

Versions of Hercules in England, c. 1545-1600



Emily Mayne
St Hilda's College
University of Oxford

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Michaelmas Term 2016

Abstract

‘Versions of Hercules in England, c. 1545-1600’

Emily Mayne, St Hilda’s College, Oxford

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of D.Phil. in English Literature,
Michaelmas Term, 2016

This thesis traces some ‘versions’ of the Graeco-Roman hero and god Hercules in English writing: in early Tudor texts such as Arthur Kelton’s panegyric dynastic poems (1545, 1546), topographical and historical writing such as *Holinshed’s Chronicles* and William Camden’s *Britannia* (from 1586), and the works of Sir Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, and several of Shakespeare’s 1590s plays. It also discusses the representation of Hercules in classical texts key to Hercules’ reception in English writing, and, where appropriate, their English translations: Seneca the Younger’s *Hercules furens*, the pseudo-Senecan *Hercules Oetaeus*; Roman ‘new’ comedy, and classical ‘geographical’ writing, such as Strabo’s *Geography*, and Pausanias’ *Description of Greece*.

The thesis outlines an early modern Hercules who was a multitude of figures. This is partly because the hero is the product of a historical process of accumulation of mythological materials which, taken together, pose serious moral, generic, and narrative problems. In response, early modern understandings of Hercules often fragment him into several different figures. The thesis shows that this Herculean multiplicity is a resource for early modern writers, and demonstrates the plurality of the Herculeses present in sixteenth century English writing and translations. It also takes an inclusive view of Herculean ‘appearances’, by acknowledging the variety of ways of ‘doing’ Hercules across a range of forms: as a rhetorical utterance inherited from the *hercle* of Roman comedy, as a semi-‘historical’ figure operating in the same legendary and geographical spaces as figures from the so-called ‘British History’, and as both a character and a proverbial subject in English dramas and entertainments.

Hercules’ early modern plurality also enables the thesis also to engage with the broader questions of what mythological allusion in texts is, and the ways in which it takes place. The thesis identifies classical geographical writing as a significant resource for information about Hercules in the early modern period, as well as mythological stories more generally. It shows how topographical texts both classical and early modern present mythological stories as local phenomena sited in particular geographical spaces, and argues that place forms a significant component of allusion to and creation of mythological narratives in early modern texts. With the help of the terms *topos* and *locus*, which suggestively blur geographical, literary, and rhetorical ‘places’, ‘place’ as used in this thesis encompasses both the geographical settings in which many mythological narratives take place, and the way in which these settings are also sites and moments of literary and mythological accumulation in texts.

Acknowledgements

Hercules did have the occasional companion in his travels and activities – Theseus, Iolaus, Hyllus, Telamon – but he is really a solitary hero. The labour of this thesis was very un-Herculean in that it would not have been written without the help and support of several people.

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Colin Burrow, for his exemplary curation of this project, and for the generosity of both his time and advice. I could not have wished for a more supportive or learned guide.

I would also like to thank Dr Margaret Kean, for her mentorship and encouragement from my undergraduate studies to the present. Dr Thomas Roebuck was (and I am sure still is) an inspiring teacher of both Spenser and palaeography, and has been extraordinarily generous with his advice and time over the years. Dr Helen Appleton was a warm advisor, colleague, and friend.

I am very grateful to the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) for the award of the doctoral studentship which made this project possible. I am also grateful to the AHRC, the Astor Fund of the University of Oxford, and the St Hilda's Graduate Research and Travel Fund for financial support for research trips relating to this thesis.

St Hilda's College, Oxford, has been a friendly home and much more to me for many years, and I feel fortunate to have spent both my undergraduate and postgraduate years there. I am particularly grateful to the College for its award of the Rosalind Jane Bairstow Bursary in 2011-12, which kickstarted my acquaintance with Italian as well as English Renaissances. The St Hilda's Academic Office, and particularly Ms Christine Cowley, also deserve special mention and thanks for dealing so capably with my many queries.

I also owe a great debt to my friends and family. I would like to thank my mother for her unfailing love, and her support of all my academic projects, including this one. My father helped proofread sections of the final draft and made helpful suggestions. Thomas Partridge helped to get me through some dark days of thesis-finishing with constant encouragement.

Last, but by no means least, I would like to thank Ryan, for his love, encouragement, and care, and for making the process of the doctorate a joyful thing even to the end.

Table of Contents

Abbreviations and conventions	i
Introduction	v
Chapter 1. Hercules in early modern England: Seneca's tragedies	1
1.1. Hercules in Seneca's tragedies.....	2
1.2. Early modern Senecas.....	11
1.3. Seneca in early modern England	15
1.4. Jasper Heywood's <i>Hercules furens</i>	18
1.5. John Studley's <i>Hercules Oetaeus</i>	26
1.6. Thomas Newton and <i>Seneca his Tenne Tragedies</i> (1581)	31
1.7. Hercules in the <i>Tenne Tragedies</i>	39
Chapter 2. Hercules in Arcadia, and the <i>Arcadias</i>	43
2.1. 'Comic' Herculeses in the 'old' Arcadia	45
2.2. <i>Hercle</i> , 'O Hercules!', and other mythological oaths	54
2.3. From clowns to duchesses	64
2.4. What does Cecropia do to tragedy?	72
Coda: Geography and matter(s) for tragedies	81
Chapter 3. Topographical mythologies: Hercules at the mouth of the Rhône and beyond...86	86
3.1. Classical geographies and English topographical writing: Hercules at the Rhône from Pomponius Mela to Strabo	91
3.2. Herakles in Strabo's <i>Geography</i> and Pausanias' <i>Description of Greece</i>	100
3.3. Strabo and Pausanias in sixteenth-century England	105
3.4. Hercules in the 'British History'	113
3.5. Topographical mythologies? Hercules at Hartland Point and Camden's <i>Britannia</i>	124
Chapter 4. Hercules and <i>The Faerie Queene</i>	134
4.1. Hercules, Albion, and the Briton Chronicle	136
4.2. Arthur and Maleger at the Rhône?	138
4.3. Myth and the varieties of τόποι (<i>topoi</i>)	146
4.4. Hercules and the critics	150
4.5. Landscapes and the 'world' of <i>The Faerie Queene</i>	159
4.6. Giants, Hercules, and the Giant with the Scales	161
Coda: Hercules, giants, William Camden's <i>Britannia</i> , and Spenser	167
Chapter 5. Hercules and drama.....	172
5.1. Hercules at Kenilworth Castle in 1575.....	172
5.2. The Porter of Kenilworth	177
5.3. Hercules, John Badger, and the Protestants	183
5.4. Eloquence, decorum, and Hercules	189
5.5. Hercules and the language of 'Senecan' tragedy	197
5.6. Hercules and Shakespeare 1: <i>Love's Labour's Lost</i>	199
5.7. Hercules and Shakespeare 2: <i>King John</i>	204
5.8. The lion's-skin in the 1590s: some speculations	212
Conclusion.....	220
Bibliography	228

Conventions of citation and abbreviations

Conventions

When quoting from early modern sources, spellings have been retained, with the following conventions of transcription: ‘j’ is modernised to ‘i’, and long-s to ‘s’; ‘v’ in printed book titles has been replaced with ‘u’ in line with modern usage, and only retained as ‘v’ at the start of words. Instances where two ‘v’s are used to signify ‘w’ have been replaced by a ‘w’ character. Punctuation has been retained unless otherwise specified. ‘And’ brevigraphs of various configuration are represented by the standard ‘&’. Raised letters have been silently lowered. Contractions have been expanded. Brevigraphs are expanded and inserted letters indicated by italics (e.g. *que*); in the case of tildes, letters inserted are indicated by underlining (e.g. commendacyon). With the exception of italic, I have not retained differentiation in typeface in citations.

I have adopted a reasonably conservative policy for citing early modern works in footnotes and the bibliography: I cite a section of the title of the work long enough for it to be identifiable, retaining spellings and upper-case lettering where it occurs, except in the case of titles entirely in upper-case lettering. In citations square brackets enclose details not given in the text but which can be inferred (e.g. printer or probable date). If a title is entirely in square brackets this indicates that the title-page of the work is lost, but the title can be inferred (e.g. Arthur Kelton’s [*A commendacyon Of Welshmen*]). Question marks indicate uncertainty as to the publication details offered.

In the case of Latin and Greek texts, I have cited where possible from the Loeb Classical Library editions of these texts, checked against their early modern counterparts. If not otherwise indicated, translations are my own.

When quoting an English translation of a work originally written in Latin, I have included the Latin text in a footnote in square brackets, or, if particularly relevant, following from the quotation in the main text. This order is occasionally inverted if appropriate to the material under discussion. When quoting an English translation of a work originally in Greek such as Strabo’s *Geography*, I have not included the Greek text, except in cases of particularly significant words or phrases, though I have included an early modern Latin translation of the Greek work if available and/or appropriate. This is firstly for the convenience of the reader, and secondly because in the cases of the Greek texts covered in this thesis, it is likely that many of their early modern readers encountered and read them in Latin translation.

Historical persons mentioned in the thesis are in general referred to by the title or name they are most known by, even when I am recounting a period in their life before they acquired their title (e.g. Leicester rather than Robert Dudley). I have preferred vernacular versions of names over Latin ones, except in cases where the Latin version is especially well-known (e.g. Aldus Manutius). In general I have preferred Latin forms of classical names both Greek and Roman (e.g. Eurytus), except for on occasion when discussing only Greek material (Herakles rather than Hercules), or when the Greek form is the most well-known. I quite frequently use the non-standard plural form ‘Herculeses’.

References to the Bible are either to the New International Version, or to the *The Bible and Holy Scriptures contained in the Olde and Newe Testament* (London: C. Barker, 1576), i.e. the Geneva Bible, as indicated.

Abbreviations (listed alphabetically)

ACMRS	Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies
Dent, <i>SPL</i>	R. W. Dent, <i>Shakespeare's Proverbial Language: An Index</i> (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981)
<i>DND</i>	Cicero, <i>De natura deorum</i> , in <i>De natura deorum, Academica</i> , trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951)
<i>DO</i>	Cicero, <i>De oratore</i> , in <i>De oratore III, De fato, Paradoxa Stoicorum, De partitione oratoria</i> , trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948)
<i>DP</i>	Sir Philip Sidney, <i>The Defence of Poetry</i> , in <i>Miscellaneous Prose</i> , ed. Jan van Dorsten and Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973)
EEBO	Early English Books Online, ProQuest LLC, n.d. < http://www.http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home >
<i>ELR</i>	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue, online version, British Library, n.d. < http://http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file_name=login-bl-estc >
<i>F. J.</i>	George Gascoigne, <i>A discourse of the adventures passed by Master F. J.</i> , in <i>A Hundred Sundry Flowers</i> , ed. G. W. Pigman III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000)
<i>FQ</i>	Edmund Spenser, <i>The Faerie Queene</i> , ed. A. C. Hamilton, 2nd rev. edn (London: Longman, 2007)
<i>FQ</i> (1977)	Edmund Spenser, <i>The Faerie Queene</i> , ed. A. C. Hamilton (London: Longman, 1977)
<i>Geoffrey</i>	<i>The History of the Kings of Britain</i> , ed. M. D. R. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007)
<i>HC</i>	<i>Holinshed's Chronicles</i> : either to Raphael Holinshed and others, <i>The Firste volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande</i> , 2 vols (London: for J. Hunne, 1577); or to Raphael Holinshed and others, <i>The First and second volumes of Chronicles</i> , 2 vols (London: H. Bynneman for J. Harrison and others, [1587])
<i>Henslowe</i>	Philip Henslowe, <i>Henslowe's Diary</i> , ed. R. A. Foakes, second rev. edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
<i>HF</i>	<i>Hercules furens</i> , in Seneca, <i>Tragedies</i> , ed. and trans. John G. Fitch, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002-04), I (2002)
<i>HO</i>	<i>Hercules Oetaeus</i> , in Seneca, <i>Tragedies</i> , ed. and trans. John G. Fitch, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002-04), II (2004)
<i>HRB</i>	<i>Historia regum Britanniae</i> , in <i>Rerum Britannicarum, id est Angliae, Scotiae, vicinarumque insularum ac regionum</i> (Heidelberg: H. Commelinus, 1587)
<i>KJ</i>	William Shakespeare, <i>King John</i> , ed. L. A. Beaurline (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

- A Letter* *A Letter: whearin, part of the entertainment vntoo the Queenz Maiesty, at Killingworth Castl, in warwik Sheer, in this soomerz Progress. 1575. iz signified [...]*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring, in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring et al, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), II, 1572-1578
- Lewis & Short Charlton T. Lewis, and Charles Short *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879)
- LLL William Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. H. R. Woudhuysen (Walton-on-Thames: Nelson, 1998)
- LSJ Henry George Liddell, and others, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, rev. Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940)
- MHRA Modern Humanities Research Association
- MLN *Modern Language Notes*
- MND William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Peter Holland (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994)
- NA Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The New Arcadia)*, ed. Victor Skretkowicz (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987)
- N&Q *Notes & Queries*
- OA Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The Old Arcadia)*, ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973)
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
<<http://www.oxforddnb.com>>
- OE Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, ed. and trans. D. A. Russell, 5 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001)
- OEDO *Oxford English Dictionary*, Online Edition, Oxford University Press, n.d.
<<http://www.oed.com>>
- PMLA *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
- PP George Gascoigne and others, 'A briefe rehearsall, or rather a true Copie of as much as was presented before her maiesties at Kenelworth, during her last aboade there', in George Gascoigne, *The Whole woorkes of George Gascoigne Esquyre: Newlye compiled into one Volume* (London: Abel Jeffes, 1587)
- Register *Register of the University of Oxford*, ed. C. W. Boase and Andrew Clark, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press for the Oxford Historical Society, 1885-89)
- RH *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, trans. Harry Caplan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954)
- SEL *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*
- SpEnc *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990)

STC	(English) Short Title Catalogue: see ‘ESTC’
TD	Cicero, <i>Tusculan Disputations</i> , trans. J. E. King, rev. edn. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1945)
Tilley	Morris P. Tilley, <i>A Dictionary of all the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of the Proverbs found in English Literature and the Dictionaries of the Period</i> (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950)
TNA	The National Archives (at Kew)
TR	<i>The Troublesome Raigne of John, King of England</i> (London: [T. Orwin] for S. Clarke, 1591)
Transcript	<i>A transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D.</i> , ed. Edward Arber, 4 vols (London: Stationers’ Company, 1875-77)
UP	University Press
USTC	Universal Short Title Catalogue, University of St Andrews, n.d. < http://ustc.ac.uk/index.php/search >
Variorum	Edmund Spenser, <i>The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition</i> , ed. Edwin Greenlaw and others, 11 vols (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1932-57)

Introduction

Sir Thomas Elyot writes the following for his entry on Hercules in the revised edition of his *Bibliotheca Eliotæ* in 1542:

Hercules, semeth to be a generale name gyuen to men excelleng in strengthe all other men of theyr tyme. for Cicero De natura deorum, wryteth, that amonge auncient writers were founde .vi. Hercules. Uarro affyrmeth, that there were .xliiii. Hercules. Fynallye there is noo notable mencyon made but of two, the one called Hercules Aegyptius, or Libicus, whyche is supposed to be Osyris... The other, whiche was longe after hym, who was sonne of Iupyer and Alcmena, and was callyd Alcides by his proper name, and for his incomparable strengthe and labours, whyche he tooke for the commune profyte of mankynde, he was named alsoo Hercules. All be yt Berosus the Caldey affyrmeth Hercules to be the sonne of Osyris, and kynge of Aegypte, and was callyd Hercules Libyus, bycause that he conquered Libyam. And sayncte Hierome on the tenthe chapyter of Genesis wryteth, that this Hercules was he that perfourmed the twelue notable labours, whyche poetes doo wryte of, and not Alcides sonne of Alcmena.¹

Although Elyot's description of Hercules here may come as a surprise to modern readers more used to hearing only about Hercules 'the sonne of Iupyer and Alcmena,' it provides a helpful illustration of the complexity of sources and narratives associated with the hero, and of one way of confronting this complexity. Faced with a multitude of accounts of and witnesses to Hercules temporally, genealogically and even generically remote from each other, 'Hercules' here becomes many figures rather than a single figure.

Elyot's description of Hercules had a long life in early modern England, because much of the information the *Bibliotheca* contains was incorporated into Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus linguæ Romanæ et Britannicæ* (1565), but his response to the compilatory challenge presented by the variety and inconsistency of the Herculean corpus is not universal

¹ Sir Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotæ Eliotis Librarie* (London: T. Berthelet, 1542), s.v. 'Hercules'. Subsequent references will be to this edition (as '*Bibliotheca* (1542)') unless otherwise specified. I have silently regularized the punctuation in this excerpt. The entry goes on to list twelve labours of Hercules, and several Hercules-related proverbs. The 1538 edition of this work baldly states that Hercules was 'the sonne of Iupiter & Alcmena': Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot knyght* (London: T. Berthelet, 1538), s.v. 'Hercules'. It seems that between 1538 and 1542 Elyot consulted Robert Estienne's (Stephanus) newly published dictionary of proper names, in which the entry for Hercules contains many of the same details as Elyot's much-expanded revised entry: see Robert Estienne, *Dictionarium propriorum nominum virorum, mulierum, populorum, idolorum, vrbium, fluuiorum, montium, cæterorumque locorum quæ passim in libris prophanis leguntur* (Paris: R. Estienne, 1541), s.v. 'Hercules, cognomen'.

or automatic.² It does, as we shall see, reflect a particularly English interest in Hercules' possible relation to legendary British prehistory.³ But the entry in the *Bibliotheca* shows that when early modern English people thought about Hercules they had a variety of resources at their disposal. By the sixteenth century a wide range of resources and narratives with Herculean content both more and less extensive were at least potentially accessible, across a wide range of genres, languages, and formats. Early modern people would also have been able to see visual representations of the hero in wall-paintings, woodcuts, and occasionally in sculptures both monumental and movable.⁴ For the literate, written accounts of the hero in classical texts include, to cite at random, portrayals of Hercules as a tragic figure in Seneca the Younger's *Hercules furens* and the pseudo-Senecan *Hercules Oetaeus*, as an astrological phenomenon in Hyginus' *Astronomica*, and as a roaming hero-god and founder of local cults and stories in geographical works such as Strabo's *Geography* and Pausanias' *Description of Greece*. In postclassical texts, Hercules appears as a hero of romance in Raoul Lefèvre's *Recoeil des histoires de Troyes* and its translations into other European vernaculars including English, and as the central topic of learned compendia such as Giglio Gregorio Giraldi's *Herculis vita* for the Latin-literate. Moreover, as Elyot's mention of Cicero's *De natura*

² Cooper, who was rather reluctantly involved in revising later editions of the *Bibliotheca* after Elyot's death in 1546, adopted Elyot's entry for Hercules in his *Thesaurus*. Here it appears collected with other mythological and historical proper names into a separate alphabetical index at the back of the volume, titled 'Historical and poetical dictionary briefly comprising the names of particular places and persons' [Dictionarium historicum & Poeticum propria locorum & Personarum vocabula breuiter complectens]: see Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus linguae Romanae et Britannicae* (London: H. Wykes, 1565), separately paginated, sig. A1^r. Cooper discusses his intention to create a separate index, 'cleane taking out the proper names, to have set them more perfectly corrected in a booke by them selfe', but explains that 'by occasion of weaknes of body and sickelnesse', he was prevented from putting it fully into practice in the 1559 revision, though a partially completed list of entries for 'A' is included: see Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotæ. Eliotes Dictionarie*, rev. Thomas Cooper (London: T. Berthelet, 1559), sig. Fff5^v.

³ Probably not coincidentally, one of the work's other long entries is for 'Albion': see Elyot, *Bibliotheca* (1542), s.v. 'Albion'. See Chapter 3, 'Topographical mythologies: Hercules at the mouth of the Rhône and beyond'.

⁴ For a wide-ranging discussion of Hercules' appearances in early modern European art, see Malcolm Bull, *The Mirror of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art* (London: Allen Lane, 2005), 86-140. For Hercules in sixteenth-century English wall-paintings see e.g. Francis W. Reader, 'Tudor Mural Paintings in the Lesser Houses in Bucks', *Archaeological Journal*, 89 (1932), 116-73.

deorum indicates, many other texts contain passing references to and details about the hero without devoting substantial time, space, or narrative to the figure.

Elyot's strategy for dealing with this complex of information of Herculean proportions is to pluralize Hercules into various men, who existed at different times in the distant past. Neither this euhemeristic approach nor the multiple Herculesees which often result from it are original to Elyot or to early modern thinking about Hercules.⁵ Most obviously, Elyot would have found an easy warrant for it in (for instance) one of the very texts his entry cites, Cicero's *De natura deorum*.⁶ And the variety of stories surrounding Hercules does not only present a historiographical problem. Other early modern English writers use the temporal and physical distinctions between these several Herculesees as a convenient solution to the ethical problems that such a composite hero poses. The extremes and excesses that many Herculean stories catalogue are notable, and disturbingly inconsistent: Heracles is both a model warrior acting for 'the commune profyte of mankynde', destroying monsters and dangerous beasts, and, in slightly later tradition, a philosophical figure of 'wisdom and great soul'; and yet also a man of 'violent strength', who kills his wife Megara and their children, violates the obligations of guest-friendship by killing the son of his host Eurytus, and even, in one story, an adolescent who kills his music teacher in a fit of rage.⁷ A host of narratives and visual representations testify to Hercules'

⁵ Euhemerism proposes that the gods were mortals later deified by men for their achievements or worthiness. The works of Euhemerus of Messene himself are lost; the most substantial surviving account is in Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History*, trans. C. H. Oldfather, 12 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1933-67), III (1939), 6. 1. Fragments of Ennius' Latin translation of Euhemerus are found in Christian authors such as Lactantius and Eusebius. For medieval and early modern reception of Euhemerism see Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, trans. Barbara F. Sessions (New York: Pantheon, 1953), 11-36, and Don Cameron Allen, *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1970), 53-82.

⁶ See Cicero, *De natura deorum*, *Academica*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1951), 2. 62. Subsequent references to this edition and translation (as '*DND*'). Cotta mentions six Herculesees in *DND*, 3. 42.

⁷ For 'the commune profyte of mankynde' see Elyot, *Bibliotheca* (1542), s.v. 'Hercules'. For 'violent strength' see Arthur Kelton, [*A commendacyon Of Welshmen*] (London: [R. Grafton?], 1546), sig. H3^v. For the philosophical Hercules see Emma Stafford, *Herakles* (London: Routledge, 2012), 117-30. Timothy Gantz provides a conspectus of sources on the episodes in Hercules' mythos mentioned here in *Early Greek Myth: A*

weakness for women, and, in particular, his subjection (wearing female clothes and performing traditionally female tasks) to the female ruler of Lydia, Omphale.⁸ Accordingly writers on the eccentric fringes of early modern thinking about the legendary past, such as Richard Lynche and Arthur Kelton, insist on the difference between the ‘Libyan’ and the ‘Greek’ Hercules, who ‘deserved not the least part of so many glorious praises and titles of honour... for he is by many authors set downe no other but a very pyrate on the sea, a robber and bloudie oppressor, where he could find out any bootie or advauntage to shew his power, wil, and mightinesse; much unlike the proceedings that victorious and virtuous conqueror *Hercules* of Lybia’.⁹

The very wealth of information about Hercules cumulatively on offer impedes the straightforward construction of a picture of a single hero. As Elyot, Kelton, and Lynche all demonstrate, the variety of and contradictions in and among the stories which constitute the ‘mythos’ of Hercules make it difficult to present a coherent account of this figure.¹⁰ And Elyot is far from the first writer to encounter a compilatory problem with Hercules. The plural and inconsistent nature of Herakles’ mythos is what causes Aristotle to particularly object to epics written about this hero, because:

A plot [μῦθος] is not unified, as some think, if built round an individual. Any entity has innumerable features, not all of which cohere into a unity; likewise, an individual performs many actions which yield no unitary action. So all those poets are clearly

Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources, 2 vols (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1993), I, 378-79 (killing of Linus), 380-81 (killing of Megara and children), 434-37 (killing of Iphitus).

⁸ For references and discussion of versions see Gantz, I, 439-440. On visual representations of this episode, see Bull, 132-34.

⁹ Richard Lynche, *An historical treatise of the travels of Noah into Europe* (London: A. Islip, 1601), sig. I2^r; see also Arthur Kelton, *A Chronycle with a Genealogie declaryng that the Britons and Welshmen are lineallye dyscended from Brute* (London: R. Grafton, 1547), sigs. B7^{r-v}. Lynche’s work is a creative translation of parts of Annius of Viterbo’s forged *Auctores vetustissimi*: see Chapter 3, ‘Topographical mythologies’, for further discussion.

¹⁰ ‘mythos’ is used here in to denote ‘[a] body of interconnected myths or stories, esp. those belonging to a particular religious or cultural tradition’: ‘mythos, n.’, 2., *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, Oxford UP <<http://www.oed.com>> [accessed 1 October 2016]. Subsequent references to this database as ‘*OEDO*’.

at fault who have composed a *Heracleid*, a *Theseid*¹¹, and similar poems: they think that, since Heracles was an individual, the plot [μῦθον] too must be unitary.¹²

Since a plot should according to Aristotle consist of a ‘unitary and indeed whole action’, the events that make up that action ‘should be so structured that if any is displaced or removed, the sense of the whole is disturbed and dislocated’.¹³ Herakles, however, resists both a sense of unity and a sense of dislocation, because his mythos is the product of a historical process of accumulation and aggregation across time and place in ancient Greece: local cults and stories about local and regional heroes were gradually incorporated into what G. Karl Galinsky has memorably called Herakles’ ‘mythological baggage-train’.¹⁴ Geographical texts detailing the hero’s activities and cultic footprints in the local topographies of Greece (and beyond) are rich resources for the development of his multi-faceted profile; and numerous subsequent times and places have continued the process of differentiation, attempted assimilation, and interpretation. As a result, there is no single, ‘true’ account of Hercules’ life, or any of its individual episodes. What we have instead is a variety of narratives produced at different places and times for widely varying purposes.

The problems of multiplicity and instability that my account identifies in Hercules are of course also features of ‘mythology’ itself, which is, despite the best efforts of compilers both ancient and modern, ‘an open, context-driven set of utterances’, rather than

¹¹ Although Aristotle mentions Theseids in the same breath as Heracleids, there are only two surviving quotations from an epic identified as the ‘*Theseid*’. Theseus was a primarily Attic hero whose place in the older epic tradition is less secure. Interest in Theseus seems only to pick up in towards the end of the sixth century BCE (and he was cast as ‘a sort of Attic Heracles’): see *Greek Epic Fragments: From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*, ed. and trans. Martin L. West (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2003), 24. No ancient epic on Heracles survives complete: for fragments see *Greek Epic Fragments*, ed. and trans. West, 172-217; and for discussion see G. H. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry: From Eumelos to Panyassis* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), 99-112, 177-88.

¹² Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. Stephen Halliwell, in *Aristotle, Poetics, Longinus, On the Sublime, Demetrius, On Style*, trans. Stephen Halliwell, W. Hamilton Fyfe, Doreen C. Innes, and W. Rhys Roberts, rev. Donald A. Russell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1995), 1451a16-22.

¹³ Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. Halliwell, 1415a31-34.

¹⁴ G. Karl Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1972), 3.

any single narrative or iteration.¹⁵ But Hercules is nonetheless still a distinctive figure even among mythological figures, because his mythos is particularly plural and unstable. The very instability of Hercules also informs the uses that both ancient and early modern writers make of him. The mythological entries in Elyot's *Bibliotheca*, and their later incorporation into the 'historical and poetical dictionary' following Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus* proper, contain accounts of numerous other figures from Graeco-Roman mythology and history. But few entries in either dictionary display similar awareness of the potential diversity and plurality of the mythological figures, or are of similar length to their entries for Hercules.¹⁶ For instance, although Cotta in Cicero's *De natura deorum*, which Elyot cites as an authority for the existence of a plenitude of Herculesees, also claims in the same sentence that there are multiple Jupiters as well as Herculesees, nothing of this assertion makes it into Elyot's own entry for Jupiter.¹⁷

These circumstances make Hercules a powerful figure not only for holding up the heavens, or deflowering fifty virgins in a single night, but also for exploring what viewing mythology as an aggregation of multiple and sometimes contradictory narratives can bring to the understanding of its workings in literary texts.¹⁸ From the perspective of literary studies, this mythological figure provides a means of stress-testing an idea of 'myth' as a certainty or archetypal entity. Recent studies of other mythological figures have started to emphasize what Tim Smith-Laing eloquently calls the 'complex textual contingency' of the

¹⁵ For the quotation see John Buxton, *Imaginary Greece: The Contexts of Mythology* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994), 207.

¹⁶ The quotation is taken from the title of this section of Cooper's *Thesaurus*, separately paginated, sig. A1^r, and quoted in full above.

¹⁷ See Elyot, *Bibliotheca* (1542), s.v. 'Iupiter, Iouis'; Cooper, 'Dictionarium' in *Thesaurus*, s.v. 'Iupiter, Iúpitris, or Iupiteris' (unchanged). Cotta comments, 'the most ancient [Hercules] being the son of Jupiter, that is of the most ancient Jupiter likewise, for we find several Jupiters also in the early writings of the Greeks' [antiquissimum Iove natum sed item Iove antiquissimo—nam Ioves quoque pluris in priscis Graecorum litteris invenimus], Cicero, *DND*, 3. 42.

¹⁸ Appropriately enough, the number of virgins and nights varies between different accounts of this episode. For a conspectus of sources see Gantz, I, 379.

stories that constitute and surround them.¹⁹ Generally, however, critics have in my view been overly hasty to read mythological stories as singular both in their content and their ‘meanings’ in early modern texts. This is partly due to a tendency, particularly apparent in those influenced by the Warburg school of Seznec and Panofsky, to rely on the apparently clear ‘meanings’ given to mythological figures and their activities in early modern mythographical handbooks.²⁰ But it is also due to critical confusion not so much between ‘mythology’ and ‘mythography’, as between ‘mythology’ and ‘myth’.²¹ As I noted above, ‘mythology’ implies some sort of narrative, a ‘set of utterances’, either the ‘traditional tale with secondary, partial reference to something of collective significance’ itself, or the compilation and description of these narratives, often from a critical or rationalizing perspective (which is also called ‘mythography’).²² ‘Myth’, however, is a considerably more recent coinage, which speaks to the idea of mythology operating as a symbolic system, and which developed alongside its ‘scientific’ study in the late eighteenth century.²³ The myth-

¹⁹ Tim Smith-Laing, ‘Variorum Vitae: Theseus and the Arts of Mythography in Medieval and Modern Europe’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2014), vii.

²⁰ English mythographical handbooks are also now the subject of reinterpretation that sees them as creative and contextual productions, rather than exhaustive accounts of ‘canonical’ mythological stories: see Anna-Maria Hartmann, ‘Reading the Ancient Fable: Early Modern English Mythographers 1590-1650’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2012).

²¹ Smith-Laing, iv-v, proposes that everything mythological accessible to us is mythography, defining the latter as ‘any writing of or on mythology’, v. I take ‘mythography’ to refer in general to texts that present, record, and (often) interpret mythology, but that have specific forms at specific periods of time. This definition overlaps with definitions of mythography as ‘an explanation or rationalization of one or more myths’ (to quote Jane Chance, *Medieval Mythography*, 3 vols (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994-2015), I: *From Roman North Africa to the School of Chartres, A.D. 433-117* (1994), 1-2), to the extent that mythography *can* indeed include some or all these features. However, it is broader than this formulation firstly because my understanding of ‘mythology’ itself is broad, and secondly because in my view ‘mythography’ is only meaningful in its particular cultural-historical contexts: Hellenistic mythographies, for instance (themselves bedevilled by problems of transmission and survival), are rather different in formulation to ‘medieval’ mythographies.

²² For ‘set of utterances’ see Buxton, 207; for myth as ‘a traditional tale’ see Walter Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1979), 23. The earliest citations of ‘mythology’ in the *OED* (dated from c. 1425) in fact refer to the exposition or interpretation of mythological stories: see ‘mythology, n.’, in *OEDO*, 1.a., 1.b. [accessed 18 November 2016].

²³ The first recorded entry in the *OED* for ‘myth’ dates from 1830: see ‘myth, n.’, *OEDO* [accessed 10 October 2016]. The German philologist Christian Gottlob Heyne (d. 1812) coined the term *mythus* as an alternative to *fabula*, a term with overtones of falsity and absurdity and favoured by his contemporaries. With *mythus* Heyne wanted to indicate that he took myth seriously. An accessible account is Fritz Graf, *Greek Mythology: An Introduction*, trans. Thomas Marier (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1993), 9-13.

theories of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries resist easy summary, but it is probably safe to say that one result of modern theorisings of ‘myth’ as system is the notion that ‘myth’ is a collective idea, a form or structure of thought that manifests across different times and cultural contexts, and which reveals fundamental things about the human mind.²⁴ Though ‘myth criticism’ has moved on some way since, understanding ‘myth’ as a collectively operative system or underlying ‘structure’ has been very influential in literary criticism, filtered in through critics such as Northrop Frye, and the influence of symbolic and archetypal theorists such as Ernst Cassirer and Carl Gustav Jung.²⁵ As a result, even much relatively recent criticism can rather casually assume the archetypal or universalizing nature and function of ‘myth’, the ‘paradigmatic function’ of which ‘is to provide poet and reader with a stock of archetypes’.²⁶

This thesis can only address these issues insofar as they relate to Hercules. The hero’s troubling and complicated plurality quite obviously challenges ideas about the nature or operation of mythological stories in early modern texts as singular or ‘unitary’. Hercules also helps to offer alternatives to these sorts of approaches to the function of mythological narratives in early modern texts, as in my discussion of his appearances in Edmund Spenser’s *Faerie Queene* in Chapter 4. Building on the thesis’ portrayal of Hercules as a multiple figure, and its examination of the appearances of the hero in geographical writing, I formulate a new account of Hercules in the poem, which, although diverse in its Herculean content, has sometimes been read as a simple *Herculeiad*.²⁷ I also propose a new approach

²⁴ For an inclusive overview of modern ideas about myth, see Graf, 35-56; see also Robert A. Segal, ‘In Defense of Mythology: The History of Modern Theories of Mythology’, *Annals of Scholarship*, 1 (1980), 3-49.

²⁵ For discussion of Frye’s debts to Cassirer and Jung among others, see Ford Russell, *Northrop Frye on Myth: An Introduction* (New York; London: Garland, 1998), 61-81, 116-22; and Chapter 4, ‘Hercules and *The Faerie Queene*’, esp. 4. 4, ‘Hercules and the critics’.

²⁶ Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 90. ‘Archetypal’ understandings of mythological stories sit in many cases rather uncomfortably alongside the gleaning of their ‘meanings’ from the distinctly non-synchronic context of mythographical handbooks.

²⁷ See e.g. the schema advanced in Anthony W. Wolk, ‘Hercules and *The Faerie Queene*’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 1966).

to the ways in which allusion (broadly conceived) to mythological stories functions within *The Faerie Queene*. Spenser has been the chief ‘portal’ introducing ‘myth-criticism’ into early modern studies (insofar as this has happened at all), because he is the only major early modern English author to have generated substantial critical discussion of, to use James Nohrnberg’s phrase, his ‘mythopoeia’.²⁸ (And we should remember that *The Faerie Queene* was the subject of the study that grew into Frye’s *Anatomy of Criticism*).²⁹ Through a Herculean lens, *The Faerie Queene* presents a rich resource for reconsidering the value of this critical framework.

The diversity and sheer number of representations of Hercules poses both advantages and practical problems. Elyot’s characterisation of ‘Hercules’ both as a ‘generalle name’ and a plenitude of individual men and/or gods is only one among many responses to Hercules and his complex mythos in sixteenth-century England. This diversity of Herculean narratives both classical and postclassical makes Hercules into a rich literary resource, but it is also something of a two-edged sword. It would be impossible adequately to consider all the appearances of Hercules in early modern texts within the bounds of this thesis, and Hercules’ plurality also makes exhaustive study of his mythographical tradition unmanageable. As a result, I concentrate upon a selection of some of the ‘versions’ of Hercules in English writing between 1545-1600, and consider Hercules’ mythographical appearances as they pertain to these ‘versions’. With the exception of a single case study in the Conclusion, I have concentrated upon textual representations of Hercules at the expense of visual representations of the hero. Such representations did certainly exist: ‘who is he,’ asks Anthony Cope, ‘that doeth not muche reioyce, in beholding Hercules peynted on a walle, clothed in a lyons skynne, by his mighty hande spoyled, and drawynge after hym

²⁸ James Nohrnberg, *The Analogy of ‘The Faerie Queene’* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976), ix.

