</sup> According to Thomas Elyot, Roman leaders used mapmaking 'in the rebellion of France, and the insurrection of theyr confederates'. The generals set 'up a table openly, wherin Italy was painted, to the intent that the people lokyng in it, shuld reason and consulte in whiche places hit were best to resiste or invade their enemies'.<sup>93</sup> The nineteenth century historian Charles Merivale also provides an account of the Romans' cartographic impulses, in which Julius Caesar quarters the world:

Caesar proposed to execute a complete map of the empire from actual survey. He divided the whole extent of the Roman world into four portions, and appointed men of approved science as commissioners to examine them personally throughout. The work was to be executed in the most minute manner. The Roman landsurveyors had long been familiar with the technical processes by which the inequalities of natural limits are duly measured and registered. Throughout Italy and in many of the provinces every estate was elaborately marked out on the surface of the soil, and its extent and configuration inscribed on tablets of brass, and preserved with scrupulous care.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Norman J.W. Thrower, *Maps and Civilization: Cartography in Culture and Society*, 2nd edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 24.

<sup>93</sup> Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour*, ed. by Henry Herbert Stephen Croft, 2 vols (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & co., 1883), I, 78.

<sup>94</sup> Charles Merivale, *History of the Romans Under the Empire*, 8 vols (London: Longmans Green, 1880), II, 402-3.

Augustus Caesar, wearing the papal crown, is depicted in the bottom corner of the Hereford World Map handing an edict to a group of men demanding that they go and survey the whole world. This indicates that the mapmaker attributes the map's creation, at least in part, to Roman cartographic prowess. Cartography has been frequently associated with the Roman world and is synonymous with the Empire's civic organisation and tactical skill in warfare. Many of the facets of the Roman Empire, from censuses to the extensive road system, can be attributed to this map-mindedness. Other Renaissance plays, including *Coriolanus*, discussed below, and *Cymbeline*, discussed in the final chapter, highlight these Roman associations with cartography. Despite these associations, Antony does not use maps. For one thing, the strategic advantages that Thomas Elyot claims are offered by the map are not followed by Antony, who has two disastrous military campaigns against his enemy, Octavius. However, Antony's cartographic description implicates him in the culture of the Empire he partly rules, even as he is desperate to get away from it.

These images of death that have their basis in cartography (including, of course, Queen Elizabeth's metaphor for Richard Duke of Gloucester as 'a map, the end of all') are more likely to be based on medieval cartographic ideas than contemporary ones. Whereas death imagery on *mappae mundi* is integral to their make-up, in almost all of the examples that I have used above death is merely one detail amongst many, a decorative touch, and a nod towards cartographic

convention. This does not mean that death lacks a significant presence. Death has had a significant part to play in the construction of these maps, even if mapmakers usually chose to ignore this factor. Pieter Van Den Keere's 1611 world map is indicative of this, but in one tiny detail provides an important exception. On this map, the image of death fighting with a man over an hourglass is just one of many other images. Indeed, the plethora of detail dwarfs the map itself, which virtually disappears under the welter of information. However, there is a further death-associated image on the map, which differs greatly from the other, standardised, death image. In the cartouche representing Mexicana, behind the main grouping, two groups of figures are running towards each other. Closer examination reveals these groups to be opposing forces. One group — natives of Mexico — have bows and arrows; the other — Europeans — carry flags and bare arms; a plume of gunsmoke separates the two groups. This map is similar to Petrus Plancius's *Orbis Terrarum Typus* (1594), as in the top left cartouche of this map there is a battle being fought between two massed armies. However, on this map these events are taking place in 'Europa'; on Van Den Keere's map, which commemorates Europe at peace, the war is taking place between European conquerors and natives. In this tiny detail, the map reveals the nature of its creation. Without the deaths of European soldiers and of the native population this map could never have been created. The knowledge about the world that these conquests have bestowed makes maps more and more accurate. Most printed maps attempt to mask the realities of their production, and

their relationship with death. Van Den Keere's map also features a group of Europeans, led by Magellan and Thomas Cavendish, encountering a giant in the mythical 'Magellanica' in the centre cartouche between the eastern and western hemispheres. The Europeans carry fire-arms; Magellan, ominously, is armed with a map; another is using a cross-staff to measure the height of the giant. It seems more likely that Van Den Keere is acknowledging the debt cartography owes to explorers and their life-risking voyages, rather than to those who live on these lands that are explored and exploited; in North America there is a decoration featuring the great explorers debating over a map. However, the majority of mapmakers do not even go as far as Van Den Keere. All maps negotiate the death that enabled their production, even if few choose to feature it.

This death is not necessarily literal. The act of mapping land that is unmapped by its inhabitants — that is, unmapped in terms of European cartography — is an act of cultural annexation.<sup>95</sup> As Denis Wood argues,

Mapmaking societies ... *reach out*, not of course to make maps more comprehensive (much less more truthful), but in the unfolding of the dynamic that their growth and development have helped to set in motion (and in which the cartographic enterprise is an essential and committed partner). In so doing they subsume whatever they can — the labor and other culture of those they encounter — and in this way their growth is fueled and their development pushed from without (that is, by conquest, appropriation and seduction) as well as from within. Stripped from those ... *ripped off* ... is not only their place, their energies, their

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<sup>95</sup> See Barbara Mundy's analysis of Native Indian Cartography in *The Mapping of New Spain*, or accounts of Aboriginal Australian maps in David Turnbull, *Maps Are Territories*, pp. 28-36,

knowledge about plants and animals, but their language, myths, rituals, customs and artifacts. (p. 47)

Many of the lands that death is associated with (African and American countries primarily — those countries at the end of the world) were swallowed up by Europeans from the end of the fifteenth century. The surveys commissioned by rulers (for example, Philip II of Spain, whose mapping of New Spain is briefly discussed in Chapter One) reduced far-off territories into a series of controllable grids, and their peoples to statistics. These lands and peoples become the victims of cultural death. The map is an accomplice to this process.<sup>96</sup>

Many maps represent their inhabitants. They accord to European notions of what indigenous cultures and their customs are like. They appear in relation to Europe, and often in supplication to Europe. At the top of Van Den Keere's map, all peoples of the world are supplicating to Europa, offering gifts to their mistress (as on Mercator's *Atlas* world map (1636), discussed in chapter one). In the cartouches depicting the other continents European figures feature twice. In Asia the Europeans are depicted with steely gazes next to a contrasting, head-bowed figure of a Moor in front of him; the Europeans are more interested in trade than displaying any social niceties. In Africa the European is armed with rosary and crucifix, ready to conquer through religion. A map's inhabitants are more likely to be represented off the map; they are literally displaced from their homeland, and

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<sup>96</sup> For an example of this process in action, see Brian Friel's play *Translations*, about the British Army's re-naming of Irish villages and towns in the nineteenth century under the auspices of the Ordnance Survey (London: Faber, 1981).

marginalised as decorations. The only figures on the map itself, aside from figures from mythology, allegorical figures, and famous voyagers, tend to be European ships, travelling to these lands that Europe has appropriated. In the border decorations of Van Den Keere's map depicting New World or Far Eastern cities, Europeanisation is evident, and celebrated. Pernambuco, Havana, Goa and Bantam have European ships in their harbours. In 'Abissinia', a European is welcomed onto shore by a native. These details construct the image of European mastery of the world.

Even the landscape is represented in European terms. On John Smith's map of Virginia, it is not only the inhabitants who are displaced from their homeland. The Virginian landscape is mapped in terms similar to European geography, although the landscape was (and is) very different. J.B. Harley allows for a defence of this cartographic appropriation by arguing that, 'Faced with empty spaces on the sketches and drafts they were given as models, European engravers would have filled these with the only landscape conventions familiar to them' ('Silences', p. 68). Harley continues, positing the view that this act of representation could just as easily be seen as 'a deliberate act of colonial promotion':

In essence, these maps depict a European landscape in a European engraving style but far from being actual portraits of America, they really show landscapes whose advent Europe desired and they remain silent about the true America. This sort of cartographic silence becomes an affirmative ideological act. It serves to prepare the way for European settlement. Potential

settlers see, on the map, few obstacles that are insurmountable. Least of all does the map reflect the presence of indigenous peoples and their imprint on the land [...] It is not only that they offer a promise of free and apparently virgin land – an empty space for Europeans to partition and fill – but that the image offered is of a landscape in which the Indian is silent or is relegated, by means of the map's marginal decoration, to the status of a naked cannibal. ('Silences', p. 70)

These were cannibals moreover whose 'faces were sweetened, softened, and Europeanised'; with their 'new high foreheads, puckered mouths and ringleted hair they resemble the classical figures in the German engraving tradition'.<sup>97</sup> Difference is effaced; this is not just through an act of geographical appropriation but of cultural annexation.

This discussion need not be confined to the New World. J.B. Harley writes that this tendency is present in the majority of maps in the period, including English maps:

in many of the topographical atlases of early modern Europe, especially those of the seventeenth century, but even in Mercator's and Saxton's, much of the character and individuality of local places is absent from the map. Behind the facade of a few standard signs on these atlases, the outline of one town looks much the same as that of the next; the villages are more nearly identical and are arranged in a neat taxonomic hierarchy; woodland is aggregated into a few types; even rivers and streams become reduced into a mere token of reality; objects outside the surveyor's classification of 'reality' are excluded. ('Silences', 65)

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<sup>97</sup> Karen Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580-1640*. Quoted by Harley, 'Silences and Secrecy', 70.



This did not just apply to the landscape, but the people living on it. Maps guilty of this ranged from atlases to survey maps, but undoubtedly it was the latter that affected the most people in England.

For map makers, their patrons, and their readers, the underclass did not exist and had no geography, still less was it composed of individuals. Instead, what we see singled out on these maps are people privileged by the right to wear a crown or a mitre or to bear a coat of arms or a crozier. The peasantry, the landless labourers, or the urban poor had no place in the social hierarchy and, equally, as a cartographically disenfranchised group, they had no right to representation on the map. ('Silences', 68)

Maps of estates display a kind of cultural effacement similar to the maps of the New World. Both types of map neglect their inhabitants. Garret A. Sullivan Jr. argues that

Paradoxically, the survey and plot allow a simultaneous registering and effacing of both the social and the spatial. While the lord is given more specific information on his lands and tenantry than ever before, both are deconcretized, rendered abstract, turned into objects of knowledge and power – into, that is, features of a landscape of absolute property. (p. 43)

Sullivan sees a landlord's desire to map his land as part of the ongoing cultural transformation of land politics from a moral or custom-based relationship to a 'landscape of absolute property [...] [which was] a fundamentally exploitative and acquisitive vision of land and tenantry that was perceived to threaten the entire social order and that pointed toward the era of private property' (p.12). This

plight is closely echoed in *As You Like It*. Corin's 'master is of churlish disposition' whose 'cot, his flocks, and bounds of feed / Are now on sale, and at our sheepcote now / By reason of his absence there is nothing / That you will feed on' (2. 4. 75-81). Corin's main gripe is against his landlord's absence. However, the sale of the landlord's assets would no doubt have been facilitated by a survey informing the landlord of their worth. The survey may be directly responsible for Corin's evident hunger. Bemoaning his landlord's lack of 'hospitality', he cannot offer his own. The effects of surveying are also present in the Dunstable scenes in *Woodstock*.

The threat posed by the survey and the map was felt keenly by the tenantry. Surveyors were not popular figures in England at the end of the sixteenth century. The move towards professionalism, and the survey's status as a science, elevated the surveyor's position to a master of practices that required specialised knowledge and skills. Treatises such as those of Worsop and Norden, mentioned in earlier chapters, belong to a relatively recent tradition, from John Fitzherbert's *Boke of Surveyeng* (1523) and Richard Benese's *Maner of Measuryng* (1537) to Valentine Leigh's *Moste Profitable and Commendable Science, Of Surveying of Landes, Tenements and Hereditamentes* (1577), which established surveying as a legitimate occupation. The later works state that mapmaking is an essential part of the surveyor's profession. The surveyor was increasingly allied to the landowner. The tenantry viewed him with suspicion as someone who would have a negative effect on their livelihood. This may explain

the open letter to Welsh J.P.s on behalf of Christopher Saxton. The letter, quoted in full in Chapter two, asks for 'ii or iij honest men' to secure his 'safe passage', which implies that there were several dishonest men, perhaps those who mistrusted surveyors, who would be perfectly willing to lead the surveyor astray in his calculations, and perhaps put his life at risk. It is possible to put a similar gloss on Norden's complaints about local information being sketchy; perhaps the misinformation he received was not due to ignorance but something more sinister; it was due, according to Norden, to 'their simplicitie or *partialitie*'.<sup>98</sup> In *The Surveiors Dialogue*, John Norden's farmer, who wonders why map when 'the field itself is a goodly Map' (p. 15), is won around during the course of the argument to the value of surveys and localised mapping. In real life, such a conversion is hard to imagine.

Obvious examples of this neglectful type of landlord include Arden in *Arden of Faversham*, Richard II (more so in *Woodstock* than in *Richard II*), or more marginal figures such as Corin's master. This type can be traced in Mark Antony, as he too is constantly absent and neglectful of his subjects. His carelessness is linked to his excessive behaviour. He has 'kissed away / Kingdoms and provinces' (3. 10, 7-8). Cleopatra's dream of Antony appropriately imagines that 'realms and islands were / As plates dropped from his pocket' (5. 2. 90-91). This image of almighty power reveals a reckless misuse of authority. Antony declares that Rome could 'melt' into the River Tiber (1. 1. 35). Like

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<sup>98</sup> Quoted in chapter three, p. 81; emphasis mine.

Hotspur in *I Henry IV*, he pays little attention to the people that live on this waterway. When Antony and Cleopatra are reunited after his arranged marriage to Octavius's sister Octavia, Antony gives Cleopatra lower Syria, Cyprus, and Lydia, and gives his sons Great Media, Parthia, Armenia, Syria, Sicilia and Phoenicia (3. 6. 8-16) — all lands that the Romans have recently annexed — with no thought about his responsibility towards the Empire or towards the subjects of those lands. However, Antony is also a bad landlord because he is implicated in the cartography of the Empire. Antony's quartering of the world (4. 15. 57-58) recalls the punishment of drawing and quartering that Caius Martius threatens the citizens with in *Coriolanus*: 'let me use my sword, I'd make a quarry / With thousands of these quartered slaves as high / As I could pitch my lance' (1. 1. 187-89). Mapmaking is a violent enterprise. Just as maps deny the deaths that enabled their production, there lurks beneath Antony's all-conquering self-opinion the violent truth of conquest and cartography.<sup>99</sup>

Cleopatra herself is also a bad landlord. Many of her impassioned declarations of love involve her wishing for the Nile to overflow, or some other form of calamity to affect her country. Cleopatra declares that she must make 'a several greeting' to Antony even if she would have to 'unpeople Egypt' (1. 5. 76-77). She calls for 'ink and paper' (75), just as Richard and Richmond do to draw up their battle plans in *Richard III*. On hearing news about Antony's marriage to

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<sup>99</sup> See Michael J. Shapiro *Violent Cartographies: Mapping Cultures of War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997) for an account of the relationship between maps and violence.

Octavia, Cleopatra offers the messenger 'a province' if he will 'say' tis not so' (2. 5. 68). Her response to hearing that the news of this marriage is true is 'melt Egypt into Nile, and kindly creatures / Turn all to Serpents' (78-9). When the messenger asks whether he should have lied or not, Cleopatra says she wishes he had, even if 'half my Egypt were submerged and made / A cistern for scaled snakes' as a result (95-6): 'Some innocents 'scape not the thunderbolt' (77). Both leaders display contemptuous attitudes to those who fall within the bounds of their authority.

The play also seems to be negligent in its portrayal of its peoples. Many of the criticisms about Antony and Cleopatra's conduct are delivered by messengers and common soldiers. Philo for example criticises Antony for giving up power to become a 'strumpet's fool' (1. 1. 13); Scarus is the soldier who damns Antony for kissing away kingdoms and provinces. However, as Foucault's inquisitors point out, 'province' means 'conquered land' (see chapter one, p.33). The soldier is implicated in the violent cartography of the Roman Empire. Nothing is heard in the play from the people of lower Syria, Cyprus, Lydia, Great Media, Parthia, Armenia, Syria, Cicilia or Phoenicia, or the soldiers pressed into action at Antony's behest from Lybia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Thrace, Arabia, Pont, Comagene, Mede, Lycaonia, and those commanded by 'Herod of Jewry' (3. 6. 68-75). There is only one person from the edges of the Empire who is seen on stage. In act three scene one, the body of Pacorus, son of Orodes the Parthian leader, is brought on to accompany Ventidius's victory in Syria. Pacorus has

been killed in revenge for the death of a Roman, Marcus Crassus. His corpse speaks volumes for the people living either side of the borders of the Empire who are oppressed by the Romans and the play itself. Otherwise those conquered are off the stage map. Like the printed map, the play itself does not stage those who live at the edges of its world.

However, Pacorus's body, and the death of Marcus Crassus, who had been part of the first triumvirate with Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar, have further significance. Even though Ventidius has defeated the Parthian forces of King Orodes, it has been at the cost of Roman lives. The Parthians' defeat is not complete. They have been 'jaded out o'th'field', but Ventidius doesn't take Silius's advice to follow and 'spur through Media, / Mesopotamia, and shelters whither / The routed fly' (3. 1. 34; 3. 1. 7-9). He refuses to go beyond the bounds of the Roman Empire, in case Antony thinks that he is an over-ambitious soldier, and his 'performance [...] perish[es]' (27). As the dead body and the death of the Roman general suggest, Ventidius's own life may also perish through travelling beyond the borders. This episode of the play suggests that the Empire's border areas are vulnerable. At the beginning of *Antony and Cleopatra*, Pompey has an 'empire of the sea', an ideal position from which to incite rebellion (1. 2. 169). This empire is in direct contrast to the land-based Roman Empire. Early mapping was based on coastal charts; Pompey can create a new map of the Empire from his own vantage point. The locus of vulnerability is also where the Empire should have its best defences. The ports' fortifications are rendered near useless

because those living there, who presumably have some duties in the running of the defences, are revolting against the Empire in response to the actions of Pompey and his allies. Pompey's sea exploits arouse passionate support from 'discontents' in the 'ports' (1. 4. 39), as a result of which 'the borders maritime / Lack blood to think on't' (52). It is not just the borders that are susceptible to attack. The system of roads can be linked to the mapping the landscape, as it provides ways of reaching even the most remote parts of the Empire. As Garret A. Sullivan Jr. notes, 'The Romans understood only too well that roads were crucial to the creation and management of a colonised nation: roads served to connect and bring disparate tribes and regions under military control' (p. 152). In *Antony and Cleopatra*, it becomes a way that opponents of the Empire can also use for attack. Pompey's allies Menas and Menocrates are making 'many hot inroads / [...] in Italy' (1. 4. 50-51). *Antony and Cleopatra* shows how the Roman cartographic impulse is used against the Empire.