²⁹ Northrop Frye, *The Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1957), vii.

Cerberus that hell hounde, with iii. hydeous heddes, whome he had brought from the dominion of Pluto?’³⁰ For reasons of space, however, I have not been able to explore this area of Hercules’ early modern English afterlife.³¹

The thesis begins by establishing that a wealth of Herculean information was available to readers and writers in sixteenth-century England, and examines what selected English writers and translators ‘do’ with and ‘to’ Hercules in response. My selection here is deliberately diverse, and considers representations of Hercules, understood in a broad sense, across a number of different forms – as a character in classical tragedies such as *Hercules furens* and their sixteenth-century English translations, as a rhetorical utterance inherited from the *hercle* and *mehercle* of Roman comedy, as a semi-‘historical’ figure operating in the same legendary and geographical spaces as figures from the so-called ‘British History’, and as both a character and a proverbial subject in English dramas and entertainments. Through this material I illustrate the fertile interplay between the different ‘appearances’ or ‘versions’ of Hercules discussed here. For instance, the ways in which English translations of Seneca’s ‘Hercules’ tragedies appeared in print in the 1560s in England, examined in the first chapter of the thesis, created a distinctive ‘language’ for Hercules which is still haunting (and sometimes hamstringing) the writers of entertainments and drama towards the end of the sixteenth century, the subject of the final chapter.

Having established that sixteenth-century English ‘uses’ and representations of Hercules are as various as Varro’s forty-three Herculese no doubt were, the thesis moves in its central chapters to consider the methodological implications that Herculean variousness and multiplicity have for the workings of allusion to Hercules in early modern

³⁰ Anthony Cope, *The historie of two the moste noble capitaines of the worlde, Anniball and Scipio* (London: T. Berthelet, 1544), sig. a3^v.

³¹ There is discussion of Hercules in visual culture from a Europe-wide perspective in Bull, 86-140, and of course in Seznec, *passim*, as well as numerous studies specific to particular courts or cultures in continental Europe, but the hero still awaits scholarly treatment of his visual representations in England.

texts.³² I show that Hercules' multiplicity is itself a literary resource. I approach this topic through the appearances of Hercules in sixteenth-century writing with a 'topographical' dimension. This broad category, intended to mirror the inclusive classical concept of *geographia*, contains chorographical and antiquarian writings such as William Harrison's contributions to *Holinshed's Chronicles* (1577; 1587), and William Camden's *Britannia* (from 1586). Acknowledging the Herculean content of these texts leads in turn to the recognition of classical geographical texts such as Strabo's *Geography* as sources for both information about Hercules, and mythological information more generally in the early modern period. What early modern 'topographical' writing and classical geographical writing have in common is their presentation of mythological stories as local phenomena sited in particular geographical spaces. I suggest that place forms a significant component of the allusion to and the creation of mythological narratives in early modern texts. Topographical texts classical and early modern therefore provide a historically-informed basis for regarding both mythological reference and allusion in early modern English writing as a 'local' phenomenon particular to its textual and contextual settings. From this perspective, the variety and diversity of the stories which make up Hercules' mythos mean that this hero is especially responsive to 'local' use in texts for a number of specific purposes.

The word 'place' in the paragraph above is deliberately broad, and carries several overlapping and suggestive senses significant to the entirety of this thesis' account of Hercules. Most obviously, places are physical locations of various descriptions and types: a forest, Mount Oeta, a house, and so on. A place is also, however, a part or location in a book or a passage in an author.³³ By extension it is also a rhetorical 'place' or *locus* – in general,

³² All but one of Varro's works are lost; for his twenty-four Hercules see Servius, *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, ed. Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen, 3 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1878-1902), II: *Aeneidos librorum VI-XII commentarii*, ed. Georg Thilo (1881), 8. 564.

³³ Cf. 'place, n.¹', *OEDO*, 7. b. [accessed 31 October 2016].

a topic of discussion, and, more specifically, ‘the points on which proofs are founded or from which they are deduced’.³⁴ Speaking of ‘topics’ brings to mind the related Greek word *topos* (τόπος), which shares some of its field of meanings with ‘place’ and *locus*, and which can also denote a physical location, a passage in a text, and a rhetorical topic.³⁵ The way in which these terms blur geographical, literary, and rhetorical places is suggestive to my purposes here because they provide a way of connecting geographical places to literary ones. Since in my argument ‘setting’ is a significant component of how mythological allusion happens in early modern writing, terms such as *locus* and *topos* encompass both the potentially ‘literal’ and/or geographical settings in which many mythological narratives take place, and the way that these settings are also sites (or places) of literary and mythological accumulation. Thinking about Hercules from this topicological perspective is useful more generally because it provides a workable framework for, most obviously, understanding the rhetorical dimensions of the hero as he appears in English writing, and also for understanding the movements of different stories and elements of ‘Hercules’ (or perhaps, of Herculean *topoi*) between different texts and genres.

Chapter 1 of the thesis examines the presentation of Hercules and his mythos in Seneca’s *Hercules furens* and the pseudo-Senecan *Hercules Oetaeus*, and their printed sixteenth-century English translations by Jasper Heywood and John Studley. These Senecan plays were easily available in both Latin and English in sixteenth-century England, and gave early modern people access to vast amounts of Herculean ‘information’. Much modern scholarship on these English translations sees them as the products of a communal enterprise, realized in Thomas Newton’s collection *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581), and

³⁴ For this sense of ‘place’ in English see ‘place, n.1’, *OEDO*, 7. c. [accessed 31 October 2016]. For the quotation see Lewis & Short, s.v. ‘locus’, II. A. 1. Hence, therefore, ‘commonplace’, as ‘[a] passage of general application, such as may serve as the basis of argument’, ‘commonplace, n. and adj.’, A. I. 1., *OEDO* [accessed 31 October 2016].

³⁵ See LSJ, s.v. τόπος, and Chapter 4.3, ‘Myth and the varieties of τόπος (*topoi*)’, for further discussion.

the creator(s) of a Senecan ‘language’ for Elizabethan drama. I set the plays, and ‘Seneca’ himself, in an early modern context which, in general, recognized neither Seneca as an individual author, nor the corporate authorship of the tragedies themselves. As a result, I suggest that critical accounts of the unified nature of the *Tenne Tragedies* ‘project’ are an effect both of Newton’s own editorial interests, and of our modern understanding of Seneca as a single author. These conclusions provide a fruitful perspective for examining Heywood and Studley’s ‘Hercules’ translations, which, despite their appearance in Newton’s *Tenne Tragedies*, were produced by confessionally very different translators for radically different purposes. Early modern controversies around the authorship of the plays, and the postulation of multiple authors for them results (once again) in a fragmented and multiple ‘picture’ of Hercules.

Chapter 2 flips the ‘tragic’, Senecan Hercules half on its head (as Seneca himself seems to have done in the *Apocolocyntosis*), and examines exclamations and allusions to Hercules in Sir Philip Sidney’s ‘old’ and unfinished ‘new’ *Arcadias*. I show that in the ‘old’ *Arcadia* Sidney uses ‘comic’ as well as ‘tragic’ Herculesees for serious purposes: to express differences in social register and social status between characters, and to draw attention to characters’ departures from decorum, and to the troubling use of mythological information by suspect women. In the ‘old’ *Arcadia* these uses play off, and indeed depend upon, Hercules’ variegated and unstable mythos, and the tonal instability that they create. This effect is however no longer desirable in the ‘new’ *Arcadia*. The changing generic profile of the revision, and its introduction of the dangerously mythologically learned Cecropia, result in a decrease in Hercules’ textual appearances, and attempts to limit or ‘control’ more undesirable episodes in Hercules’ mythos when the hero is referenced. This chapter’s treatment of ‘comic’ representations of Hercules, and of Herculean exclamations in Roman ‘New’ Comedy, also sets the scene for Chapter 5’s discussion of ‘dramatic’ representations

of Hercules in sixteenth-century English plays and entertainments. As in Sidney's *Arcadias*, surviving 'New' Comedies feature many Herculean exclamations but no 'actual' Herculeses as part of their drama, and they as such provide a helpful precedent for the coexistence of both 'verbal' and 'character' Herculeses explored in Chapter 5.³⁶

Chapter 3 discusses the appearances of Hercules in 'topographical' writing, and makes a case for the peculiar importance of geographically-situated mythological stories about Hercules in an early modern English context. I focus upon Hercules' battle with the giants Albion and Bergion at the mouth of the Rhône River in France, and trace the various manifestations of this episode in *Holinshed's Chronicles*, John Stow's *The Chronicles of England*, and Camden's *Britannia*, and the ways in which it became entangled with stories about Britain's legendary prehistory (or the so-called 'British History'). The Chapter then shows that this episode is most easily understood in relation to the mythological and topographical resources offered by classical 'geographical' texts. I propose that classical 'geographical' texts were important resources for early modern understanding of mythology more generally, and that early modern people knew about them and used them. By way of a case study, I examine the sorts of Herculean information that two selected classical texts, Strabo's *Geography*, and Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, provide to readers. Presenting mythological material and narratives in combination with the description of geographical places and topographical features makes allusion to mythological narratives a potentially 'local' textual practice, responsive to its particular textual contexts and moments. As I outlined above, Chapter 4 puts the arguments formulated in Chapter 3 into practice in relation to the uses of and references to Hercules in Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.

³⁶ The closest that surviving 'New' comedies come to putting Hercules onstage is Plautus' *Amphitryon*, which dramatizes the circumstances around Hercules' conception, and which is also Plautus' only extant play on a mythological subject.

Chapter 5 examines a selection of Hercules' appearances, both 'actual' and rhetorical, in sixteenth-century English plays and entertainments such as the entertainments put on for Elizabeth I at Kenilworth in 1575, Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *King John*, and the anonymous *Troublesome Raigne of John, King of England*. I show that many of Hercules' dramatic appearances manifest associations with and concerns about the figure discussed in other chapters, and play upon or repurpose the rhetorical instability that could result from Hercules' multiple actions and reputations. In thinking about Hercules and dramatic texts I am indebted to Eugene Waith's study *The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden* (1962). Waith maps 'Herculean' qualities – which are actions and 'character traits', often extreme and excessive, that were appropriate to the hero in his archaic heroic context, but are now deplorable – onto the compelling but morally ambiguous protagonists of plays such as Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, George Chapman's *Bussy d'Ambois*, and Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*.³⁷ These traits produce a distinctive 'type' of hero, 'a warrior of great stature who', like Hercules, 'is guilty of striking departures from the morality of the society in which he lives'.³⁸ Waith rightly stresses the difficulties and the energy of the mismatch between Heracles' heroic origins and the later contexts in which his mythos was understood. But the focus of my work is elsewhere. By regarding the heroes of these plays as a Herculean 'type', Waith slots Hercules into an epic/tragic framework that restricts the range of his dramatic functions.³⁹ Early modern uses of Hercules, however, often present 'comic' and 'tragic' Herculeses in conjunction, and, moreover, imply that the rhetorical gap between comic and tragic utterance as far as Hercules is concerned is sometimes so narrow as to be indiscernible. I therefore treat what I

³⁷ Eugene M. Waith, *The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1962), 13.

³⁸ Waith, 11.

³⁹ Speaking of 'types' also raises the spectre of archetypal approaches to 'myth' discussed above.

term ‘rhetorical’ appearances of Hercules – in proverbs, for instance – alongside his ‘literal’ appearances in dramatic works such as Shakespeare’s *Love’s Labour’s Lost*.

I hope in this thesis to give a sense of the variety and complexity of ‘Herculeses’ available in various manifestations in English texts between 1545 and 1600, to propose that classical geographical writing constitutes a body of significant source materials for early modern access to and writing of mythological narratives both Herculean and otherwise; and to suggest a more topologically-based method for understanding how mythological allusions work in sixteenth-century English writing. Whether or not I have succeeded is another matter. But I close hopefully, with the words of the Homeric Hymn to Heracles:

Alcides, (Force-fullest of all the Broode
Of Men, enforc’t with neede of earthie foode,)
My Muse shal memorise; the son of Ioue;
Whom, in faire-seated Thebs (commixt in loue
With great Heauen’s sable-cloud-assembling state)
Alcmena bore to him. And who (in date
Of daies forepast) through all the Sea was sent
And Earths inernarable Continent;
To Acts, that King Eurystheus had decreede.
Did many a Petulant, and Imperious Deede
Himselfe; and therefore, suffer’d many a Toile.
Yet now inhabites the illustrious Soile
Of white Olympus, and Delights his life
With still young Hebe, his well-ankled wife.
Haile, King; and Sonne of Ioue; vouchsafe thou Me
Uirtue; and her Effect, Felicitie.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ George Chapman, ‘TO LYON-HEARTED Hercules’, in *The Crowne of all Homers Workes Batrachomyomachia Or the Battaille of Frogs and Mise His Hymn’s – and – Epigrams*, trans. George Chapman (London: J. Bill, 1624), sig. Q2^{r-v}. For a fluent modern translation of the hymn, see Stafford, 19. It seems most appropriate that this translation appears in the same volume as a translation of a mock heroic poem which turns Homeric epic into *bomphiologia*.

1. Hercules in early modern England: Seneca's tragedies

The relationship between the tragedies associated with the Roman philosopher and tragedian Seneca and sixteenth-century English drama is a field well-tilled by twentieth and twenty-first century scholarship.¹ This state of affairs might make Seneca a perilous place to begin, but it is the case nonetheless that Seneca's tragedies, and particularly the two 'Hercules' plays in this collection, comprised significant sources of information about Hercules in early modern England, and were easily available in print in Latin, English, and other vernacular languages. This chapter will demonstrate how both Seneca's Latin plays and their sixteenth-century English translations present multiple versions of Hercules, and put him to very various uses. It sets the notably different English translations of *Hercules furens* by Jasper Heywood, and *Hercules Oetaeus* by John Studley, and the appearance of both these works in Thomas Newton's collection *Seneca his Tenne Tragedies* in 1581, in the context of early modern ideas about the multiple authorship of the Senecan canon, and considerable uncertainty about the unitary identity of 'Seneca' himself as an author. This perspective challenges critical ideas about the *Tenne Tragedies* as a collective 'project', and, more broadly, about these translations' creation of a 'Senecan' language influential upon Elizabethan drama.² The *Tenne Tragedies* is an attempt by Newton, and possibly by Studley and other religiously-likeminded individuals, to impose continuity on a heterogeneous set

¹ Earlier critical work on Seneca in early modern England was preoccupied with the question of precisely what 'influence' Seneca's tragedies had on the development of Elizabethan drama, often focusing on the presentation of parallel passages: see e.g. John W. Cunliffe, *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy* (London; New York: Macmillan, 1893; repr. Hamden, CT: Archon, 1965). For a (dissenting) survey, see G. K. Hunter, 'Seneca and the Elizabethans: A Case-Study in "Influence"', *Shakespeare Survey*, 20 (1967), 17-26. More recent scholarship has traced subtler 'Senecan' influences upon Elizabethan dramaturgy, and what we might call tragic *ethos*: see e.g. Robert Miola, *Shakespeare and Classical Tragedy: The Influence of Seneca* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); and explored the political contexts for early Elizabethan translations of the tragedies: see Jessica Winston, 'Seneca in Early Elizabethan England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 59 (2006), 29-59.

² Much scholarship on the *Tenne Tragedies* has confused the production of the volume with the production of the individual tragedies. See e.g. most recently, Tara Lyons has argued that the *Tenne Tragedies* is the end product of a project '[g]uided by the ideal of a ten-play Seneca collection': see Tara Lyons, 'English Printed Drama in Collection before Jonson and Shakespeare' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011), 56-57.

of translations, with particularly pronounced consequences for its two ‘Hercules’ plays. Modern awareness of Seneca as a single historical individual has made scholarship unduly responsive to Newton’s unusually holistic vision of ‘Senecan tragedy’. In fact, early modern ideas about the multiple authorship of the ‘Senecan’ corpus result, once again, in fragmented and multiple Herculesees.

1.1. Hercules in Seneca’s tragedies

Seneca’s tragedies contain a great deal of information about Hercules. This is of course because the hero is the central protagonist of both Seneca’s *Hercules furens*, and the pseudo-Senecan *Hercules Oetaeus*.³ But it is also a result of the literary-historical context of first-century Rome, in which Greek mythology was an indispensable part of both Greek and Roman literary (and literate) culture.⁴ For Seneca, ‘Greek mythology’ would probably have equated to a large extent to the ‘corpus of stories every educated person was expected to know’, and could suffer social consequences for not knowing.⁵ In one of his letters Seneca himself ridicules the rich but ignorant freedman Calvisius Sabinus as desperate to appear *eruditus* but exposed by his poor memory of mythological names.⁶ The often obscure mythological details and alternative versions of mythological stories that Seneca’s own plays draw upon and refer to suggests that these plays present (in R. G. Mayer’s phrase)

³ See section 1.2., ‘Early modern Senecas’, for discussion of the authorship of the Senecan corpus, and the implications of this issue for its representations of Hercules.

⁴ See Alan Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World*, American Classical Studies, 48 (New York; Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004).

⁵ Cameron, xii.

⁶ ‘I have never seen greater vulgarity in a successful man... [h]is memory was so bad that at one moment or another the names of Ulysses, or Achilles, or Priam, characters he knew as well as we knew our early teachers, would slip his memory... But this didn’t stop him wanting to appear a well-read man’ [numquam uidi hominem beatum indecentius. huic memoria tam mala erat, ut illi nomen modo Vlixis excideret, modo Achillis, modo Priami, quos tam bene quam paedagogos nostros nouimus... nihilominus eruditus uolebat uideri], Seneca, Letter 27, English translation from Seneca, *Letters from a Stoic*, trans. Robin Campbell (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), 73-74; Latin text from Seneca, *Select Letters of Seneca*, ed. Walter C. Summers (London: Macmillan, 1929), 5-6. Also quoted in Cameron, 232.

‘myth for connoisseurs’.⁷ Their engagement with mythological information is deliberately expansive and complex.

Seneca’s Hercules is also a product of this cultural and intellectual context. *Hercules furens* and *Hercules Oetaeus* present Herculeses surrounded by an expansive and well-developed mythos that is constantly alluded to and also critiqued. It is true that references to the wider contours of Hercules’ mythos are also present in fifth-century Attic tragedies about Hercules, notably in Euripides’ *Heracles* and Sophocles’ *Women of Trachis*, to which *Hercules furens* and *Hercules Oetaeus* are likely to have some degree of relationship.⁸ But in the two Roman plays these references are greater in number and more prominent. Focusing on the treatment of Hercules’ labours across all these surviving plays illuminates how *Hercules furens* and *Hercules Oetaeus* showcase an extensive selection of Herculean information. *Hercules furens* follows in many respects the dramatic structure of Euripides’ *Heracles*, but expands Euripides’ treatment of the labours of Hercules in particular.⁹ In *Heracles* the first sustained discussion of the deeds of Heracles is found in the second choral ode, which catalogues and celebrates twelve labours.¹⁰ *Hercules furens* provides a ‘list’ of Hercules’ labours at an earlier point, when Amphytrion complains of his son’s endless tasks, and the play also takes the opportunity to enumerate the number and detail of Hercules’

⁷ R. G. Mayer, ‘Doctus Seneca’, *Mnemosyne*, 43 (1990), 395-407 (403), for the quotation and numerous examples.

⁸ See John G. Fitch, ‘Introduction’, in *Seneca’s ‘Hercules furens’: A Critical Text with Introduction and Commentary*, ed. John G. Fitch, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, 45 (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1987), 45-50. The closing speech of the deified Hercules in *HO* may also recall *Philoctetes*: see Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, in Sophocles, *Antigone, The Women of Trachis, Philoctetes*, ed. and trans. Hugh Lloyd-Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1994), 1409ff.

⁹ The following analysis is conducted in full awareness of the perils and shortcomings of examining Senecan tragedy exclusively in relation to fifth-century Attic tragedy, when four hundred years of drama has been lost in between. See R. J. Tarrant, ‘Senecan Drama and its Antecedents’, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 82 (1978), 213-63. The most recent comparative study of *Heracles* and *HF* focuses on their treatments of the hero’s madness: see Kathleen Riley, *The Reception and Performance of Euripides’ ‘Herakles’: Reasoning Madness* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), 51-91.

¹⁰ Euripides, *Heracles*, in Euripides, *Suppliant Women, Electra, Heracles*, ed. and trans. David Kovacs (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1998), 348-424. Subsequent references to this edition and translation (as ‘*Heracles*’) unless specified.

deeds at various other points in the action.¹¹ In *Hercules Oetaeus* Hercules' deeds and labours are even more insistently reiterated and catalogued, principally by Hercules himself.¹²

Heracles' list of twelve labours only shares six labours with Amphitryon's own list in *Hercules furens*: the Nemean lion, the hind of Artemis, the mares of Diomedes, the apples of the Hesperides, the baldric of Hippolyta, and the Lernaean hydra. This discrepancy is a consequence of the dates of the two plays, and of their differing representations of the hero. Euripides' ode is the earliest surviving enumeration in writing of a series of twelve labours of Hercules, and its relatively unusual selection of deeds, such as the Centauromachy, Heracles' combat with Cynus, and the mysterious clearing of the sea, has perturbed scholars, some of whom have consequently suggested that the ode is not a list or canon of 'the twelve' at all.¹³ This interpretation seems to view the ode from the perspective of later and more systematic accounts of the labours such as those found in Diodorus Siculus' *Library of History*, and Apollodorus' *Library*, when another explanation is that since there was no fixed 'set' of labours in the fifth century BCE, the ode selects its own series of labours in order to present its Heracles as a 'pan-Hellenic leader'.¹⁴ It therefore downplays deeds associated geographically with the Peloponnese – such as the Stymphalian birds, and

¹¹ *Hercules furens*, in Seneca, *Tragedies*, ed. and trans. John G. Fitch, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2002-04), I (2002), 214-48. Subsequent references will be to this edition and translation (as '*HF*'), unless otherwise specified, incorporated in the main text.

¹² *Hercules Oetaeus*, in Seneca, *Tragedies*, ed. and trans. John G. Fitch, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2002-04), II (2004), 16-27. Subsequent references will be to this edition and translation (as '*HO*'), unless otherwise specified, incorporated in the main text. See further, partial lists of labours in *HO*, 1195-1205, 1235-45, 1533-40, 1813-15, and 1887-1935.

¹³ Both the status and number of deeds that the ode catalogues have been disputed: see e.g. Frank Brommer, *Heracles: The Twelve Labors of the Hero in Ancient Art and Literature*, trans. and rev. Shirley J. Schwarz (New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas), 61; and Emma Stafford's comment that the chorus in *Heracles* 'include[s] other exploits in a rambling account of seven of the labours', Emma Stafford, *Herakles* (London: Routledge, 2012), 29. For discussion of the representation of these Herculean tasks in literary and visual sources see Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*, 2 vols (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1993), I, 390-92, 421-23, respectively, excluding the sea-clearing.

¹⁴ See Euripides, *Heracles*, ed. Godfrey W. Bond (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 154. For these more 'systemic' accounts, see Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History*, ed. and trans. C. H. Oldfather and others, 12 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1933-67), II (1935), trans. Oldfather, 4. 8-39; and Apollodorus, *The Library*, trans. J. G. Frazer, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1921), I, 2. 4. 8-7.8.

the stables of Augeas – in favour of deeds associated with a wider range of areas in Greece, and with Heracles’ pan-Hellenic role as the *alexikakos* or ‘averted of evil’.¹⁵

Seneca’s own variations in the catalogues of ‘the twelve’ presented in *Hercules furens* and *Agamemnon* indicate the continuing flexibility of the precise composition of the twelve labours for thematic purposes. The inclusion of Hercules’ razing of Troy as the twelfth labour in the fourth choral ode of *Agamemnon* is ironically relevant to the events of the play, in which Agamemnon returns from sacking Troy only to be murdered by Clytemnestra and Aegisthus.¹⁶ Rather differently, enumeration of the labours in *Hercules furens* serves to emphasize the magnitude of Hercules’ tasks, and thus of Hercules himself. Hercules’ work begins in the cradle with the strangling of the serpents, and ‘those hands, dauntless in every deed of renown, did not shirk the filthy labour of the Augean stable’ [nec, ad omne clarum facinus audaces manus | stabuli fugavit turpis Augei labor] (*HF*, 247-48). Seneca includes references to a wider range of Hercules’ activities than Euripides, and while this is perhaps fitting for such a laboriously burdened Hercules, it may also reflect the extensive mythographical resources available in Rome by the first century CE, and the value of recherché mythological information in contemporary literary culture.¹⁷ So we hear, for instance, that Hercules helped Jupiter in the Gigantomachy (*HF*, 445), that he pulverized Eryx in a boxing match (*HF*, 482) and also defeated Cynus the son of Mars, here a deed on the way to accomplish another labour; that he had various erotic adventures (*HF*, 465-76), and, in an episode unique to Seneca, that Hercules escaped on foot when shipwrecked on the Syrtes on the Libyan coast (*HF*, 319-24).¹⁸

¹⁵ Hence the inclusion of the otherwise obscure and ‘traditionally’ uncanonical labour of ‘sea-clearing’: see Euripides, *Heracles*, ed. Bond, 400-402n. On Herakles *alexikakos*, a cult title, see Stafford, 176-77.

¹⁶ Seneca, *Agamemnon*, 808-65. For Hercules’ destruction of Troy see *Agamemnon*, 863-85. For discussion see Seneca, *Agamemnon*, ed. R. J. Tarrant (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1976), 808-66n. Hercules actually destroyed Troy twice: for details, and earlier representations see Gantz, I, 400-02, 442-45.

¹⁷ See Cameron, 217-52, and R. G. Mayer, *passim*.

¹⁸ See Seneca, *Hercules furens*, ed. Fitch, 319-24n.

Reiterating this information also serves several other functions in the play. For his family, Hercules' past deeds serve as a sort of security for future returns. Amphytryon lists Hercules' labours in order to assert that Hercules *will* return unscathed from his latest task in the underworld, and Megara hopes that Hercules will return by using if necessary the same earth-rupturing techniques he previously employed when he created the vale of Tempe in Thessaly (*HF*, 279-90).¹⁹ Seneca's Hercules thinks in an entirely deed-orientated manner, for when he does return from the underworld, he immediately calls upon Juno to 'assign any further task' [*da si quid ultra est*] (*HF*, 614).²⁰ Euripides' Heracles, by contrast, is emphatic that the 'traditional' labours are irrelevant if he cannot protect his children: '[w]hat a fine deed shall we call it to do battle with a hydra and a lion... if I do not prevent the death of my children?' says the hero.²¹ Hercules' reluctant decision to live on after the catastrophe of killing his family in *Hercules furens* is accomplished through Amphytryon's threats of suicide, and characterized as enduring another labour very much in the mould of the tasks he has already completed: '[t]his labour must be added to the Herculean labours: to live' [*eat ad labores hic quoque Herculeos labor: vivamus*] (*HF*, 1316-17). Hercules did his praiseworthy deeds 'under orders' [*laudanda feci iussus*], while his killing of his family was his own act (*HF*, 1268-70); continuing to live, then, must be 'done under a command... in order to become acceptable'.²²

The coercive function of the labours in the denouement of *Hercules furens* is complicated by the use that other characters make of Hercules' deeds in the play. Hercules' previous activities – the often contradictory substance of his mythos – are very much the dramatic currency of *Hercules furens*, providing material both to those who would discredit

¹⁹ Cf. the similar creation of the Strait of Gibraltar: *HF*, 237; *HO*, 1240, 1253, 1569.

²⁰ And *ultra* is a significant word for Hercules, pointing to Hercules' propensity for pushing beyond both geographical and physical boundaries, and to the potential and dangerous arrogance of this stance. For the range of meanings accruing to this word, see Lewis & Short, s.v. 'ultra'; 'ulter'.

²¹ Euripides, *Heracles*, 570-80.

²² Fitch, 'Introduction', in Seneca, *Hercules furens*, ed. Fitch, 39.

Hercules, and to those who defend him. The play therefore makes use of different versions of Herculean stories, or contrasting episodes from Hercules' mythos, as a rhetorical strategy: Hercules is a subject that the characters in these plays argue over.²³ Amphitryon and Lycus, the upstart new king of Thebes by conquest, argue about whether or not Hercules' deeds *are* heroic, and, accordingly, whether Hercules himself is praiseworthy, or heroic at all (*HF*, 439-94).²⁴ The debate culminates in the accretion of competing examples of actions by Hercules that either confirm or undermine his heroic status. Lycus draws attention to the more disturbing deeds of Hercules: his servitude to Omphale, his destruction of Eurytus' kingdom in order to obtain Iole, and 'the harrying of herds of maidens as if they were cattle' [pecorumque ritu virginium oppressi greges] (*HF*, 465-71, 477-8). As Lycus gleefully points out, these actions are outside the traditional remit of the labours carried out for Eurystheus, and as such '[n]o Juno, no Eurystheus gave such commands: this is his own work' [hoc nulla Iuno, nullus Eurystheus iubet: | ipsius haec sunt opera] (*HF*, 479-80). Amphitryon attempts to counter Lycus' criticisms by heaping up examples of his own, and concludes by claiming that Lycus is wrong because 'you do not know the full story' [non nosti omnia] (*HF*, 480).

Contesting Lycus' criticisms through the deployment of mythological information is perhaps the verbal equivalent of Hercules' own inclination in *Hercules furens* towards using brute strength to defeat his enemies.²⁵ And in fact *Hercules Oetaeus* opens with Hercules himself cataloguing his labours and aggressively demanding deification, aggrieved that his

²³ For discussion of the dialectical functions of this exchange in *HF* as an example of Senecan rhetorical practice more generally, see Lorna Hutson, *Circumstantial Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015), 18-19.

²⁴ Similarly, once she realizes that Hercules has brought back Iole from Oechalia to be his concubine, Deianira in *HO* reframes Hercules' heroic activities as those of a 'trifler', who 'wanders through the world, not in order to match Jove, nor to walk tall through Argive cities: he is searching for love objects, looking for girls to bed' [levis est... | errat per orbem, non ut aequetur Iovi | nec ut per urbes magnus Argolicas eat: | quod amet requirit, virginum thalamus petit], *HO*, 416-19. Sympathizing with Iole, the Chorus had earlier questioned the veracity of Hercules' mythos: 'False is the story of the double night | ... | What boulder gave you [Hercules] birth, what Scythian crag?' [Falsa est de geminis fabula noctibus, | ... | quae cautes Scythiae, quis genuit lapis?], *HO*, 147, 143.

²⁵ See e.g. Hercules' unnecessarily violent treatment of Charon in the underworld, *HF*, 770-75.

conquests have been apotheosized ahead of himself: '[t]hough victor, I gaze from earth at my own Labours!' [victor, e terris meos | specto labores!] (*HO*, 73-74).²⁶ As Gordon Braden points out, Hercules' descent into madness in *Hercules furens* is depicted as an 'unstoppable competitiveness under the spell of his own name', and Hercules' 'mad' ambitions are articulated through comparison with labours already accomplished: an assault on the heavens is thus the next 'labour worthy of Alcides' [immune caelum est, dignus Alcide labor] (*HF*, 957).²⁷ The constant enumeration and repetition of labours and stories from Hercules' mythos in both these plays, is therefore rather appropriate to their overreaching protagonists. Certainly *Hercules furens* is the longest of the tragedies that can be definitively attributed to Seneca, and, at just under two thousand lines, *Hercules Oetaeus* is the longest extant classical tragedy.²⁸ Part of the reason for the length of both these plays is the space that both give to detailing Hercules' numerous, complicated, and varied activities. Hercules as a subject therefore seems to encourage prolix and expansive treatment.

Although *Hercules furens* and *Hercules Oetaeus* ostensibly share much of their Herculean subject matter, the two plays have received strikingly different critical treatments. Despite a recent resurgence of interest in Senecan tragedy, *Hercules Oetaeus* remains comparatively neglected and almost entirely disparaged in modern scholarship.²⁹ Critics have tended to find this play aesthetically unsatisfactory, and even lacking in 'intellectual

²⁶ The opening of *HO* no doubt deliberately parallels Juno's complaints about Hercules' successes at *HF*, 1-124.

²⁷ Gordon Braden, *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition: Anger's Privilege* (New Haven; London: Yale UP, 1985), 15.

²⁸ 'Longest' here denotes having the most number of extant lines. My count is based on the lineation in Seneca, *Tragedies*, ed. and trans. Fitch.

²⁹ The re-evaluation of Senecan drama began in earnest with C. J. Herington's seminal article 'Senecan Tragedy', *Arion*, 5 (1966), 422-71. Its changing fortunes are well illustrated in *Bibliografia senecana del XX secolo*, ed. Andrea Balbo, Italo Lano, and Ermanno Malaspina (Bologna: Pàtron, 2005); and more recently see Sander M. Goldberg, 'Reading Roman Tragedy', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 13 (2007), 571-84 (576-8). The publication of the first separate critical edition of *HO*, and of several monographs devoted to the play, however, suggests that the critical tide is changing: see Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus: testo critico, traduzione e commento*, ed. and trans. Daniela Averna (Rome: Carocci, 2002), and Christine Walde, *Herculeus labor: Studien zum pseudosenecanischen Hercules Oetaeus*, *Studien zur klassischen Philologie*, 64 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1992).

substance'.³⁰ Similar judgements have informed the controversy over this play's authorship, for *Hercules Oetaeus* is now thought to be the work of an early imitator of Seneca, perhaps of the late first century CE, rather than Seneca himself.³¹ Analysis of the play's style has played a major role in discussions about the play's authorship.³² Many modern critics have found *Hercules Oetaeus* a displeasingly 'shapeless' assemblage of parts, incorporating such an abundance of verbal allusions to the other Senecan tragedies, and especially to *Hercules furens*, so as to be 'cento-like' in its effect, and therefore have concluded that the play is not the work of Seneca.³³ As we shall see, early modern scholars drew different conclusions about *Hercules Oetaeus*, but these aesthetic and stylistic criticisms do articulate something of the effect that the play's weight of mythological information has upon its modern readers. *Hercules Oetaeus* spends a great deal of time enumerating a vast range and number of Hercules' exploits, and it is as such something of a compendium of information about Hercules and his activities. Among the results of including all these details and episodes is the length and prolixity of the play, as well as modern criticisms of it as repetitious, overlong, flaccid, and 'incoherent'.³⁴ Hercules repeatedly catalogues his deeds, and the play also alludes to darker episodes from his mythos, such as his rape of Auge, his impregnation of Thespius' forty-nine daughters, and his sojourn as the slave of Omphale (*HO*, 366-76). As

³⁰ For this characterization see A. J. Boyle, *An Introduction to Roman Tragedy* (London: Routledge, 2006), 221.

³¹ See section 1.2., 'Early modern Senecas', for discussion of the circumstances of the play's transmission and early incorporation into the Senecan corpus.

³² As C. A. J. Littlewood comments, '[t]oo often arguments for and against Senecan authorship [of *HO*] become a debate over the quality of the play', '*Hercules Oetaeus*', in *Brill's Companion to Seneca: Philosopher and Dramatist*, ed. Gregor Damschen and Andreas Heil (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014), 515-20 (515). For relative (and now generally accepted) stylometric dating of the tragedies, see John G. Fitch, 'Sense-Pauses and Relative Dating in Seneca, Sophocles and Shakespeare', *The American Journal of Philology*, 102 (1981), 289-307.

³³ For *HO* as 'shapeless', see C. D. N. Costa, 'The Tragedies', in *Seneca*, ed. C. D. N. Costa (London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), 96-110 (108); as 'cento-like', see Boyle, 221. Robin Nisbet discusses *HO*'s literary allusions in 'The Oak and the Axe: Symbolism in Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus* 1618ff.', in *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble*, ed. Philip Hardie, Mary Whitby, and Michael Whitby (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1987), 243-51.