This vulnerability can be attributed to the actions of those who are unstaged in the play — the dispossessed, those written off the map. Even though they remain unstaged, their threat of rebellion affects the course of the play. At the beginning of *Antony and Cleopatra*, Fulvia, who never appears, is waging war. The unseen Labienus is leading a Parthian force and has 'extended Asia' from the Euphrates and Syria to Lydia and Ionia (1. 2. 88-92). King Orodes is also never seen on stage. His son's body speaks for all of these dispossessed, and against their absolute removal from the stage-map. Whereas the map can

wipe away vestiges of life and death, pushing them to the edge or into decorations, the stage consistently undermines this. The boundary lines are open to dissolution by the people who are affected by them. The play may be concerned with the plight of a handful of characters, but, as Brecht suggests, this does not keep lesser characters silent at the edges of the action, however small their contribution. As in *King Lear*, the map is used to make the audience 'stop and think'. At the centre of *Antony and Cleopatra* are two rulers who desire to dissolve physical and emotional boundaries — Antony, who wishes Rome to melt into the Tiber, and Cleopatra, who wishes the Nile to drown her country. Both bad landlords transgress and disrespect boundaries as well. In the middle of the play (3.1) lies the body of Pacorus, the play's symbol for the many deaths experienced at the margins of the known world.

In *Coriolanus*, another play that is set in map-minded Rome, this process is taken even further. The Senator of Corioles renders boundaries ineffectual.

We'll break our walls  
 Rather than they shall pound us up. Our gates,  
 Which yet seem shut, we have but pinned with rushes.  
 They'll open of themselves. (1. 4. 16-19)

The walls of Corioles are perishable and the senator seems to be willing destruction on his city in order to defend it. It is as if they have already been consigned to being useless. Coriolanus's 'banishment' then show how walls are



transitory and transparent. Before being escorted to the gates, he launches a savage attack on the citizens of Rome:

You common cry of curs, whose breath I hate  
 As reek o'th'rotting fens, whose loves I prize  
 As the dead carcasses of unburied men  
 That do corrupt my air: I banish you.  
 [...] Despising  
 For you the city, thus I turn my back.  
 There is a world elsewhere. (3. 3. 124-139)

By banishing the citizens from him Coriolanus is in effect rendering the walls of Rome insignificant. He is declaring that he is Rome — the only person who displays true Romanness. Rome is defined by what lies within its bounds, its walls, or its borders, in opposition to those who dwell without — the Volscians, the Persian armies, or the Goths in *Titus Andronicus*. Rome is the world and everything else must be warded off or conquered. Declaring that there is a world elsewhere dissolves the walls of Rome itself. It admits to otherness, which Coriolanus is about to fully embrace by joining forces with the Volscies. Walls and boundaries are erected or marked to keep other people out; the action of *Coriolanus*, like that of *Antony and Cleopatra*, questions their efficacy. Plays about Rome, a city concerned with either protecting or extending its boundaries, show not only are these boundaries points of vulnerability but are also useless and meaningless.

## **'SOME NATURAL NOTES ABOUT HER BODY': INNOGEN AND THE WILD WELSH**

The last chapter travelled to the edges of the known world and beyond. This chapter journeys into the interior of the wilderness and of the human body. In *Cymbeline*, Innogen is mapped by men. However, her status and her gender consistently subvert the mapping position. Similarly Wales resists the mapping processes imposed on it both by the invading party from Rome and by characters based in the English court. For the characters in the play the Welsh landscape is confusing and misleading; as a stage map it is inconsistent, and denies the audience a firm grasp of how the landscape fits together. The position of mountains, of the sea, of Belarius's cave, of the narrow lane, of the Welsh themselves, and of Milford Haven is obfuscated. The stage allows for these forms of dissident landscaping, which threaten other more dominant forms of landscape. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, the dead body of Pacorus speaks for all of those who have been dispossessed through cartography. In *Cymbeline*, the living body is a site of resistance to cartography, through its relationship with landscape, and its presence on the stage. To begin with, I will investigate the metaphorical links between bodies and landscapes.

Shakespeare often uses the map as a metaphor for the body, or for parts of the body. This stems from the idea that the body is a microcosm of the whole

world, which is frequently voiced in the period; Robert Fludd's *Utriusque Cosmi Historia* (1617) is one of many examples to do so. Menenius, for example, uses the map as a metaphor for the state in *Coriolanus*; his fable maps Roman politics onto a body (1. 1. 79-152). This idea facilitates other images in Shakespeare's plays, such as Lavinia being described as a 'map of woe, that thus dost talk in signs' (*Titus Andronicus*, 3. 2. 12). This idea also extends to parts of the body. Menenius makes specific use of the map metaphor when he refers to his face as 'the map of his microcosm' (2. 1. 56). Maria refers to Malvolio smiling 'his face into more lines than is in the new map with the augmentation of the Indies' (*Twelfth Night*, 3. 2. 67-68). Henry VI, in *The First Part of The Contention*, sees in his uncle Humphrey Duke of Gloucester's 'face [...] / The map of honour, truth, and loyalty' (3. 1. 202-203). In sonnet 68, the narrative voice describes the object of desire's 'cheek [as] the map of days outworn'. In all these instances the face is the microcosm of the human body, which in turn is a microcosm of the whole world. While these images derive from the idea of the microcosm/macrocosm, they also show how the body is subject to the gaze, as the landscape is subject to the surveyor's gaze. In *The Rape of Lucrece*, Tarquin sees 'life's triumph in the map of death' in the hair of the prone Lucrece, while he is gazing at her before her rape (402). Her breasts are compared to 'ivory globes circled with blue / A pair of maiden worlds unconquerèd' (407-8); their shape forms an image of a map of the western and eastern hemispheres. Her body is a site for conquest, enabled by the mapping process that precedes this conquest.

As the body is often expressed cartographically, land is often expressed anatomically. This is especially evident in Shakespeare's English History plays, where land, and often England itself, is analogous to the body or parts of the body. The body in question is almost always female; it is possible to see this trait in the examples in chapter one of the female personifications of the continents on the frontispiece of Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (see chapter one, p. 22). England is sometimes imagined as fertile and maternal. In *Richard II*, Bolingbroke bids 'adieu' to the 'sweet soil' which has been his 'mother' and his 'nurse' (1. 3. 269-270). This image is also part of John of Gaunt's prophecy ('This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings' (2. 1. 51)). The body/landscape analogy is also evoked in moments of crisis, and at moments of vulnerability. In *Henry VI*, Joan La Pucelle asks the French Army to 'look on fertile France':

Behold the wounds, the most unnatural wounds,  
Which thou thyself hast given her woeful breast [...]  
One drop of blood drawn from thy country's bosom  
Should grieve thee more than streams of foreign gore. (3. 7. 44-55)

In *Richard III*, Richmond, near Tamworth in Staffordshire, declares that his troops have marched 'thus far into the bowels of the land' (5. 2. 3). England is imagined as a passive body; Richmond's advance is sexualised. Henry IV imagines an England as both virginal and violated, literally deflowered by enemies of the state.

No more the thirsty entrance of this soil  
 Shall daub her lips with her own children's blood.  
 No more shall trenching war channel her fields,  
 Nor bruise her flow'rets with the armèd hoofs  
 Of hostile paces (*I Henry IV*, 1. 1. 5-9)

In *2 Henry IV*, the King asks his noblemen to 'perceive the body of our kingdom, / How foul it is, what rank diseases grow, / And with what danger near the heart of it' (3. 1. 37-39). The Earl of Warwick insists instead that 'it is but as a body yet distempered' (40). Whereas Gaunt's damnation of England blames her violation on the King, Henry IV's blames the body itself. In these examples the land is imbued with feminine qualities. It has a womb, is a nurse, has breasts, and sheds blood, is sick and rank. It is either a rape victim, a virgin (and hence potential rape-victim), or a mother. It is also 'distemperate', which, according to most physicians and anatomists of the period (following Aristotle and Galen), is a typical female trait. Aristotle considered women 'more jealous, more querulous, more apt to scold and to strike, [...] more prone to despondency, and less hopeful, [...] more void of shame or self-respect, more false of speech, more deceptive, and of more retentive memory than the man', on the basis of her physiognomy.<sup>100</sup> Ludovic Mercatus wrote that insatiable female lust is caused by 'a hot distemper of the womb'.<sup>101</sup> Therefore, in this instance, England

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<sup>100</sup> 'The History of Animals', in *The Works of Aristotle*, ed. by David Ross, 12 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908-52), IV (1910), 608b, l. 14-18.

<sup>101</sup> 'On the Common Conditions of Women', *Gynacea* (1597), extract in *Renaissance Woman: Constructions of Femininity in England*, ed. by Kate Aughterson (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 51-54 (p. 53).

is effectively described as a whore, whose disease is of its own making. On the one hand the feminine landscape is strong, maternal and whole, on the other it is weak, vulnerable, and untrustworthy.