³⁴ Criticisms from Boyle, 221-24.

a Herculean compendium (if not quite a cento), *Hercules Oetaeus* is an appropriate reflection of its composite protagonist.³⁵

The Hercules of *Hercules Oetaeus* makes much of his global and indeed extra-global reach, even bragging that ‘I outran the sun’s orbit, the daylight stopped short of my bounds. Nature gave way, the earth failed my steps and grew tired first’ [solis excessi vices | intraque nostras substitit metas dies. | natura cessit, terra defecit gradum, | lassata prior est] (*HO*, 44-47).³⁶ Like Hercules, the mythological information that this play contains is also bursting at the seams. The hero’s boasts that ‘[e]very land speaks of me’ [nulla me tellus silet] (*HO*, 39), provide an opportunity for the play to list his more far-flung adventures: he purified himself from the murders of his family in the Cinyphian spring in Libya (*HO*, 906-08)³⁷, warred with the Scythians (*HO*, 40-41, 165-66), and was celebrated by the Seres (*HO*, 414). The breadth of the play’s geographical reference corresponds to its mythological excesses, because the vast majority of Hercules’ deeds are situated in particular places across and beyond Greece. Subsequent chapters in this thesis will demonstrate the importance of the geographical dimensions of Hercules, but it is most prescient in this context to note that Hercules’ global reach corresponds to the excesses and expansiveness of his rhetoric.³⁸ In both *Hercules furens* and *Hercules Oetaeus* the geographical range of the labours, and their successes, permits Hercules to ‘outrun’ not only earthly boundaries, but also linguistic ones, and therefore to cultivate a rhetorical style full of exclamation and hyperbolic comparisons – and early modern readers and translators took note. In terrible agony after putting on the shirt of Nessus, for instance, Hercules calls upon Jupiter to ‘release the burning Titans from

³⁵ In *HO*, *mythos* (plot) is distorted by *mythos*: the weight of the labours, and the laboriousness of recounting them. Hercules shapes the form of the play as well as its content.

³⁶ See also especially *HO*, 742-44, where Hyllus urges his mother Deianira to flee to ‘some haven beyond earth, sea, stars, Ocean, underworld: beyond Alcides’ labours’ [si quid ulterius patet | terries freto sideribus Oceano inferis, | ultra labores].

³⁷ In contrast to *HF*, which locates the hero’s purification in Athens: see *HF*, 1341-44.

³⁸ For ‘geographical’ Herculeses, see Chapter 3, ‘Topographical mythologies: Hercules at the mouth of the Rhône and beyond’, and Chapter 4, ‘Hercules and *The Faerie Queene*’.

the Sicilian height... so they can bear Pindus against me, fling Mt Ossa down on me and crush me' [emitte Siculo vertice ardentem... | Titanas, in me qui manu Pindum ferant | Ossaque qui me monte proiecto opprimant] (*HO*, 1307-09).

1.2. Early modern Senecas

The position of Hercules in and across Seneca's tragedies is significantly inflected by the question of the authorship of the plays, and the circumstances of their transmission. Early modern printed texts of the tragedies and their arrangement differed substantially from their modern incarnations until the later seventeenth century.³⁹ Early modern printed editions of the tragedies were first derived from manuscripts of the tragedies belonging to a manuscript tradition known as *A*, rather than the recension known as *E*, until Johann Friedrich Gronow (Gronovius) used readings from the Codex Etruscus, the earliest surviving manuscript from *E*, in his 1661 edition of the tragedies.⁴⁰ In modern textual scholarship *E* is considered the more reliable recension, and forms the basis of modern critical texts of the tragedies. Manuscripts from the *A* and *E* branches differ substantially: those descending from *E* contain nine plays, whereas those from *A* also contain the *Octavia*, numerous interpolations and lacunae, present the plays in a different order, and *Troades*, *Phaedra*, and *Phoenissae* under different names.⁴¹ *Hercules Oetaeus* appears to have been incorporated into the Senecan tragic repertory at an early point in the history of the tragedies' transmission, since it appears

³⁹ The following discussion is based on information in R. J. Tarrant, 'Seneca the Younger', in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds, Peter K. Marshall, and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1983), 357-81; and R. J. Tarrant, 'Introduction: The manuscripts', in Seneca, *Agamemnon*, ed. Tarrant, 23-86.

⁴⁰ See Seneca, *L. Annae Senecae Tragœdiæ*, ed. Johann Friedrich Gronow (Leiden: Elzevir, 1661). Gronow did not make the first 'discovery' of the Codex Etruscus, but his edition marks the first entrance of *E* readings into print, and thus into considerably broader circulation. See Rolando Ferri, 'Transmission', in *Brill's Companion to Seneca: Philosopher and Dramatist*, ed. Gregor Damschen and Andreas Heil (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014), 45-49 (49).

⁴¹ Before the seventeenth century Latin editions of the collected tragedies followed the order of the *A* recension (*HF*, *Thyestes*, *Thebais*, *Hippolytus*, *Oedipus*, *Troas*, *Medea*, *Agamemnon*, *Octavia*, *HO*) – see e.g. the popular editions of Sebastian Gryphius, *L. Annae Senecae Cordubensis Tragoediae Decem* (Lyon: S. Gryphius, 1536; and various subsequent editions), which is the first to feature an 'Index Tragoediarum' setting out the running order: see sig. A1^v. Daniel Heinsius' 1611 edition of the tragedies places the *Octavia* after *HO*; and more radically, Thomas Farnaby's 1613 edition completely re-orders the plays.

in both *A* and *E* recensions.⁴² Early modern ‘tragic Seneca’ thus differs substantially from current ‘tragic Seneca’.

What (and who) ‘Seneca’ connotes in the early modern period is moreover not as obvious as it sounds. Despite their corporate transmission, the authorship of the ten tragedies was disputed until at least the mid-seventeenth century.⁴³ Scholars disputed which tragedies were by Seneca, which were possibly by other ‘Senecas’, and which were by other writers altogether. Seneca the philosopher was often (but not always) thought to be distinct from Seneca the tragedian, and the prose works and tragedies were printed separately.⁴⁴ Thus neither Erasmus’ Latin edition (1515, revised edition 1529), or Thomas Lodge’s English translation of Seneca’s collected prose writings (1614) contain the tragedies, though both engage with the question of the relation between the prose and dramatic works.⁴⁵ Several editions of the tragedies printed from 1506 onwards included in their prefatory materials Pietro Crinito’s (Petrus Crinitus’) chapter on Seneca from his *De poetis latinis* (1505, and many subsequent printings), which observed that there were certainly two Senecas, whom ‘the judgement of others’ held to be responsible for the prose works and the drama respectively.⁴⁶ But the tragedies were in fact more commonly *not* assigned to a single author, whether philosopher or tragedian: hence, for instance, the title of the first Latin edition of Seneca’s collective tragedies printed in England: *L. & M. Annaei Senecae atque aliorum*

⁴² Tarrant, ‘The manuscripts’, 52, n. 1.

⁴³ A key discussion of Senecan authorship in the early modern period is Roland Mayer, ‘Personata Stoa: Neostoicism and Senecan Tragedy’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994), 151-74. See also the recent account in James Ambrose, ‘The Reception of Seneca the Tragedian in Early Modern France: Editions, Translations, Commentaries’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2008), 126-80.

⁴⁴ See Colin Burrow, *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 166. In the manuscript tradition the tragedies and the prose works were first transmitted separately: see Tarrant, ‘Seneca the Younger’, 360.

⁴⁵ See Seneca, *En tibi lector optime, Lucii Annaei Senecae sanctissimi philosophi lucubrationes omnes*, ed. Desiderius Erasmus (Basel: J. Froben, 1515), sig. A4^r; Seneca, *The workes of Lucius Annæus Seneca, Both Morall and Naturall*, trans. Thomas Lodge (London: W. Stansby, 1614), sig. C6^r.

⁴⁶ ‘aliorum iudicium’, quoted in *Senecae Tragoediae*, ed. Benedictus Philologus (Florence: P. di Giunta, 1506), sig. A6^r, where Crinitus’ remarks are first reproduced. Subsequent citations to this edition will be to ‘*Senecae Tragoediae* (1506)’. The excerpt makes its way into the Aldine edition (Venice, 1517) and the numerous editions of the tragedies printed by the Lyonnaise Gryphius printing house between 1536 and 1587.

tragoediae (1613).⁴⁷ The tragedies seem to have been regarded as a ‘miscellany’ rather than an *oeuvre*.⁴⁸ Erasmus thought that the plays had more than one author, as did Justus Lipsius, who maintained on stylistic grounds that of all the plays only *Medea* was attributable to Seneca the philosopher, and that at least a further three authors could be identified among the remaining plays.⁴⁹ Daniel Heinsius, on the other hand, but also on stylistic grounds, assigned three plays to Lucius Annaeus Seneca (*Hippolytus*, *Troades*, *Medea*), four to ‘Marcus Annaeus Seneca’ (*Hercules furens*, *Thyestes*, *Oedipus*, *Agamemnon*), and the remaining three to three different authors.⁵⁰

These early modern views hardly accord with the standard modern distinction between Senecan and non-Senecan drama, and do not even agree with each other. What they show is that early modern readings of ‘Seneca’s’ tragedies took place in the context of a range of different ideas about their authorship, and which do not maintain the modern division between the eight ‘authentically Senecan’ tragedies, and *Octavia* and *Hercules Oetaeus*. The disputes around the authorship of the tragedies in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries should trouble modern critical understandings of ‘Elizabethan Seneca’ which depend upon Senecan authorship, or a single authorial style.⁵¹ Precisely what the word ‘Senecan’ in English implies in this period may upon closer inspection be more uncertain than scholars have presumed. The first recorded citation of this word in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is from 1885, and early modern discussions of Seneca’s tragedies may not

⁴⁷ *L. & M. Annaei Senecae atque aliorum tragoediae*, ed. Thomas Farnaby (London: F. Kingston for W. Welby, 1613).

⁴⁸ R. Mayer, 153.

⁴⁹ Justus Lipsius, *Animadversiones in Tragoedias quae L. Annæo Senecæ tribuuntur* (Leiden: F. Raphelengius, 1588), sig. A2^v.

⁵⁰ *L. Annæi Senecae et aliorum Tragoediae serio emendate*, ed. Daniel Heinsius (Leiden: J. Orlers, A. Cloucq and J. Maire, 1611), sigs. li1^v-li2^r. For an extended discussion of Heinsius see Ambrose, 162-71.

⁵¹ Most critical accounts of Seneca in the literary and political contexts of Elizabethan England, from Cunliffe’s in 1893 to Winston’s recent study *Lawyers at Play: Literature, Law, and Politics at the Early Modern Inns of Court, 1558-1581* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2016), 149-70, work within the paradigm of single ‘Senecan’ authorship. This assumption naturally shapes their conceptions and analyses of the tragedies’ stylistic and/or ideological qualities.

display the same understanding of a ‘senecan aesthetic’ – ‘rhetoric, excess, metatheatricity, delirium... abjection, horror, confinement’ – that modern readers perhaps find more congenial to interpreting the tragedies in a single-author framework.⁵² The cognate adjective ‘Senecal’, which is attested in the seventeenth century, does not necessarily refer only to Seneca the tragedian.⁵³

These questions of authorship are relevant to *Hercules* firstly because of the particular modern controversy surrounding the authorship of *Hercules Oetaeus*, and its consequent status in the ‘Senecan’ canon, and secondly because the authorial disunity of the tragedies from an early modern perspective may help to explain why both *Hercules furens* and *Hercules Oetaeus* were available for very different appropriations by the English translators of these tragedies in the sixteenth century. As we shall see, English translations of Seneca’s tragedies were first translated and printed individually, by a number of different translators, before they were printed as a ten-play unit. Early modern uncertainty about the authorship of ‘Senecan’ tragedy also throws into relief the choice of Thomas Newton, the compiler-editor of the first collected printing of the translations, to present the tragedies as a composite, single-author unit. The ‘Senecan’ was not (yet) a single quality or set of

⁵² See ‘Senecan, adj.’, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, Oxford UP <<http://www.oed.com>> [accessed 20 August 2016]. Subsequent references to this database as ‘*OEDO*’. For recent discussion of the ‘aesthetic’ of Senecan drama in the context of performance studies (from which the above quotation is taken), see Helen Slaney, *The Senecan Aesthetic: A Performance History* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015), 1-37 (3). I have only been able to locate one early modern English use of ‘Senecan’ which refers to Seneca *tragicus*: describing the Pontus Euxinus (the Black Sea), the English translation of Abraham Ortelius’ *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* directs readers ‘which take any pleasure in fables or fictions of poets belonging to this Pontus’ to ‘haue recourse to *Senecan Medea*’, Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum: The theatre of the whole world: Set forth by that Excellent Geographer Abraham Ortelius*, trans. W. B. (London: J. Norton, 1606), sig. xxv^r. This use does not imply anything about the nature of the drama itself.

⁵³ See the examples under ‘Senecal, adj.’, in *OEDO* [accessed 20 August 2016]. However, as the slightly catch-all nature of the *OED*’s definition here suggests (‘Characteristic of, or conformable to the principles of the Stoic philosopher L. Annæus Seneca’; ‘Also as *n.*: a writer of drama in the Senecan manner; *spec.* one of a group of early seventeenth-century: see ‘Senecal, adj.’, *OEDO* [accessed 15 August 2016]), the examples do not provide a clear sense of what the word connotes. In the first citation (1602) the word is used to make a linguistic point: ‘a Senecall sentence’, which in its context appears to point towards a sententia-like quality in the sentence. In the second, from George Chapman’s *Revenge of Bussy D’Ambois* (1613), the ‘Senecall man’ referred to appears to be rather more clearly a Stoic figure: see ‘Senecall, adj’, in *OEDO* [accessed 15 August 2016].

qualities in a corpus thought to be the work of one or more authors. As a result, ‘Seneca’ is not an author both defined and determined through style. Approaching the tragedies from this perspective reveals both the constructed nature of Newton’s ‘Senecan’ canon, and the efforts his collection makes to seem unified.

1.3. Seneca in early modern England

In England *Hercules furens* and *Hercules Oetaeus* were printed along with the other eight tragedies associated with Seneca in 1581, in a volume compiled by Thomas Newton and titled *Seneca his Tenne Tragedies*. In the collection’s dedicatory epistle to Sir Thomas Heneage, Newton speaks of ‘Seneca’ as a writer of grave ‘Philosophicall sentences’, which ‘beateth down sinne, loose lyfe, dissolute dealinge, and vnbrydled sensuality... which is the dryft wherunto he leueleth the whole yssue of ech one of his Tragedies.’⁵⁴ According to Newton, then, the tragedies do not only share a single author, but also a single, didactic purpose. With the mention of specifically ‘Philosophicall’ sentences, moreover, Newton almost suggests that this author ‘Seneca’ is the same as the philosophical author ‘Seneca’. The unusual nature of Newton’s ideas about Seneca will be discussed below, but at this point it is most important to note the multiple origins of the translations that Newton’s volume collects. These translations are the work of five different translators, and seven of the ten plays featured had already been printed at least once by 1566.⁵⁵ Newton does acknowledge the multiple authorship of the translations in his dedicatory epistle, but the uncomfortable fit between Newton’s claims for the thematic harmony of the collection alongside the diversity of its contents seems to be reflected in his ambiguous comments about the relationship of his own contribution to the *Tenne Tragedies*, a translation of *Phoenissae*, to

⁵⁴ Seneca, *Seneca his Tenne Tragedies*, trans. various, ed. Thomas Newton (London: T. Marsh, 1581), sig. A4^r. Subsequent references will be to this edition. Henceforward this Chapter will give ESTC numbers for the printed books it discusses, alongside other publication details.

⁵⁵ Three editions were printed of Jasper Heywood’s translation of *Troas*: two in 1559 (STC 22227a, 22227b), and one c. 1562 (STC 22228). See W. W. Greg, ‘Notes on Early Plays: Seneca’s *Troas* Translated by Jasper Heywood, 1559’, *The Library*, 4th ser., 11 (1930), 162–72.

its other translations. Newton's hope that in the volume 'the perfection of others artificiall workmanship, that haue trauayled herein aswell as my selfe should somewhat couer my nakednesse' is most obviously self-depreciating, but also manages to emphasize the role of the editor-compiler in perfecting the other translations.⁵⁶

As far as Hercules is concerned, there may in fact have been even more translations of Seneca's 'Hercules' plays than the *Tenne Tragedies* displays. The Stationers' Register records the entry of 'a boke intituled *the ixth and xth tragide[s] of Lucius Anneus [Seneca] oute of the laten into englesshe*' to Thomas Denham in 1567, though the only surviving Senecan printing by Denham is a translation of *Octavia* (1566).⁵⁷ Since the *Octavia* was in the ninth in order in *A* branch manuscripts of the tragedies, and in the majority of early modern printed Latin editions, this printing of *Octavia* is conceivably the 'ixth' tragedy mentioned in the Register. *Hercules Oetaeus*, the tenth play in *A* branch-based collections of the tragedies, might thus have been the 'xth tragide' mentioned, though no printings survive. To complicate the picture, the Stationers' Register also records an entry for the 'lycense for pryntinge of iiide part of [Seneca, viz.] Hercules Oote', to Thomas Colwell in 1571.⁵⁸ Colwell had printed John Studley's translations of Seneca's *Agamemnon* and *Medea* in 1566, and it is possible that the 'Herculus Oote' may be the translation of Studley's that eventually appeared in the *Tenne Tragedies*. The entry for the translations entered to Denham in 1567 records that they are the work of 'T W fellowe of Pembrek Hall in Chambyrge', so it appears that there may have been more than one translation of *Hercules*

⁵⁶ Seneca, *Tenne Tragedies*, ed. Newton, sig. A3^r.

⁵⁷ *A transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D.*, ed. Edward Arber, 4 vols (London: Stationers' Company, 1875-77), I (1875), 327. Subsequent citations to this work as '*Transcript*'. The material in square brackets in the citation is Arber's.

⁵⁸ *Transcript*, ed. Arber, I (1875), 443. The description of *HO* as the 'iiide' may be an error, or it may indicate that this was or would have been Colwell's third Senecan printing, after John Studley's other translations of *Agamemnon* and *Medea*.

Oetaeus available for printing (or, at least, registration) in the 1560s and early 1570s.⁵⁹ If there were two such translations, the further survival of a translation of a section of *Hercules Oetaeus* possibly by Elizabeth I demonstrates not inconsiderable interest in the play in this period.⁶⁰

The existence of translations of the tragedies associated with Seneca produced by various persons from the 1560s to the early 1580s suggests that we should be wary of assuming that the translations which make up the *Tenne Tragedies* were the product of a unified, collaborative project.⁶¹ Separate editions of translations as well as Latin texts of the Senecan tragedies were being produced in continental Europe in the 1550s and 1560s, so the English translators had some precedent for doing the same.⁶² A more plural perspective seems appropriate for examining the motivations behind the English translations of Seneca's tragedies in the sixteenth century, and the uses to which they were put. As the possible existence of more than one translation of *Hercules Oetaeus* might demonstrate, this approach is particularly apposite for the translations of *Hercules furens*, and *Hercules Oetaeus*. As we shall see, the surviving translations of these plays were translated by very different individuals operating in different contexts. Each shaped the plays – and thus, *Hercules* – to their own purposes.

⁵⁹ *Transcript*, ed. Arber, I (1875), 327. 'T W' has been interpreted as an error for Thomas Nuce, whose translation of the *Octavia* was printed by Denham c. 1577, and who was a fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

⁶⁰ The translation constitutes *HO*, 600-99, and survives in a single copy in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS E Museo 55, fols. 48^r-49^r. It is edited in Elizabeth I, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, ed. Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel (Chicago: Chicago UP, 2009), 447-56.

⁶¹ See e.g. Lyons, 52ff. James Ker and Jessica Winston have recently acknowledged that the tragedies were shaped by 'separate circumstances' and 'specific aims': see James Ker and Jessica Winston, 'Introduction', in *Elizabethan Seneca: Three Tragedies*, trans. Jasper Heywood, and John Studley, ed. James Ker and Jessica Winston (London: MHRA, 2012), 3.

⁶² See e.g. contemporary French translations of *Agamemnon*: Seneca, *La tragedie d'Agamemnon*, trans. Charles Toustain (Paris: M. Le Jeune, 1556); Seneca, *Agamemnon, tragedie*, trans. Louis-François Le Duchat (Paris: J. Le Royer, 1561). For a partial table of vernacular translations of Seneca's tragedies in early modern Europe, see R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1954), 534-37.

1.4. Jasper Heywood's *Hercules furens*

Hercules furens was not the first but the third play by Seneca translated and printed in England, after *Troas* (1559), and *Thyestes* (1560). These three translations were all the work of Jasper Heywood (1535-98), poet and later Jesuit, and son of the playwright John Heywood.⁶³ Printed in 1561, *Hercules furens* differs from Heywood's other translations in several respects. Unlike *Troas* and *Thyestes*, it is printed as a parallel text, with Latin and English on facing pages. All three of Heywood's translations had different printers: the first and second editions of *Troas* were produced by Richard Tottell; *Thyestes* was printed 'in the house late Thomas Berthelettes' by Thomas Powell, and *Hercules furens* itself was printed by Henry Sutton.⁶⁴ It would be foolish to assume that consistent use of a particular printer was the norm, but Heywood's choice of Sutton for *Hercules furens* is initially less explicable than his move from Tottell to Powell between *Troas* and *Thyestes*. Heywood complains at length in his verse preface to *Thyestes* about the poor quality of the printing of *Troas*, culminating in the claim that '[a]nd to the printer [Tottell] thus I sayde: within these doores of thyne, | I make a vowe shall neuer more come any worke of myne'.⁶⁵ Berthelet himself had printed several works by John Heywood, father of Jasper, as had Powell after Berthelet's

⁶³ For a biographical outline see Dennis Flynn, 'Heywood, Jasper (1535-98)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13182>> [accessed 26 January 2014]. The most recent discussion of Heywood and his translations of *Troas* and *Thyestes* is Ker and Winston, 16-45.

⁶⁴ Seneca, *The seconde tragedie of Seneca entituled Thyestes*, trans. Jasper Heywood (London: house of T. Berthelet, 1560), title page. Subsequent references will be to this edition (as '*Thyestes*'). Thomas Powell seems to have been Berthelet's nephew and the inheritor and user of this stock and printing house until his own death in 1563, so he is likely to have printed this translation. On Powell see E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1905), 124; for a recent modification see Peter Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501-1557*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013), II, 788-93.

⁶⁵ Seneca, *Thyestes*, trans. Heywood, sig. ♣1^r.

death in 1555, so Heywood *filis* may have had connections with this particular printing house.⁶⁶

Heywood does not say why he chose Henry Sutton to print *Hercules furens*. Not a great deal is known about Sutton, but he may have had Catholic leanings like many members of the Heywood family.⁶⁷ It is also possible that Sutton's previous production of dual-language texts made him a more attractive choice for a parallel-text edition of *Hercules furens*.⁶⁸ With John Kingston Sutton had printed a Spanish-English language instruction manual in 1554, and also produced a Latin-English edition of the Marian primer in 1557.⁶⁹ All these books present variations on parallel-text formats: the instruction manual and the primer have texts in two languages in 'parallel' on the same page, and the *Hercules furens* has facing-page Latin and English translation. Printing Latin texts with adjoining English translation in various conjunctions is evidenced in England from the 1520s, and Heywood's publication is not in this respect unique.⁷⁰ But it does stand out when compared to the other extant translations of Seneca's tragedies printed separately between 1559 and 1567, none of which are parallel texts. Errors in the arrangement of pages of Latin and English text between signature numbers D4^r and D5^r in this edition, which result in the Latin text is not always paralleling the appropriate section of English translation, and which appear to reflect

⁶⁶ Powell would also print the third edition of *Troas* in c. 1562. For works by John Heywood printed by Berthelet, see STC 13291, 13292, 13294.5, 13296; by Powell, see STC 13290.7, 13293, 13295, 13297, and 13308. The Heywoods were a notoriously Catholic family, and Berthelet may also have been conservative in religion: see Blayney, II, 773-75.

⁶⁷ On Sutton in general see Blayney, I, 469, 881; on his possible Catholicism, see Blayney, II, 773-75.

⁶⁸ Ironically, the now out of favour Tottell had produced a parallel-text edition and translation of Cicero's *De officiis* in 1558 (STC 5281.8).

⁶⁹ STC 23010.7, and 16081.

⁷⁰ For parallel texts printed in England from 1520, see Tables I and II in Daniel Wakelin, 'Possibilities for Reading: Classical Translations in Parallel Texts ca. 1520-1558', *Studies in Philology*, 105 (2008), 463-86 (484-86).

misarrangement on the forme itself, suggest that this *Hercules furens* was a relatively unusual project even for a printer who had previously produced texts in parallel formats.⁷¹

Why should Heywood and his printer choose to present the play in this way? Texts chosen for presentation in parallel-text format printed in England in the first half of the sixteenth century are most commonly prose works selected for moral-didactic purposes. Indeed three prose works attributed to Seneca *philosophus* printed before the appearance of the first translations of the tragedies were printed as parallel texts.⁷² The translator of the pseudo-Senecan *Myrrour of Glasse of Maners* imagines his work being used in an educational setting, and explains that the text is presented in parallel so that ‘scolemaysters, teachers, & reders... maye instructe theyr scolers in good and honest maners in bothe tongues Englysshe and latin’.⁷³ Here using a parallel-text format is envisaged as permitting linguistic and ethical learning to take place simultaneously. The title page of Heywood’s *Hercules furens* also presents educational motivations for the translation, claiming that the text has been translated ‘for the profit of young schollers’ (*Hercules furens*, title page). The translation’s dedicatory epistle to William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke, also claims that Heywood, who was a fellow of All Souls in Oxford in 1561, produced the translation because he desired ‘to conduct by som meanes to further vnderstanding the vnripened schollers of this realm’, and translations serve as a ‘gate’ to a text in its original language

⁷¹ Seneca, *Lucii Annei Senecæ Tragedia prima quæ inscribitur Hercules furens*, trans. Jasper Heywood (London: H. Sutton, 1561), D4^r-D5^r. Subsequent references are to this edition (as ‘*Hercules furens*’), incorporated into the main text. Analysis of a copy of this edition which appears to be in its original vellum binding in the New York Public Library in New York, USA, confirms that these misarrangements are integral to the arrangement of the Latin-English text on the forme, rather than the result of rebinding: see New York, New York Public Library, *KC 1561 (Seneca), sigs. D4^r-D5^r. That this error was not picked up via proof-sheets might suggest that Heywood did not oversee the printing: since he was in exile in Rome by May 1562, perhaps he had other priorities.

⁷² See Table II in Wakelin, 485-86. The Senecan texts are STC 17501, 17502, and 22216. Only STC 22216 is genuinely Seneca’s.

⁷³ *A frutefull worke of Lucius Anneus Senecæ. Called the Myrrour or Glasse of Maners*, trans. Robert Whittington (London: W. Myddylton, 1547), sig. A4^v. For further discussion see Wakelin, 463-64.

(*Hercules furens*, sig. A2^v, sig. A2^r).⁷⁴ The didactic context of Heywood's translation is further clarified by the survival of several contemporary Parisian Latin editions of individual plays by Seneca, including at least three editions of *Hercules furens* (1560, 1561, 1563), which seem to have been designed for university use.⁷⁵ The reasonably generous margins and leaded lines of Heywood's Latin text, perhaps designed to facilitate student annotation, recall the layout of the text in these French editions.⁷⁶

The presentation of this *Hercules furens* as a learning aid for 'young schollers' explains something of the nature of the translation Heywood produced. The title-page insists on the closeness of the English translation to the Latin text, for the play is 'so faithfully translated into English metre, that ye may se verse for verse tourned as farre as the phrase of the english permitteth'. In the dedicatory epistle Heywood goes a step further and declares that he has tried to translate not just verse for verse but also 'word for word wyth the latyn' (*Hercules furens*, sig. A3^r). Heywood's description of his methods in the prefatory matter to *Troas* and *Thyestes* does not use the same terms, suggesting that his practice in the three translations is not identical. In translating *Troas* Heywood claims to have kept to the 'true sense' and to the correct register for a tragedy in the translation (namely, 'royaltie of speech').⁷⁷ That keeping to the 'sense' implies a different type of approach to translating verse for verse, and word for word, is indicated by Heywood's denial of this method in *Troas*, where he has 'endeuored to kepe touche with the Latten, not woorde for woorde or verse for verse as to expounde it'.⁷⁸ Heywood's more literal translation in *Hercules furens*

⁷⁴ Further details on Heywood's career at Oxford are in Flynn, and in Henry de Vocht, 'Introduction', in *Jasper Heywood and his translations of Seneca's 'Troas', 'Thyestes' and 'Hercules furens'*, ed. Henry de Vocht (Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1913), vii-xi.

⁷⁵ See Ambrose, 51-53.

⁷⁶ Moreover, student glossing is evidenced in a copy of one surviving copy of the 1563 Parisian edition, *L. Annei Senecæ Cordubensis Tragoedia prima, quæ inscribitur Hercules furens* (Paris: G. Buon, 1563), in the Bodleian Library: see Oxford, Bodleian Library, Antiq.d.F.1 (3).

⁷⁷ Seneca, *Troas*, trans. Jasper Heywood (London: R. Tottell, 1559), sig. A4^r. Subsequent references to this edition (STC 22227a).

⁷⁸ Seneca, *Troas*, trans. Heywood, sig. A4^r.

correspondingly suggests that one of the very purposes of this volume is to ‘expounde’ the Latin.⁷⁹

Heywood also indicates that his publication is not only for the benefit of students. In the dedicatory epistle he claims that he hoped in producing it to ‘both make some tryal of my self, and as it were tech the little children to goe that yet canne but creepe’ (*Hercules furens*, sig. A3^{r-v}). The model Heywood identifies for his efforts is that ‘most excellent and famous learned clearke’, Erasmus: as Erasmus translated Euripides’ *Iphigenia at Aulis* (1506) and *Hecuba* (1507) from Greek to Latin, so Heywood has translated Seneca from Latin into English (*Hercules furens*, sig. A1^v; sig. A2^{r-v}). Another comparison with Erasmus serves to illuminate Heywood’s own intellectual accomplishments: because Erasmus considered it acceptable to sometimes leave off study of the scriptures for ‘the profite and furtherance of youth’, Heywood correspondingly feels able to temporarily ‘set a side the bokes of old Philosophers, Aristotle and Plato’ (*Hercules furens*, sig. A2^v).⁸⁰ Though Heywood asks pardon for his ‘witles lacke of learninge’ in his preface to his translation of *Troas*, the ostentatious references to his learning and scholarly activities, and the extended comparison with Erasmus in this later epistle suggest that Heywood is attempting to present himself as a serious scholar, possibly in a bid for patronage in relation to the university.⁸¹ Both title page and dedicatory epistle underline Heywood’s affiliation to the university of Oxford, where he claims to have ‘well knowen’ Herbert’s son Henry.⁸² Heywood’s

⁷⁹ The didactic connotations of ‘expounde’ further illustrate the pedagogical function of this translation. Ker and Winston thus miss the point when they describe Heywood’s practice in his translation of *HF* as a ‘descent’ into ‘counter-productive literalism’: Ker and Winston, 44.

⁸⁰ Erasmus was also a famous editor (including of the works of Seneca *philosophus*), and the title page of Heywood’s translation of *HF* also makes claims for the Latin text of the play, which it describes as ‘newly perused and of all faultes whereof it did before abound diligently corrected’. Heywood complains in his other translations of the poor quality of the Latin texts of Seneca available, so he may also have taken the opportunity a parallel text edition presented to provide an emended Latin text of *HF*, thus producing not only an English translation but also a new edition of the Latin play.

⁸¹ Seneca, *Troas*, trans. Heywood, sig. A3^v.

⁸² Henry Herbert is only recorded as a student at Peterhouse, Cambridge; but he was created MA at Oxford in 1592: Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714: Their*

description of Henry as a ‘younge lorde’ who studied at the university in his ‘tender yeres’ may recall the youthful scholars he imagines making use of his text(s) elsewhere in the epistle (*Hercules furens*, sig. A3^v, sig. A4^r).

Why should Heywood have selected *Hercules furens* as the vehicle for these scholarly and self-promoting ambitions? Jessica Winston has suggested that Heywood’s translations demonstrate his reading of Senecan tragedy as ‘a classical version of advice-to-princes poetry’, aimed at providing ‘mirrors’ for monarchs.⁸³ These arguments focus almost exclusively on *Troas* and *Thyestes*, and rest largely on the paratextual matter printed with these translations, and passages inserted or changed by Heywood.⁸⁴ *Hercules furens*, however, has no interpolated or deleted passages, and, as observed above, its dedicatory epistle takes pains to emphasise the scholarly nature of its undertaking. It is unclear how a similar ‘mirror for princes’ interpretation is possible or adequate for this publication.⁸⁵ It seems more probable that this play appealed to Heywood for different reasons. Renaissance editors comment upon the wide educational repertoire that Seneca’s tragedies offer: Gellio Bernardino Marmita notes that ‘diverse utility is had from tragedies’, including ‘a varied understanding of things’.⁸⁶ The function of Heywood’s edition and translation surely did not confine itself to improving its user’s Latin. As we saw above, *Hercules furens* is a mythologically compendious play, and it might as such have lent itself well to the

parentage, birthplace, and year of birth, with a record of their degrees, 4 vols (Oxford: Parker & Co, 1891-92), II, 695.

⁸³ Winston, ‘Seneca’, 41. See also Ker and Winston, 18-32, 37.

⁸⁴ Winston, ‘Seneca’, 47; Ker and Winston, 23-24.

⁸⁵ This is not to say that Senecan tragedy cannot be read ‘politically’: in *HF* Lycus is a self-identified would-be tyrant (see *HF*, 511-12), and Hercules a noted tyrant-killer. Rebecca Bushnell has outlined the contribution of Seneca’s tragedies to Western thinking about tyranny in *Tragedies of Tyrants: Political Thought and Theater in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1990), 31-34. But Heywood seems to put no special emphasis on this aspect of *HF* in his translation. Winston does not discuss the translation in any detail, and fits *HF* into a ‘political’ model by characterizing it as ‘a work that sceptically depicts heroism and heroic resistance to tyranny’, without engaging with the presentation or text of Heywood’s translation: Winston, ‘Seneca’, 46.

⁸⁶ ‘Ex tragœdiis utilitas multifaria habetur’, ‘cognitio rerum uaria’, in Seneca, *Tragoediae*, ed. Gellio Bernardino Marmita (Lyon: A. Lambillon and M. Sarazin, 1491), sig. A2^r. Text and translation also in Ambrose, 137.

educational framework of Heywood's edition, as a means of furthering the 'vnderstanding' of the 'vnripened schollers' referred to in the epistle (*Hercules furens*, sig. A2^v). Heywood occasionally clarifies obscure or circumlocutory mythological references in the play, substituting, for example, the name Aeacus for the Latin text's more oblique 'Thetis' father in law', and introducing 'olde Tantalus' by name when the Latin text refers to him merely as 'senex' (*Hercules furens*, sig. H2^r, with *HF*, 734, 752).⁸⁷ Elsewhere Heywood translates Seneca's mythological paraphrase '[t]he Thracian paramour' [Thracia pellex] (referring to Philomela) simply as '[t]he nightingale' (*Hercules furens*, sig. C4^r; with *HF*, 149). Since in Heywood's volume the Latin text is in close, facing-page proximity to the translation, here the English serves as a gloss to the Latin text as much as a translation. Taken together, Heywood's Latin text and English translation may provide something of a compendium of mythological knowledge and a key to its more obscure formulations.

Heywood's presentation of his translation of *Hercules furens* as an aid to 'young schollers' provides a convincing explanation for why this play appears in a parallel text translation in 1561. This choice of format, coupled with Heywood's decision to translate the play 'word for word', also has a very significant effect on its English text. Heywood often adopts the same word order as the Latin text in his translation, and imports Latin words directly into English. As a result, his Hercules speaks a strange English in a strange and often counter-intuitive order. For instance, returning from the underworld, Heywood's Hercules declares

Thou Phœbus pardon geue to me, yf any vnlawfull thyng
Thyne eyes haue seene: (commanded) I haue here to light out sette

⁸⁷ Aeacus was one of the three judges of Hades; his son Peleus married Thetis: see 'Dictionarium historicum & Poeticum propria locorum & Personarum vocabula breuiter complectens', in Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae* (London: H. Wykes, 1565), s.v. 'Aeacus'. Subsequent references to this edition (as '*Thesaurus*'). Heywood's rather paedagogical approach to mythology is paralleled in Cooper's *Thesaurus*, which is another work of the 1560s. For further discussion of the latter's presentation of mythology, see the Introduction.

The secretes of the worlde: and thow of heauen o guyder grette,
 And parent eke, in flashe out throwne of lyghtnyng hyde thy syght
 (*Hercules furens*, sig. F8^r).

This translation closely follows the Latin text of the play: '[d]a Phœbe veniam, si quid illicitum tui | Videre vultus: iussus in lucem extuli | Secreta mundi: tuque cœlestum arbiter, | Parensque, visus fulmine opposite tege' (*Hercules furens*, sig. F7^v, with *HF*, 595-98).⁸⁸ This strategy, combined with the rhetorical propensity of Seneca's Latin Hercules for hyperbolic exclamations, produces a Hercules who often sounds like a bombastic alien. Arriving back in Thebes from the Underworld, and finding his wife and children in mourning, Heywood's Hercules exclaims, 'Whens (father) [i.e. Amphitryon] happs this vglynes, And why in mournyng cladde | Is thys my wyfe? howe happs it that with fylthe so fowle bestadde | My children are?' [Vnde iste (genitor) squalor, & lugubribus | Amicta coniux? vnde tam fœdo obsiti | Pædore nati?] (*Hercules furens*, sig. G2^r, G1^v, with *HF*, 626-28)⁸⁹; later, after realizing that he has killed his family in a frenzy brought on by Juno, he cries, '[m]y weapons, weapons Theseus, I quickly craue to mee | withdrawen to be restored agayne' [arma, arma, Theseu, flagito propere mihi | subtracta redi] (*Hercules furens*, sig. M1^r, sig. L8^v, with *HF*, 1242-43). The effect of Heywood's 'word for word' approach on Hercules' speech is mitigated in the translation in 1561, because it appears alongside a Latin text which contextualizes the strangeness of the English translation. As we shall see, however, this was not the case in the collected *Tenne Tragedies* in 1581.

⁸⁸ Fitch's English translation reads '[g]rant pardon, Phoebus, if your gaze has beheld what is forbidden. I brought earth's hidden things into the light under orders. And you, ruler and father of the heavenly gods, hold out the thunderbolt to shield your vision' (using the *E* variant 'arcana' instead of 'secreta'). For Heywood's adoption of Latin words, see e.g. Seneca, *Hercules furens*, sig. H1^r, with *HF*, 730.

⁸⁹ Fitch's English translation reads, 'Why are you in squalor, father, and my wife dressed in mourning? Why are my sons covered in loathsome filth?'

1.5. John Studley's *Hercules Oetaeus*

One of Heywood's rare elaborations to the Latin text of *Hercules furens*, his description of Hercules' body 'with wicked bloude besprynkt', may find an echo in John Studley's translation of *Hercules Oetaeus*, when the Argument depicts Deianira 'besprinckling the... Robe [of Hercules] in the bloude of NESSVS'.⁹⁰ In general, however, Studley's translation is very different from Heywood's. Studley (b. c. 1545) appears to have been a hotter sort of Protestant.⁹¹ In Cambridge he lost his fellowship at Trinity College in 1572 after signing a letter of objection to John Whitgift's university statutes targeted against 'puritans', and published a translation of John Bale's anti-papal *Acta Romanorum pontificum* (1558), 'with sondrye additions' in 1574.⁹² In the light of Studley's dramatic translations, this work is suggestively titled *The Pageant of Popes*, and in the preface to the 'Reader' to this work Studley says that he has set forth the lives of the popes 'in one Pageante in such order as they played theyr Papall partes both Tragicall and Comicall for these Thousand yeaes vpon this worldly stage', in order to give the reader 'a little taste of theyr vnsauorye liues'.⁹³ Studley appears to have been more reluctant, however, to give readers a taste of the more unsavoury aspects of the life of Hercules. Studley's Hercules is rather more concerned about how he appears than his Latin counterpart, asking '[s]eeme wee so awfull, fell, and fierce?' (*Hercules Oetaeus*, sig. Bb6^r), when the Hercules in the Latin text merely asks '[c]an it be that I am feared?' [numquid timemur?] (*HO*, 11). In places Studley's translation of *Hercules*

⁹⁰ Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, trans. John Studley, in Seneca, *Seneca his Tenne Tragedies*, trans. various, ed. Thomas Newton (London: T. Marsh, 1581), sig. Bb5^r. Subsequent references to this edition (as '*Hercules Oetaeus*'), incorporated into the main text.

⁹¹ See T. P. J. Edlin, 'Studley, John (c. 1545-1590?)', in in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26742>> [accessed 1 September 2016]. Edlin conjectures that Studley died c. 1590; however, a will of one John Studley of Dorset proved in 1619, and correspondent in details with the Studley family's entry in the 1619 Visitation of Kent, suggests that 1619 is the more likely date. See Kew, The National Archives, PROB 11/134/428, fol. 76^{r-v}, and *The Visitation of Kent, Taken in the Years 1619-1621*, ed. Robert Hovenden (London: Harleian Society, 1898), 171. For the term 'hotter sort of Protestant', see Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Methuen, 1967), 26-27.

⁹² John Bale, *The pageant of popes, Contayninge the lyues of all the Bishops of Rome, from the beginninge of them to the yeare of Grace 1555*, trans. John Studley (London: T. Marsh, 1574), title page.

⁹³ Bale, *The pageant of popes*, trans. Studley, sig. B4^v.

Oetaeus departs significantly from the Latin text, and (unlike in Heywood's translations) with no indication that an omission or alteration has taken place. A number of Studley's changes seem to indicate his unease with the Hercules of *Hercules Oetaeus*, and seek to impose a greater consistency on the play's portrayal of Hercules than the Latin text offers.

The paratextual materials surrounding the play in the *Tenne Tragedies* may also attempt to 'frame' its interpretation.⁹⁴ The Argument to the translation draws upon arguments to *Hercules Oetaeus* found in Latin Continental editions of Seneca's tragedies, but does not exactly reproduce any of them.⁹⁵ Its use of this inherited material appears to present Hercules in a more straightforwardly heroic manner. The Latin argument to the play printed in *Senecae Tragoediae* (Florence, 1506) begins with an account of the events leading up to Hercules' encounter with Nessus, which are put into motion by Hercules' accidental killing of Eurynomus, since as a result of the murder he goes into exile. Journeying from Caledonia, he and his family meet Nessus. As this episode will ultimately lead to Hercules' death, Hercules is in at least narrative terms here the cause of his own downfall. The English Argument omits this information, and opens with the 'victory' of Hercules' assault on Oechalia (*Hercules Oetaeus*, sig. Bb5^r). Only Hercules' killing of Nessus, and Nessus' fateful counsel to Deianira, fitted awkwardly into a mid-sentence parenthesis later in the argument, are mentioned. The more complex elements of the 'back-story' are omitted, and the focus of the action is narrowed to concentrate on Hercules' actions in a shorter time-frame closer to the events of the play. How Hercules is described as accomplishing these

⁹⁴ No earlier individual printing of the *HO* is extant, though it may well have existed: see the discussion above in 1.3., 'Seneca in early modern England'. Studley also translated Seneca's *Agamemnon* and *Medea*, and since these did appear in separate printings in 1566, it is probable that *HO* also did.

⁹⁵ This Argument principally draws upon a Latin argument to *HO* first printed in *Senecae Tragoediae* (1506), sigs. &3^v-&4^v; and an additional abbreviated argument first printed in *Senecae Tragoediae* (Florence: P. di Giunta, 1513), sig. &4^v. This second argument enjoyed considerable dissemination in later editions of the tragedies: it appears in the Aldine edition (1517), and in the numerous editions of the tragedies printed by Gryphius from 1536. The 1506 argument was not so widely reproduced, perhaps due to its length, though Lodovico Dolce's Italian translation of the tragedies translates both: see *Le tragedie di Seneca* (Venice: G. Battista and M. Sessa, 1560), sigs. AA8^r-AA10^r.

actions also bolsters his heroic status. The 1506 argument recounts that Hercules led an army against the sons of Eurytus, and achieves his victory over Oechalia ‘with the helping Arcadians’.⁹⁶ Both army and Arcadians are absent in the English argument, with the effect that Hercules becomes the sole protagonist of the conquest.

A further detail included in this Argument lends legitimacy to Hercules’ conquest of Oechalia: that Eurytus’ sons, ‘contrary to theyr promise, denied to geue their Sister IOLE vnto him’ (*Hercules Oetaeus*, sig. Bb5^r).⁹⁷ The inclusion of this detail points to the English Argument’s more mitigating approach to the episode. While in the 1506 argument Hercules goes to give thanks for his victory ‘with the captive Iole’, in the English Argument he ‘meant to sacryfice vnto the Gods for his... successe in bringing away, perforce, his beeloued IOLE’ (*Hercules Oetaeus*, sig. Bb5^r).⁹⁸ Studley’s translation itself also seems to attempt to palliate some of the worst of Deianira’s criticisms of Hercules’ behaviour in the Latin text. So Deianira’s (or, in the *A* recension, the Nurse’s) sarcastic observation that ‘[p]erhaps he loves her very troubles out of compassion. This is customary with Hercules: he loves captive women’ [ipsas misericors forsan aerumnas amat. | hoc usitatum est Herculi: captas amat] (*HO*, 361-62) is rendered apparently unironically by Studley as ‘[p]erhap the man with pittie prickd doth loue her for her care. | Unto this noble hart to pity prisoners tis not rare’ (*Hercules Oetaeus*, sig. Cc4^r). Similarly palliating may be Studley’s translation of ‘he demanded Iole’ [dum poscit Iolen], as ‘Now doates hee after Iole’ (*Hercules Oetaeus*, sig. Cc7^r; *HO*, 574). The translation also appears to attempt to mollify descriptions in the play of Hercules’ conquest of Oechalia. The Oechalian women’s lament that ‘we have seen the anger of Hercules to our sorrow’ [iratum miserae vidimus Herculem] (*HO*, 172) is omitted

⁹⁶ ‘Auxiliantibus[...] Arcadibus’, Seneca, *Senecae Tragoediae* (1506), sig. &4^r.

⁹⁷ This is taken from the 1506 argument: ‘Iolem sororem ante ei promissam negauerant’ [they had refused (their) sister Iole, promised to him before], *Senecae Tragoediae* (1506), sig. &4^{r-v}. *HO* mentions no ‘promise’, but see Apollodorus, *Library*, trans. Frazer, I, 2. 6. 1.

⁹⁸ ‘cum Iole captiva’, Seneca, *Senecae Tragoediae* (1506), sig. &4^r.

in Studley's translation, and the ode turned into a more general comment on the instability of worldly fortune.⁹⁹ Hercules' pulverization of the walls of Oechalia is accomplished through his now 'valiaunt prowessse' (*Hercules Oetaeus*, sig. Cc1^r).¹⁰⁰

If the Argument presents Hercules as more of an isolated hero acting alone, it also seems to diminish his capacity for independent action when it comes to his death. It includes various details inconsistent with the action of the play, notably that when suffering the torments of the shirt of Nessus, Hercules '[f]or remedy whereof... sent to *APOLLO* his Oracle at *Delphos*', from whom Hercules received instructions that he should be carried to Mount Oeta, have a pyre made, 'and as for all other things, they should bee referred to the pleasure and direction of *IVPITER*' (*Hercules Oetaeus*, sig. Bb5^v).¹⁰¹ Conversely, in the Latin play, and in Studley's own translation, Hercules does not send to and receive instructions from Apollo: the events *Hercules Oetaeus* dramatizes are revealed to have been foretold long before the action itself.¹⁰² Hercules chooses the manner of his death: '[n]ow let mee dye a manly death, a stout and excellent, | And meete for mee', and his death is more immediately at his own pleasure and direction than at Jupiter's (*Hercules Oetaeus*, sig. Ee4^v).¹⁰³ It is possible that the English Argument's retention of this stress upon Jupiter's divine agency, and not Hercules', at this point in the summary of his death is religiously motivated. Studley's translation deviates from the Latin text of Philoctetes' description of Hercules' death on the pyre at a telling moment. The Chorus asks whether Hercules called on the gods when he was on the pyre; Philoctetes tells them he did not, but '[h]e lay there

⁹⁹ Studley's substitution begins '[t]hus greatest blisse is prone to greatest bale', *Hercules Oetaeus*, sig. Cc1^r.

¹⁰⁰ See *HO*, 162-64. 'by valiaunt prowessse hee hath conquerd all' is Studley's addition.

¹⁰¹ See Seneca, *Senecae Tragoediae* (1506), sig. &4^r, and Seneca, *Senecae Tragoediae* (1513), sig. &4^v. The discrepant details can be found in Diodorus Siculus: see *Library of History*, II (1935), trans. Oldfather, 4. 36. 2-5, 38. 1-5. An account of the extant mythographical sources on Heracles' death is in R. L. Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000-13), II: *Commentary* (2013), 329-33.

¹⁰² See *HO*, 1472-80.

¹⁰³ 'Nunc mors legatur clara memoranda inclita, | me digna prorsus'; in Fitch's translation: '[n]ow I must choose a death that will be glorious, memorable, renowned, and thoroughly worthy of me', *HO*, 1481-82.

with no concern for himself' [Iacuit sui securus] (*HO*, 1691). Perhaps Studley did not feel able to translate 'Iacuit sui securus', for he substitutes that Hercules lay on the pyre '[a]s on in depe dispayre' (*Hercules Oetaeus*, sig. E7^v). Studley himself observes in the *Pageant of Popes* that '[w]e are but feeble and windshaken pillars', and so we are compelled to build not only the true church but also 'our selues vpon that vnmoueable rocke Iesus Christe'.¹⁰⁴ Being 'sui securus' can only therefore for Studley equate to a state of despair.

Studley's particular religious viewpoint would thus appear to have affected his translation of *Hercules Oetaeus*. It is also visible in his other translations, as when he indicates in the preface to *Medea* that he has substituted the play's first chorus for another of his own invention, 'because in it I sawe nothyng but an heape of prophane storyes, and names of prophane Idoles'.¹⁰⁵ While Studley's translation of *Hercules Oetaeus* offers no comparable instance of wholesale substitution, it may censor (and censure) excessively 'pagan' moments in its Latin source text. Studley's choice of vocabulary, for instance, to describe the religious structures mentioned in the Latin play may well be religiously motivated: temples in a damaged state, 'temples fallen on their gods' [templa suis collapsa deis], for instance, are described as 'Idolles, wyth their tattred Temples torne' (*Hercules Oetaeus*, sig. CC1^r; *HO*, 173). It is possible that the concluding lines of *Hercules Oetaeus* are omitted by Studley since they offer a quasi-prayer to Hercules, asking the newly deified hero for his protection and comparing him favourably with Jupiter (*HO*, 1989-96). Studley's translation concludes instead with the moralizing reflection, 'Lo both the fruite, that vice and virtue giues' (*Hercules Oetaeus*, sig. Ff3^v). Rather like an attempt to locate some anchorage in the play for 'the furtheraunce of virtue, and abolishment of vice', Studley

¹⁰⁴ Bale, *The pageant of popes*, trans. Studley, sig. *b4^v.

¹⁰⁵ Seneca, *The seuenth Tragedie of Seneca, Entituled Medea*, trans. John Studley (London: T. Colwell, 1566), sig. A3^v.

attempts to fit *Hercules Oetaeus* into a familiar pattern.¹⁰⁶ The translation seems to try to impose a more uniform model upon Hercules' activities (good or bad?) and his final acts (good or bad?) than either the nature of his mythos or *Hercules Oetaeus* permit.

1.6. Thomas Newton and *Seneca his Tenne Tragedies* (1581)

Although Studley published translations of Seneca's *Medea* and *Agamemnon* in the 1560s, the first appearance of *Hercules Oetaeus* in print is as part of the *Tenne Tragedies* in 1581. This later date complicates discussion of the agency behind the production and presentation of the text, but, as we shall see, Studley's involvement in the project is far from implausible. In general, however, since the *Tenne Tragedies* volume appears to have been assembled by Thomas Newton at some chronological remove from the original publications of eight of the translations, the involvement of all of the other translators is not certain and should not be taken for granted.¹⁰⁷ Newton (1544/5-1607) was a clergyman by profession, but published translations and compilations on a wide variety of subjects between 1569 and 1596, and his own poetry.¹⁰⁸ The volumes produced by Newton are generically diverse, including medical and historical works, a collection of translations of selections of Matteo Bandello's *Novelle*, and school textbooks as well as religious works.¹⁰⁹ By 1581 Newton had also published three translations of works by Cicero, and the *Tenne Tragedies* is thus not out of place among the volumes he published.¹¹⁰ We might thus be wary of assigning this particular production of Newton's any special status.

Several works in Newton's published output suggest that he, like Studley, might also have inclined towards evangelical Protestantism. *True and Christian friendshippe*, and its

¹⁰⁶ Quotation from Seneca, *Agamemnon*, trans. John Studley (London: T. Colwell, 1566), sig. A2^v.

¹⁰⁷ The appearance of Alexander Neville's translation of *Oedipus* with extensive revisions and a revised preface in the *Tenne Tragedies*, however, probably points to some communication between Newton and Neville.

¹⁰⁸ For Newton's verse see STC 18512, 18513.5, 15447.

¹⁰⁹ For examples of all these types of text, see STC 6129, 1356.5, 16978, 18510, and 23188.

¹¹⁰ See STC 5294, 5314, and 5274.

companion translation condemning ‘all vaine, ydle, vnlawfull, offense and prophane Exercises’ (i.e. games), translated by Newton in 1586, are both the work of the Calvinist French theologian Lambert Daneau, and point to Newton’s interest in Reformed theology.¹¹¹ In addition to translating Daneau, Newton published a further two translations of works by Protestant theologians – Martin Luther’s *Enarrationes in Epistolas Divi Petri duas et Judae unam* (1581) and Andreas Hyperius’ *The true tryall and examination of a mans owne selfe* (1586, 1587); and a translation of Matthew Parker’s funeral sermon for the reformer Martin Bucer.¹¹² The books mentioned in Newton’s will also point to Reformed interests: as well as two Bibles, the ‘second best... of Geneva Print’ bequeathed to his daughter Grizell Weekes, Newton left theological works by Martin Chemnitz and Benedictus Aretius to William Fisher.¹¹³ These choices may suggest that Newton’s religious preferences tended towards a more evangelical type of Protestantism, or at least indicate an active interest in contemporary Reformed theology: quasi-contemporaneous theologians like Daneau (d. c. 1590) and Chemnitz (d. 1586) show that Newton’s religious reading is quite up-to-date. Though appropriate to its context, Newton’s dedicatory epistle in his translation of Luther’s commentaries on the Epistles of Peter and Jude is violently anti-Catholic in sentiment, and hopes that its dedicatee, Sir Thomas Bromley, will be ‘a Buttresse and Proppe for the propagation, passage, and continuance of his [i.e. Christ’s] glorious Gospell among vs... to the encouragement of all true Professours of the same, and to the vtter terrour, extirpation, and weedyng out of all cancarde aduersaries and malicious Grinagods’.¹¹⁴ Given the

¹¹¹ Quotation from Lambert Daneau, *A treatise, touching Dyce-play and prophane Gaming*, in Lambert Daneau, *True and Christian friendship... Together also with a right excellent Inuective of the same Author, against the wicked exercise of Diceplay, and other prophane Gaming*, trans. Thomas Newton (London: [G. Robinson] for A. Veale, 1586), sig. D2^r.

¹¹² See STC 16978, 11761.3 and 11761.5, and 19293a respectively.

¹¹³ William Fisher is probably the Guil. Fisherum addressed in Newton’s Latin poems, and the author of various printed sermons: see *Principium*, sig. Q3^v, and STC 10920, 10920.3 and 10919. For all bequests see Kew, The National Archives, PROB 11/110/49, fol. 50^v.

¹¹⁴ Martin Luther, *A commentarie or Exposition vpon the two Epistles generall of Sainct Peter, and that of Sainct Jude*, trans. Thomas Newton (London: [J. Kingston] for A. Veale, 1581), sig. *4^{r-v}.

ubiquity of the world ‘godly’ in his dedicatory epistles, it is not unreasonable that Newton might have included himself in their number.¹¹⁵

Speculation about Newton’s possible religious preferences may seem to have little to do with the *Tenne Tragedies*, although its dedicatory epistle wishes its dedicatee Sir Thomas Heneage ‘Spirituell benedictions in Christ’, and approvingly notes that Heneage is a ‘zealous Professor’ of God’s truth.¹¹⁶ But Newton’s religious outlook in fact allows a more nuanced picture of the plausible relationships between Newton and the other translators of the tragedies to be developed. It seems in particular to provide some grounds for connecting Newton with Studley, and thus suggests that Studley was involved in the production of the *Tenne Tragedies*. Studley would certainly have known Thomas Marsh, the printer of the *Tenne Tragedies*, and of six other works associated with Newton, because Marsh had printed Studley’s translation *The pageant of popes* in 1574.¹¹⁷ Productions such as *The pageant of popes*, as well as other evangelically-inclined works printed by Marsh, suggest that he may also have been among the godly.¹¹⁸ Identifying these connections between Newton, Studley, and (possibly) Marsh complicates readings of the *Tenne Tragedies* as an entirely collective project, however. If the volume is the product of an evangelical collaboration between Newton, Marsh, and (at least) Studley, the possibility of Jasper Heywood’s involvement in 1581 seems correspondingly unlikely. Heywood was in fact in England from June 1581, but

¹¹⁵ Newton perhaps attempted to compel godliness from beyond the grave: his will instructs that for his son Abel there should be books ‘fitt for his vse... culled and chosen oute of the number of my bookes or Librarie by the advise of some godlie learned frende’, TNA, PROB 11/110/49, fol. 50^v.

¹¹⁶ Seneca, *Tenne Tragedies*, ed. Newton, sigs. A3^r, sig. A4^r.

¹¹⁷ Other productions of Newton’s printed by Marsh are STC 5294, 5314, 15456, 5274, 18510 and 15457. After Marsh’s death in 1589 many of his copyrights were assigned to Thomas Orwin, who printed Newton’s editions of Leland’s and Brownswerd’s Latin poems. Biographical details for Marsh are in Duff, 100, and A. R. Braunmuller, ‘Thomas Marsh, Henry Marsh, and the Roman Emperors’ *The Library*, 6th ser., 6 (1984), 25-38.

¹¹⁸ On Marsh’s possible sympathy for evangelical Protestantism see Marcia Lee Metzger, ‘Controversy and “Correctness”: English Chronicles and the Chroniclers, 1553-1568’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 27 (1996), 437-451 (441).

he was there as a Jesuit missionary.¹¹⁹ He had joined the order in 1562 in Rome, and spent the next twenty years in continental Europe. In England he was arrested in December 1583, and eventually deported back to the mainland in January 1585, where he would spend the rest of his life.¹²⁰ These circumstances make the chance of collaboration vanishingly small.

Newton's other publications shed some light on his curation of the translations in the *Tenne Tragedies*. While many of Newton's dedicatory and introductory materials make claims for the utility (and even the delightfulness) of their particular contents – and emphasise Newton's 'dilygent endeouore' in bringing the works forth – their metaphor is at root transactional: a dedication is part-payment for services rendered, which the dedicator cannot otherwise hope to repay; or is offered in expectation of future reward.¹²¹ Newton's publishing efforts may thus rather conventionally be aimed at securing patronage for himself.¹²² In his dedicatory epistle to the *Tenne Tragedies*, Newton implicitly compares his translation of *Thebais* to a 'poore peece [of money] somewhat clypped and lighter then his fellowes', against the 'good round gubbe[s] of Gold of full wayght' of the other translations in the collection.¹²³ Newton's point in using the metaphor is to hope that his own 'poore peece' may be 'foysted in among the rest, and passe in pay for currant coigne', and his collection of the tragedies might also be viewed as an attempt at self-promotion.¹²⁴ Newton's arms appear with the initials 'TN' in the initial letter of the first line of his own translation of *Thebais* in the *Tenne Tragedies*, and the dedicatory epistle draws attention to Newton's

¹¹⁹ On Heywood's English mission, see Dennis Flynn, 'The English mission of Jasper Heywood, S. J.', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 54 (1985), 45-76. Heywood would remain in England until he was deported to France in January 1585.

¹²⁰ See Flynn, 'Heywood, Jasper', for an overview of Heywood's movements 1562-85.

¹²¹ Quotation from Celio Agostino Curione, *A notable historie of the Saracens*, trans. Thomas Newton (London: W. How for A. Veale, 1575), sig. A2^v. Such claims make Newton's prefatory materials conventional: see H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers: 1558-1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1965), 30-55.

¹²² Evidenced most nakedly in the dedicatory epistle to Alice, Countess of Derby (unfortunately misnamed Anne by Newton) in Thomas Newton, *Atropoion Delion, or, the death of Delia: With the Teares of her Funerall* (London: [W. White] for W. Johnes, 1603).

¹²³ Seneca, *Tenne Tragedies*, ed. Newton, sig. A3^v.

¹²⁴ Seneca, *Tenne Tragedies*, ed. Newton, sig. A3^v.

work by criticizing the translation as ‘an vnflidge nestling... an unnatural abortion, and an vnperfect Embryon’.¹²⁵ Readers who turned to *Thebais* in the volume would however have found the blame for its imperfections shifted from the translator to author: ‘And note that this Tragedy, was left by the Authour vnperfect, because it neyther hath in it, Chorus, ne yet the fifth Acte’.¹²⁶ The comment also serves to demonstrate Newton’s familiarity with tragic dramatic conventions, and may intend to intimate his learnedness. Newton may thus attempt in the *Tenne Tragedies* volume to present himself as a serious scholar.¹²⁷ The two other publications of Newton’s that were dedicated to Heneage, both printed in 1589, are collections of Latin poems, by John Brownswerd, Newton’s former schoolmaster, and by John Leland.¹²⁸ Newton’s own poetry, both Latin and English, appears in all three works, most ostentatiously in his edition of Leland’s poems, where they follow Leland’s.¹²⁹ By printing his work in this way Newton indicates an interest in inserting (or foisting) himself (rather like a clipped coin) into the learned scholarly communities these publications invoke.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Seneca, *Tenne Tragedies*, ed. Newton, sig. A3^v. ‘TN’ appears on sig. G1^r. It seems very probable that the arms shown are Newton’s. This ‘personalised’ initial letter appears in another translation of Newton’s, *True and Christian friendship*; and the 1580 Visitation of Cheshire describes very similar arms belonging to the Newtons of Pownall: see Daneau, *True and Christian friendship*, trans. Newton, sig. A2^r; *The Visitation of Cheshire in the Year 1580*, ed. J. P. Rylands (London: The Harleian Society, 1882), 185.

¹²⁶ Seneca, *Tenne Tragedies*, ed. Newton, sig. F8^v.

¹²⁷ A 1586 letter of Newton’s to John Speed in a manuscript copy of Leland’s poems lent to Newton by Speed also attempts to display Newton’s scholarly knowledge. Newton criticizes Leland for ‘sweru[ing] from the right quantitie of syllables, & in some places to come short of his verse’, and claims to have corrected the defects – though he generously attributes the faults to Leland’s ‘want of leisure to repolish & reperuse’ his poetry. See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 464, fol. 1^r.

¹²⁸ See John Leland, *Principum, Ac illustrium aliquot & eruditorum in Anglia virorum, Encomia, Trophæa, Genethliaca, & Epithalamia*, ed. Thomas Newton (London: T. Orwin, 1589), and John Brownswerd, *Ioannis Brunsuerdi, Maclesfeldensis gymnasiarche progymnasmata quædam poetica*, ed. Thomas Newton (London: [T. Orwin for] C. Woodcock, 1589). Heneage shares the dedication of the latter with Sir John Fortescue; there was a second edition in 1590 (STC 3945).

¹²⁹ See Leland, sig. P1^rff. Dedicatory Latin verses by Newton also appear in his collection of Brownswerd’s poems: see Brownswerd, sig. A2^rff.

¹³⁰ Cf. ‘foist, v.1’, *OEDO* [accessed 20 April 2014], particularly senses 1, 3.b., 3.c., 5. Newton’s edition of Leland brought him some recognition, at least from Francis Meres: ‘Thomas Newton with his *Leyland*... ha[s] attained good report and honorable aduancement in the Latin Empyre’, Francis Meres, *Palladis tamia* (London: P. Short for C. Burbie, 1598), sig. Nn8^r.

The *Tenne Tragedies* may represent a vernacular version of a similar project. Newton claims that Heneage is an appropriate patron for this volume due to his ‘loue to learning’, and avers that he would not have thought of producing the volume had not ‘certayne learned Gentlemen of good credit and worship thereunto persuaded & animated mee’.¹³¹ With such statements, whatever their basis in reality, Newton may be attempting to present the *Tenne Tragedies* as the product of a learned group. It is certainly true that the *Tenne Tragedies* as a publication has some bibliographic resemblance to unannotated Latin editions of Seneca’s tragedies produced on the Continent, and particularly to the editions produced in Lyon by the Gryphius printing house from 1536.¹³² In these editions each tragedy is preceded by a prose argument (purloined from the shorter arguments in the 1513 *Senecæ Tragoediae* discussed above), and an ‘Index Tragoediarum’ prefaces the collection, enabling easy location of the different plays.¹³³ The *Tenne Tragedies* includes a similar ‘contents page’, and the use of prose rather than verse arguments marks a significant difference between the separately printed translations of Seneca’s tragedies in the 1560s and the *Tenne Tragedies* itself. With the exception of the argument to Heywood’s translation of *Hercules furens*, the arguments to the English translations of Seneca’s tragedies printed individually are in verse. The 1581 collection reuses verse arguments from individual printings of the tragedies where they exist, but adds prose ones to translations previously published without arguments.¹³⁴ Changes such as the retitling of the argument to Heywood’s translation of *Troas* from ‘The preface to the tragedye’ to ‘The Argument’ in the *Tenne Tragedies* volume shows this collection’s efforts to impose some continuity on a diversely presented group of texts.¹³⁵

¹³¹ Seneca, *Tenne Tragedies*, ed. Newton, sig. A3^r.

¹³² A recent bibliographical discussion of the Gryphius editions of Seneca’s tragedies is Ambrose, 36-53.

¹³³ The Aldine edition, and subsequent printings and imitations derived from it, places its arguments (also copied from the 1513 *Senecæ Tragoediae*) together at the end of the tragedies: see *Scenecæ* [sic] *tragoediae*, ed. Hieronymus Avantius (Venice: A. Manutius, 1517), sigs. E1^r-E4^r.

¹³⁴ *Troas*, *Medea*, and *Octavia* were initially printed with verse arguments; *Thyestes* and *Agamemnon*, without arguments in 1560 and 1566, acquire prose arguments in 1581. Neville’s translation of *Oedipus* is the exception, appearing in both 1566 and 1581 without an argument.

¹³⁵ Seneca, *Troas*, trans. Heywood, sig. A4^r; Seneca, *Tenne Tragedies*, ed. Newton, sig. O2^v.

The ‘new’ prose arguments themselves display some attempt at typographical uniformity, for unlike the blackletter of the main text of the translations, the arguments use Roman or italic typeface, with proper names in upper-case lettering – a differentiation which also serves to align the collection with the typographical conventions of continental editions such as those produced by Gryphius and Aldus Manutius.¹³⁶ And the *Tenne Tragedies* volume in fact pre-dates the first Latin collected edition of Seneca’s tragedies printed in England, which did not appear until 1589.¹³⁷ Viewing the *Tenne Tragedies* as an English equivalent to continental editions of Seneca’s tragedies explains many of its presentational choices.

As an editor and compiler, Newton himself also displays a preference for presenting texts in ‘collected’ formats. In 1577 Newton republished two translations of Cicero he had previously published in 1569, this time with an additional translation.¹³⁸ Newton claims that revisiting the collection was necessary because previously the works ‘escaped my handes, and rashly (by peecemeale) passed the Printers Presse’, but republication also presented the opportunity to add an extra text, since ‘the whole Worke... shoulde come foorth vniforme, and in one maner of Style and order’.¹³⁹ Newton therefore seems to suggest that completeness makes uniformity and consistency possible. And Newton seems to favour what we might call a ‘complete’ reading strategy more generally. He notes in the dedicatory epistle to the *Tenne Tragedies* that

the readinge of these Tragedies, being enterlarded with many Phrases and sentences, literally tending (at the first sight) sometime to the prayse of Ambition, sometye to the mayntenaunce of cruelty, now and then to the approbation of incontinencie, and here and there to the ratification of tyranny, can not be digested without great daunger of infection: to omit all other reasons, if it might please them with no forestalled

¹³⁶ The exception is the argument to *Thyestes*, which does not use upper-case lettering for proper names, though (uniquely) the first line of the argument is entirely upper-case.

¹³⁷ See Seneca, *L. Annæi Senecæ Cordubensis tragœdiæ* (London: [R. Robinson for] T. Man and T. Gubbin, 1589). This is a paginary reprint of the 1584 Gryphius edition of the tragedies.

¹³⁸ STC 5274, 5314.

¹³⁹ Cicero, *Fowre seuerall Treatises of M. Tullius Cicero: Conteyninge his most learned and Eloquent Discourses of Frendshippe: Oldage: Paradoxes: and Scipio his Dreame*, trans. Thomas Newton (London: T. Marsh, 1577), sigs. A2^r, A3^r.

iudgement, to mark and consider the circumstaunces, why, where, & by what maner of persons such sentences are pronounced, they cannot in any equity otherwise choose, but find good cause ynough to leade them to a more fauouorable and milde resolution.¹⁴⁰

Newton insists here that to read in ‘Phrases and sentences’ is to not read Seneca as he ought to be read in order to access his ‘direct meaning’, for Seneca’s ‘*whole* wrytinges... are so farre from countenauncing Vice’.¹⁴¹ Rather he proposes a more holistic approach to the plays which rejects the early modern inclination for reading Seneca to glean quotable sententiae, in favour of a contextualized (and perhaps overly optimistic) consideration of the ‘circumstaunces’ of each play and its characters.¹⁴² As we saw above, exactly how far Newton’s conception of Seneca’s ‘whole wrytinges’ goes is unclear, for his commendation of Seneca’s ‘Philosophicall sentences’ might even imply identification of the tragical with the philosophical ‘Senecas’.¹⁴³ But Newton certainly appears to endorse the idea of a single ‘Seneca’ as author of the tragedies. Uniformity of author aligns with uniformity of presentation: for Newton, reading a text or a collection which has been made ‘vniforme’ and complete permits (and perhaps creates) a more controlled reading of its author’s ‘direct meaning’. Newton’s endorsement of a ‘whole’ Seneca may aid his presentation of the author as a moral sage, for to insist that Seneca should be read whole is also to imply that his ‘Phrases and sentences’ (easily extractable from the ‘whole’ text) are not the core of his appeal. There is ‘waightynes of sappy words’, but there is ‘greater authority of sound matter’.¹⁴⁴ The paratextual and typographical uniformities of the volume encourage its readers to draw similar conclusions about the nature of its contents. In the *Tenne Tragedies* Newton attempts to bring together materials that are, and were believed to be, diverse, into a uniform and consistent set of texts – and the effort shows.

¹⁴⁰ Seneca, *Tenne Tragedies*, ed. Newton, sig. A3^v.

¹⁴¹ Seneca, *Tenne Tragedies*, ed. Newton, sig. A3^v (my emphasis).

¹⁴² On ‘circumstances’ as a rhetorical term see Hutson, esp. 2-3, 75-86.

¹⁴³ Seneca, *Tenne Tragedies*, ed. Newton, sig. A4^r. See section 1.3., ‘Seneca in early modern England’.

¹⁴⁴ Seneca, *Tenne Tragedies*, ed. Newton, sig. A4^r.

1.7. Hercules in the *Tenne Tragedies*

Newton's predilections for 'unity' and 'wholeness' in his publications do not sit very easily with the Herculean content of these tragedies in particular. The various and contradictory nature of the stories which form Hercules' mythos, many of which feature in different configurations in both *Hercules furens* and *Hercules Oetaeus*, resist assimilation into a 'vniforme' account of the hero. As such it is difficult for the hero to serve as any sort of moral (or immoral) exemplar here. How can Hercules exemplify 'sinne, loose lyfe, dissolute dealing, and vnbrydled sensuality', or their opposing, virtuous qualities, if he is neither entirely vicious nor entirely virtuous?¹⁴⁵ Studley's solution to the problem in his translation of *Hercules Oetaeus* is to create a more wholesome, 'vniforme' – and, consequently, less troubling – Hercules than the Latin text of the play easily allows. Quite differently, Heywood's 1561 parallel-text edition of *Hercules furens* presents the play as a learning opportunity that is mythological as much as linguistic. Heywood and Studley produced their translations in different contexts and for very different ends, and their translations – and indeed their Herculesees – are consequently very different works.