In this chapter I will be examining how the female body is the object of the gaze, and how it is presented in both cartographic and anatomical terms. As Peter Stallybrass has noted, the association between women and land is often evoked because 'economically, she is the fenced-in enclosure of the landlord, her father, or husband'.<sup>102</sup> The wife or daughter is a possession, a commodity. For example, in *Cymbeline*, Innogen is a commodity, whose worth is calculated by the two men who wager over her. She is valued by Posthumus and Giacomo at 'ten thousand ducats' (1. 4. 133). However the female is not physically bound to this enclosure. As Jessica in *The Merchant of Venice*, Rosalind in *As You Like It*, Hermia in *The Winter's Tale*, and Innogen all prove, the female can escape. Similarly, as Stallybrass notes in connection with Marlowe's *The Massacre of Paris* scene 19, the woman can be 'too free' (p. 128). As Othello, Claudio in *Much Ado About Nothing*, and Leontes in *The Winter's Tale* believe, men are liable to be dispossessed of their 'property', as a result of its (or her) excess liberality. Therefore there is a paradox in the relationship between the

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<sup>102</sup> Peter Stallybrass, 'Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed', in *Rewriting the Renaissance: the Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, Nancy J. Vickers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 123-142 (p. 127). Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

relationship between the land and the female body:

When women were themselves the objects to be mapped out, virginity and marital “chastity” were pictured as fragile states to be maintained by the surveillance of wives and daughters. But paradoxically the normative “Woman” could become the emblem of the perfect and impermeable container, and hence a map of the integrity of the state. The state, like the virgin, was a *hortus conclusus*, an enclosed garden walled off from enemies. (Stallybrass, p.129)

The enclosure is imagined as both prone and inviolable. Indeed, the moment it has been possessed, and hence enclosed, by the male — the moment it has become a commodity — is the moment when it is most vulnerable. The female body enters the market place at the moment it has been mapped. It is able to be bought, and re-mapped as someone else’s commodity. Posthumus Leonatus believes that Innogen, his wife, has been ‘free’ with Giacomo as a result of their financial transaction (a bet). As a result he believes that his mother must have been similarly loose. He uses financial terminology to describes how ‘some coiner with his tools / Made me a counterfeit’ (2. 5. 5-6). The examples from the History plays show how this dichotomy of feminine vulnerability and wholeness is enacted. *Cymbeline* is also involved in this discourse, and imagines ways in which one sense of femininity endangers the other, and hence endangers male hierarchy and lineage.

Discourses on the body and discourses on the landscape are analogous, and often linked. In this period information about both, and the ways of observing

and recording both, were greatly advanced. Map accuracy in this period had become considerably greater as new methods and instruments were invented and propagated. Similarly, information about the body achieved through dissection in the many anatomy theatres that had sprung up across Europe in the sixteenth century had also improved. If one looks at, for example, the work of Vesalius or Gabriel Harvey, the detail shown is recognisable to us in the age of X-Rays. This pioneering work is often compared to the travels of those other pioneers, the voyagers, adventurers, and mercenaries who forged new geographies and expanded the world, facilitating greater accuracy on the early modern printed map. The expansion of knowledge about the body in the sixteenth century echoes the literal expansion of the 'known' world:

[natural philosophers] found themselves wandering within a geographical entity. The body was territory, an (as yet) undiscovered country, a location which demanded from its explorers skills which seemed analogous to those displayed by the heroic voyages across the terrestrial globe [...] Like the Columbian explorers, these early discoverers dotted their names, like place-names on a map, over the terrain which they encountered. In their voyages, they expressed the intersection of the body and the world at every point, claiming for the body an affinity with the complex design of the universe. This congruence equated scientific endeavour with the triumphant discoveries of the explorers, cartographers, navigators, and early colonialists.<sup>103</sup>

Mapping these new 'countries' were ways of conquering them. The body was

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<sup>103</sup> Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 23-4. Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.



controlled by the anatomist, through dissection, naming, and establishing difference; the land was controlled by enforcing a grid system through which everything could be contained. Land therefore is a metaphor for the body, and vice versa; the map mediates between the two. The mapping process is an act of dissection.

In a wager with Giacomo, Posthumus bets that his friend cannot 'make [a] voyage upon' Innogen — that he cannot sleep with her (1. 4. 138-39). The seduction — the possession of her body — is compared to New World discoveries. Giacomo believes that he can gain 'knowledge' of her body — 'terra incognita' to him and also to Posthumus. In *Cymbeline* act two scene two, Giacomo maps the layout of Innogen's bedroom, and the body of the sleeping Innogen:

But my design –  
 To note the chamber. I will write all down.  
*[He writes in his tables]*  
 Such and such pictures, there the window, such  
 Th'adornment of her bed, the arras, figures,  
 Why, such and such; and the contents o'th' story. (23-27)

Giacomo surveys her room. Like a surveyor, he is selective in his evidence ('such and such'), as the 'map' he will present to Posthumus to claim his victory needs only to display certain signs that will make the landscape of the body recognisable:

Ah, but some natural notes about her body  
 Above ten thousand meaner movables  
 Would testify t'enrich mine inventory. (28-30)

Giacomo's ploy is cunning. Posthumus finally accepts his account of Innogen's seduction when he is presented with anatomical proof. This 'voucher' is evidence 'stronger than ever law could make' (40):

On her left breast  
 A mole, cinque-spotted, like the crimson drops  
 I'th'bottom of a cowslip. (37-39)

Giacomo's description will make Posthumus believe that he has 'picked the lock and ta'en / The treasure of her honour' (41-42). The mole is sufficient evidence that Posthumus has been dispossessed. He is fooled by anatomical evidence, which he interprets as truth.

Giacomo's mapping efforts echo contemporary discoveries about the body. The autoptic act provided a new map of the female body to replace the crude anatomical drawings of earlier medical tracts. Thus accurate body maps could be made which could serve the purposes of the mapmakers (the anatomists) and their patrons. As Jonathan Sawday writes:

To open the female body was not just to embark upon a voyage of scientific discovery, but it was also to trace the lineaments of the rebellious nature of womankind. That rebellious nature could undermine the smooth transfer of material goods from one

generation to the next, just as, in the garden of Eden, it had *seemed* to undermine the divine plan itself [...] Once Eve was transported into the [anatomy] theatre, then the investigation of the origin of death was buttressed by the pressing theological, social, and scientific need to master her aberrant sexual nature. The anatomical knowledge of Eve, therefore, was perhaps a *more* important project than knowledge of Adam who was, after all, no more than the 'victim' of her unruly desires. (p. 224)

The anatomised female body could be used to understand and therefore contain its unruliness. And yet, knowledge of the inner workings of the female body in the period was limited, partly because female cadavers were harder to come by than male ones. In discourses about the body, the male was deemed to be the most important in reproduction. Some accounts of the anatomy of the female body still portrayed the sexual organs as inverted penises, following Aristotle's ideas about the differences between the male and the female, although this viewpoint was far from universally accepted in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As Kate Aughterson has noted,

Despite the increase in scientific and empirical knowledge in the sixteenth century about the skeleton and the body, discoveries about women's physiology were remarkably slow. Thus, for example, the microscopic sperm was discovered in the late seventeenth century, a few years after the use of the microscope, but the ovum was not discovered until 1827. (*Renaissance Woman*, pp. 41-2)

Most accounts of the female body reiterated Aristotelian and Galenic misogyny, even if they did not follow their anatomical designs. This lack of knowledge

threatened their ability to contain the female body. Giacomo attempts to gain possession by his eyes' demarcation of her body's landscape, but this knowledge is only skin deep. He claims he has 'had' Innogen, basing his account on what he has seen, both of her surroundings, but most importantly, of her body. His 'voyage upon her' is purely superficial. He does not possess her, and nor does Posthumus. His mapping, like anatomical mapping, never voyages into the interior.

The body and the land can map their own landscapes. Even though Innogen is 'mapped' both by Giacomo and Posthumus, she herself is a mapmaker. On hearing from Pisanio that Posthumus is 'in Cambria, at Milford Haven', she asks three questions: 'How far 'tis thither?'; 'say [...] how far it is / To this same blessed Milford?'; 'How many score of miles may we well ride / 'Twixt hour and hour?' (3. 2. 43; 50; 56-59; 67-68). These seem to be versions of the same questions, repeated in a babble of excitement at the prospect of seeing her husband again. However, as Garret A. Sullivan Jr. has suggested, there is method in her line of questioning (pp. 127-29). After her first question, she says 'if one of mean affairs / May plod it in a week, why may not I / Glide thither in a day' (50-52): her first question is enquiring about the distance between London and Milford, a fact she then dismisses when she realises that distance travelled depends on the rate of progress. Her second question is followed a few lines later by her concerns about stealing away from court, and how they will excuse 'the gap / That we shall make in time from our hence-going / Till our return' (62-

64). The journey that is to be undertaken is considered in terms of how long it will take to get to their destination. She then recognises that she needs to be able to know both measurements of distance and time, and then calculate their speed to be able to work out their journey ('How many score of miles ...') Innogen's questions are concerned with how to measure the distance from the English court to Milford Haven in miles, time, and speed. She is trying to map her and Pisanio's journey to Milford ('Accessible is none but Milford way (82)'). She also displays mapmaking instincts when travelling on the road to Milford. She maps the way to Milford which Pisanio showed her 'from the mountain-top', and asks 'two beggars' the way (3. 6. 5-9). Even when she awakens from her drug-induced sleep, the first words she speaks concern her whereabouts: 'Yes, sir, to Milford Haven. Which is the way? / I thank you. By yon bush? Pray, how far thither? / 'Od's pitykins, can it be six mile yet?' (4. 2. 293-95).