As the first and last plays in both textual recensions of the tragedies, and in most printed editions, it is tempting to view *Hercules furens* and *Hercules Oetaeus* as offering a smooth or easily inferable 'narrative' of the life of Hercules, who 'moves', across the course of the arrangement, from fetching Cerberus in Hades, to the heavens via his death and deification.¹⁴⁶ Closer inspection of the mythological details of the plays does not support such a straightforwardly linear reading, but something like this interpretation of the collection's Herculean content might have appealed to Newton.¹⁴⁷ What we might call

¹⁴⁵ Quotation from Seneca, *Tenne Tragedies*, ed. Newton, sig. A4^r.

¹⁴⁶ See Braden, 58.

¹⁴⁷ *HF* and *HO* in fact reveal discontinuities between their accounts of Hercules, and thus of the Herculean mythos itself. Most obviously, they present different timelines for the completion of the labours. *HF* has Hercules complete the labours just before he murders Megara and their sons, while *HO*, as in Sophocles'

Newton's 'editorial' practice in compiling the *Tenne Tragedies* 'flattens' the translations it includes by adjusting their paratextual materials in order to create the impression of a more uniform 'whole'. This strategy aims to contain differences between the translations, but it has rather complicated consequences for Heywood's translation of *Hercules furens*. In the *Tenne Tragedies* Heywood's translation appears without its facing-page Latin parallel text. Given the very close dependence of Heywood's English translation upon his Latin text, the translation as included in the *Tenne Tragedies* is significantly less intelligible than it was in its parallel Latin-English arrangement in 1561.

At least one contemporary or near-contemporary reader of *Hercules furens* in the 1581 collection felt compelled to read the translation as it appears here 'back' in conjunction with its Latin text. A copy of the *Tenne Tragedies* in the Bodleian Library features extensive annotations to *Hercules furens*, the majority of which are quotations from a Latin text of the play, copied down next to the corresponding lines of the translation in the outer margin of the page.¹⁴⁸ What appear to be the corresponding page numbers of the Latin edition of the play from which the Latin passages are drawn also appear in the inner margins of the printed English text.¹⁴⁹ This reader/annotator's citation of the Latin text is precise to the point of noting whether the part of the text copied out is from the first or second part of a line or clause.¹⁵⁰ The extensive Latin quotations and the marking of page numbers in this copy strongly suggest that this particular reader was reading Heywood's translation of the play alongside its Latin text. One reason why this reader/annotator might proceed in this manner is that Heywood's translation is only properly readable, and indeed usable, in close

Women of Trachis, sets Hercules' marriage to Deianira long enough before the events of the play for them to have an adult son, with the labours happening during this period.

¹⁴⁸ See Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 784, sigs. B1^r-C2^r, sig. D2^r.

¹⁴⁹ These references take the form 'Pag: 14', 'Pag: 15', 'Pag: 17', and so on: see Tanner 784, sigs. B4^r, B4^v, and B5^r respectively. On one instance a page number is noted in the outer margin: see Tanner 784, sig. B1^v.

¹⁵⁰ The reader notes phrases copied from the second part of a line with the numeral '2': see e.g. Tanner 784, sig. B1^v, sig. B2^v. This precision may have helped the reader/annotator (as it helped the present writer) more quickly locate the text in their Latin edition.

proximity to a Latin text of the play, as found in its 1561 parallel-text edition. With the Latin text removed from the translation in the *Tenne Tragedies*, this reader re-‘parallelizes’ the translation by adding the Latin text ‘back’ into the margins. For this reader, perhaps, Newton’s presentation of this translation in the *Tenne Tragedies* needed adjustment before it could be used.¹⁵¹

Surviving responses to the *Tenne Tragedies* volume such as this one demonstrate the particularity of Newton’s ‘vision’ of Seneca and of his tragedies, and of the strain that Newton’s approach puts on the diverse translations that in fact make up this collection. Since Newton’s apparent belief in a ‘unified’ Seneca is in line with current critical orthodoxy, modern scholarship has perhaps taken the *Tenne Tragedies* ‘project’ slightly too much at its word. The volume actually features a collection of translations by different individuals operating in different circumstances, and while the collaboration of some translators such as John Studley in its production is probable, the participation of all translators cannot be assumed, and, in the case of Jasper Heywood at least, is circumstantially most unlikely. The English translations of the ‘Hercules’ plays in this collection, and their translators Heywood and Studley, demonstrate particularly striking differences of presentation and intention. In this sense the translations provide a significant example of the diversity of uses to which Hercules was put in early modern England – and indeed of the diversity of Herculese on offer. As Heywood’s translation of *Hercules furens* in its 1581 format shows, the differences between these translations arguably become more rather than less evident in the context of the *Tenne Tragedies*. Appropriately to the multiple nature of Hercules and his fragmented

¹⁵¹ Since this reader also annotates *Hercules furens*’ first enumeration of the labours (*HF*, 214-48) in this copy, they may also be using the translation in line with the pedagogical intentions that Heywood espoused in the 1561 edition of *Hercules furens*. The reader copies out the relevant sections of the Latin text, and provides a numbered summary, headed ‘Herculis labores’ [the labours of Hercules], of the labours described in the passage against the line or lines in which they are described: see Tanner 784, sig. B4^v.

mythos, the collection does not provide a single, consistent Hercules, but several competing figures, more and less imperfectly denizenized.

2. Hercules in Arcadia, and the *Arcadias*

From a modern perspective, the first person to send up the tragic Senecan Hercules was Seneca himself. Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* (or 'Pumpkinification'), a vicious prosimetric satire on the apotheosis of the Emperor Claudius, features a Hercules who is not quite the Hercules of *Hercules furens*.¹ When an unrecognisable and unintelligible Claudius presents himself at the threshold of heaven, Jupiter sends Hercules, 'who had wandered over the whole earth and apparently got to know all its nations', to find out his identity.² Encountering Claudius, this Hercules is terrified – 'he thought that his thirteenth labour had arrived' – and yet still gullible enough to be prepared to admit Claudius into heaven, once he quotes some impressive (but carefully decontextualised) lines from Homer's *Odyssey*.³ Claudius proving intractable, Hercules determines to cow him into submission by going into tragic mode [et quo terribilior esset, tragicus fit].⁴ Seneca's characterisation of Hercules in the *Apocolocyntosis* moves in several directions at once, and ably travesties the 'tragic' Hercules. On the one hand it casts its Hercules as a cowardly and gullible 'Greekling' [Graeculus], who has much in common with the Herakleses of Greek Old Comedy such as Aristophanes' *Frogs*.⁵ Hercules' role here is also of a parodic *alexikakos* (ἀλεξίκακος) or 'avertor of evil', in the sense that Claudius is the evil in need of averting. Hercules' temporary move into tragic declamation serves both to introduce an identifiably tragic style, and to undercut it through its inclusion in a satire. If Seneca's *Hercules furens* predates the

¹ The qualifier 'modern perspective' is necessary because, as we saw in Chapter 1, there was considerable uncertainty in the early modern period as to the unity of the author 'Seneca' across the body of work that we now see as the work of a single author.

² 'qui totum orbem terrarum perrauerat et nosse uidebatur omnes nationes', Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, ed. and trans. P. T. Eden (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984), 5. 10-11. Subsequent references will be to this edition and translation, unless otherwise specified, by section and line number.

³ 'putauit sibi tertium decimum laborem uenisse', Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, 5. 16. For the Homeric quotation see 5. 20-6. 2. As Eden aptly remarks, this Hercules is 'shockable, gullible, blustering, cowardly and ridiculously prone to believing in his own tragic image', 5. 3n.

⁴ Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, 7. 3.

⁵ Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, 5. 18 for 'Graeculus'; Hercules' first words to Claudius are also in Greek.

Apocolocyntosis, then this might be a self-travesty at first hand.⁶ Indeed this Hercules is unable to keep up the high style for long, because (in a further skewering of the tragic Hercules) ‘he was not in his right mind’: in other words, this Hercules is overly *furens* to do the task in hand.⁷

The existence of comic and burlesque-tragic Herculesees in the *Apocolocyntosis*, alongside a passage of ‘genuinely’ tragic declamation, point to the complexities surrounding Hercules in both comic and tragic manifestations. Hercules’ availability for parody from several directions in the *Apocolocyntosis* points to the productive difficulty of slotting this figure into any one literary (or other) genre. Both the types of classical texts which feature Hercules – from *Hercules furens* to *The Frogs* to the *Apocolocyntosis*, and the range of stories which make up his mythos – are sufficiently variable as to make it difficult to assign a single generic or even ethical classification to this figure.⁸ As the *Apocolocyntosis* demonstrates, Hercules is as a result a radically unstable generic presence.

Thinking about the instability of Hercules as a mythological figure is key to understanding his various appearances in Philip Sidney’s ‘old’ *Arcadia*, and its unfinished revision the ‘new’ *Arcadia*. In the *Arcadias* Herculean allusions function first and most obviously to express differences in social register and social status between characters. Sidney draws upon both comic and tragic Herculesees in order to stratify characters of different ranks and different genders, for characters of different ranks and statuses draw upon different aspects of his variegated mythos: in general, those of ‘low’ rank are associated with ‘comic’ Herculesees, and those of ‘high’ rank with the ‘tragic’ Hercules. Yet the existence of various types of disproportion in relation to Hercules also make Hercules a

⁶ Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, 5. 10n.

⁷ ‘haec [Hercules’ tragic speech] satis animose et fortiter, nihilo minus mentis suae non est’ [This he said with spirit and courage enough; all the same he was not in his right mind], Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, 7. 18-19.

⁸ One can do this far more easily for other figures from classical mythology: Phaedra, for example, is (as we shall see), always a marker of tragic discourse.

useful way of exploring departures from decorum. In this respect Hercules both poses a particular problem for female characters who talk about him in the *Arcadias*, and provides a means through which they can articulate ‘inappropriate’ passions or ambitions. Hercules is not, however, a constant allusive presence from the ‘old’ to the ‘new’ *Arcadia*, and the distinctions in the two texts’ treatment of the figure points to their broader generic differences. The ‘old’ *Arcadia* uses the complexities of Hercules’ generic identity as a useful ‘red flag’ for identifying lapses from appropriately decorous speech and behaviour, and to illuminate often uncomfortable resemblances in behaviour between ‘kings’ and ‘clowns’. The tonal instability that Hercules generates is no longer desirable in the ‘new’ *Arcadia* as it moves towards prose tragedy. The introduction of Cecropia, the most ‘wicked’ character, and also the most able manipulator of mythological information in the ‘new’ *Arcadia*, demonstrates the ease with which Hercules can in the wrong (female) hands serve vice as easily as virtue.

2.1. ‘Comic’ Herculeses in the ‘old’ *Arcadia*⁹

The ‘old’ *Arcadia* presents us first with Hercules in a comic context. Napping when he shouldn’t be, Dametas is woken by the singing of the lovelorn Cleophila (actually Pyrocles in disguise), and

came swearing to the place where Cleophila was, with a voice like him that plays Hercules in a play and, God knows, never had Hercules’ fancy in his head (*OA*, 31).¹⁰

Since Dametas is Basilius’ inappropriately-elevated ‘principal herdman’ (*OA*, 6), this comparison most immediately presents a woeful disjunction between the heroic ideal of

⁹ References will be to: Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke’s Arcadia (The Old Arcadia)*, ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), unless specified, henceforth as ‘*OA*’, by page number. For the *New Arcadia*, references will be to Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke’s Arcadia (The New Arcadia)*, ed. Victor Skretkowicz (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), unless specified, henceforth as ‘*NA*’, by page number.

¹⁰ Variants recorded by Robertson are ‘like one’ and ‘of one’ for ‘like him’; and ‘in play’, and (interestingly) ‘in the play’ for ‘in a play’: see *OA*, 31.30n, 31.31n.

Hercules, and unheroic impersonation. What is lacking in Dametas is an inner Herculean ‘fancy’, which here denotes something like ‘imagination’ in the sense of a ‘mental capacity’ or ‘mental attitude’ that is distinctly Herculean.¹¹ Certainly, unlike the ‘tales of Hercules’ Sidney mentions in the *Defence of Poetry* and which exemplify ‘the right description of wisdom, valour, and justice’, Dametas’ ‘rustical bravery’ (*OA*, 29) lacks any ‘real’ Herculean substance, as his naked terror at Cleophila’s sword indicates (*OA*, 32).¹² The comic nature of the comparison requires an assumption of contrast between impersonation and ‘fancy’ in this case, and depends upon awareness of an adequately heroic Hercules. Here Hercules provides a heroic measure against which Dametas’ shortcomings in the heroic mode can be presented and ridiculed.

The ‘old’ *Arcadia*’s detail that Dametas rails with a ‘voice like him that plays Hercules in a play’ (*OA*, 31, my emphasis), however, also raises the spectre of a Hercules with more in common with Dametas. Such a Hercules might be one of the braggart Herculesees of classical Old Comedy, and satirical texts such as Seneca’s *Apocolocyntosis*; or one of the comic Herculesees who appear on the early modern stage in plays such as *Love’s Labour’s Lost*.¹³ Burlesque stage Herculesees are no newer than tragic and heroic Herculesees, and Dametas compared to Hercules may draw on both the lack of resemblance between the brave Hercules in heroic mode and the cowardly Dametas, and also on the resemblance between a blustering Hercules and a similarly blustering or ‘swearing’ Dametas (*OA*, 31). What having ‘Hercules’ fancy’ in one’s head is taken to mean depends very much on *which* Hercules is in question. ‘Fancy’ does not after all receive an entirely wholesome press elsewhere in the ‘old’ *Arcadia*, or in Sidney’s other writings. Poetry which is ‘Φανταστική’

¹¹ See ‘fancy, n. and adj.’, 4.a., in *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, Oxford UP <<http://www.oed.com>> [accessed 4 August 2014]. Subsequent reference to this database as ‘*OEDO*’.

¹² Sir Philip Sidney, *A Defence of Poetry*, in *Miscellaneous Prose*, ed. Jan van Dorsten and Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 92. Subsequent references are to this edition (as ‘*DP*’), by page number, and incorporated into the main text.

¹³ See Chapter 5, ‘Hercules and drama’, for discussion of early modern stage Herculesees.

or ‘phantastikē’, rather than properly mimetic (‘εἰκαστική’, or ‘eikastikē’, ‘figuring forth good things’) according to the *Defence of Poetry* may ‘infect the fancy with unworthy objects’ (*DP*, 104), and while this is more a quality of the mimesis offered to the reader-viewer, it is the fancy that is specified as the part of the mind prone to infection.¹⁴ For Sidney fancies of the mind seem to run the risk of becoming means of delusional self-aggrandisement. Sidney’s ‘Letter’ to Elizabeth I urging her not to marry François, Duke of Alençon, describes Alençon, ‘both by his own fancy and by his youthful governors embracing all ambitious hopes’, as ‘having Alexander’s image in his head, but perchance ill painted’.¹⁵ Dametas’ ‘fancy’ is particularly prone to overreaching: when Musidorus, posing as the shepherd Dorus, spins him a tale of buried treasure, Dametas’ ‘fancy’ ‘had already devoured all this great riches’ before even verifying its existence (*OA*, 187).¹⁶ Where Dametas is concerned, what seemed to be a solidly heroic Herculean comparison dissolves under further investigation.

That even the apparently straightforward instance of ‘Hercules’ fancy’ is complicated by the spectre of a comic and blustering Hercules points to the difficulties that Hercules presents as an exemplary figure for Sidney. Sidney’s treatment of Hercules in his *Defence of Poetry* is similarly complex. It is true that the ‘tales of Hercules’ are mentioned alongside those of many other classical figures in the *Defence* as examples of the superior power of poetry to inculcate virtue and virtuous action, as compared to the bare precepts of philosophy, or the ‘bare *Was*’ of history (*DP*, 92, 85, 89). Slightly later on, however, when Sidney turns to discuss ‘heroical’ poetry and its merits, Hercules is conspicuously absent

¹⁴ Transliteration of the Greek words here is adopted from Sidney’s *The Defence of Poesy* and *Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism*, ed. Gavin Alexander (London: Penguin, 2004), 36; and for the Platonic origin of Sidney’s distinction here see 343, 173n.

¹⁵ Sir Philip Sidney, ‘A Letter... to Queen Elizabeth, touching her marriage to Monsieur’, in *Miscellaneous Prose*, ed. van Dorsten and Duncan-Jones, 52.

¹⁶ The *OA* describes Dametas’ disappointment when the treasure turns out to be very unreal indeed through a comparison with ‘Midas’ fancy when, after the great pride he conceived to be made judge between gods, he was rewarded with the ornament of an ass’ ears’, *OA*, 265.

from his roll-call of ‘champions’ of the genre: ‘for by what conceit can a tongue be directed to speak evil of that [heroic poetry] which draweth with him no less champions than Achilles, Cyrus, Aeneas, Turnus, Tydeus, and Rinaldo?’ (*DP*, 97-98). Sidney includes many of the same heroes (in the same order) whose ‘tales’ like Hercules’ provide moving representations of virtue, but does not include Hercules himself.¹⁷ This might be due to the fact that there is no surviving ancient epic featuring Hercules as a central focus of attention, though since Sidney does include Rinaldo, from either Ludovico Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*, or Torquato Tasso’s *Rinaldo* or perhaps even his *Gerusalemme liberata* (or both), the omission might point to the problematic complexities of this figure.¹⁸ As the *Defence* itself goes on to show, not all of these ‘tales of Hercules’ exemplify virtue, because Sidney also includes a description of Hercules dressed as a woman and spinning for Omphale.

This third and most significant entrance of Hercules into the *Defence* follows Sidney’s criticisms of English ‘mongrel tragi-comedy’ (*DP*, 114), and his attempt to define what comedy ought to be, as opposed to its current incarnation in England. Sidney spends some time here explicating the relationship between laughter and ‘delight’. For Sidney, comedy is not that which is ‘fit to lift up a loud laughter, and nothing else’ – this is mere ‘scurrility, unworthy of any chaste ears’ – but is rather ‘full of delight’ and therefore instructive in purpose, and need not involve laughter at all (*DP*, 115). Sidney’s comments here seem to refine his discussion of the nature and purpose of comedy earlier in the *Defence*. There he presented comedy as a didactic genre, which provides ‘an imitation of the common errors of our life, which he [the poet] representeth in the most ridiculous and scornful sort that may be, so as it is impossible that any beholder can be content to be such a one’ (*DP*,

¹⁷ *DP*, 92, reads ‘the tales of Hercules, Achilles, Cyrus, Aeneas’.

¹⁸ Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata* was not printed until 1581, so the *DP* may slightly predate it. However, during his travels in continental Europe in 1572-75 Sidney had in Venice befriended Cesare Pavese, close friend of Tasso’s father Bernardo Tasso, so it is possible that Sidney could have known about the epic in progress even at this earlier date. See Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991), 79-80.

95-96).¹⁹ Understood thus, however, it is unclear how comedy may also ‘delight’. If comedy is concerned with presenting the ‘oblique’ rather than the good – things which, like evil men, are other than they should be (*DP*, 96) – then laughter would seem the most fitting response to comedy, not delight, since ‘laughter almost ever cometh of things most disproportioned to ourselves and nature’ (*DP*, 115). Delight, by contrast, is concerned with things fitting, or proportional, for ‘delight we scarcely do but in things that have a conveniency to ourselves or to the general nature’ (*DP*, 115).²⁰

The *Defence* of course famously argues that the end of poetry is ‘to teach and delight’ (*DP*, 80), so it is imperative for Sidney’s purpose that comedy too must be shown to delight. At this later point in the *Defence* he first suggests that both delight and laughter may be present at the same time, though neither is the cause of the other.²¹ The two remain, however, in ‘a kind of contrariety’, because laughter depends upon disproportion, and delight upon proportion, precipitating entirely different reactions: ‘scornful tickling’ and ‘joy’ respectively (*DP*, 115). ‘Yet’, continues Sidney,

deny I not but that they may go well together. [...] so in Hercules, painted with his great beard and furious countenance, in a woman’s attire, spinning at Omphale’s commandment, it breedeth both delight and laughter: for the representing of so strange a power in love procureth delight, and the scornfulness of the action stirreth laughter. (*DP*, 115-16).

Sidney tells us clearly what the purpose of his remarks and his example here is, namely to make the point that ‘all the end of the comical part be not upon such scornful matters as stir

¹⁹ Sidney’s sense of the didactic function of comedy is a traditional early modern perspective. Comedies, says Sir Thomas Elyot, for instance, provide ‘a mirror of mans lyfe: wherein yuell is not taught, but dyscoured, to the intent that men, beholding the promptnes of youth vnto vice... maye prepare them selfe to resyste and preuente occasion’, in Sir Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the Gouernour* (London: T. Berthelet, 1537), sig. F7^v.

²⁰ ‘Conveniency’ as used here and elsewhere in the *DP* seems to mean something like a harmony, accord, or congruence of form between thing represented and spectator, which is for Sidney morally good, and produces delight. See ‘conveniency, n.’, *OEDO*, 1.a., 2.a., 3. [accessed 14 August 2014]. Following Sidney’s pairing of ‘convenient’ with ‘fittest’ at *DP*, 101, I use ‘fitting’ and ‘proportional’ (and cognates) as synonyms.

²¹ ‘[L]aughter may come with delight, yet cometh it not of delight, as though delight should be the cause of laughter, but well may one thing breed both together’, *DP*, 115.

laughter only, but, mixed with it, that delightful teaching which is the end of poesy' (*DP*, 116). As the inclusion of this clarification suggests, however, Sidney seems to have some difficulty producing an adequate explanation for the source of the 'conveniency' required between thing represented and spectator, in order for delight to be felt as well as laughter produced when contemplating this particular 'speaking picture' (*DP*, 80).²² Certainly neither the 'old' nor the 'new' *Arcadia* straightforwardly celebrates the effects that 'so strange a power in love' can have upon individuals: both texts rather more demonstrate love's hazardous consequences for personal and public commonwealths alike. The *Arcadias* consistently describe forms of love which it sees as distinctly lacking in 'conveniency' as 'strange': there is Philoclea's 'strange love' of Cleophila (*OA*, 6), and Basilius' 'strange humours' after becoming infatuated with Cleophila (*OA*, 172). The coexistence of delight and laughter that Sidney claims is possible is (once again) upon closer analysis less straightforward than it seems, and the complications of Hercules, and especially Hercules in this particular situation, provide an appropriate illustration of the 'contrariety' of these two qualities.

To an early modern reader the ridiculous aspects of this Herculean scene in the *Defence* would perhaps be easier to locate than its delighting aspects. The 'scornfulness' of the picture is as Sidney's gloss identifies first of all the product of Hercules' 'action' in 'spinning at Omphale's commandment'. Spinning poses a problem of both rank and gender, and from neither angle is it a fitting activity for Hercules, the son of Jupiter.²³ Further

²² Another moment of stress in proving a reason for the delight as well as the laughter produced by this Herculean image might be visible in the slightly negative (or at least underhand) connotations of the word 'procureth': see 'procure, v.', *OEDO*, 1.a., 1.b., 2.b. The bawdy sense of 'procure' seems to date from the early seventeenth century: see 3.b. [all accessed 29 July 2016].

²³ Hercules' spinning for Omphale is both a social and a gendered lowering. On women and spinning in the early modern period see Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008), 117-21. Although spinning was a skill taught to women of all ranks in early modern Europe, extended praise of high-status women who *did* spin suggests that the number who actually did was not great: see e.g. Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman*, trans. Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: Chicago UP, 2000), 58-61. Subsequent references will be to this translation.

troublings of traditional gender separations are also evident in the picture's 'lothly vncouth sight, | Of men disguiz'd in womanishe attire'.²⁴ Hercules is dressed in women's clothes, and Sidney's inclusion of such details as his 'great beard' and 'furious countenance' point to the incongruity of Hercules' 'essential' masculinity as displayed by his body against his feminine clothing and occupation. The scene thus presents disturbing challenges to early modern ideas about the proper hierarchies of both social rank and gender.²⁵ Hercules spinning and Hercules in women's clothing turn the 'natural order' on its head.

A cross-dressed Hercules spinning for Omphale therefore troubles the 'conveniency' (*DP*, 115) which should exist between a person and his or her activities and context: men ought not to wear women's clothes, or do women's tasks; persons of high rank should not do the work of persons of low rank, and so on. The image is a violation of decorum, the ideal principle of 'semelynesse' or proper fit between a person's speech and/or actions, and their position in the world.²⁶ In speech, without congruence between a speaker's style and language, and their situation, the speaker will seem at best ridiculous, compromising his case, and at worst inappropriate or even subversive. In a metaphor both uncomfortable and suggestive from a Herculean perspective, the Roman rhetorician Quintilian compares the use of an inappropriate style in speech to men wearing jewellery and women's clothing, which, says Quintilian, would be as inappropriate for them as it would be for women to wear

²⁴ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton, 2nd rev. edn (London: Longman, 2007), 5. 7. 37.

²⁵ The two categories are interconnected: as Joan Scott remarks, 'gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power', in Joan Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review*, 91 (1986), 1053-75 (1067). Vives pronounces, '[i]n setting man over woman, God... indicates that man is more worthy of honor. It must be rendered to him, unless we have become so absurdly perverse as to think that kings and princes owe honor to their subjects rather than the subject to his lord. If a king were to uncover his head before a farmer and yield place to him, that would not be an honor, but pure foolishness and mockery', Vives, 252.

²⁶ 'semelynesse' is Thomas Cooper's gloss for Latin 'decorum' in Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus linguae Romanae et Britannicae* (London: H. Wykes, 1565), s.v. 'Decorum'. Cf. also George Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy*, ed. Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2007), 347-8. Subsequent references to this edition, by page number. See Chapter 5, 'Hercules and drama', for further discussion of decorum.

the clothing of public offices and honours [*habitus triumphalis*].²⁷ As this analogy suggests, decorum is ‘a category not just of style but of social, political, and familial ordering’.²⁸ There is just as much a decorum of behaviour as of speech, and the chapter on decorum in speech in George Puttenham’s *The Arte of English Poesie* is followed by a chapter on decorum in conduct, because ‘there is a decency to be observed in every man’s action and behaviour as well as in his speech and writing.’²⁹ As in decorous speech, decorous behaviour is about fitting one’s actions to one’s context and particular situation (‘that which is seemly to be done in this place is not so seemly in that, and at such a time decent, but at another time indecent’, and so on), and acting always with moderation.³⁰ Actions, should, moreover, be fitted to the individual’s condition and status. For instance, it is not ‘seemly for an aged man to play the wanton like a child, for it stands not with the conveniency of nature’.³¹

Just as the virtuous Hercules provides many delightful and instructive pictures of ‘wisdom, valour, and justice’ (*DP*, 92), the indecorous Hercules also serves as a useful exemplar for expressing and ridiculing troubling indecorums, and perhaps, as Sidney’s own comic theory prescribes in the *Defence of Poetry*, for encouraging alert persons to never ‘be content to be such a one’ (*DP*, 96). The ‘old’ *Arcadia* presents its two young princes mired in different types of indecorous ‘cross-dressing’. Both cross-dressings engage with Sidney’s picture of the cross-dressed Hercules spinning for Omphale, because in changing their clothes one prince changes gender, and the other changes social rank. Since both cross-

²⁷ ‘ut monilibus et margaritis ac veste longa, quae sunt ornamenta feminarum, deformatur viri, nec habitus triumphalis, quo nihil excogitari potest augustius, feminas deceat’ [On the same principle, men would be disfigured by necklaces, pearls, and long dresses, for these are the ornaments of women, and the costume of the triumphant general (than which nothing more august can be conceived) would be inappropriate for a woman]. Quintilian, *The Orator’s Education*, ed. and trans. D. A. Russell, 5 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2001), V, 11.1.3. Subsequent references to this edition and translation as ‘*OE*’ by volume, book, and section number. See *OE*, II, 3.7.6 for Quintilian’s version of the Hercules and Omphale episode.

²⁸ Patricia Parker, *Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property* (London: Methuen, 1987), 111. As a stylistic principle, decorum receives extensive treatment in classical discussions of oratory, as Chapter 5 of this thesis explicates.

²⁹ Puttenham, 360. Puttenham’s word for decorum both verbal and behavioural is ‘decency’.

³⁰ Puttenham, 362.

³¹ Puttenham, 363. Basilius ought to take note.

dressings are for love, moreover, the princes respond to the literary tradition of reading Hercules' submission to Omphale as 'the extreme case of *servitum amoris*'.³² The effect is comic but also points to their moral degradation.

Pyrocles falls in love with Philoclea's picture very early on in the 'old' *Arcadia*, and disguises himself as an Amazon, Cleophila, in order to penetrate the pastoral retreat of the Arcadian royal family. His adoption of women's clothes – if of a martially-inclined women – is explicitly marked as Herculean. When Pyrocles shares his plan with Musidorus, the latter rails disgustedly at 'this effeminate love of a woman' which 'doth so womanize a man that, if you yield to it, it will not only make you a famous Amazon, but a launder, a distaff-spinner, or whatsoever other vile occupation their idle heads can imagine and their weak hands perform' (*OA*, 20).³³ Musidorus' hyperbolic complaints point to the larger threat to hierarchy that Pyrocles' female disguise entails, but soon enough he becomes the ironic exemplar of his own rather hysterical prognostications. Falling in love with Pamela after a brief glance of her face, he disguises himself as an Arcadian shepherd, Dorus, so as to get access to her. To disguise oneself thus is a major social lowering, and, as we might expect, Musidorus has little success in courting Pamela: 'too well he found that a shepherd's either service or affection was but considered of as from a shepherd, and the liking limited to that proportion' (*OA*, 98). His prospects only improve once he contrives to communicate, via a cruel mock-courtship of Dametas' daughter Mopsa, that he is not as he seems. Both princes lament their 'captiving... within ourselves which hath transformed the one in sex, and the other in state, as much as the uttermost work of changeable fortune can be extended unto'

³² Elaine Fantham, 'Sexual Comedy in Ovid's *Fasti*: Sources and Motivation', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 87 (1983), 185-216 (193).

³³ Cleophila sings that she is indeed '[t]ransformed in show, but more transformed in mind', *OA*, 28.

(OA, 43). For the princes, and more generally, Hercules is a destabilising figure who both introduces and marks disproportions and indecorums of gender, rank and genre.

2.2. *Hercle*, ‘O Hercules!’, and other mythological oaths

The ‘new’ *Arcadia* makes Pyrocles’ Herculean connection even more explicit by substituting for a jewel Pyrocles wears in the ‘old’ *Arcadia* displaying the device of ‘an eagle covered with the feathers of a dove’ (OA, 27), one featuring ‘a Hercules made in little form, but set with a distaff in his hand (as he once was by Omphale’s commandment), with a word in Greek, but thus to be interpreted: “Never more valiant”’ (NA, 69).³⁴ It is difficult not to read Zelmane’s device in the ‘new’ *Arcadia* as a literal type of ‘signifying badge’ perhaps comparable to those Sidney describes for stock characters in comedy in the *Defence*, which function not only so that the audience ‘know what effects are to be expected, but to know who be such’ (DP, 96). In the ‘old’ *Arcadia*, however, the comic ‘signifying badge[s]’ of persons caught in indecorous situations are more linguistic than literal. This fact leads us to consider what sorts of language the ‘old’ *Arcadia* suggests are appropriate for different sorts of characters to use, and whether it is even decent for all kinds of persons to talk about Hercules.

If in Sidney’s view the cross-dressed Hercules procures laughter as well as delight, Dametas’ Herculean pretensions provoke a similar response in his immediate audience in the ‘old’ *Arcadia*. When she sees and hears his fulminations, ‘Cleophila could not choose but to smile at him’ (OA, 32).³⁵ Herculean sounds are inappropriate to Dametas, as his positioning as a low comic figure in both versions of the *Arcadia* makes clear. Cleophila judges Dametas ‘so base a creature’ that he is unworthy of reply when he asks her what her

³⁴ In full the device of the jewel in the OA also alludes (but more obliquely) to Pyrocles’ submission to Philoclea: ‘an eagle covered with the feathers of a dove, and yet lying under another dove, in such sort as it seemed the dove preyed upon the eagle, the eagle casting up such a look as though the state he was in liked him, though the pain grieved him’, OA, 27.

³⁵ It is apposite that Cleophila merely smiles, given Sidney’s comments on laughter in DP, 115.

business is in the Arcadian woods (*OA*, 32), and the narrative dice are loaded against him from the moment that he enters the narrative. Dametas' meeting with Cleophila is prefaced by an extensive and unfavourable description of his person, family, and position: his person is grotesque, his dress suspiciously ambitious (he is 'ill-gartered for a courtlike carelessness', *OA*, 30), his wife and daughter ugly and disagreeable (*OA*, 30), and his position as principal herdsman gained only through Basilius' poor judgement (*OA*, 31). In fact Dametas' wife is in the 'old' *Arcadia* accorded the dubious but significant praise by the narrator that '[n]either inwardly nor outwardly was there anything good in her but that she observed decorum, having in a wretched body a forward mind' (*OA*, 30). As a result, the Herculean parallel offered by the narrator is most straightforwardly understood as an exercise in satirising Dametas' excursion from his 'proper' rank.

The Duke's ill-judged elevation of Dametas from shepherd to a type of rustic would-be courtier also finds a parallel in Dametas' attempts to elevate his language beyond the 'rudeness' that marks it as the product of a person of low rank, and which Basilius characteristically misinterprets as 'plainness' (*OA*, 31). Both delivery and subject matter are amplified, to distinctly underwhelming effect. Dametas' typical verbal activities are raging, swearing, and railing, and yet no significant action takes place, since 'his tongue... [was] the valiantest part of him' (*OA*, 33). When he meets Cleophila, Dametas' oaths take on a classical tinge, and he begins 'to swear by the pantable of Pallas, Venus' waistcoat, and such other oaths as his rustical bravery could imagine' (*OA*, 29). Although by calling upon classical deities Dametas may intend to lend gravity to his pronouncements, the combination of Pallas and Venus with these domestic accoutrements singularly inappropriate to their classical identities have the opposite effect. Surely the warlike Pallas does not wear slippers,

nor the wanton Venus, often depicted naked at least to the waist, a waistcoat.³⁶ ‘[R]ustical bravery’ is not the same thing as Herculean bravery; and if we understand ‘rustical’ as a (negative) stylistic property as well as a marker of countryside boorishness and low rank, “‘By the combcase of Diana!’” (*OA*, 32) and similar travesties demonstrate that Dametas is not able to use classical allusions in an appropriately decorous or even accurate manner.³⁷

The ‘old’ *Arcadia* in fact suggests that neither classical impersonations nor classical oaths form part of an appropriate register for ‘low’ characters such as Dametas and his family. As the mock blazon of Dametas’ daughter Mopsa demonstrates, ‘low’ characters are properly the butts of classical comparisons, rather than their creators. This blazon, which the narrator attributes to the otherwise unknown Alethes, ‘an honest man of that time’ (*OA*, 30)³⁸, praises Mopsa through a series of comparisons to classical deities, but the point is that the classical figures it chooses very much do not possess the qualities it attributes to them – ‘like fair Venus chaste; | As smooth as Pan, as Juno mild, like goddess Iris fast’ (*OA*, 30) – and neither, therefore, does Mopsa.³⁹ What makes this burlesque both entertaining and rather cruel is that it depends upon the reader’s own (and presumably superior) knowledge of mythology to properly understand the import of the poem, and we can assume that Mopsa is not party to the joke. Dametas’ encounter with Cleophila also functions to curtail his use of classical material as well as puncturing his heroic pretensions. After his oaths and railing

³⁶ In early modern terms a waistcoat is ‘[a] short garment... worn by women about the upper part of the body’: see ‘waistcoat, n.’, *OEDO*, 4.a. [accessed 8 August 2014].

³⁷ See ‘rustical, adj.’, *OEDO*, 3.a. [accessed 15 August 2014]. The earliest citation in this entry indeed contrasts ‘verses rustycall’ with the ‘style Heroicall’. Later Dametas slips back into ‘rustical’ swearing proper: “‘Maid Marian,” said he, “am I not a personage to be answered?’”, *OA*, 32. Although Sidney uses ‘bravery’ in its more modern sense in the *DP* (Alexander the Great ‘found he received more bravery of mind by the pattern of Achilles than by hearing the definition of fortitude’, *DP*, 106), if we understand bravery as ‘acting the bravo’ and therefore as much swaggering and boasting as courageous behaviour, then the swaggering braggart Hercules may also be almost in the picture here. See ‘bravery, n.’, *OEDO*, 1. [accessed 19 July 2016]. And of course ‘bravery’ itself can also refer to attire, and particularly finery: see ‘bravery, n.’, *OEDO*, 3.b. [accessed 1 October 2016].