In her relationship with Posthumus it is clear that she is the more powerful partner. She is the Princess and heir, while he is a man who in the words of the First Gentlemen cannot be delved 'to the root' (1. 1. 28). He is a waif in the court of the king. Innogen's marriage is 'by her election' (1. 1. 53), not by her father's. As Janet Adelman suggests, 'Unlike the Posthumus who allows himself to be defined by events — including the event of his marriage — Imogen [*sic*] is extraordinarily forceful in defining herself and her relation to her father and

husband.'<sup>104</sup> When Posthumus leaves for Italy, Innogen imagines herself on the shoreline watching his ship depart for Rome:

I would have broke mine eye-strings, cracked them, but  
 To look upon him till the diminution  
 Of space had pointed him sharp as my needle;  
 Nay, followed him till he had melted from  
 The smallness of a gnat to air, and then  
 Have turned mine eye and wept. (1. 3. 17-22)

Innogen places herself in the position of the surveyor. Instead of seamen mapping the coastline from their boats, Innogen maps the boat from the shoreline.<sup>105</sup> When Posthumus is in Rome, he does not say anything similar imagining his last glimpses of Innogen on the shore. Innogen is in the man's position.

The positioning of the female at the centre of the scopic view is a threat to male hegemony that it must counter. The other character who displays cartographic tendencies is the Queen:

Remember, sir, my liege,  
 The kings your ancestors, together with  
 The natural bravery of your isle, which stands  
 As Neptune's park, ribbed and paled in  
 With banks unscalable and roaring waters,  
 With sands that will not bear your enemies' boats,

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<sup>104</sup> Janet Adelman, 'Masculine Authority and the Maternal Body: The Return to Origins in *Cymbeline*', in *Shakespeare: The Last Plays*, ed. by Kiernan Ryan (London: Longman, 1999), pp. 107-133 (p. 117). Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

<sup>105</sup> A comparable instance is in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, (2. 1. 123-134), when Titania recounts 'marking th'embarked traders on the flood' with the mother of the changeling boy.

But suck them up to th' topmast. (3. 1. 16-22)

Like John of Gaunt, the Queen's point of perspective over Britain is that of someone poring over a map. However, it is a woman rather than a man who has adopted (usurped) this position. Innogen also has a vision in which Britain stands alone against the rest of the world. When Pisanio suggests that she leaves Britain in fear for her life, she asks

Where then?  
 Hath Britain all the sun that shines? Day, night,  
 Are they not but in Britain? I'th'world's volume  
 Our Britain seems as of it but not in't,  
 In a great pool a swan's nest. Prithee, think  
 There's livers out of Britain. (3. 4. 135-140)

Both women think cartographically. Both argue that nature has placed Britain apart from the continent, and at the edge of the known world as defined by the Roman Empire and a world on its own. In the atlas of the world (the 'world's volume' perhaps) Britain is present but distinct.

Both these visions of an inviolable Britain are from a female perspective. There is no male presence in these images. Both women also are in relationships where they are the dominant force. Cymbeline is weak compared to his wife; he only discovers the Queen's treachery after she has died and Cornelius reveals her plot. The Queen, through her son Cloten, has managed to exclude men altogether; Cloten has no named father. Their vision of Britain

threatens to emasculate a male dominated Britain, precisely because Britain is 'unscalable' and impenetrable, and capable of producing progeny without male sperm in its 'teeming womb'. Nicholas Culpeper's *A directory for midwives* (1651) anatomises the female sexual organs in Aristotelian terms:

1. The testicles or stones of a woman are for generation of seed, where many times (if the doctors and surgeons were not high base and denied your admittance) you might see it in an anatomy, white, thick, and well concocted.
2. In the act of copulation, the woman spends her seed as well as the man, and both are united to make the conception.
3. The reason why sometimes a male is conceived, sometimes a female, is the strength of the seed: for if the man's seed be strongest, a male is conceived; if the woman's a female. The greater light obscures the lesser by the same rule, and that's the reason weakly men get mostly girls, if they get any children at all.<sup>106</sup>

If both women and men produce sperm, and the man's sperm is weak, then the child will be female; if the man's sperm is completely powerless, through impotence or castration, then might the woman be able to conceive on her own? Culpeper's analysis tantalizingly offers this possibility, although does not go so far as to admit it. The Queen offers a parthenogenic vision of the world, as she is the only woman in Shakespeare who has a fatherless child.<sup>107</sup> Innogen, as will be discussed, displays the same potential.

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<sup>106</sup> Extracted in Aughterson, pp. 57-60 (p. 60).

<sup>107</sup> Parthenogenesis can be male or female. The *OED* defines it as 'Reproduction without concourse of opposite sexes or union of sexual elements'. I will however be using it solely to define female self-reproduction. The *OED* gives as one of its examples Darwin's usage in relation to bees: 'the mature females are capable of producing eggs without concourse of the male.'



By the end of the play both women's perspectives have been diminished. According to Janet Adelman the resolution echoes Posthumus's androgenesis fantasy, where he wishes that there was a 'way for men to be' without women as 'half-workers' (2. 5. 1-2).<sup>108</sup> She reads the play as complicit with this fantasy, and returns to the episode in Innogen's bedchamber to chart her decline:

The tapestries of Imogen's bedchamber tell the story of "proud Cleopatra, when she met her Roman, / And Cydnus swell'd above the banks" (II, iv, 70-1); but *Cymbeline* is the undoing of that story, the unmaking of female authority, as much for Imogen as for the wicked queen. (*Masculine*, p. 119)

The Queen's death, and the discovery of Guiderius and Arviragus, makes Cymbeline the sole parent. He is the self-declared 'mother to the birth of three': 'Ne'er mother / Rejoiced deliverance more' (5. 6. 370-71). The discovery of the brothers means that Innogen loses 'a kingdom'. Her discovery is clearly less important to the king than the discovery of her brothers; her relationship with her father could be said to have been better when she was posing as Fidele. Indeed, her decline from a powerful female force, displacing male vantage, can be charted from the moment she puts on man's clothing. Unlike Rosalind, who is empowered by her male garb in *As You Like It*, Innogen loses the power that she has at the beginning of the play. She must 'change / Command into obedience'

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<sup>108</sup> I use the term 'androgenesis' instead of 'parthenogenesis' for the reasons given in the previous footnote. Androgenesis specifically means the process by which the embryo of the nucleus is solely of paternal origin. Janet Adelman uses the term 'male parthenogenesis'.

(3. 4. 154-55). At the beginning of the play Innogen is the heir; by the end of it she is the '*mollier aer*', the tender air, or as the Soothsayer's somewhat wayward etymology would have it, 'wife' (5. 6. 446-452). By the end of the play her status at court is reduced to airy nothing.

Reading *Cymbeline* cartographically, however, counters Adelman's claim that the play is fully complicit. Three landscapes are mapped in *Cymbeline*: Britain, by Innogen and the Queen, and presumably the Roman Empire (although this is never explicit in the play), Wales, by Innogen and Pisanio, and Innogen's body, by Giacomo and Posthumus. All three are mapped so that they can be negotiated and controlled in various ways. All three become involved in power relations and struggles which have little or nothing to do with them; they become sites for action and for conquest, but are denied autonomy by the people who are mapping them. However, even if eventually they are superseded, they are not silenced. Indeed I would argue that all three landscapes refuse to yield to the mapmaker, refuse to be mapped, and deny the feasibility of all the unions suggested in the play — the union of Innogen and Posthumus, the union of Britain and Rome and the Union of Wales and England, in the Age of Augustus and in the Age of James I.

*Cymbeline's* participation in Tudor myth-making and Stuart self-justification has long been recognised. *Cymbeline's* concentration on Milford Haven consciously echoes Henry Tudor's invasion of England in 1485, which is featured in *Richard III*. The play is also concerned with issues of unification, as a

vision of a united Britain is put forward both through the restitution of the union between Cymbeline's Britain and Rome, and also through the reestablishment of the sons of Cymbeline. This new union is linked through Jupiter's prophecy to the establishment of Great Britain. At the end of the play, the soothsayer interprets the 'stately cedar' as Cymbeline, and the 'lopped branches which, being dead many years, shall after revive, be jointed to the old stock, and freshly grow' as the lost sons (5. 6. 438-440). This seems to be making a clear reference to James I, who desired to unite England, Scotland, and Wales. The two lopped branches could be Wales and Scotland, joined to the stately cedar England: '[their] issue / Promises Britain peace and plenty' (457-8). Cymbeline's position, as father and 'mother to the birth of three', echoes James's rhetoric when he described himself as 'a loving Nurish-Father' to the Church of England, who provided 'nurish-milk' to the common wealth.<sup>109</sup> James I can also be associated with Jupiter, as he was keen to propagate a vision of Great Britain with Roman Imperial overtones. Associating James with Henry Tudor, who united Britain after years of civil war, and associating him with Jupiter, who in this play delivers a prophecy which espouses unification, seems to indicate that the play is supportive of James's wishes. The soothsayer suggests that Britain's greatness will supersede that of her Roman masters:

For the Roman eagle,  
From south to west on wing soaring aloft,

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<sup>109</sup> *Basilicon Doran* (Edinburgh: Robert Waldgrave, 1599; repr. Menston: The Scolar Press, 1969), p. 51.

Lessened herself, and in the beams o'th'sun  
 So vanished; which foreshowed our princely eagle  
 Th'imperial Caesar should again unite  
 His favour with the radiant Cymbeline,  
 Which shines here in the west. (470-76)

The roman eagle, as it travels towards Britain, disappears in the distance in the sun. The Western Island is now the source of the light of the world; it appears to be a glorious (patriarchal) new dawn.

This account of the play ignores many significant anomalies. The comparison between James and Cymbeline is not flattering. Cymbeline is frequently shown to be weak, vacillating, and dominated, and is not the central character in his own story. The comparison between James and Jupiter is also not necessarily a complimentary one. As Simon Palfrey notes, 'Jove, riding on an eagle, delivering sulphurous but ultimately benevolent thunderbolts, evokes the iconography of James; so too does the god's pedantic self-advertising, and his compulsion to declare his prerogative in print.'<sup>110</sup> Jupiter's effect on the narrative is minimal, and his prophecy is interpreted after the action of the play has revealed its mistaken and false identities. Jupiter is earlier invoked to describe Posthumus's 'Jovial face', which has been cut off (4. 2. 313). The image of unity is also an image of dislocation and of poor mapping (it is Cloten's face that is in fact missing): '[the head] remains the floating signifier of Britain's dilated, dilatory authority' (Palfrey, p. 250).

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<sup>110</sup> Simon Palfrey, *Late Shakespeare: A New World of Words* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 244. Subsequent citations are referenced in the text.

Commentators in the period, far from propagating the Tudor myth, were considerably ambivalent towards Henry Tudor's 'triumph'. Many cannot decide whether his entry into Britain at Milford Haven makes him a lawful saviour or an unlawful invader. John Speed's 1601 map 'The Invasions of England and Ireland with all their civill warrs since the Conquest' includes Henry's entrance into Britain through Milford Haven. Milford consistently proved a weak link in the English chain of defence. In 1595, the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant of Wales, wrote to George Owen, the noted Welsh cartographer:

My Good Cousin, I have long expected to have received from you a map of Milford Haven. There is now great occasion to use it and therefore [...] I must earnestly desire you with all possible speed to send it [...] I pray you be very careful to make your scale perfect for thereby shall I be able to know the true distance of places which unknown will either make void or make fruitless all our endeavours [...] First take truly the breadth of the entrance of the haven. Secondly the distances of one place to be fortified from another. Thirdly what places every fortification may annoy. Forget not to note in how many places you shall conceive fortifications to be needful and set down everything you shall think in this case meet to be considered of and provided for [...] Your plots shall be shown to Her Majesty for as I know you can better any that I have yet seen, so shall Her Majesty know both what you can do and what you will do.<sup>111</sup>

Owen was a man who could recognise the potential dangers at Milford Haven. In 1587 he and Sir Thomas Perrot were elected deputy lieutenants of

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<sup>111</sup> Quoted in B.G. Charles, *George Owen of Henllys: A Welsh Elizabethan* (Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales Press, 1973), p. 154.

Pembrokeshire and given 500 men to defend Milford Haven against any Spanish force. The urgency of the Earl's letter, and the worry that Owen, a more than able cartographer who would in 1603 produce his *Description of Pembrokeshire*, may forget to include the distances between fortifications, or may not be clear in his measurements, and the fact that this project had to be approved by the Queen herself, shows how great the paranoia was. In 1603, only six or seven years before the first performance of *Cymbeline*, Guy Fawkes made an embassy to the Spanish Court, trying to persuade the Spanish to launch an invasion at Milford Haven. Significantly on Saxton's wall map published in 1583, a battle is raging in the Irish Sea at the mouth of Milford Haven. Rather than being a place of unification, Milford Haven was a locus of anxiety.

Anxiety about English vulnerability did not stop at Milford Haven. Wales as a whole was a source of anxiety. Wales had been incorporated into England in 1536, but this control was largely nominal, as 'the country continued to have a degree of administrative distinctiveness, and its ruling class developed political loyalties which had Welsh characteristics'.<sup>112</sup> The connection between the Welsh and English nobles had been established by Henry VII, who, as Terence Hawkes points out, was himself Welsh.<sup>113</sup> This precipitated an influx of Welsh noblemen into the English court who still prevailed in the Jacobean court; the Cecil family, for example, had Welsh origins. However, in the eyes of many English these

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<sup>112</sup> John Davies, *A History of Wales* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994), p. 225.

<sup>113</sup> Terence Hawkes, 'Bryn Glas', in *Post-Colonial Shakespeares*, ed. by Ania Loomba and Martin Dorkin (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 117-140 (p.125).

nobles could not always be relied upon, which is reflected in the stage representations of Welsh men and women in the period. Owain Glyndwr 'was trained up in the English court' (*I Henry IV*, 3. 1. 119); his campaigns dogged the English King for much of his reign. In Marlowe's *Edward II*, the complex relationship between Welsh and English nobility is expressed through the character of Rhys Ap Howell, who is instrumental in the capture of the traitor Spencer. He enters the play declaring 'God save Queen Isabel and her princely son!' (4. 5. 55). He is entrusted by Mortimer to 'do good service to her majesty' (83). However, this service is to capture the King, which happens in the following scene. Thus the Welsh nobleman is involved in a rebellion against a lawful king, by working in allegiance with Mortimer, the traitor. The Welsh commonalty's trustworthiness was also questionable. The Earl of Tyrone used Welsh resentment in his rebellion in Ireland, stirring up memories of the defeat of Lluellen, the last true Prince of Wales, in the reign of Edward I. As George Owen noted in his *Description*, language barriers meant that the English and Welsh in Pembrokeshire lived apart, and distrusted one another: 'yet do these two nations keep each from dealings with the other [...] so that you shall find in one parish a pathway, parting the Welsh and English, and the other one side speak all English, the other all Welsh, and differing in tilling and in measuring of their land, and divers other matters.'<sup>114</sup> Despite being neighbours, the Welsh and the English were worlds apart.

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<sup>114</sup> Quoted in Ronald J. Boling 'Anglo-Welsh Relations in *Cymbeline*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 51, no. 1 (Spring 2000), 33-66 (42).

The Wales of *Cymbeline* is outside British jurisdiction. Cymbeline can only promise Lucius an escort 'till he have crossed the Severn' (3. 5. 17). He cannot give him a 'conduct over land to Milford Haven' (8); as soon as he crosses the border of Wales at the River Severn he is on his own. However, in the Britain imagined by the Queen, Wales and Scotland are clearly included but their individuality is not defined. Even though Cymbeline's kingdom is called Britain, probably because of the ancient Britons, Britain here means England. Wales and Scotland are absorbed into this map. However, in the reality of the play Wales is problematic. The land of Cymbeline's 'Britain' refuses to yield to this unification. The Welsh landscape is impossible to annex or assimilate. Significantly, the only character in any of Shakespeare's plays to acknowledge the Welsh and Scottish presence on a map of Britain is Owain Glyndwr (*I Henry IV*, 3. 1. 42-44; see chapter two).<sup>115</sup>

Wales is also, as Innogen discovers, impossible to accurately map. It is confusing, and does not present the kind of landscape she expects:

Milford,  
When from the mountain-top Pisanio showed thee,  
Thou wast within a ken. (3. 6. 4-6)

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<sup>115</sup> Terence Hawkes makes a case for Lear dividing a map of Great Britain rather than England, drawing on the fact that Albany is an old word for Scotland, and the kingdom of Cornwall once encompassed much of the south west of England and included Wales; this may make him another example. See *Meaning By Shakespeare* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 125.



Her earlier calculations — her assessment of distance, time, and speed — do not take into account the kind of terrain she will be encountering. She imagines she will ‘glide thither’ across terrain which is as flat as the stage, and as flat as a map sheet. Her expectations are not met.<sup>116</sup> Even people are hard to identify, as is evident when Innogen mistakes the bodies of Cloten and Posthumus. Despite what Cloten and Pisanio may think, the landscape is impossible to map ‘truly’ (4. 1. 2). The stage-map of Wales is similarly evasive. It is impossible to tell quite where Milford Haven is in relation to everywhere else. Belarius’s cave seems not to be at Milford Haven, even though it must be very close. Cloten’s body is thrown ‘into the creek / Behind [their] rock’ so that it can flow into the sea (4. 2. 152-53). If the cave was at Milford Haven, then surely it would be just as easy to throw the body straight into the sea. This suggests that there is some distance between the cave and the shore. Earlier, when Belarius imagines Guiderius and Arviragus ‘up yon hill’ looking down at him treading ‘these flats’, he does not indicate that their view will encompass the sea (3. 3. 10-12). Innogen’s ‘ken’ (quoted above) does not include water. However, later in the same scene, moments before Lucius finds Innogen/Fidele with the body of Cloten, a Roman captain informs him that ‘the legions garrisoned in Gallia / After [his] will have crossed the sea, attending / [him] *here at Milford Haven* with your ships’ (4. 2. 335-37; my emphasis). As Terence Hawkes has pointed out, the Welsh name for Milford Haven, Aberdaugleddyth, contains the seeds of these confusions:

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<sup>116</sup> Compare this for example with Northumberland and Bolingbroke’s attempts to find Berkeley Castle in *Richard II* (2. 3. 4-5; see chapter two).