³⁸ Cf. ἀληθής, (in reference to people) ‘honest’, etc. See LSJ, ‘ἀληθής’, A.1.2.

³⁹ i.e. Venus is not chaste but wanton, Pan is hairy, Juno wrathful, Iris perhaps unreliable. See *OA*, 30.29n, 30.30n. The poem also circulated separately from the rest of the *OA*: see Robertson’s discussion in *OA*, 30.23n.

fail to get Cleophila's attention or esteem, Dametas strikes her, and she in response threatens him with her sword, and with 'a right Pyrocles countenance in a Cleophila face' (*OA*, 32). The terrified Dametas runs away, 'gaping and staring with the countenance of those clownish churls that by Latona's prayer were turned into frogs' (*OA*, 32).⁴⁰ The comparison serves to reposition (or perhaps, to metamorphose) Dametas from a user of mythic material to its object.

If the delivery of Dametas' oaths is wishfully Herculean, however, Basilius and Musidorus invoke the hero directly in their own oaths when they cry out 'O Hercules!' (*OA*, 179; 194). We might expect Basilius and Musidorus to have better luck invoking Hercules than Dametas, since they are both of considerably higher rank. 'O Hercules' recalls the stock interjection *hercle* in the comedies of Plautus and Terence, and may as such be more 'classically' coherent than "'By the combcase of Diana!'" (*OA*, 32).⁴¹ However, Hercules once more signals indecorum. As the appearance of the classical oath *hercle* in the comic context of Roman New Comedy intimates, Basilius and Musidorus also seem to be invoking a comically-inflected Hercules, because both are involved in unbecomingly 'scornful' situations when they utter the oath.⁴² Basilius is declaring that his passion for Cleophila is unaffected by his advanced age and all other obstacles. "'O Hercules," answered he, "Basilius afraid! Or his blood cold, that boils in such a furnace! [...] O let me be but armed in your good grace, and I defy whatsoever there is or can be against me!"' (*OA*, 179).

⁴⁰ For the encounter see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller, rev. G. P. Goold, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1977-84), I (1977), 6. 316-81. Subsequent references to this edition and translation. This episode pits the goddess Latona against an ill-natured 'rustic rabble' [*rustica turba*], and the story itself, Ovid tells us, 'is little known because of the humble estate of the men concerned' [*obscura quidem est ignobilitate virorum*]: *Metamorphoses*, I (1977), 6. 348, 319.

⁴¹ *Mehercle* is a less frequent variant. The most recent count finds that the interjection (*me*)*hercle* is used 639 times in the surviving works of Plautus, and 103 times in those of Terence: see Michael E. Gilleland, 'Linguistic differentiation of character type and sex in the comedies of Plautus and Terence' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Virginia, 1979), 194, 197.

⁴² The comic context of (*me*)*hercle* would have been accessible to Sidney: *hercle* features multiple times in the excerpts from the plays of Terence in Nicholas Udall's *Floures for Latine Spekinge* (London: T. Berthelet, 1534); and of the fourteen citations given for *hercle* in Cooper's *Thesaurus*, half are from Plautus and Terence: see Cooper, *Thesaurus*, s.v. 'Heracle'.

Musidorus, disguised as the shepherd Dorus, is feigning amazement – “O Hercules,” said he, “resolve me in this doubt!”” (*OA*, 194) – in order to gull Mopsa into climbing into a ‘wishing tree’ (*OA*, 194). In both instances Basilius and Musidorus are behaving in a manner incongruous with their rank and situation. The elderly Basilius has become infatuated with a stranger (who is also a man dressed as a woman) as an indirect result of abandoning the governance of his realm for pastoral retreat. Not only has Musidorus discarded his princely identity and heroic (Herculean?) labours in Greece, and disguised himself as a shepherd for love of Pamela, but in the context of his Herculean exclamation he is busy constructing an elaborate deception of Dametas and his family which will enable him and Pamela to elope. Rather like the gap between Herculean playing and Herculean ‘fancy’, Basilius’ declarations are swiftly brought down to the digestive level by Cleophila’s reflection that she ‘thought it not good for his stomach to receive a surfeit of too much favour’ (*OA*, 179). The appearance of Hercules in the language of Basilius and Musidorus here also hints at their problematic and indecorous behaviour.

The New Comic overtones of ‘O Hercules’ are further germane to the situations that Basilius and Musidorus find themselves in. In New Comic terms, at this point in the ‘old’ *Arcadia* Musidorus is acting rather like a Plautine ‘clever slave’, by implementing a complicated deception of Dametas and his family so that he can elope with Pamela, while Basilius’ senescent passion for Cleophila marks him as a type of the *senex amans*.⁴³ In fact some of the names that Sidney chooses for characters in the *Arcadias*, and particularly for the subplots of the ‘new’ *Arcadia*, seem to be taken from Terence’s comedies.⁴⁴ Musidorus’

⁴³ The set-up that Dorus devises is resonant of Plautine devices used in plays such as *Mostellaria* to trick the representatives of the older generation (usually fathers) who threaten to stop the fun of the young men.

⁴⁴ Duncan-Jones notes that the wicked Clinias of the *NA* gets his name from Terentian comedy (Clinia in *Heuton Timorumenos*), 31-32. Chremes, the father of Dido in the *NA*, is also a common name given to fathers in Terence’s comedies, such as in *Andria*, *Eunucho*, and *Phormio*. Sidney’s Chremes is moreover a New Comic ‘type’ himself, the miserly old man: ‘as he was of all that region the man of greatest possessions and riches, so was he either by nature or an evil-received opinion given to sparing in... unmeasurable sort’, *NA*, 244. The womanising Pamphilius (see *NA*, 236-43, 259-60) shares his name with lusty young male characters in *Hecyra*

‘cutting-off’ of the first part of his princely name when he disguises himself as the shepherd Dorus (‘*only* poor shepherd Dorus’, as the text puts it, *OA*, 44) might slyly recall the eunuch character Dorus in Terence’s play *Eunucho*, and therefore echo the emasculated state of the disguised princes more generally. Early modern translations of *hercle* do not usually render it as ‘O Hercules!’, but rather concentrate on the asseverative qualities of the phrase as an oath: thus Thomas Cooper glosses *hercle* as ‘[i]n faith: truly: as god helpe me’; and the Terentian phrase ‘non hercle intelligo’ in Nicholas Udall’s *Floures for Latine Spekinge* is translated as ‘[i]n good southe I knowe not, what you meane’.⁴⁵ In this respect having Basilius and Musidorus exclaim ‘O Hercules’ at moments when they are either manifestly deceived (Basilius), or attempting to deceive others (Musidorus) is distinctly ironic for the reader approaching these episodes with the Roman *hercle* in mind.

Basilius and Dorus’ invocations of Hercules signify their entry, at least temporarily, into the realm of comedy, and therefore their departure from the generic frame of reference of ‘kings’ to that of ‘clowns’ (*DP*, 114). Using an English version of *hercle* is therefore both part of the indecorousness of their behaviour, and a signal of it. Moreover, importing the name ‘Hercules’ directly into the language of Basilius and Musidorus (when something similar such as Cooper’s ‘truly’ might easily have been substituted) serves to connect the incidents in which the exclamations occur with Dametas’ fulminations and classical travesties earlier in the ‘old’ *Arcadia*. Basilius’ swelling and ‘stand[ing] upon his tiptoes’ might even recall Dametas’ choler and ‘standing upon his tiptoes’ when he swears his Herculean-sounding oaths (*OA*, 178; 32). This association clarifies the threat to (or even change in) rank that reference to Hercules can precipitate, with accordingly grave

and *Andria*. Hecyra’s Pamphilius has a courtesan called Bacchis; Sidney’s Pamphilius elopes with the unchaste and similarly-named Baccha: see *NA*, 95, 259-60.

⁴⁵ Cooper, *Thesaurus*, s.v. ‘Hercle’; Udall, sig. A3^v. For ‘non hercle intelligo’ [For God’s sake, I don’t understand], see Terence, *The Woman of Andros*, in Terence, *The Woman of Andros, The Self-Tormentor, The Eunuch*, ed. and trans. John Barsby (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2001), 1. 2. 194.

implications for Basilius and Musidorus as they stray in these plots towards the same comic, indecorous space as Dametas. As we demonstrated at the start of the chapter, Hercules is a profoundly destabilising figure, and putting these two noble characters in connection with him, and with Basilius in comic mode, is to enter into dangerous political as well as social territory.

Basilius' comic debasement reaches its nadir later in the same 'Act' of the 'old' *Arcadia* with the farcical bed-swapping that both he and Gynecia (unbeknown to each other) undertake in their efforts to tryst with Cleophila-Pyrocles. Basilius feigns going to bed with his wife in order to steal away to meet Cleophila once he is sure Gynecia is sleeping – although, in fact, since Cleophila has also arranged a tryst with Gynecia and swapped clothes with her, he went 'to her whom he fled, and with much cunning left the person for whom he had employed all his cunning' (*OA*, 226). Here again Hercules enters the picture, accompanied by another mythological figure of dubious reputation, the notably lustful half-goat god Pan.⁴⁶ Basilius, 'fearing his wife were not fully asleep... came lifting up the clothes as gently as I think poor Pan did when, instead of Iole's bed, he came into the rough embracings of Hercules' (*OA*, 225).⁴⁷ Sidney probably got this bawdy story from Ovid's *Fasti*, in which Pan (Faunus) makes just such an attempt on Hercules, thinking that it is Omphale.⁴⁸ The *Fasti* is much more forthright about Faunus' lechery (he is a 'reckless

⁴⁶ In early modern terms the god Pan could be an avatar of 'Christ himselfe, who is the verye Pan and god of Shepheardes', as E. K. puts it in *The Shepheardes Calender*: see 'Aprill' and 'Maye' in Edmund Spenser, *The Shorter Poems*, ed. Richard McCabe (London: Penguin, 1999), 50 and 50n; 54 and 54n.

⁴⁷ Sidney also refers to the story in *The Lady of May*: see *The Lady of May*, in Sir Philip Sidney, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 3. 6-12. There are probably further bawdy overtones in the subsequent description of Basilius 'laying himself down as tenderly as a new bride', *OA*, 225. One manuscript adds 'doth, that will not seem to know what metal a man is made': *OA*, 225.29n.

⁴⁸ See Ovid, *Fasti*, trans. J. G. Frazer, rev. G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1989), 2. 303-58. Subsequent references to this text and translation, by book and line number. This story is not found in earlier Greek or Roman sources and may thus be Ovid's invention: see Fantham, esp. 185, 192-201. Sidney might include Iole here because, as Robertson notes in *OA*, 225.27-28n, Ovid does not mention Omphale by name in the *Fasti* episode, and there was a post-classical tradition of Hercules also exchanging clothes with and serving Iole: see Victor Skretkiewicz, 'Hercules in Sidney and Spenser', *N&Q*, 225 (1980), 306-10; and *NA*, 15.9-10n. But Sidney might have also made the slip because the potential assault in the *Fasti* made him think of Iole, rather than Omphale: see *NA*, 402, and the discussion below.

adulterer' possessed by 'wanton love', and indeed a 'swollen penis harder than his horn'), with unflattering implications for Basilius, but other details of Faunus' night-time encounter with Hercules are more notable still.⁴⁹ The reason why Faunus gets into bed with Hercules in the *Fasti* is that Hercules and Omphale are wearing each other's clothes: 'he touched the soft drapes of the next couch [from 'Hercules']], and its deceptive touch beguiled him'.⁵⁰ This encounter in the *Fasti* is set within the period of Hercules' servitude to Omphale, and Sidney's use of it therefore refracts back onto the 'old' *Arcadia*'s interest in the scornful and comic image of the cross-dressed Hercules. Pyrocles, the 'young Hercules' (*OA*, 53), is at this moment in the 'old' *Arcadia* disguised not only as Cleophila but also (to Basilius) as Gynecia; and he is accordingly as implicated as Basilius in its bawdy comedy.

Basilius and Musidorus' Herculean exclamations, and Basilius' bedroom travails are not present in Sidney's most comprehensive revision of the 'old' *Arcadia*, the 'new' *Arcadia*, because it does not extend to the Act of the 'old' *Arcadia* in which these episodes are found.⁵¹ We might however pause over the question of whether these exclamations and episodes would have made it into the 'new' *Arcadia*, had Sidney finished it. It is a scholarly commonplace that both the revised final 'Acts' of the 'old' *Arcadia* which are appended to the 1593 printing of the incomplete 'new' *Arcadia*, and 'new' *Arcadia* itself, try to 'clean up' somewhat the actions of the two young princes, perhaps so that they might better serve as heroical exemplars who 'teacheth and moveth to the most high and excellent truth' (*DP*,

⁴⁹ 'temerarius... adulter', 'quid non amor improbus audet?', 'tumidum cornu durius inguen erat', *Fasti*, 2. 335, 2. 331, 2. 346.

⁵⁰ 'tori, qui iunctus erat, velamina tangit | mollia, mendaci decipiturque nota', *Fasti*, 2. 343-44.

⁵¹ The 'composite' *Arcadia* printed in 1593 under the direction of Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, and her associates, appends the final three acts of the *OA* to the revision, so the 'O Hercules' exclamations do appear here: see Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London: [R. Field for] W. Ponsonby, 1593), sigs. Ff5^r and Gg4^r. The text that the 1593 version uses for the final 'Acts' of the *OA* is partially and more locally revised, and may represent an intermediary stage before Sidney's more thoroughgoing revision of the *OA* into the text we call the *NA*. For a helpful summary of critical views about the texts of the *OA*, the *NA*, and their development, see Gavin Alexander, *Writing After Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney, 1586-1640* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006), xxiv-xxvii.

98).⁵² The destabilising comic implications of bringing Hercules into these episodes in the ‘old’ *Arcadia* might not have consorted with the ‘new’ *Arcadia*’s increased interest in epic and tragedy in prose form, and its treatment of its higher-ranking characters.

The changes that the ‘new’ *Arcadia* makes to the one episode with a Herculean exclamation it does contain, Dametas’ run-in with Cleophila in Book 1, do suggest that the revision is widening rather than collapsing the gap between its ‘kings’ and ‘clowns’. In the ‘new’ *Arcadia* this episode is told from the perspective of Zelmane (the ‘new’ *Arcadia*’s name for Cleophila-Pyrocles), in a retrospective narration to Musidorus, rather than by the slyly comic but more ‘omniscient’ narrator of the ‘old’ *Arcadia*. One effect of the shift is the distancing of Zelmane-Pyrocles from Dametas as the social gulf between the pair is quietly widened. The encounter in the ‘new’ *Arcadia* brings together and streamlines two passages about Dametas and his actions which are in the ‘old’ *Arcadia* separated by a narratorial digression describing Dametas, his unfortunate family, and the history of his favour with Basilius.⁵³ One effect is that a greater number of demonstrations of Dametas’ social and personal ‘baseness’, such as his tendency to use inaccurate and inappropriately ‘classical’ oaths discussed above, appear in greater proximity to his interaction with Zelmane:

But I [Zelmane-Pyrocles] had sung very little, when... comes Master Dametas with a hedging-bill in his hand, chafing and swearing by the pantable of Pallas and such other oaths as his rustical bravery could imagine. And when he saw me, I assure you my beauty was no more beholding to him than my harmony; for leaning his hands upon his bill and

⁵² Sidney’s localised revisions of the *OA*, preserved in the 1593 ‘composite’ *Arcadia*, seem to intend to, in Gavin Alexander’s words, ‘make Euarchus’ condemnation seem more undeserved and Basilius’ forgiveness less inappropriate’ for the princes: Alexander, xxiv. In the revised final ‘Act’ of the *OA* in the 1593 *Arcadia*, Musidorus no longer attempts to rape the sleeping Pamela after their escape from the shepherd’s lodge, and Pyrocles does not consummate his relationship with Philoclea. Compare *Countesse of Pembroke’s Arcadia*, sig. Gg6^v with *OA*, 201-02; and *Countesse of Pembroke’s Arcadia*, sig. li5^v-li6^r with *OA*, 237-43. The *NA* devotes considerably more time to the princes’ heroic ‘labours’ in Greece.

⁵³ The *NA* inserts this information into Kalander’s description of the kingdom of Arcadia and its inhabitants earlier in the revision: see *NA*, 15-19.

his chin upon his hands, with the voice of one that playeth Hercules in a play but never had his fancy in his head... (NA, 80)⁵⁴

The effect is to concentrate Dametas' comic lowliness. More is made in this version of Dametas' 'hedging-bill' – a pointedly rustic and agricultural instrument – with the elaboration of his actions confronting Zelmane.⁵⁵ Even as the instrument is more prominent, however, so its effects are diminished, for in the 'new' *Arcadia* Dametas does not manage to strike Zelmane: he 'lifted up his bill to hit me with the blunt end of it... so that I forgot all Zelmaneship; and drawing out my sword... [he] ran back backward' (NA, 81).⁵⁶ The corollary of Dametas' abasement is a more brutally aristocratic Pyrocles. The first-person viewpoint of the passage permits clearer expression of Zelmane's condescension: though 'Master' Dametas has attempted to strike her, 'the baseness of the villain yet made me stay my hand' (NA, 81). Nonetheless, while in the 'old' *Arcadia* Cleophila-Pyrocles merely laid her hand upon her sword (OA, 32), in this version Zelmane-Pyrocles draws it. The opposition of the drawn sword to Dametas' hedging-bill not only presents the encounter in more starkly hierarchical terms, but also enlists the humour of the scene to uphold difference, and the subordination of both Dametas and his genre (comedy), with considerable savagery.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Compare OA, 29-32, cited and discussed above.

⁵⁵ On the rusticity of the hedging-bill and its social implications, see e.g. its use in *The historie of George Castriot*: 'he sent back vnto him, a mattock, a plowshard, and a hedging bill, with such like rustical instruments, and he willed him to let alone the exercise of armes, as not being a profession for him to deale withal: but that it was fittest for him to return to husbandrie according to the use of his predecessours, who were all of them peysants and of abase and vile condition.' Jacques de la Vardin, *The Historie of George Castriot, surnamed Scanderberg, King of Albanie*, trans. Zachary Jones (London: [R. Field for] W. Ponsonby, 1596), sig Pp4^v-Pp5^r.

⁵⁶ Compare OA, 32: 'These speeches to herself put Dametas out of all patience; so that, hitting her upon the breast with the blunt end of his bill, "Maid Marian," said he, "am I not a personage to be answered?"'

⁵⁷ As Stephen Greenblatt points out, '[p]easants are, of course, a staple of laughter in Renaissance art, but it is impossible to distinguish between a laughter that levels... and a laughter that attempts to inscribe ineradicable differences. [...] Sidneian laughter... draws sharp distinctions: only the others, the defeated boors, are returned to the earth, while the noble victors soar above it', though, given DP 115, we might for Greenblatt's 'laughter' substitute something like smirking amusement: Stephen Greenblatt, 'Murdering Peasants: Status, Genre, and the Representation of Rebellion', *Representations*, 1 (1983), 1-29 (17).

2.3. From clowns to duchesses

Introducing a Herculean parallel, or even Hercules by name ('O Hercules!') in the 'old' *Arcadia* therefore signals a character's departure from a social norm, whether of 'proper' rank or 'proper' gender. Since the three characters associated with this 'comic' Hercules are either of low rank, or aligning themselves with a behaviour or state unsuitable to their 'true' nature and estate, we can conclude that different aspects of the mythos of Hercules are used by different social ranks, and stratify along generic lines. Gynecia's comparison of Pyrocles to 'young Hercules killing the Nemean lion' (*OA*, 53; *NA*, 116) establishes that speakers of elevated rank allude to non-comic, and perhaps therefore more elevated, strands in Hercules' mythos. But this comparison also points to further complexities in who can and indeed should invoke Hercules. Here Gynecia refers to the first labour of Hercules, in which Hercules slew the Nemean lion, and took its skin. Certainly the labours of Hercules are among those parts of the mythos more able to provide 'the right description of wisdom, valour, and justice' that Sidney himself identifies in the 'tales of Hercules' in the *Defence* (*DP*, 92). They may therefore supply a more appropriate frame of reference for a person of Gynecia's aristocratic rank than do Herculeses of 'comic' persuasion.

But should Gynecia be talking about Hercules at all? Referring to Hercules is complicated not only by social rank but also by gender. Early modern readers might well have known that Hercules' Roman cult was particularly male-orientated.⁵⁸ Women's access to the site of Hercules' cult at the Ara Maxima in the Forum Boiarum in Rome seems to have been particularly restricted.⁵⁹ The Italian mythographer Natale Conti notes that in Rome women were excluded from the worship of Hercules and from the precinct of his

⁵⁸ For a concise modern account, see Emma Stafford, *Herakles* (London: Routledge, 2012), 195-96.

⁵⁹ See Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, ed. and trans. Robert A. Kaster, 3 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2011), I, 1. 12. 28. There is some conflict, however, between textual and material evidence, which testifies to female involvement in Herculean cult through votive inscriptions: see Celia E. Schultz, 'Modern Prejudice and Ancient Praxis: Female Worship of Hercules at Rome', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 133 (2000), 291-97.

temple; and the Latin grammarian Aulus Gellius claims that '[n]owhere... is it possible to find an instance, among good writers... of a woman saying "by Hercules"'.⁶⁰ Gellius' assertion is corroborated by the surviving plays of Plautus and Terence, in which all but three of the many exclamations of *hercle* are uttered by male characters.⁶¹ Gynecia's very mention of Hercules may therefore have a disquieting indecorousness to it. And there is indeed a troubling subtext at work here, for Gynecia's purpose in alluding to Hercules is to communicate to Pyrocles that she knows that he is a man disguised as a woman. Hercules acquired his famous lion's-skin by killing the Nemean lion, and with this garment in mind the comparison not only invokes the heroic Hercules, but brings us back to the cross-dressed Hercules.⁶² As we have seen, Pyrocles is persistently linked with Hercules in women's dress in both the 'old' *Arcadia* and the 'new' *Arcadia*, and Gynecia's identification of the connection marks her as an acute reader.

The extremity of Gynecia's passion for Pyrocles itself presents a serious problem of decorum – decorum being to *not* take anything 'too far' – because it is an uncontrollable, Phaedran passion that, from the princes' perspective, poses a serious threat to their undercover activities in *Arcadia*.⁶³ This context considerably complicates and enriches Gynecia's Herculean comparison. Sidney's readers might be laughing at the intensities of passion into which this middle-aged woman, who first appears dressed 'in grave matronlike attire' (*OA*, 37), descends, but Gynecia herself characterises her situation as belonging more

⁶⁰ Natale Conti, *Natale Conti's Mythologiae*, trans. John Mulryan and Steven Brown, 2 vols (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2006), II, 594-95; 'Nusquam... scriptum invenire est, apud idoneos quidem scriptores... "me hercle" feminam dicere', Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, trans. John C. Rolfe, 3 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1927), II, 9. 6. 3-4.

⁶¹ See J. N. Adams, 'Female Speech in Roman Comedy', *Antichthon*, 18 (1984), 43-77 (47-48). When women do use *hercle* in New Comedy, it functions, as Dorota Dutsch notes, to 'convey the female character's assertiveness': see *Feminine Discourses in Roman Comedy: On Echoes and Voices* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), 7.

⁶² See Chapter 5, 'Hercules and drama', for further discussion of early modern takes on lion's-skins.

⁶³ Quotation from Quintilian, *OE*, V, 11.1.91: 'anything which goes too far is a breach of decorum' [*Indecorum est super haec omne nimium*]. For the extremity of Gynecia's passion see e.g. *OA*, 48, 92ff.; *NA*, 87-88.

to the realm of tragedy than of comedy. '[F]ull of raging agonies,' she determines to 'seek all loving means to win Cleophila, so she would stir up terrible tragedies rather than fail of her intent' (*OA*, 96). Gynecia's situation resembles that of Seneca's Phaedra, for both are consumed with passion for men for whom they should merely have parental feelings.⁶⁴ The connection provides Gynecia with a suitably transgressive tragic prototype. Gynecia's Herculean allusion itself also brings potentially tragic hints into the 'old' *Arcadia*, because both Hercules' labours, and his sojourn with Omphale are sometimes given tragic motivations. Accounts of the labours often place them in close temporal proximity to Hercules' madness and ensuing murder of his wife Megara and their children. Conti, for instance, besides several variant accounts, has Hercules being driven mad by Juno, killing his wife Megara and their children, and then fulfilling the labours as purification for the murders.⁶⁵ Moreover, Hercules' servitude to Omphale is often represented as part of the hero's punishment for and purification from the murder of Iphitus, the brother of Iole.⁶⁶ Since both of the parents of Phaedra's stepson Hippolytus share mythological territory with Hercules, even Gynecia's tragic connection to Phaedra may be lurkingly and troublingly Herculean.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ See Seneca the Younger, *Phaedra*, in *Tragedies*, ed. and trans. John G. Fitch, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2001-02), II, 99-128, 178-94, 646-71, etc. Subsequent references to this text and translation. There is no direct naming of Phaedra in either the *OA* or the *NA*, though as we shall see, Cecropia uses Theseus as a mythological 'example' in the *NA*, 402, and it may be significant that the dodgy Clinias, in a truly backhanded compliment, praises Basilius as 'the Pelops of wisdom and Minos of all good government', and Minos was the father of Phaedra, *NA*, 289. Moreover, the history of Amasis told in the Second Eclogues in the *OA*, and perhaps incorporated into the backstory of Plangus in the *NA*, relates a similar tale: 'the king... had married a young woman who had turned the ordinary course of stepmother's hate to so unbridled a love towards her husband's son Amasis that neither the name of a father in him, of a husband in her, nor of a mother and son between themselves, could keep her back from disorderly seeking that of Amasis which is a wickedness to accept', *OA*, 157.

⁶⁵ See Conti, *Conti's Mythologiae*, II, 572-73. Euripides' *Herakles*, probably in opposition to earlier tradition, has Herakles murder Megara and his children after completing the labours; Conti mentions this play but not its different ordering of events.

⁶⁶ See e.g. Conti, *Conti's Mythologiae*, II, 589. Hercules is sometimes also mad when committing this murder: Apollodorus, *The Library*, trans. J. G. Frazer, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1921) I, 2. 6. 2.

⁶⁷ The Herculean connections of Hippolyta/Antiope and Theseus are explored below.

In the ‘old’ *Arcadia* Gynecia persistently points to the tragic dimensions of her condition: she declares to Cleophila-Pyrocles that she will not be ‘the only actor of this tragedy’ (although actually, she will be); she envisages a ‘tragical end’ for herself as a result of her passion, and is described as speaking in ‘tragical phrases’ when she is tried for Basilius’ murder (*OA*, 184, 280, 382). Uniquely among the prominent characters of the ‘old’ *Arcadia*, Gynecia’s predicament is unresolved, and hers is by far the harshest of the fates meted out at the end of the narrative. She is included in the ‘happy ending’ granted at the final hour to the other noble protagonists by Basilius’ miraculous resuscitation to the extent that she is reprieved from being buried alive in his sepulchre, but she remains in a sort of stasis, being, in the narrator’s final assessment, ‘the same person most infamous and most famous, and neither justly’ (*OA*, 416). As far as the reader knows, she is still fissured by adulterous passion and awareness of her own guilt.⁶⁸ The Phaedra-like tragic passion of Gynecia’s situation and lamentations, and her allusion to Hercules slaying the Nemean lion are perhaps the only ways in which the ‘old’ *Arcadia* does permit her to ‘stir up terrible tragedies’.⁶⁹ The punishment devised by Euarchus for Gynecia in Basilius’ tomb is also metaphorically relevant to the way the ‘old’ *Arcadia* ‘contains’ tragedy, because it is generically confined to Gynecia: rather like her desire for Pyrocles, what we might call tragic potential is ‘stir[ed] up’, but finally goes nowhere. In this respect it is difficult to see in what sense Gynecia does not undergo a ‘living burial’ at the end of the ‘old’ *Arcadia* (*OA*, 416).

The ‘new’ *Arcadia* suggests even more pointedly than the ‘old’ *Arcadia* that when women invoke Hercules they are not merely acting indecorously but are actively up to no good. The most disturbing reference to Hercules in Sidney’s writing is put into the mouth of Cecropia, a character introduced along with her son Amphialus in the ‘new’ *Arcadia*.

⁶⁸ Even as she is awaiting trial, Gynecia ‘hated Pyrocles as the original of her mortal overthrow, and yet the love she had conceived to him had still a high authority in her passions’, *OA*, 367.

⁶⁹ Cf. ‘stir up’ as ‘[t]o “raise up”, call into being’, in ‘stir, v.’, *OEDO*, 16.c. [accessed 22 July 2016].

Amphialus is a rival lover of Philoclea, and her lack of interest augments his melancholy state throughout the revision. By Book 3 of the ‘new’ *Arcadia* the more proactive Cecropia has kidnapped both Arcadian princesses and is keeping them prisoner in Amphialus’ castle. She encourages Amphialus to rape Philoclea, because “‘no” is no negative in a woman’s mouth’ (*NA*, 402), and demonstrates her point with three mythological ‘examples’:

Let examples serve. Do you think Theseus should ever have gotten Antiope with sighing and crossing his arms? He ravished her—and... got a child of her—and I say no more, but that, they say, is not gotten without consent of both sides! Iole had her own father killed by Hercules, and herself ravished—by force ravished. And yet, ere long this ravished and unfathered lady could sportfully put on the lion’s skin upon her own fair shoulders, and play with the club with her own delicate hands; so easily had she pardoned the ravisher that she could not but delight in those weapons of ravishing. But above all, mark Helen, daughter to Jupiter, who could never brook her mannerly-wooing Menelaus... But what? Menelaus takes heart. He recovers her by force; by force carries her home; by force enjoys her—and she, who could never like him for serviceableness, ever after loved him for his violence... (*NA*, 402).

Cecropia is by some distance the most ‘wicked’ of the characters in the *New Arcadia*, and both her counselling of rape and her citation of a particularly troubling episode in Hercules’ mythos amply demonstrate her ‘malicious wit’ and ‘witty words’ (*NA*, 334).⁷⁰

We should pause over this passage’s use of mythology. Cecropia is using these examples in order to illustrate the old lie that ‘maids in modesty say “No” to that | Which they would have the profferer construe “Ay”’, and that forced sex leads to ‘love’, but it also reflects her mythographical practice.⁷¹ Victor Skretkowicz, the most recent editor of the ‘new’ *Arcadia*, asserts that Cecropia gets her mythology wrong here, but arguably the effect of the passage depends on Cecropia’s accurate use of mythological information.⁷² Skretkowicz claims that ‘Cecropia lies in order to influence Amphialus towards rape, for

⁷⁰ For ‘wicked’ as Cecropia’s epithet (though not exclusively applied to her in the *NA*, as when Demagoras the suitor and assaulter of Parthenia is called ‘wicked’ (*NA*, 30)), see *NA*, 335, 359, 363, etc.

⁷¹ William Shakespeare, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ed. William C. Carroll (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2004), 1. 2. 55-56. The idea is proverbial: see ‘A woman says nay (no) and means aye’, in R. W. Dent, *Proverbial Language in English Drama Exclusive of Shakespeare, 1495-1616: An Index* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), W660.

⁷² See *NA*, xxx; 573, 402.17-32n. See also Skretkowicz, 309.

there is no account of rape in either of these instances of abduction [by Theseus and Hercules]'.⁷³ It is true that words such as 'ravishment', 'rape', and the Latin *raptus* present problematic ambiguities of sense in early modern English, since they may all refer to forcible abduction or sexual violence, but in fact there are both classical and early modern accounts of these episodes which plausibly suggest that sexual as well as abductive 'ravishment' took place.⁷⁴ Conti observes that 'Theseus multas mulieres rapuisse dicitur: nam Antiopen rapuit' [Theseus is said to have taken many women by force. For he forced Antiope to accompany him].⁷⁵ For Hercules, even the scenario presented in the pseudo-Senecan *Hercules Oetaeus* seems to also imply sexual ravishment: the first chorus features a distressed and lamenting Iole, and the dying Hercules orders his son to marry Iole, so that '[i]f she has conceived a child by me, let her bring it to birth for you'.⁷⁶ Moreover, Cecropia's examples fit into the larger history of the sexual violence perpetrated by these heroes. As Conti's remarks illustrate, Theseus has an extensive history as a faithless lover and a rapist in both classical and early modern writing.⁷⁷ Even one of Cecropia's own examples of supposedly happily ravished women, Helen of Troy, was also abducted by Theseus as a child.⁷⁸ To claim that no account of rape is extant in 'these instances' is to gloss over the broader mythological

⁷³ NA, 573, 402.17-32n.

⁷⁴ On the ambiguity see 'ravishment, n', in *OEDO*, 1.a., 3, 4; 'rape, n.3', *OEDO*, 1, 2.a., 3. [accessed 23 July 2016], and Barbara J. Baines, 'Effacing Rape in Early Modern Representation', *English Literary History* 65 (1998), 69-98 (esp. 81-84).

⁷⁵ Natale Conti, *Mythologiae sive explicationum fabularum libri X* (Venice: [Fonti], 1581), sig. Hh4^r; translation from Conti, *Conti's Mythologiae*, II, 630. Mulryan and Brown's translation of 'rapuit' here as 'he forced... to accompany', seems circumlocutory at best.

⁷⁶ 'tibi illa pariat quidquid ex nobis habet', *Hercules Oetaeus* in Seneca the Younger, *Tragedies*, ed. and trans. John G. Fitch, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA, 2002-04), II, 1496. For Iole's lament see 173-224.

⁷⁷ Examples abound, but see e.g. Phaedra's complaints in Seneca, *Phaedra*, 85-98; and Plutarch's anxiety about Theseus' treatment of women, and his connection of his rape of Helen to his downfall and death in the 'Life' of Theseus: see Plutarch, *Theseus and Romulus*, in *Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin, 11 vols (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1914-26), I: *Theseus and Romulus, Lycurgus and Numa, Solon and Publicola* (1914), 29.

⁷⁸ Theseus' abduction of Helen (whose age varies) makes it into the mythological index to Cooper's *Thesaurus*: 'Helena... was twyse rauyshed. Firste at the age of nyne yeres by Theseus', Cooper, 'Dictionarium historicum & Poeticum propria locorum & Personarum vocabula' in *Thesaurus*, s.v. 'Helena'. Some accounts claim that Helen had a child by Theseus: see e.g. Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, trans. W. H. S. Jones and Henry Arderne Omerod, ed. R. E. Wycherley, 5 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1918-35), I (1918), trans. Jones, 2. 22. 6-7.

contexts of these heroes; and to insist that one kind of ‘ravishment’ took place while another did not is perhaps to put too fine a point on a problematic linguistic ambiguity in early modern legal discourse.⁷⁹

Cecropia’s claims about the ravishments of Theseus and Hercules are thus not the ‘lying taunts’ that they have been read as.⁸⁰ Instead they demonstrate her knowledge of classical mythology, and indicate that in early modern terms Cecropia is a well-educated woman. An education including classical and modern languages, and perhaps even classical philosophy and statecraft, is appropriate to a character of Cecropia’s status in the ‘new’ *Arcadia*: she is the daughter of the King of Argos, with frustrated ambitions to be a queen herself.⁸¹ Cecropia’s knowledge, however, seems to exceed the bounds prescribed even for high-status women in early modern Europe in educational manuals such as Juan Luis Vives’ *De institutione feminae Christianae* (1524, 1538). Her mythological examples suggest that she knows that early modern discussions of rape often make use of a classical idiom, and therefore that she has knowledge of classical texts not usually on the curriculum for women in sixteenth-century Europe. Ovid is an important source for classical ‘examples’ of rape, and the *Metamorphoses* arguably presents a mythological world in which ‘rape is always present or potential in the background.’⁸² But it is Ovid’s *Ars Amatoria* which contains perhaps the most infamous classical articulation of the proverbial idea that women say ‘no’ when they mean ‘yes’: ‘[y]ou may use force; women like you to use it’ [Vim licet appelles: grata est vis ista puellis].⁸³

⁷⁹ ‘these instances’ is Skretkowicz’s phrase in *NA*, 573, 402.17-32n.

⁸⁰ *NA*, xxx.