*Aberdaugleddyth* is, almost literally, a contradiction in terms. A Welsh place-name, it refers to two identities in the guise of one, or a point at which two separate things remain in unresolved suspension, so that they can be simultaneously glimpsed in a single word. For *Aberdaugleddyth* nominates the mouth or confluence (*Aber*) of two (*dau*) streams, which jointly form the estuary of the Eastern and Western Cleddau rivers.<sup>117</sup>

The geography of *Cymbeline's* Milford conflates varieties of landscapes. When the Romans invade, the imagined landscape shifts from being mountainous and rugged to a little lane which is capably defended by, and hence only wide enough for, three men. The lane is not a Roman style road but 'ditched, and walled with turf' (5. 5. 14). It is as if the land itself is refusing to yield to the Roman invasion.

Between AD 48 and AD 79, the Wild Welsh resisted Roman invasion by taking to the hills and using guerrilla tactics by which, as John Davies notes, 'a small group of men could pin down large forces': 'the guerrilla methods of the men of the mountains were unfamiliar to the invaders' (*Wales*, p. 30). In *Cymbeline*, the Welsh people's resistance to the Roman invasion is non-existent. Nor is there any support either for the British or invading forces. This perhaps goes without saying because no Welsh people are staged in this play. Although Guiderius and Arviragus have been brought up as Polydore and Cadwal, they have little affinity with their 'Welsh' lifestyle (with one important exception, when

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<sup>117</sup> Terence Hawkes, 'Aberdaugleddyf', *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 136 (2000), 56-73 (57).

Guiderius wildly slays Cloten). Nevertheless the Welsh people do make a significant impact on the landscape of the play. I have already quoted Innogen's two beggarly guides. However, because Innogen is lost, their guidance is assumed to have been untrustworthy: 'Will poor folks lie / That have afflictions on them, knowing 'tis / A punishment or trial' (3. 6. 9-11). Cloten taunts Guiderius that he and his family are 'villain mountaineers', and that he is 'a robber, / A law-breaker, a villain [...and] thief', and finally a 'rustic mountaineer' (4. 2. 73; 76-77; 102). Guiderius lives up to this reputation, even if he has English royal blood, by killing Cloten and chopping off his head. Innogen tells Lucius that Posthumus (i.e. Cloten) has been 'slain' by 'mountaineers' (372). Clearly the off-stage mountain dwellers are not to be trusted; they have a reputation for violent behaviour towards travellers, and are feared because they refuse to obey English law and customs. The letter that accompanied Christopher Saxton in Wales requested two or three 'honest men' to guide him in each place; the image of many Welsh in English eyes was that they were violent, villainous, and treacherous. Honesty would have been at a premium.

The Wild Welsh were a particular kind of threat. Innogen's apportioning of blame for what she believes is Posthumus's death on Welsh 'mountaineers' is significant. The removal of the Englishman's head, the 'map' of his body, indicates in microcosm how the Welsh threaten the body of Britain itself. They resist any form of unification by effectively tearing up the map of the body and by extension of the whole island. However, this incident can be taken to a further

level by considering the sexual dimension of Cloten's death. Cloten is travelling to Wales in order to scupper the plan of Posthumus and Innogen to rendezvous at Milford Haven, He intends to decapitate Posthumus and then rape Innogen:

Posthumus, thy head which now is growing upon thy shoulders  
shall within this hour be off, thy mistress enforced, thy garments  
cut to pieces before thy face. (4. 1. 13-15)

Thus decapitation and sex are linked; Posthumus will be killed and then cuckolded. Cloten's line, 'Out, sword, and to a sore purpose', underscores the violent *double entendre* of the act (19). The beheading of Cloten is similarly sexualised – or rather de-sexualised. Cloten's death is a form of castration. The Welsh mountaineers, who are blamed for this death — and Guiderius behaves like a Welshman by slaughtering Cloten, even if he isn't one — threaten emasculation, both of male bodies and of the male dominated state.

Another example of this anxiety comes in *I Henry IV*, when Westmorland recounts the atrocities at the battle of Bryn Glas:

the noble Mortimer,  
Leading the men of Herefordshire to fight  
Against the irregular and wild Glyndwr,  
Was by the rude hands of that Welshman taken,  
A thousand of his people butcherèd,  
Upon whose dead corpse' there was such misuse,  
Such beastly shameless transformation,  
By those Welshwomen done as may not be  
Without much shame retold or spoken of. (1. 1. 38-46)

I say 'recount', but of course, like Holinshed, Westmorland deems this act of mutilation distinctly X-rated. This 'transformation' involved the removal of the dead soldiers' penises and noses, which were then repositioned in their mouths and anuses respectively. This act of castration, this act of body mutilation, is performed by Welshwomen. It is not surprising that Westmorland cannot stomach this news. Wales threatens to emasculate the English cause, which is to defeat rebellion and establish a unified patriarchy, where England becomes Britain, hopefully Great.

Both Guiderius and Glyndwr, who have links with the English court, perform or enable acts of mutilation. These acts are evident even on a much smaller scale. The Welsh voice of Lady Mortimer, Glyndwr's daughter, induces her English husband to 'melt' (3. 1. 207). Like Aristotle's female, he is given to feminine (and therefore weak) compassion, instead of remaining the resolute male:

thy tongue  
 Makes Welsh as sweet as ditties highly penned,  
 Sung by a fair queen in a summer's bower  
 With ravishing division, to her lute. (203-206)

'Ravishing division' is the Welsh threat — to the male sensibility, to the male member, to the English kingdom, united Britain. Wales is feared because of its feminine, and its brutal, foreign nature. In two examples, English noblemen

(Guiderius and Mortimer) are infected by Welshness. Wales is also feared because without the co-operation of the Welsh England is more vulnerable to invasion.

The Welsh resistance to union, to invasion, and to cartography — through its people and its landscape — has great implications for Innogen. There are two cartographic clues in the final scene that suggest that her denigration has not been total. Firstly, her status has not been diminished in comparison to Posthumus. Cymbeline describes the couple's embrace after recognition as Posthumus anchoring on Innogen, which suggests that Innogen is the land and that Posthumus is a ship. In a disputed passage (5. 6. 262-63), Innogen may be telling her husband to imagine himself 'upon a rock', which I read as inviting him to embrace her (as this 'rock'); Innogen is therefore saying that it is not possible for Posthumus, having recognised her, to then 'throw [her] again', as her weight, or power, or emotional hold over him — as a rock — stops him from doing this.<sup>118</sup> She is greater and more substantial than her husband. Cymbeline describes her throwing her 'eye / On him, her brothers, me, her master, hitting / Each object with a joy' (5. 6. 395-97). The violence of this expression contradicts her 'harmless lightning'. She still has power, and Cymbeline may be acknowledging this. She has not been reduced simply to an object of others' gazes, but has, as before, a gaze of her own. When her father points out that she has lost the kingdom, she replies that she has 'got two worlds'. This expansive world-view,

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<sup>118</sup> I am adopting F's reading of 'rock' as opposed to the oft amended 'lock', as in wrestling hold.

however, is propagated by the only woman on stage. For everybody else the world only consists of Britain and Rome.

These moments may seem slight in the face of all the other evidence in this scene which suggest that Innogen has been successfully contained. The threat of female power to male lineage has been countered by the discovery of the brothers and the reconciliation of her marriage. The description of Posthumus anchored on her is made by her father, who has effectively cut her out of power. However, there are further clues to counter this version of the end of the play. It comes in the form of Hercules. Hercules is evoked twice in the middle of the play in relation to the decapitated body of Cloten. Guiderius says that 'not Hercules / Could have knocked out his brains, for he had none' (4. 2. 115-16). A short while later, Innogen, believing the body to be Posthumus's, uses the image of Hercules to describe his 'brawns' (313). The multiplicity of the meaning of Hercules, both hero and trickster, is present here. Hercules is invoked when a body is believed to be heroic; when that body is seen on-stage it is revealed to be unheroic, frail, and human. But, as Erica Sheen has demonstrated, the body of Hercules haunts act four scene two.<sup>119</sup> By closely comparing the scene of Innogen's awakening to Hercules' in Jasper Heywood's translation of Seneca's *Hercules Furens*, Sheen shows how Hercules is associated with Cloten, Posthumus (by bodily comparison), and Innogen herself, who, like Hercules, awakens from a stupor to

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<sup>119</sup> Erica Sheen, "The Agent For His Master": Political Service and Professional Liberty in *Cymbeline*, in *The Politics of Tragicomedy: Shakespeare and After*, ed. by Gordon McMullan and Jonathan Hope (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 55-76

discover the slaughtered body of her beloved. Innogen and Hercules are also both cartographically inclined. Innogen's own body is enhanced through this Herculean analogy, even while she is describing another's Herculean qualities. Cloten's body is unable to live up to this description, and nor is Posthumus's, because they are merely mortal. Through Innogen's mistake, one cancels the other out; Posthumus's body is not Herculean, because this body is in fact Cloten's; Cloten's cannot be Herculean, because Innogen imagines that this body is Posthumus's. In Innogen's case, the body on stage is both real and a further lie; the actor playing her is male. Her body in the world of the play is strengthened by comparing it to Hercules, whereas the bodies of Cloten and Posthumus are weak or destroyed. At the end of the play, Innogen reveals that she is not Fidele; she reclaims her femininity, and reclaims her body. Innogen's near silence (and silencing) at the end of the play is countered by the loud presence of her body, which has not been violated or destroyed. At the end her body has not only been recognised but re-feminised. Her body still displays her power, even if her words cannot.

Innogen, like the Welsh landscape, has refused to be mapped, and refused to be fully assimilated. The Welsh presence in the play is significant, even if no Welsh bodies feature on stage. Innogen's body is maintained on stage, despite efforts to negate it, or to violate it. It is instructive to consider the fact that Innogen was the name of wife of Brutus, the ancient founder of Britain (hence why like *The Oxford Shakespeare* I use this spelling rather than



'Imogen'). Her marriage may make her analogous to Wales; as Innogen was married to Brutus, so Wales is married to Britain. This analogy is problematised because Innogen and Wales refuse to be fully united with Britain and the court. This is not because Innogen is adulterous, even though Posthumus and Giacomo stigmatise her with this accusation. She has not been unfaithful to Posthumus with Giacomo; she has not even consummated her marriage, as Posthumus reveals: 'Me of my lawful pleasure she restrained, / And prayed me oft forbearance' (2. 5. 9-10). Innogen will not bear Posthumus bastard issue; she will not threaten male hegemony by producing a child with different father to her husband. A further analogy offers itself because of her virginity. Innogen is the whole of Britain, the 'rock' that Posthumus is imagined throwing his love down from, the island that he is anchored to. This island, compellingly, is mapped not on patriarchal terms. It is island of itself, with the man tenuously anchored to her. It is an island that exists without men, which has a will to expand and conquer, which can imagine worlds elsewhere. Innogen's very presence on stage exudes this possibility of a new, feminine anatomy of Great Britain; the possibility of the parthenogenic threat of the Queen is still present. Wales and Innogen present a new body of Britain, a 'womb' for queens, emasculating through their own sense of division, negating the necessity for male members.

## CONCLUSION

In Part One of this study I discussed the ways in which the map is associated with power. I have shown how characters have attempted to use the map as an instrument to achieve or heighten authority. In Part Two, I switched my attention to those who live on the map, and how cartography affects them. While maps misrepresent them or do not represent them at all, in the plays investigated it has been argued that to some extent the dispossessed have a presence in the world of the play, even if they are not staged, and this presence has a significant impact on the plays' action. Both sections of this study have argued that Shakespeare's map-users are unsuccessful in their attempts to gain power because of their ineptitude, because of others', and because of the nature of the relationship between the map and the theatre.

The stage is predisposed to resist cartographic tendencies. This can be related to its place in London. The Globe Theatre was built over the border, standing on the banks of the Thames; it was part of the Suburbs, the London 'without the walls', built in a 'liberty' free from the city's jurisdiction. London, still a walled city in the early seventeenth century, had a world elsewhere right on its doorstep. This world was seen as a commercial, spiritual, and moral threat to the City of London within the walls and its citizens. The suburbs threatened the

livelihoods of those within the walls through the cottage industries, which infringed on the guilds and undermined their structures. The suburbs were also commonly associated with brothels, gambling, and villainy. London's undesirables all ended up in the 'liberties'. The brothels mentioned in *Measure For Measure*'s Vienna were just visible through the doors of the Globe theatre. Tract after tract was published warning the unwary about the conmen at large inside and especially outside the city. Actors themselves were seen as disreputable, devil-leagued scum. The suburbs also posed a health threat. London was expanding rapidly, partly due to rural disaffection caused by landowners hiking up rents and misappropriating the workforce. With this expansion came greater poverty, upheaval, and disease.<sup>120</sup> In London 1602-4, parish records show christenings at 4,789; in the same period, burials were at 38,244 (30,578 due to the plague), over a sixth of the city's population — and this is not accounting for those who could not afford burial.<sup>121</sup> While these figures are for London, there can be no doubt where Thomas Dekker laid the blame: 'Death, like a Spanish Leagar, or rather like stalking *Tamburlaine*, hath pitcht his tent (being nothing but a heap of winding-sheets tacked together) in the sinfully

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<sup>120</sup> Stephen Rappaport claims that in the sixteenth century this upheaval was not as widespread as has been previously claimed, although the 1590s had proportionally more disturbances than the rest of the century. See *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), especially the Introduction, pp. 1-22.

<sup>121</sup> Figures from Bettie Anne Doebler, *'Rooted Sorrow': Dying in Early Modern England* (London: Associated University Presses, 1994), p. 40.

polluted suburbs'.<sup>122</sup> London 'without the walls' was thought of by many as a place of death.

There is another kind of death in operation in the relationship between the map, the city, and the theatre. Two examples from the extremities of Elizabeth's reign show how the locations of The Globe, the other South Bank theatres, and London theatres in general, lead to a form of cultural death. The first example is the various long-views and maps of London. All bar one of the long-views are taken from the vantagepoint of somewhere on the South Bank looking towards the north. The only exception is *The View of the Cittye of London from the North towards the South* (1600); significantly 'it does not show the South Bank or its places of entertainment'.<sup>123</sup> The map of London included in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572) concentrates on north of the River. Southwark barely amounts to a few streets. Theatres also rarely feature on these maps and long-views. Hogenberg and Braun show two bear-baiting pits on the south side of the river. On William Smith's 1588 map of London these bear-pits remain, but The Rose Theatre which had been opened a year earlier does not feature. Cornelius Dankerts's 1633 map does depict an unnamed Rose, along with an unnamed Globe, on the South Bank; however, none of the theatres in the north of the city are featured. The ambivalence towards the South Bank and its

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<sup>122</sup> *The Wonderful Year*, repr. in *Three Elizabethan Pamphlets*, ed. by G. R. Hibbard (London: George G. Harrap, 1951), pp. 160-207 (p. 183).

<sup>123</sup> Herbert Berry, 'The View of London from the North and the Playhouses in Holywell', draught copy of an unpublished article (2000), p. 196. I follow Berry's dating of the view.

theatres shown by mapmakers of the period is evident on Wenceslas Hollar's 'Long View of London' (1647); the names of The Globe and The Hope have been reversed (accidentally, one presumes). These surveys and maps are supposed to encourage a coherent image of London, roughly delineated along the lines of the Roman Wall. As *Coriolanus* and *Antony and Cleopatra* show, walls in this period are symbolic only.

The second example comes in the form of a map-less survey — John Stow's *Survey of London*. Stow walks the reader through the wards of the city, describing famous buildings and monuments, and giving insight into contemporary London through its prehistory. Stow's work is an invaluable source for a reconstruction of the city at the end of the sixteenth century, but his ideological position cannot be forgotten. Survey's suit those for whom they are made, and while, as Ian Archer admits, the description of Stow as the City of London's (i.e. the guilds') 'fee'd chronicler' may be misleading, the anxiety that Stow reveals is similar to that felt by the guilds.<sup>124</sup> The areas outside the city walls — sites of poverty, disease, debauchery, but also of commercial strength and by no means all 'stews' — are dealt with sparingly. Only five chapters deal with Suburbs and places 'without the Walls'; two of these are the wealthy lands between the city walls and Westminster. The area in the chapter entitled 'The Suburbs without the Walls of the said City' is, by the title's own admission, 'briefly

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<sup>124</sup> 'The Nostalgia of John Stow', in *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London 1576-1649*, ed. by David L. Smith, Richard Strier, and David Bevington (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 17-34, p. 30.

touched'. These chapters are far from being complete surveys, as there are significant omissions. In the first edition of the *Survey*, the only mention of playhouses is in a chapter discussing the 'Sports and Pastimes of Old Time Used in this City':

These [pastimes], or the like exercises, have been continued till our time, namely, in stage plays, whereof ye may read in anno 1391. a play by the parish clerks of London at the Skinner's Well besides Smithfield, which continued three days together, the king, queen, and nobles of the realm being present [...] Of late time, in place of those stage plays, hath been used comedies, tragedies, interludes, and histories, both true and feigned; for the acting whereof certain public places, as the Theatre, the Curtain, &c. have been erected.<sup>125</sup>

This is the only time Stow names any of the playhouses in London. The second edition, published in 1603, four years after the opening of The Globe, does not name any playhouses ('for the acting whereof certaine publike places have been erected.'<sup>126</sup>). In the chapter on Southwark, both 1598 and 1603 editions refer to bear-baiting, but neither mentions The Rose, The Swan, or The Globe. These sites of the performance of anxiety about and resistance to cartography are written out of history. The theatre becomes victim to cartographic silence. The theatre, at the edge of the map, itself is threatened by cultural death. In such an environment maps are important and controversial. It is possible to argue that the

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<sup>125</sup> John Stow, *A Survey of London Written in the Year 1598* (London: John Windet, 1598; Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997), p.119.

<sup>126</sup> John Stow, *A Survey of London*, 2nd. edn. (London: John Windet, 1603: *Early English Books*; Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1949- ), p 94. STC1/Reel 1466:5.

London theatres were predisposed to continually stage the failures of mapmakers and mapreaders. It is also possible to see that the voices of those who are marginalised by the map had a presence in the world of the plays; theatres and the people on the map had a great deal in common.

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