⁸¹ As Elizabeth I’s example shows, some allowance would be made for royal individuals, but in general male and female children of gentle and noble ranks received very different types of education. See Wiesner-Hanks, 165; and Norma McMullen, ‘The Education of English Gentlewomen, 1540-1640’, *History of Education*, 6 (1977), 87-101 (94-97).

⁸² Leo C. Curran, ‘Rape and Rape Victims in the *Metamorphoses*’, *Arethusa*, 11 (1978), 213-41 (216).

⁸³ Ovid, *The Art of Love*, in *The Art of Love and Other Poems*, trans. J. H. Mozley, rev. G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1979), 1. 673. Subsequent references are to this edition and translation. The poem continues ‘Quod iuvat, invitae saepe dedisse volunt’ [they often wish to give unwillingly what they like to give], 1. 674.

At least one early modern writer connected the precepts of the *Ars Amatoria* with rape. The author of *The laws resolution of womens rights* blames not only men ‘drunken... with their owne lusts’, but also ‘the poyson of Ouids false precept, *uim licet appellat, vis es ea grata puellis*’ for the danger of sexual violence women face in everyday life, and uses the examples of Lucrece and Helen of Troy to explain the legal difference between ‘enforced’ (i.e. sexual) and abductive rape.⁸⁴ In fact ‘T. E.’ slightly misquotes the *Ars Amatoria*, substituting ‘appellant’ for Ovid’s ‘appelles’.⁸⁵ The second-person address of Ovid’s ‘appelles’ brings the phrase closer to Cecropia’s own exhortation to her son, and is perhaps intended to recall it. Cecropia’s use of Hercules therefore points again to the problem of women referring to Hercules, because she does so as part of her occupation of ‘male’ intellectual territory.⁸⁶ Like Iole, Cecropia too is putting on masculine accoutrements, with all the destabilising consequences for decorum and hierarchy that that act brings with it.

The *Ars Amatoria* is certainly not on Vives’ reading list for women in his *De institutione feminae Christianae*, and Cecropia’s appropriation of more ‘masculine’ domains of learning may be designed to provide a further example of her abberancy and ‘the devilish wickedness of her heart’ (*NA*, 117).⁸⁷ The Gynecia of the ‘old’ *Arcadia* is linked to Cecropia not only by being at least in Philanax’s estimation ‘wicked’, but also ‘witty’ (*OA*, 388). The

For a brief history of the *Ars Amatoria* see M. L. Stapleton, ‘Introduction’, in Thomas Heywood, *Thomas Heywood’s Art of Love*, ed. M. L. Stapleton (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 4-5; and Colin Burrow, *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 96-97.

⁸⁴ The text uses Helen’s abduction by Paris to illustrate abductive ravishment, not her abduction by Theseus: *The lawes resolutions of womens rights: or, The lawes prouision for woemen* (London: [M. Flesher for] J. More, 1632), sig. Bb5^{r-v}. Subsequent references are to this edition. There is no other surviving text like *The lawes resolution*, and its use of Ovid is unique: see Cynthia E. Garrett, ‘Sexual Consent and the Art of Love in the Early Modern English Lyric’, *SEL*, 44 (2004), 37-58.

⁸⁵ T. E., sig. Bb5^r; Ovid, *Art of Love*, 1. 673.

⁸⁶ Cecropia’s grasp of ‘male’ intellectual topics may have a parallel in her control over more literal masculine territory, namely Amphialus’ affairs and castle, and Amphialus himself, in Book 3 of the *NA*.

⁸⁷ ‘But what immorality is to be found in [Homer and Hesiod] in comparison with Ovid’s *Art of Love*, which we read, carry about with us, wear out with use, and learn by heart? There are some teachers who lecture on it to their pupils, others who write commentaries and thus open up the path to inquiry... Therefore a woman should avoid these books as she would a viper or a scorpion’, Vives, 77-78.

precision of her remark that in Pyrocles-Cleophila's face 'she saw the very face of *young* Hercules killing the Nemean lion' (*OA*, 53, my emphasis) also suggests that she has some awareness of the chronology of Hercules' labours, in which the slaying of the Nemean lion – or *a* lion at least – is traditionally the first labour the hero undertakes.⁸⁸ Like Cecropia, Gynecia may also have been reading in the many mythographical and literary works which enumerate Hercules' labours. Families with learned women, such as the Cooke sisters, did exist in Elizabethan England, and learning might also run in Gynecia's family. As the widow of Basilius' deceased brother, in the 'new' *Arcadia* Cecropia is after all Gynecia's sister-in-law. More immediately, in the 'old' *Arcadia* we learn that Gynecia's grandmother was a 'notably learned' woman who, in an entertaining inversion of Cecropia's examples of *raptūs* perpetrated by men, concocted a sleeping potion in order to abduct and press into marriage a young nobleman whom she 'furiously love[d]' (*OA*, 415).⁸⁹ This 'wrong interpreted' (*OA*, 415) potion's near-fatal consequences for her granddaughter once again suggests the disruptive (and even tragic) potential of female incursions into 'male' intellectual territory.

2.4. What does Cecropia do to tragedy?

The inclusion of Theseus' among Cecropia's examples in the 'new' *Arcadia* suggests that she and Gynecia draw upon a common pool of mythic material. Phaedra was one of Theseus' wives, and his son Hippolytus, the object of Phaedra's passion, was the product of Theseus' ravishment (in both senses) of the Amazon Antiope or Hippolyta. Cecropia's urging Amphialus to take erotic action not only recalls the *praeceptor amoris* of the *Ars Amatoria*,

⁸⁸ See e.g. Conti, *Conti's Mythologiae*, II, 570-74. Gynecia's comparison may also recall Phaedra's claim that 'Thesei vultus amo | illos priores, quos tulit quondam puer' [I love the face of Theseus, that earlier face he had as a boy] – the face that is now 'in' Hippolytus': Seneca, *Phaedra*, 646-47.

⁸⁹ When the nobleman awoke, 'she bade him choose either then to marry her, and to promise to fly away with her... or else she would presently cry out, and show in what place he was, with oath he was come thither to ravish her', *OA*, 415.

but also the speech of the Nurse to Hippolytus in Seneca's *Phaedra*.⁹⁰ This speech is particularly relevant to Cecropia because it presents a similar inversion of gender roles, with the Nurse urging the reluctant Hippolytus to '[l]et your spirit run riot!' and enjoy the sexual pleasures of youth.⁹¹ Cecropia had in a similar vein tried to persuade Philoclea to marry Amphialus voluntarily, by urging, like Seneca's Nurse, both the necessity and joys of procreation, and the naturalness of sexual fulfilment in marriage: 'Nature, when you were first born, vowed you a woman; and as she made you child of a mother, so, to do your best to be mother of a child, she gave you beauty to move love, she gave you wit to know love, she gave you an excellent body to reward love—which kind of liberal rewarding is crowned with unspeakable felicity' (*NA*, 332).⁹² Cecropia's able manipulation of these sources is not however for personal, tragic expression in the 'new' *Arcadia*. Her use of similar 'source material' to Gynecia, and, as we shall see, the significant expansion of tragic references in the revised text, does not lead in the same direction as Gynecia's tragic passion in the 'old' *Arcadia*.

Gynecia desires to 'stir up terrible tragedies rather than fail of her intent' still in the 'new' *Arcadia* (*NA*, 124), but that she would have not played quite such an indecorous role in whatever denouement Sidney had planned for the revision is suggested by the change it makes to her first description in the text. Here Gynecia appears 'in grave and matronlike attire, with countenance and gesture suitable' (*NA*, 83), when the 'old' *Arcadia* had hinted

⁹⁰ See Seneca, *Phaedra*, 435-82. Cecropia might also have taken note of the fact that when Hippolytus rejects Phaedra's advances, the Nurse accuses Hippolytus of attempting to rape Phaedra: see Seneca, *Phaedra*, 719-35.

⁹¹ 'exultet animus', Seneca, *Phaedra*, 448. Amphialus is as slow on the uptake as Hippolytus, but once he does understand he is appalled, though, characteristically, the *NA* denies him any action: 'Amphialus was about to answer her, when a gentleman of his made him understand that there was a messenger come who had brought a letter unto him from out of the camp...', *NA*, 403.

⁹² '...an unspeakable felicity' in Sidney, *Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, sig. Y3^r. Cf. the Nurse's emphasis on the imperatives of 'rectam indolem' [natural disposition], and the need to 'vitae sequere naturam ducem' [follow nature as your guide in life] in *Phaedra* – which is to follow Venus and to produce children: Seneca, *Phaedra*, 454, 481.

even here at the ‘inconveniences’ Gynecia goes on to experience.⁹³ Instead, the ‘new’ *Arcadia* introduces Cecropia, a character with the means to be the agent of the sort of ‘terrible tragedies’ Gynecia threatens. Much of what is most troubling and ‘wicked’ in the ‘new’ *Arcadia* seems to be associated with the person, activities, and words of Cecropia. Cecropia’s agency is in fact inserted in the ‘new’ *Arcadia* into dangerous situations attributed to ‘chance’ in the ‘old’ *Arcadia*. Events that are not the working of any particular human individual in the ‘old’ *Arcadia* become in the revision the meditated designs of Cecropia. The lion and the bear which ‘by chance’ (*OA*, 46) appear and menace Pamela and Philoclea in the ‘old’ *Arcadia* are in the ‘new’ *Arcadia* part of a deliberate attempt by Cecropia on the princesses’ lives⁹⁴; and the Phagonian rebellion is in the ‘new’ *Arcadia* incited by Cecropia’s agent Clinias, who ‘had by his mistress been used, ever since the strange retiring of Basilius, to whisper rumours into the people’s ears; and at this time finding great aptness in the multitude, was one of the chief that set them in the uproar’ (*NA*, 288).⁹⁵ Appropriately enough, it is only Gynecia who suspects that the appearance of the wild animals in the ‘new’ *Arcadia* might be due to ‘mischievous practice’ rather than ‘misfortune’ (*NA*, 117). Since the principal dangerous events of ‘Acts’ 1 and 2 of the ‘old’ *Arcadia* are in the ‘new’ *Arcadia* attributed to the machinations of Cecropia, the introduction of Cecropia as a character in the ‘new’ *Arcadia* may itself represent an attempt to contain or

⁹³ In place of ‘suitable’ the text in the *OA* continues, ‘far unlike to fall into those inconveniences she afterwards tasted of’, *OA*, 37. ‘[I]nconveniences’ here points to Sidney’s discussion of ‘conveniency’ in the *DP*, and so returns our thoughts to the disproportionate nature of Gynecia’s passion: see *DP*, 92, 115.

⁹⁴ On the wild animal attack the *OA* reads ‘suddenly there came out of the wood a monstrous lion, with a she-bear of little less fierceness, which, having been hunted in forests far off, had by chance come to this place where such beasts had never before been seen’, *OA*, 46. The *NA* substitutes ‘... fierceness, which *as they guessed*, having been hunted in forests far off were by chance come thither’, *NA*, 111 (my emphasis). Cecropia’s involvement is finally confirmed at *NA*, 319.

⁹⁵ Indeed the *NA* tells us that this Clinias ‘in his youth had been a scholar... and oft had used to be an actor in tragedies (where he had learned, besides a slidingness of language, acquaintance with many passions, and to frame his face to bear the figure of them)’, *NA*, 288. If Clinias did acquire his name from Terence’s *Heuton Timorumenos*, it is interesting that Sidney makes him here an actor in tragedies, not comedies.

more tightly control incidents which introduce disorder or disorderly impulses without clear causes in the 'old' *Arcadia*.

The reasons for this change can first be profitably examined in relation to Cecropia's proclivity for unorthodox philosophical speculations which present a purely natural conception of cause. In Book 3 of the 'new' *Arcadia* she has the princesses and Zelmane kidnapped and brought to her castle, and sets about attempting to persuade both princesses in turn to wed Amphialus, and thereby confirm his succession to the Arcadian throne. Pamela resists Cecropia's persuasions 'upon conscience' (*NA*, 358), which in practice is the necessity to 'get my parent's consent' before any proposals can be ethically discussed (*NA*, 357). Cecropia accordingly attempts to persuade Pamela that she need have no fear of offending heaven, because the idea of an 'angry body above' (divine or paternal) punishing faults, and ordering events and outcomes, is a human fiction (*NA*, 358-59). Cecropia urges Pamela to consider herself a source of authority, rather than submit to the power and authority of her father, and thus to the power and authority of a paternally-imagined deity.⁹⁶ In order to make Pamela 'less feeling of those heavenly conceits' Cecropia attacks the idea that the world is ordered by more than 'natural cause' (*NA*, 358) – that is, a providentially-governed universe. Instead, 'alterations be but upon particular accidents, the universality being always one' (*NA*, 358). There is thus no need to fear an ordering father-God, who supervises the outcomes of human affairs in light of a divinely-decided plan, since this is neither the nature of things nor of god, if god exists (*NA*, 359). As we might expect, Pamela's reply is devoted to demonstrating the godly, providential underpinnings of cause: 'we know that each effect hath a cause, that hath engendered a true and lively devotion' (*NA*, 359). But Cecropia's pronouncements are ironically (and perhaps more convincingly) answered in the

⁹⁶ See Richard McCoy, *Rebellion in Arcadia* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1979), 196-200. As McCoy demonstrates, Pamela uses paternalistic and authoritarian terms in her rebuttal of Cecropia's arguments.

structure of the ‘new’ *Arcadia* itself, which makes Cecropia herself the cause of events which might otherwise have seemed tragically accidental.⁹⁷

The relocation of cause from random chance to malevolent human agent has significant implications for tragedy in the ‘new’ *Arcadia*. By introducing an external cause – Cecropia – as the stirrer-up of tragedies, the tragic aspects of the ‘new’ *Arcadia* become more polarised. As a result, the ‘good’ become better, and the ‘bad’ worse; or, at least, their final outcomes more predictable. Sidney claims in the *Defence* that ‘the high and excellent Tragedy’ ‘teacheth the uncertainty of this world’ (*DP*, 96), but by concentrating wickedness into the person of Cecropia, the ‘new’ *Arcadia* actually seems to demonstrate both the certainty of deliberate evil and therefore of providence. If in the ‘new’ *Arcadia* ‘wickedness’ is gradually hardened up into the person of Cecropia so that it may finally be cut out, it is appropriate that the worst excesses of Cecropia’s ‘devilish wickedness’ in Book 3 of the revision happen in a space carefully separated from the many other locations in the narrative.⁹⁸ Cecropia kidnaps the princesses and Zelmane and conveys them to a ‘castle... stood in the midst of a great lake, upon a high rock, where... it was by all men esteemed impregnable’ (*NA*, 316-17), and all the disturbing events of Book 3 happen in its vicinity. Thinking of the ‘new’ *Arcadia* from a tragic perspective for a moment, we might conclude that Cecropia is brought in for the better ‘show[ing] forth’ of the ulcers (*DP*, 96) of rule and of the commonwealth, so that they can be more effectively lanced. The ‘subject’ of tragedy as put forward by William Scott (himself a keen reader of Sidney’s *Defence*) is slightly more to the point than Sidney’s own characterisation of tragedy, because Scott emphasises the moral value of perceiving the *cause* of tragic consequences brought about by tragic

⁹⁷ Appropriately enough, Cecropia can hardly acknowledge the existence of any such divine plan: she attributes the failure of the animals to kill the princesses to mere ‘blind fortune’, *NA*, 319. Cf. also her sticky end, *NA*, 440.

⁹⁸ There is a reverse parallel here to Euarchus’ sentence of Gynecia in the *OA* to living confinement in Basilius’ sepulchre, *OA*, 383.

protagonists: the subject of tragedy is ‘matter highly offensive in high persons, his [sic] end by fear and compassion to drive men into hatred of those foul affections and manners that bring forth such sad events’.⁹⁹

What happens to Hercules in the ‘new’ *Arcadia* is related to the shift in tragic gravity that its rerouting of narrative agency to Cecropia produces. There is a substantial expansion of tragic reference in the ‘new’ *Arcadia*. The ‘old’ *Arcadia* tends to confine the description of situations or speeches as ‘tragical’ or ‘tragedies’ to Gynecia’s individual situation, and the events of the final act. So in addition to Gynecia’s own ‘tragical phrases’ (*OA*, 383), Basilius’ advisor Philanax describes the apparent *catastrophe* of the scene in *Arcadia* at the end of the fourth ‘Act’ in melodramatically tragic terms: viewers must imagine ‘the pitiful spectacle of a most dolorously ending tragedy’ (*OA*, 360); the princes’ actions have been so wicked that the sequence of events is more like ‘some tragedy invented of the extremity of wickedness than a just recital of a wickedness indeed committed’ (*OA*, 386), and so on. An ‘invented’ tragedy this does turn out to be, and the prospective tragical end of the action and the tragical emotions it would have precipitated (pity and fear, or, in Sidney’s terms, ‘admiration and commiseration’, *DP*, 96) as envisaged from the perspective of the end of the fourth ‘Act’ remain unresolved and only potential. In the ‘new’ *Arcadia*, by contrast, ‘tragedy’ as a descriptor of events bleeds out into other contexts and situations, and tragical ends do occur.¹⁰⁰ One revision of a passage from the ‘old’ *Arcadia* indicates this change particularly clearly. In the ‘old’ *Arcadia* we learn about the love-triangle that Pyrocles’ arrival creates in Basilius’ pastoral retreat from the narrator, but in the ‘new’ *Arcadia* relating the situation falls to Pyrocles himself. Finishing the story, he concludes that now

⁹⁹ William Scott, *The Model of Poesy*, ed. Gavin Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013), 78. Subsequent references are to this edition.

¹⁰⁰ The *NA* also inserts references to tragedies and tragical matters into passages it retains from the *OA* in a manner that almost seems insistent. For instance, during his undercover courtship of Pamela, the *NA* has Dorus-Musidorus display his ‘real’ princely clothes to Pamela, with the new explanation that he obtained such ‘rich apparel’ ‘for playing well the part of a king in a tragedy at Athens’, *NA*, 140.

‘you have my tragedy played unto you by myself, which, I pray the gods, may not indeed prove a tragedy’ (NA, 88). There is no equivalent to this analysis of Pyrocles’ situation in the ‘old’ *Arcadia*, because until the final ‘Act’ individual tragedy is only Gynecia’s.¹⁰¹

What is crucial about Pyrocles’ rather self-regarding remarks here, however, is that in neither version of the *Arcadia* does the outcome prove to be tragic for Pyrocles at least. The widening of tragic reference in the ‘new’ *Arcadia* is also and more profoundly achieved by its introduction of a host of new characters – and new plots – who might much more straightforwardly use ‘tragic’ to describe what they have experienced. Helen, Queen of Corinth and spurned lover of Amphialus, describes her heart as ‘nothing but a stage for tragedies’, and her situation itself as a ‘tragedy’ (NA, 64, 67). Most of all, the virtuous Argalus and Parthenia go through multiple ‘tragical histor[ies]’ before their successive deaths at Amphialus’ hands.¹⁰² Yet not only are these characters’ experiences styled or even self-styled as ‘tragic’ by designation. Rather their parts are described in terms that point to their tragic *effect* upon witnesses both in the ‘new’ *Arcadia* itself, and upon readers of it. Sidney also uses the vocabulary of tragic ‘affect’, in the *Defence*’s terms (DP, 96), when relating the fates of these characters. The ‘accident’ of Argalus and Parthenia’s deaths matches together ‘pity with admiration’ (NA, 399); and the appearance of the same terms when Amphialus accidentally ‘kills’ his mother and then botches his own suicide – ‘a pitiful spectacle’, ‘[t]he time full of danger, the person full of worthiness, the manner full of horror did greatly astonish all the beholders’ (NA, 442) also marks him as a tragic character at this point at least.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Cf. Stephen Greenblatt’s description of Gynecia (though not with reference to the *OA* specifically) in Stephen J. Greenblatt, ‘Sidney’s *Arcadia* and the Mixed Mode’, *Studies in Philology*, 70 (1973), 269-78 (276-77).

¹⁰² Amphialus’ vicissitudes are themselves no less tragic, though in general more serious for his opponents, as McCoy points out, 187-89.

¹⁰³ William Scott shows that the episode was read as tragic by his comments on it in *The Model of Poesy*, which cites ‘the tragical estate of Amphialus at his mother’s unworthy yet deserved death and his own unmerciful

The ‘new’ *Arcadia* may be more interested in describing tragic affect rather than the trials of the tragic subject because, as the Phaedrian parallel to Gynecia’s situation suggests, self-identified ‘tragedy’ may not only *not* precipitate appropriately improving emotions in those who witness it, but it may also prove to be as morally groundless as the faux-execution of Pamela contrived by Cecropia.¹⁰⁴ This concern may also drive the ‘new’ *Arcadia*’s move towards non-comic Herculeses. A Hercules of a more virtuous – and perhaps tragic – disposition appears in connection with Argalus and Parthenia. In the final scene of model domestic tranquillity in which the couple appear, Argalus is ‘sitting in a parlour with the fair Parthenia; he reading in a book the stories of Hercules, she by him, as to hear him read’ (*NA*, 371). We are not told which ‘stories of Hercules’ Argalus is presumably reading aloud, but given the virtuous proclivities of the couple we might suppose that they are similar matter to those virtuous ‘tales of Hercules’ mentioned by Sidney in his *Defence of Poetry* (*DP*, 92). In this, and given the high status of both Parthenia and Argalus, this Hercules may have something in common with the ‘young Hercules killing the Nemean lion’ mentioned by Gynecia (*OA*, 53; *NA*, 116).

This scene and its Hercules are however significantly, and perhaps correctively, different to Gynecia’s Herculean comparison with its indecorous subtext. Here we get a tragic reference without destabilising tragic passion. Reference to Hercules here takes place in the domestic setting of a parlour, not in the wilds of the forest, and the parties are

fact upon himself’ as an instance of the unfolding of the tragic subject, in which ‘things are full of danger, the persons full of worthiness, the manner full of horror, evermore the mind is carried up in an astonishing admiration proportioned to our will, that ariseth from our beholding those hideous dreadful things’, 78.

¹⁰⁴ Also described as a ‘tragedy’ by the *NA*, and carefully staged by Cecropia so as to have maximum impact upon on the viewers: ‘when the hour came that the tragedy should begin, the curtains were withdrawn from before the windows of Zelmane and of Philoclea—a sufficient challenge to call their eyes to defend themselves in such an encounter’ (*NA*, 425). The fact that a real woman is actually executed as part of the spectacle points perhaps to the danger of this sort of ‘tragedy’.

unimpeachable paragons of virtue.¹⁰⁵ The scene also ‘restores’ masculine control over mythic material and talking about Hercules, because it presents Argalus reading to Parthenia. Having Argalus do the reading also draws attention to the parallels between this knight and Hercules. The first part of Argalus and Parthenia’s ‘tragical history’ was the difficulty they faced in marrying. Favouring another candidate, Parthenia’s mother attempted to discourage Argalus by ‘employing him in as many dangerous enterprises as ever the evil stepmother Juno recommended the famous Hercules’ (*NA*, 29). This was to no avail, because ‘the more his virtue was tried, the more pure it grew, while all the things she did to overthrow him did set him up upon the height of honour’ (*NA*, 29). This state of affairs recalls Juno’s complaint in Seneca’s tragedy *Hercules furens* that despite all her efforts Hercules has successfully completed all her tasks, and in fact glorified himself in doing so.¹⁰⁶

Juno’s anger in *Hercules furens* should cast a pall over the union of Argalus and Parthenia from the outset. It also directs the Herculean characterisation of Argalus towards virtue. This scene seems to attempt to limit the indecorousness that we can read into its own introduction of Hercules. Rather like the situation which leads to the deaths of Argalus and Parthenia later in the ‘new’ *Arcadia*, here Argalus is under assault from external forces blind to his superior merits. Bringing in the ‘stories of Hercules’ as instructive reading matter in this context attempts to direct the allusion’s tragic potential towards reinforcing the virtuous characterisation of Argalus and Parthenia, and the corresponding pathos of their deaths. The indecorousness that is the key to the tragic potential in Gynecia’s invocation of Hercules is

¹⁰⁵ That the ‘fair meadow’ enclosed with trees where the princesses encounter the wild animals is presented as a kind of *locus amoenus* in the *OA* should be a warning sign to any reader familiar with Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, *OA*, 46.

¹⁰⁶ In the longer description of Argalus’ situation in *NA*, 29, I believe that a direct allusion to Juno’s speech is likely: see *Hercules furens*, in Seneca the Younger, *Tragedies*, ed. and trans. John Fitch, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA, 2001-02), I, 30-46. Subsequent references to this edition as ‘*HF*’. Cf. the juxtaposition of intention and effect, and high and low in both passages (*HF*, 33-35), and Juno’s paradoxical complaint that ‘minorque labor es Herculi iussa exequi | quam mihi iubere’ [it is less of a labour for Hercules to fulfil my commands, than for me to give them], *HF*, 41-42; and Parthenia’s mother ‘thinking herself conquered in his conquests’, *NA*, 29.

suppressed. Parthenia's own brief foray into tragical lamentation when she implores Argalus not to go off to fight Amphialus, is quickly silenced by Argalus himself: 'this is the first time that ever you resisted my will. I thank you for it—but persevere not in it' (*NA*, 373).¹⁰⁷

As Sidney's efforts with Hercules, Argalus, and Parthenia show, it is difficult to reconcile the tonal and generic instability of Hercules with the generic and ethical stratification of characters and actions in the 'new' *Arcadia*. The problem is not that the tragic Hercules is not sufficiently 'tragic'; but more that there are *both* tragic and comic Herculese, and tragicomic Herculese, as well as the several compromising stories (such as Hercules' servitude to Omphale) which form part of his broader mythos. As far as the 'new' *Arcadia* is concerned, this conjunction *is* hurtful.¹⁰⁸

Coda: Geography and matter(s) for tragedies

Sidney's *Arcadia* is largely – and as its title suggests – set in Arcadia, in Greece. Most of the geopolitics the *Arcadia* presents are just about plausible from a geographical perspective. For instance, Euarchus, Musidorus' father and king of Macedonia, spends much of his time in battle repelling invasions of his country by the kings of Thrace, Pannonia, and Epirus, countries which are indeed physically proximate to Macedonia. It is possible that Sidney might have, as Jean Robertson suggests, 'glanced at a map of Greece'.¹⁰⁹ Geopolitics aside, however, we might ask if the geography of the 'old' *Arcadia* and the 'new' *Arcadia* is significant for its treatment of Hercules. As we shall see in the next section of this thesis, Hercules is a hero with a particularly rich geographical profile both in Greece and beyond it. Geography and topography, moreover, provide a crucial and neglected means of understanding early modern allusion to classical mythology more generally. Yet in Sidney

¹⁰⁷ This is a dangerous moment for decorum, as Parthenia's actions suggest: 'she ran to him; took him by the arm; and kneeling down, without regard who either heard her speech or saw her demeanour', *NA*, 373.

¹⁰⁸ After *DP*, 94.

¹⁰⁹ *OA*, 10.9n.

it seems that even references to Hercules which take place in a geographical context in fact again reflect the *Arcadia*'s concerns with genre and tragedy.

The absence of topographically-driven treatments of Hercules in Sidney's works is surprising given his own interest in and indeed debt to the Greek prose fiction circulating in print in the early modern period. In these texts Sidney would have encountered a range of geographically-specific Herculese. Both Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Cleitophon* and Heliodorus' *An Ethiopian Story* refer to Herakles in connection with Tyre, the ancient Phoenician city off the coast of Western Asia in what is now Lebanon. Heliodorus, who is warmly commended by Sidney in the *Defence* for 'his sugared invention of that picture of love in Theagenes and Chariclea' (*DP*, 81), describes a group of Tyrian merchants celebrating 'a banquet to *Hercules of Tyros*, for a victorie which we haue gotten'.¹¹⁰ For the Tyrians Hercules is 'our countrie God' and has given one of the younger merchants victory in a Greek wrestling contest as prophesised in a dream.¹¹¹ In *Leucippe and Cleitophon* Tyre is the answer to a riddle sent by an oracle to the Byzantines which instructs its interpreters to "[t]here let your rites to Hercules be paid".¹¹² Tyre, which early modern readers would also have known from the Bible, was a major centre for the worship of Hercules identified with the Phoenician deity Melqart, and in the majority of instances in which characters journey to Tyre in Greek prose fiction, it is usually to worship or offer sacrifice to Herakles-Melqart.¹¹³ In later tradition Hercules is also incorporated into the aetiology of one of Tyre's most important industries, the production of the dye known as

¹¹⁰ Heliodorus, *An Æthiopian historie*, trans. Thomas Underdowne (London: H. Wykes for F. Coldocke, 1577), sig. N1^v. Unchanged from previous publication of the translation (1569).

¹¹¹ *An Æthiopian historie*, trans. Underdowne, sig. N1^v. Heliodorus emphasises the ethnic difference of the Tyrians from the Greeks: by winning, this Tyrian wrestler 'hath proued, that a *Tyrian* may gette the victorie in the midst of *Greekes*', *An Æthiopian historie*, trans. Underdowne, sig. N1^v.

¹¹² Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, trans. Stephen Gaslee, rev. edn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1969), 2. 2. Subsequent references to this edition unless specified.

¹¹³ Cf. *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, 2. 14, 7. 14, 8. 18. Melqart was identified with Herakles from the fifth century BCE. Biblical references to Tyre are numerous (and often negative): see e.g. Isaiah 23, and Ezekiel 26-28.

Tyrian purple (Greek *πορφύρα*; Latin *purpura*). Julius Pollux's *Onomasticon* (second century CE) available in print in Latin translation from about 1502, recounts how *purpura* was discovered when Hercules noticed that his dog's mouth was stained purple from chewing on the sea snails which produce the dye.¹¹⁴ Had early modern readers had access to Chariton's *Callirhoe* in print they would have seen a similar association of Herakles with Tyre. Herakles, says Chariton, is the Tyrians' 'chief deity, and to whom almost exclusively they have dedicated their city'.¹¹⁵

Herakles is not only associated with Tyre in these works. At one point in *Leucippe and Cleitophon* the lovers are shipwrecked on Pelusium and visit the temple of Zeus Kasios to pray for a sign as to the fate of their travelling companions.¹¹⁶ In a rather Pausanian detour the narrative describes in detail a representation of Andromeda and Prometheus, and their respective liberators, Perseus and Herakles.¹¹⁷ The narrator suggests that these two myths are depicted together because Andromeda and Prometheus are both captives, but another connection between the myths is the geographical and familial relationship between their heroes. As the narrator also observes, Herakles and Perseus are 'Argives of the same family'.¹¹⁸ As Argives both heroes are associated with Argos in the Argolis. The geographical connection determines the connection between the two heroes, and arguably

¹¹⁴ Julius Pollux, *Iulii Pollucis Onomasticon, hoc est instructissimum rerum et synonymorum Dictionarium*, trans. Rudolf Gwalther (Basel: R. Winter, 1451), sig. C4^{r-v}. The account emphasises that this is a specifically Tyrian legend – 'ut Tyrii tradunt' [so recount the Tyrians], sig. C4^r.

¹¹⁵ Chariton, *Callirhoe*, ed. and trans. G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1995), 7. 2. 7-9. Cf. 8. 5. 1-2.

¹¹⁶ Pelusium is a coastal city on the northeastern corner of the Nile delta.

¹¹⁷ See Chapter 3, 'Topographical mythologies: Hercules at the mouth of the Rhône and beyond' for discussion of the importance of Pausanias for mythological knowledge and for what we might call mythological 'practice' in early modern writing. Robert Carver has suggested that Sidney used Pausanias for specific historical-mythological references in the *OA* and *NA*: see Robert H. F. Carver, "'Valiant Aristomenes': A Messenian Hero in Sidney's *Old Arcadia*", *N&Q*, 41 (1994), 26-28; and Robert H. F. Carver, "'Transformed in Show": The Rhetoric of Transvestism in Sidney's *Arcadia*", *ELR*, 28 (1998), 323-52 (335-40).

¹¹⁸ *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, 3. 6. Perseus was Herakles' great-grandfather, because Perseus' son Electryon was the father of Alcmena, Herakles' mother.

much of the structure of the artwork on display in the temple as described in *Leucippe and Clitophon*.

Mythology in what we might term geographical contexts in the *Arcadias*, however, points in an alternative direction. Genre demarcation seems to be behind even the most geographically precise descriptions from the ‘old’ *Arcadia* onwards. In both versions Musidorus, relating his history to Pamela in the third person, begins by rather melodramatically setting the scene:

In the country of Thessalia (alas, why name I that accursed country which brings forth nothing but matters for tragedies? But name it I must); in Thessalia, I say, there was—well may I say there was—a prince. (*OA*, 91).¹¹⁹

At this point in both versions of the *Arcadia* Musidorus is disguised as the shepherd Dorus, and not having great success in his courtship of Pamela, so the ‘tragedies’ he has in mind are perhaps his own circumstances. But there is also a Herculean subtext at work here. Thessalia (or Thessaly) was also, as Maurice Evans points out, ‘the setting for many tragic happenings’ in Greek mythology.¹²⁰ Significantly, Musidorus does not go in to more topographical detail, but Thomas Cooper’s entry for Thessaly in the mythological index to his *Thesaurus linguae Romanae et Britannicae* draws attention to the country’s mountainous topography, as it is ‘inuiroed with foure great and famous hils’, though he in fact lists five – Pindus, Ossa, Olympus, Pelion, and Othrys.¹²¹ Cooper also in fact neglects to mention what might be Thessaly’s most famous mountain after Olympus, and its most obviously ‘tragic’ – Mount Oeta, which, as Cooper’s own entry for this mountain in his *Thesaurus* makes clear, is ‘[a] mountaine betweene Thessalia and Macedonia, where is the sepulchre

¹¹⁹ Other than substituting ‘matters’ for ‘matter’, the *NA* text is identical: *NA*, 134.

¹²⁰ Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke’s Arcadia*, ed. Maurice Evans (London: Penguin, 1977), 855.

¹²¹ Cooper, ‘Dictionarium historicum & Poeticum propria locorum & Personarum vocabula’, in *Thesaurus*, s.v. ‘Thessaly’.

of Hercules'.¹²² The 'matter[s] for tragedies' most obviously connected with Oeta is Hercules' death on his pyre after putting on the shirt of Nessus; and, coming from Thessaly and Macedonia respectively, the two princes are from precisely this tragic nexus. Mythical geography in the *Arcadias* seems to appear above all in the service of its interests in decorum, rhetoric, and the interplay between comedy and tragedy that this chapter has demonstrated.

¹²² Cooper, 'Dictionarium historicum & Poeticum propria locorum & Personarum vocabula', in *Thesaurus*, s.v. 'Oeta'.

3. Topographical mythologies: Hercules at the mouth of the Rhône and beyond

Sidney would not in fact have had to look as far as Tyre or even the Greek peninsula for geographical traces of Hercules. Travels and adventures much further north on the continental European mainland were also attributed to Hercules, and they caught the attention of early modern English writers. John Stow reports that ‘one *Hercules* killed Albion a Giant aboute the mouth of Rhosne in Fraunce’, and so do the various contributors to *Holinshed’s Chronicles*.¹ William Harrison’s account in his ‘Historicall description of the Islande of Britayne’ in the *Chronicles* is particularly detailed and worth quoting at length²:

when the sayde Albion had gouerned here in this Countrie by the space of vii. [seauen] yeares, it came to passe that both he and his brother Bergion were killed by Hercules at the mouth of Rhodanus, as the sayd Hercules passed out of Spaine by the Celtes to go ouer into Italy, and vpon this occasion (as I gather among the writers) not vnworthy to be remembred... Albion vnderstanding howe Hercules intended to make warres agaynst his brother Lestrigo, he thought it good [*if it were possible*] to stop him in that tyde, and therefore sending for hys brother Bergion, out of the Orchades (where he also reigned as supreme Lorde and gouernour) they ioyned their powers, & sayled ouer into Fraunce. Being arriued there, it was not long ere they met with Hercules and his armie, neare vnto the mouth of the riuer called Rhodanus³, where happened a cruell conflicte betwéene them, in which Hercules and hys men were lyke to haue lost the daye, for that they were in maner weryed with long warres, and their munition sore wasted in the last voiage that he had made for Spaine. Herevppon Hercules perceyuing the courages of his souldiours somewhat to abate, & séeing the want of munition likely to be the cause of his fatall day and present ouerthrowe at hande, it come sodenly into his mynde to will eche of them to defende himself by throwing of stones at hys enimie, whereof there lay great store then scattered in the place. The policie was no sooner published than [*hearkened vnto and*] put in execution, whereby they so preuayled in thende, that Hercules wan the fiede, their enemies were put to flight, and Albion and his brother both slayne, and buried in that plot. Thus was Britaine ridde of a tyrant, Lucus king of the Celtes deliuered from an vsurper (that daily incroched vpon him also euen in his owne kingdome on that side [*building sundrie cities and holds, of which some were placed among the Alps & called after his owne name, and other*]) and Lestrigo greatly

¹ John Stow, *The Chronicles of England, from Brute vnto this present yeare of Christ. 1580*. (London: R. Newberie for H. Bynneman, 1580), sig. A8^{r-v}.

² William Harrison, ‘An Historicall Description of the Islande of Britayne’, in Raphael Holinshed and others, *The Firste volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande*, 2 vols (London: for J. Hunne, 1577), I, sigs. A1^v-A2^r. Subsequent references to this work will be to this edition as “Description”, HC (1577), with volume and signature number. In this quotation changes made in the 1587 version of the text have been put in italics in square brackets in the text from William Harrison, ‘An Historicall description of the Iland of Britaine’, in Raphael Holinshed and others, *The First and second volumes of Chronicles*, 2 vols, (London: H. Bynneman for J. Harrison and others, [1587]), I, sig. B1^v. Subsequent references to this work will be to this edition as “Description”, HC (1587), with volume and signature number.

³ The 1587 text of the passage reads ‘Roen (or the Rhodanus)’, Harrison, ‘Description’, HC (1587), I, sig. B1^v.

weakened by the slaughter of his brethren. Of this inuention of Hercules in lyke sort it commeth, that Iupiter father vnto Hercules (who in déede was none other but Osyris) is feygned to throw downe stones from heauen vpon Albion and Bergion, in the defence of Hercules⁴ his son: which came so thick vpon them as it great drops of raine or hayle should haue descended from aboue, no man well knowing which waye to turne him from their violence⁵, they came so fast and with so great a strength⁶.

A very similar account appears in Raphael Holinshed's 'Historie of Englande' in the *Chronicles*, though this version is less interested in the genealogical intricacies of Neptune and his progeny, and puts more emphasis upon Hercules as an avenging agent of the anger of God, remarking that 'the valiant prowes of Hercules, who as one appointed by the prouidence of GOD to subdue the cruell and vnmercifull tyrants, spent his tyme to the benefite of mankynde, deliuering the oppressed from the heaue yoke of miserable thraldom, in euery place where he came'.⁷ Natale Conti mentions the battle in his *Mythologiae*, and Harrison and Holinshed might also be drawing upon other English treatments such as John Bale's brief remarks in *The Actes of Englysh votaries* (1546).⁸ The battle also makes its way into William Camden's *Britannia* (from 1586) which notes that '[a]bout the Sea side of that part of France, which was called *Narbonensis*, where (as the fabulous report goeth) Hercules and Albion fought together' [Ad littus Galliae Narbonensis, vbi Herculem, & Albionem concertasse fabulantur].⁹

⁴ 'Hercules' is omitted from the 1587 text: Harrison, 'Description', *HC* (1587), I, sig. B1^v.

⁵ 'violence' is substituted for 'force' in the 1587 text: Harrison, 'Description', *HC* (1587), I, sig. B1^v.

⁶ 'strength' is substituted for 'violence' in the 1587 text: Harrison, 'Description', *HC* (1587), I, sig. B1^v.

⁷ Raphael Holinshed, 'The Historie of Englande', in Raphael Holinshed and others, *The Firste volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande*, 2 vols (London: for J. Hunne, 1577), I, sig. A3^{r-v}; Raphael Holinshed, 'The historie of Englande', in Raphael Holinshed and others, *The First and second volumes of Chronicles*, 2 vols, (London: H. Bynneman for J. Harrison and others, [1587]), I, sig. A2^v. Subsequent references to these works will be to these editions, as 'Historie', in the format established above. Second quotation from Holinshed, 'Historie', *HC* (1577), I, sig. A3^v.

⁸ Natale Conti, *Natale Conti's Mythologiae*, trans. John Mulryan and Steven Brown, 2 vols (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2006), II, 583. John Bale, *The Actes of Englysh votaryes* ([Antwerp: S. Mierdman], 1546), sig. B2^r. See section 3.4, 'Hercules in the "British History"', for Bale and British prehistory.

⁹ William Camden, *Britain, Or a chorographicall description of the most flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Ilands adioyning, out of the depth of Antiquitie*, trans. Philemon Holland (London: G. Bishop and J. Norton, 1610), sig. B5^r. Latin text from William Camden, *Britannia sive florentissimorum regnorum, Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica descriptio* (London: for R. Newbery, 1586), sig. C1^v. Subsequent reference to this translation (as *Britain*) and this Latin text (as *Britannia*) unless otherwise indicated.

As the complicated detail of their accounts suggest, Harrison and Holinshed fit Hercules' Rhône-side battle with Albion and Bergion into a much larger 'historical' framework, which combines and attempts to synchronise biblical and classical narratives in order to provide an account of the history of the world from its creation to the start of recorded history. This aspect of the 'British history' as it relates to Hercules will be unravelled later in the chapter, but at this point it is more critical to recognise that in all these texts Hercules' battle with Albion and Bergion is located in a particular landscape. Harrison and Holinshed's accounts specify that Hercules, Albion and Bergion meet 'at' or 'near to' the mouth of the River Rhône, now Le Crau in the Camargue area in Bouches-du-Rhône, France, 'as the sayd Hercules passed out of Spaine by the Celtes to go ouer into Italy'.¹⁰ Camden introduces the encounter as a preface to suggesting that the ancient Britons and Gauls shared a common language and thus a common origin, citing the name 'Le Craux' (the modern Le Crau) as an instance of the etymological interrelation of their languages, because '[s]tones in the British tongue, be termed *Craig*' [lapides *Craig* Britannica lingua nominantur].¹¹ In Harrison and Holinshed this detail of place becomes part of a larger history, in which Hercules ends up at the mouth of the Rhône as part of his campaign itinerary from Spain to Italy via Gallia Narbonensis in order to fight against his tyrannical giant relatives, but it is not in fact original to it. The crucial elements of this episode – its central events, its protagonists, and its setting – do not originate with the syncretic world chronology Harrison, Holinshed, and others weave it into, but from what we might term

¹⁰ 'at' and 'near vnto' from Harrison, 'Description', *HC* (1577), I, sigs. A1^v-A2^r; 'nere to' from Holinshed, 'Historie', *HC* (1577), I, sig. A3^r. Harrison mentions twice that the battle takes place at the mouth of the Rhône.

¹¹ Camden, *Britain*, sig. B5^r; Camden, *Britannia*, sig. C1^v. On Camden's etymological method see Angus Vine, 'Etymology, Names, and the Search for Origins: Deriving the Past in Early Modern England', *Seventeenth Century*, 21 (2006), 1-21 (5-7).

classical ‘geographical’ writing.¹² Classical texts such as Strabo’s *Geography* contain accounts of this mythical battle which early modern readers both knew about and used.

This chapter will show how classical geographical writing contributes significantly to thinking usefully about Hercules, mythology, and topography in English writing. More immediately, it will also demonstrate that English accounts of the Hercules-Albion episode, such as those in *Holinshed’s Chronicles* and other topographical-antiquarian writing, can be most helpfully understood in the context of the intellectual, mythical, and spatial possibilities offered by classical geographical texts.¹³ Scholarship on classical mythology in English writing has not sufficiently acknowledged the importance of classical geographical texts as sources for classical mythology in the sixteenth century, nor how accessing mythological content through these types of text shapes what early modern readers and writers ‘do’ with it.¹⁴ Presenting mythological material and mythological narratives in conjunction with, for instance, the description of geographical places and topographical features, appears to make mythology, or rather, mythological allusion, a considerably more ‘local’ textual practice. In making this argument the chapter intends to lay the groundwork for thinking about allusion to mythology in early modern writing as a spatialized activity. The topographical dimensions to Spenser’s uses of Hercules in *The Faerie Queene* provides the test case for this contention in the following chapter.¹⁵

¹² The term ‘classical geographical writing’ is used loosely in this chapter to refer to classical texts with a significant geographical dimension to their content or structure. It could therefore be used to describe Pliny the Younger’s *Naturalis historia* as much as Strabo’s *Geography* or Avienus’ *Ora maritima*. As I discuss below, ‘geography’ was itself a topic of considerable range and flexibility in both classical and early modern thinking: see section 3.1, ‘Classical geographies and English topographical writing’.

¹³ The wide range of classical texts with a ‘geographical’ dimension available in sixteenth-century Europe makes a comprehensive survey impossible within the confines of this chapter or indeed this thesis. Instead, this chapter will focus on selected texts in order to make its point by example. See section 3.2, ‘Herakles in Strabo’s *Geography* and Pausanias’ *Description of Greece*’.

¹⁴ As I indicate below, there has been some recognition of the importance of classical geographical writing for early modern topographical and chorographical writing. However, to the best of my knowledge there have been no substantial previous discussions of the relationship between classical mythology in early modern texts and either classical or early modern ‘geographical’ writing.

¹⁵ See Chapter 4, ‘Hercules and *The Faerie Queene*’.

The ways in which Hercules is represented in classical geographical writing also helps to explain much of the positioning both literal and metaphorical of Hercules in sixteenth-century English writing. Harrison and Holinshed's accounts of Hercules' battle with Albion and Bergion are all about boundaries and their violation: here the giant Albion (and the rest of his sons) are established by Neptune in their own kingdoms because, 'once gotten foote into any Region whatsoeuer, it woulde not be long ere they did by some meanes or other, not onelye establishe their seates, but also increase their limites'.¹⁶ A mark of these giants' tyranny is their disinclination to keep within settled boundaries. The battle by the mouth of the Rhône thus becomes a place for re-establishing proper boundaries, effected by Hercules. The mouth of the Rhône and its surrounding land is an appropriate location for the episode from this perspective because – as any early modern reader would have been able to see on a map of Europe – it is itself both a type of boundary between sea and land, and an intersecting space between two bodies of water.¹⁷ The policing of territorial edges thus takes place on the physical 'edge' of a landmass, and in this sense at least, metaphorical and geographical boundaries might overlap.¹⁸ Here, then, Hercules' is associated with places that exist for European readers (both modern and early modern), boundaries and edges, and giants – a field of associations which comes to inform his presentation in sixteenth-century English writing more generally. Hercules too, however, is no less itinerant than Harrison and Holinshed's giants: he 'go[es] from place to place' destroying tyrants, and 'passed to

¹⁶ Harrison, 'Description', *HC* (1577), I, sig. A1^v.

¹⁷ As the only river connecting the Mediterranean and northern Europe, arguably the Rhône itself occupies an important liminal position in European geography. Certainly it was an important conduit for trade between the Mediterranean and Gaul: see A. L. F. Rivet and John Drinkwater, 'Rhodanus', in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow, 4th edn (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012), 1278.

¹⁸ This is not intended to suggest a simplistic distinction between 'real' physical landscape, and 'unreal' language. Landscape is treated here as much as a 'cultural construction' than a physical entity. For this conception of landscape and extensive critical biography, see Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011), 6-7, 6 n. 8.

and fro thorough Gallia’.¹⁹ Hercules’ mobility is key to his appearances in classical geographical writing; and his sharing of boundlessness with the giants in *Holinshed’s Chronicles* points also to the moral (and other) ambiguities surrounding this figure.

3.1. Classical geographies and English topographical writing: Hercules at the Rhône from Pomponius Mela to Strabo

Neither Harrison nor Holinshed say so, but the battle they describe is in its classical sources even more closely linked to the landscape in which it takes place. In the early modern period probably the most widely-disseminated classical account of the episode was to be found in Pomponius Mela’s *De chorographia* or ‘Description of the world’ (c. 43-44 CE). The *De chorographia* is the earliest surviving geographical work in Latin, and constitutes a description of what was then the ‘known world’. It frames its account of Hercules at the Rhône inside another instance of geographically-situated Herculean boundary-pushing, for this text charts a circular course around the world which starts and ends at the Straits of Gibraltar or, the Pillars of Hercules.²⁰ Mela notes that a distinctive feature of the otherwise undistinguished Crau is its stony nature:

Alioqui litus ignobile est, Lapideum ut uocant, in quo Herculem contra Alebiona et Dercynon²¹, Neptuni liberos, dimicantem, cum tela defecissent, ab inuocato Ioue adiutum imbre lapidum ferunt. Credas pluuisse, adeo multi passim et late iacent (2. 78).²²

¹⁹ Quotations from Harrison, ‘Description’, *HC* (1577), I, sig. A1^v, and Holinshed, ‘Historie’, *HC* (1577), I, sig. A3^r, respectively.

²⁰ There was a famous temple of Hercules, originally dedicated to Melqart, near the Phoenician city of Gades (cf. modern Cádiz) near the Strait: for description and discussion, see Strabo, *Geography*, trans. H. L. Jones, 8 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1917-32) II (1923), 3. 5. 5. Subsequent references will be to this translation, by volume, book and relevant subdivision, incorporated in the main text. Dates of publication of the volumes will be omitted when incorporated into the main text.

²¹ The earliest surviving manuscript of the *De chorographia*, Vaticanus latinus 4929, has ‘albiona et bergyon’, followed by all early modern printed editions. This modern Latin text’s substitution of ‘Dercynon’ here (see below) follows a nineteenth-century emendation by Conrad Bursian, following the Greek mythographer Apollodorus’ naming of the brothers Albion and Dercynon: see Apollodorus, *The Library*, trans. J. G. Frazer, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1921), I, 2. 5. 10; and Conrad Bursian, ‘Zur Kritik des Pomponius Mela’, *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 39 (1869), 629-55 (646).

²² Pomponius Mela, *Chorographie*, ed. and trans. Alain Silberman (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1988), 2. 78n. Subsequent citations of the Latin text of the *De chorographia* will refer to this edition, incorporated in the main text. A modern English translation reads: ‘[i]n general, the shore, Litus Lapideum [Lat. Rocky Beach; the Crau] as they call it, is undistinguished. Here, they report, while Hercules was fighting Alebion and Dercynos, the sons of Neptune, and when his arrows had run out, he was helped by a rain of rocks at the hand

otherwise it is but a rascall banke all stonie, where the report goeth that *Hercules* fighting against *Albion* and *Bergion*, the sonnes of *Neptune*, and hauing spent all his Artillerie, called vppon his Father *Iupiter*, who rayned downe stones to helpe him with: and a man would beleeeue it had rained stones in deede, there lye so many, and that euerie where, and so farre of.²³

Mela includes this episode as part of his description of Gaul, which concentrates on its littoral regions and cities, and proceeds west through Massilia (now Marseille) to the mouth of the Rhône. He presents the Hercules-Albion battle, perhaps not entirely seriously, as a type of aetiology for the stony quality of the Crau.²⁴ (Following Mela, Camden also offers the story as a means of explanation for the physical character of Le Crau, though, unlike Mela, the aetiology refers to the name and not in fact to the actual physical character of the landscape.) The trajectory of the battle thus takes its form from the geological particularities of the landscape.

Although more obscure now, the *De chorographia* was well-known in the early modern period. Its earliest printed edition appeared in 1471 in Milan, and over 225 further editions printed before 1700 survive, so it is more than possible that educated readers such as Harrison could have known it.²⁵ A printed marginal note to the 1587 version of Harrison's account of Hercules, Albion, and Bergion in the *Chronicles* suggests that someone at least recognised its connection to this Latin text.²⁶ Arthur Golding produced an English

of Jupiter, whom he had invoked. You would believe that it had rained rocks – so numerous and so widely do they lie scattered all over!’ Pomponius Mela, *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World*, trans. F. E. Romer (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 2. 78.

²³ Pomponius Mela, *The worke of Pomponius Mela. The Cosmographer, concerninge the Situation of the world*, trans. Arthur Golding (London: [J. Charlewood] for T. Hackett, 1585), sig. I3^v.

²⁴ On Mela's playful attitude towards myth and marvels, see Mela, *Description of the World*, trans. Romer, 13-14. Other references to various Herculesees, including the Pillars of Hercules, in the *De chorographia* are at: 1. 25-27, 1. 103, 2. 11, 2. 28-29, 2. 36, 2. 95, 3. 3, 3. 46, 3. 47, 3. 100, 3. 103, 3. 106. Hercules is the most frequently-mentioned mythological name in this text; for analysis see Roger Batty, 'Mela's Phoenician Geography', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 90 (2000), 70-94 (87).

²⁵ For editions see Mary Ella Milham, 'Pomponius Mela', in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*, ed. Paul Oscar Kristeller, F. Edward Cranz, and Virginia Brown, 9 vols (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1960-), V (1984), ed. Crantz, and Kristeller, 257-85. For the medieval dissemination of the *De chorographia* see C. M. Gormley, M. A. Rouse, and R. H. Rouse, 'The Medieval Circulation of the "De Chorographia" of Pomponius Mela', *Mediaeval Studies*, 46 (1984), 266-320.

²⁶ The note reads 'Pomponius Mela cap. de Gallia', Harrison, 'Description', *HC* (1587), I, sig. B1^v.

translation of the work which was printed in 1585 and 1590, and another sixteenth-century English translation survives in manuscript, though interest in the work in England is evident from a much earlier date.²⁷ Bale cites the *De chorographia* in his own account of Hercules' encounter with Albion and Bergion in *The Actes of Englysh votaries*, and Thomas Elyot draws upon it several times in his *Bibliotheca Eliotæ*, also connecting this text directly to the episode, noting in the entry for 'Albion' that 'Pomponius Mela maketh mention of a gyaunt called Albion, whom Hercules slewe in Gallia'.²⁸

In early modern terms, then, *De chorographia* is demonstrably an important text for this Herculean episode. But it is not the only significant and accessible source for the story. Early modern editions of the *De chorographia* with commentaries often refer the reader to the Greek geographer Strabo (as well as Pliny the Elder, Apollodorus, Hyginus, and even Cato's lost *Origines* for titbits about the Ligurians) for further background detail, and in order to situate Hercules in a larger mythological context.²⁹ The earliest surviving reference to Hercules battling on the Crau is indeed found in a fragment of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* used by Strabo in his own discussion of the Crau in his *Geography*.³⁰ Strabo is

²⁷ The manuscript translation of the *De chorographia*, which has numerous maps, is London, British Library, MS Hargrave 399. The 1590 edition of Golding's translation included updated descriptions and Ptolemaic coordinates, and the addition of Golding's translation of Solinus' *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*. After 1500 Mela and Solinus were often printed together with other 'geographical' writers such as Vibius Sequester: see Milham, 259-60.

²⁸ Bale, *Actes*, sig. B2^r (Albion was 'slayne of Hercules for stoppyng hys passage at the enterance of Rhodanus, as testyfyeth... Pomponius Mela'); Sir Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotæ Eliotis Librarie* (London: T. Berthelet, 1542), s.v. 'Albion'. The entry is not in Elyot's earlier *The Dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot knyght* (London: T. Berthelet, 1538): perhaps he had had time to read Giglio Gregorio Giraldi's *Herculis vita* (1539) in the meantime. Elsewhere Elyot notes pragmatically that in comparison to Strabo and Solinus 'Mela is moch shorter, and his style... is also more clene and facile. Wherefore he... shall be sufficient' (i.e. for the student to read): Sir Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the Gouvernour* (London: T. Berthelet, 1537), sig. E4^r.

²⁹ See e.g. Joachin Vadian's (Vadianus) commentary on *De chorographia* 2. 78 in Pomponius Mela, *Pomponii Melae de orbis situ libri tres... cum Commentariis*, ed. Joachim Vadian (Basel: A. Cratander, 1522), sig. H4^{r-v}; and Solinus and Pomponius Mela, *C. Iulii Solini polyhistor, rerum toto orbe memorabilium thesaurus locupletissimus. Huic ob argumenti similitudinem Pomponii Melæ de situ orbis libros tres, fide diligentiaque summa recognitos, adiunximus*. (Basel: M. Isengrin and H. Petri, 1538), sig. Bb4^r.

³⁰ Strabo, *Geography*, II (1923), 4. 1. 7. Henceforth, when quoting directly from the *Geography* I shall also cite the combined Latin translation of Guarino Veronese (or Veronensis) and Gregorio Tiphernas, completed in the 1450s and printed in 1469, and which constituted the text of Latin printed translations of the *Geography* until Wilhelm Xylander's new translation in 1571. I will also quote Xylander's translation when it differs

interested in the physical characteristics of the Crau landscape, and particularly in its geologically curious abundance of stones. He offers a detailed description of its natural features, and weighs up two possible geological explanations for the presence of the stones hypothesised by Aristotle and Poseidonius. Strabo continues, however, by introducing Aeschylus' poetic account, in which Prometheus foretells Herakles' battle on the plain and his eventual victory over his enemies with the aid of Zeus, because '[w]hat was difficult to account for... Aeschylus, who closely studied the accounts or else received them from another source, removed to the realm of myth [εἰς μῦθον ἐξετόπισε]' (*Geography*, II, 4. 1. 7). The story here therefore seems to have a more complex relationship to landscapes and discussion of their topographical properties than we might expect. Description of the Crau as a landscape formed by particular geological processes is presented alongside a mythic account of its creation.

Strabo's subsequent inclusion of three rather sceptical and rationalising approaches to this mythic material (and, by extension, perhaps to myth more generally) – including the observation, attributed to Poseidonius, that 'were [it] not better... for Zeus to have cast the stones upon the Ligures themselves and to have buried the whole host than to represent Heracles as in need of so many stones' (*Geography*, II, 4. 1. 7) – suggests that he is not offering Aeschylus' account as a serious aetiology for the stony nature of the plain.³¹ But Strabo seems to present Aeschylus' mythical account less as an alternative to the explanations offered by Aristotle and Poseidonius than as a response to them. He also seems to censure Poseidonius for inaccurately representing what Aeschylus says about the Stony

interestingly from Veronese's and Tiphernas'. See section 3.3, 'Strabo and Pausanias in early modern England', for discussion of the early modern textual history of the *Geography*.

³¹ Guarino Veronese translates, 'Posidonius, igitur, périnde ac ipsos Liguribus iniecisce & accumulasse lapides, melius esset, quam Herculem tot indiguissse lapidibus, dixit, tanta uero illorum multitudo innumerabili turbæ necessaria fuit', in Strabo, [...] *Strabonis geographicorum commentarios*, trans. Guarino Veronese and Gregorio Tiphernas (Basel: V. Curio, 1523), sig. l4^v. I am grateful to Dr. Katherine Clarke for discussing this passage of the *Geography* with me.

Plain, with the effect that ‘in this, at least, the writer of the myth [μυθογράφος] is more plausible than the man who revises [ἀνασκευάζοντος] the myth [μῦθον]’ (*Geography*, II, 4. 1. 7).³² Given his enthusiasm for Homeric geography, he might ultimately be interested in preserving Aeschylus’ poetic authority, which requires some defence of the mythical material the poet is engaged with.³³ Whatever Strabo’s exact intent, the inclusion of this mythological ‘explanation’ for the nature of the Crau creates a significant relationship between topography and mythology in the passage. Early modern Latin translations of this part of the *Geography* capture (as we might expect) the potential negative implications of Strabo’s choice of ἐξετόπισε (‘remove from’) more precisely: Wilhelm Xylander’s 1571 translation says that Aeschylus ‘in fabulam detorsit’, ‘turned away’ or ‘distorted’ the explanations ‘into myth’.³⁴ But what Xylander’s translation does not emphasise is the spatial quality of the action Strabo attributes to Aeschylus in ἐκτοπίζω.³⁵ This is probably because the translation of the previous (and first) translator of the *Geography* into Latin, Guarino Veronese, makes this clear: here Aeschylus ‘in fabulae locum exposuit’, or ‘set forth’ or

³² Early modern translations concentrate on the more prosaic aspects of ἀνασκευάζοντος, which literally means ‘pack up the baggage’, but also by extension to ‘waste, ravage’, and to ‘reverse’ or subvert: see ἀνασκευάζω in LSJ. A. Veronese translates, ‘Vnde qui fabulam conscripsit, quàm qui fabulam abnegat [i.e. ‘refuses’, ‘denies’], uerisimiliora dixisse uisus est’, *Strabonis geographicorum commentarios*, trans. Veronese and Tiphernas, sig. I4^v; Xylander translates, ‘ut hac quidem in parte fabulae autor probabiliora dixerit, quàm fabulae repræhensor [i.e. ‘rebukes’, ‘represses’]’, Strabo, *Strabonis nobilissimi et doctissimi philosophi ac geographi rerum geographicarum commentarii libris XVII contenti*, trans. Wilhelm Xylander (Basel: H. Petri, 1571), sig. I6^v. The translators might have been familiar with ἀνασκευάζω from its use in Acts 15:24 (‘We have heard that some went out from us without our authorisation and disturbed you, troubling [ἀνασκευάζοντες] your minds by what they said’). The Geneva Bible glosses its translation (‘cumbered your minds’) with the explanation that this is ‘[a] borrowed kind of speech taken of them which pull down that that was built up’.

³³ On Strabo’s interest in and defence of Homeric geography, see *Geography*, I (1917), 1. 1. 2-12; and Lawrence Kim, ‘The Portrait of Homer in Strabo’s *Geography*’, *Classical Philology*, 102 (2007), 363-88. Elyot remarks that Strabo ‘toke his argumente of the diuine poete Homere’, *Gouernour*, sig. E3^r.

³⁴ Strabo, *Strabonis nobilissimi et doctissimi philosophi ac geographi*, trans. Xylander, sig. I6^v. Cf. Cicero’s comment that ‘voluptates, blandissimae dominae, maioris partis animos a virtute detorquent’ [sensual pleasure, a most seductive mistress, turns the hearts of the greater part of humanity away from virtue], Cicero, *On Duties*, trans. Walter Miller (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1913), 2. 37.

³⁵ Hence Jones’ modern translation ‘removed to the *realm of myth*’ (my emphasis). Strabo uses the related word ἐκτετοπισμένα [out of the way countries] at *Geography*, II (1923), 3. 4. 19. *Detorqueo* can also carry the sense of turning *in* a direction: see ‘detorqueo, si, tum’, in Lewis & Short, I. A. b. Cf. also Thomas Cooper’s translation as ‘to tourne out of the right way’: Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae* (London: H. Wykes, 1565), s.v. ‘Detorqueo, detorques, detorsi, detortum’.

‘explained’ the explanations ‘into the place of myth’.³⁶ Strabo’s account of Hercules’ Rhône-side encounter therefore does not only put myth into particular topographical contexts, but also presents myth itself as a some sort of rhetorical or metaphorical *locus*.³⁷

Strabo’s slightly self-conscious insertion of ‘myth’ (*μῦθος* or *muthos*; *fabula*) into the speculations of the *Geography* about the nature of the physical landscape of the Crau points to the wide variety of different types of information and genres present in classical geography. This variety makes geography a rich resource for early modern thinking about mythology. In the Graeco-Roman world the concept of *geographia* was wider and more amorphous than is signified by the modern term ‘geography’.³⁸ As ‘a written or drawn description of the entire earth’, ancient ‘geographical’ texts present a variety of different forms, methods, and organisational strategies.³⁹ *Geographia* could be ‘done’ in different ways: we might distinguish ‘scientific’ geography as practised in (for instance) Ptolemy’s *Geography* (second century CE), which uses geometry, astronomy and mathematics to attempt to establish precise information about the dimensions of the world; and ‘descriptive’ geography such as in Strabo’s *Geography*, which provides more discursive treatments of regions and peoples, and less ‘empirical’ information.⁴⁰ Cartography represents the world (or a part thereof) in visual form, and often uses the mathematical data ‘scientific’ geography is interested in establishing.⁴¹ The potential diversity of what *geographia* could entail

³⁶ Strabo, *Strabonis geographicorum commentarios*, trans. Veronese and Tiphernas, sig. 14^r.

³⁷ Introducing the word *locus* points forward to the next chapter of this thesis, in which the literary effects of thinking about mythology as a *topos* will be set out: see Chapter 4, ‘Hercules and *The Faerie Queene*’.

³⁸ The following overview of *geographia* is drawn from Daniela Dueck and Kai Brodersen, *Geography in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012). For a historiographical overview of ‘geography’ as a discipline with reference to ‘history’ in both classical and modern scholarly contexts see Katherine Clarke, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 1-77.

³⁹ Quoted definition from Dueck and Brodersen, 1.

⁴⁰ Subcategories also explicated in Daniela Dueck, ‘The Geographical Narrative of Strabo of Amasia’, in *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*, ed. Kurt Raaflaub and Richard Talbert (Chichester, UK; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 236-51 (236).

⁴¹ Detailed discussion of classical cartography in both theory and practice is in *The History of Cartography*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward, 3 vols (Chicago and London, 1987-), I: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (1987), 130-279.

permitted the inclusion of a great deal of what we would now think of as dubiously ‘geographical’ material in many ancient geographies, such as geometry (Ptolemy), or ethnography, mythology and history (Strabo).⁴² Strabo opens his *Geography* by claiming that geography can only be written by those of ‘wide learning’, which ‘is possessed solely by the man who has investigated things both human and divine’ (*Geography*, I, 1. 1. 1).⁴³ Part of the use of geography is moreover for Strabo in the wide range of subjects on which it gives information: ‘knowledge both of the heavens and of things on land and sea, animals, plants, fruits, and everything else to be seen in various regions’ (*Geography*, I, 1. 1. 1).⁴⁴ Other genres related to geography, but not taking the entire world (*ge*) as their subject though still ‘geographical’ in theme, are texts which focus in detail upon particular regions (*chorographia*); reports of sea voyages along coastlines (*periploi*); catalogues of information about distances and journeys along Roman roads (*itineraria*); and detailed descriptions of the landscapes, local customs and inhabitants, and topographical features such as rivers and mountains (*periegesis*).⁴⁵

Early modern approaches to geography acknowledge the breadth of *geographia* and the range of its visual and textual incarnations. Ptolemy’s *Geography* and Strabo’s *Geography* in particular offered very different definitions and models for writing about geographical subjects to early modern readers. As a mathematical and cartographically-focused work, Ptolemy’s *Geography* presents its readers with a practical guide to drawing maps on a grid of longitude and latitude, and includes a list of coordinates and corresponding

⁴² On the diversity of geography as an ancient genre see Dueck and Brodersen, 1-2, 8-9.

⁴³ i.e. the investigatory topics of the philosopher. See also Strabo, *Geography*, I (1919), 1. 1. 12. Cf. Veronese’s translation: ‘[m]ulta uero disciplina, per quam solam ad hoc opus perueniri conceditur, nullius alterius est, nisi eius, qui diuina simul & humana contueatur, quorum uidelicet scientiam, philosophiam esse dicunt’, *Strabonis geographicorum commentarios*, trans. Veronese and Tiphernas, sig. a1^r.

⁴⁴ Veronese translates, ‘Eodem modo uaria est utilitas... ad [res] cælestium terrestrium, rerumque maritimarum scientiam, animalium, plantarum, fructuum, & aliorum, quæ penes uniuersos cernere fas est’, *Strabonis geographicorum commentarios*, trans. Veronese and Tiphernas, sig. a1^r.

⁴⁵ See the more detailed expositions of these types of text, some of which will be discussed later in this chapter, in Dueck and Brodersen, 6-7.

place names for the accurate construction of these maps.⁴⁶ Its introductory chapter sharply distinguishes the practice of *geographia*, or (in the words of its modern translators) ‘world cartography’, from *chorographia*, or ‘regional cartography’.⁴⁷ As far as Ptolemy is concerned, *geographia* is a mathematical art which aims at producing precise and proportioned representations of the entire known world.⁴⁸ *Chorographia*, in contrast, takes as its subject areas smaller than the whole, and is more detailed in its representation of those areas, though not more technically accurate.⁴⁹ As we shall see, the circulation of the *Geography* in print in Europe from 1475 onwards had significant effect upon ideas about Hercules in sixteenth-century England, but its particular formulation of the limits and possibilities of what might be included in *geographia* of various types was not unassailable.⁵⁰ Strabo’s understanding of *geographia* is considerably less technical and cartographically-focused, and more open to the possibility of regional description, and of the inclusion of subjects such as history.

Although most early modern discussions of the nature of geography and its various forms or subgroupings – chorography, cartography, and topography, for instance – acknowledge and generally follow Ptolemy’s distinction between geography ‘proper’ and

⁴⁶ Ptolemy’s early modern influence is vast and thesis-worthy in itself. For recent analyses see Patrick Gautier Dalché, *La géographie de Ptolémée en Occident (IVe-XVIe siècle)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), and *Ptolemy’s Geography in the Renaissance*, ed. Zur Shalev and Charles Burnett (London: Warburg Institute, 2011).

⁴⁷ English translation from *Ptolemy’s Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*, trans. J. L. Berggren and Alexander Jones (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton UP, 2000), 1. 1. Subsequent references are to this English translation unless specified. Early modern Latin translations use the words ‘geographia’ and ‘chorographia’: see e.g. Ptolemy, *Geographia vniuersalis, vetus et nova*, trans. Willibald Pirckheimer (Basel: H. Petri, 1540), sig. a1^r.

⁴⁸ ‘[T]he essence of world cartography is to show the known world as single and continuous entity, its nature and how it is situated, [taking account] only of the things that are associated with it in its broader, general outlines’, *Ptolemy’s Geography: An Annotated Translation*, 1. 1.

⁴⁹ ‘[R]egional cartography... sets out the individual localities, each one independently and by itself, registering practically everything down to the least thing therein (for example, harbors, towns, districts, branches of principal rivers, and so on)... [It] deals above all with the qualities rather than the quantities of the things that it sets down; it attends everywhere to likeness, and not so much to proportional placements’, *Ptolemy’s Geography: An Annotated Translation*, 1. 1.

⁵⁰ See section 3.5, ‘Topographical mythologies? Hercules at Hartland Point’, below. Ptolemy’s *Geography* was first printed as the *Cosmographia* (acknowledging the work’s universal scope) in Latin translation in 1475 in Vicenza, using the 1406 translation of Jacobus Angelus, without maps. Increasingly grand editions with maps appeared throughout the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

chorography, or the description of the entire world and particular regions or places in that world, the existence of competing models such as Strabo's *Geography* meant that in practice early modern geographical writing often included subjects which stray beyond Ptolemy's strictures.⁵¹ Mythological topics often feature prominently in geographical texts, as early modern discussions of Strabo and other classical authors acknowledge. A key (selling?) point in Alfonso Buonacciuoli's introduction to his Italian translation of the *Geography* (printed 1562-65) is the range of subjects the work offers: 'as well as the proper subject of Geography', Strabo 'not only touches histories [l'histoire], and the fables [fauole]', but also uses 'the authority of the most ancient, and obscure poets and writers... But he makes use of Philosophy, as much of moral, as natural; of Geometry, of Astronomy, and of many other sciences'.⁵² Although Strabo cautions against excessive discussion of mythology precisely because geography is the preserve of the 'man of affairs', while 'myths have nothing to do with practice', and therefore do not contribute to the 'practical wisdom' of the reader (*Geography*, I, 1. 1. 19)⁵³, mythical information in geographies was and is of interest to their readers, as both Buonacciuoli's comments and the detailed indexes to many early modern editions of the *Geography* show.⁵⁴ As Strabo himself admits, moreover, the tellers and writers of myths do in fact 'provid[e] no mean entertainment for the hearer who takes an

⁵¹ For a succinct overview of this point in relation to German humanist-geographers, see Gerald Strauss, 'Topographical-Historical Method in Sixteenth-Century German Scholarship', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 5 (1958), 87-101. For early modern ideas of 'geography', 'topography', and related terms, and their relation to early modern geographical texts and ideas, see Jack B. Oruch, 'Topography in the Prose and Poetry of the English Renaissance, 1540-1640' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1964), 5-20; and Stanley G. Mendyk, *'Speculum Britanniae': Regional Study, Antiquarianism, and Science in Britain to 1700* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 21-22, 39-40.

⁵² 'Ilquale (oltre la propria facultà di Geografia) non solo tocca l'histoire, & le fauole... anche l'autorità de i più antichi, & oscuri poeti, & scrittori, di che s'habbia memoria alcuna; Ma si serue della Filosofia, sì morale, come naturale, della Geometria, dell'Astronomia, & di molt'altre scienze', in Strabo, *La prima parte della Geografia di Strabone*, trans. Alfonso Buonacciuoli (Venice: F. De Franceschi, 1562), sig. A2^r.

⁵³ Strabo's example: 'for instance, if a man should tell the story of the wanderings of Odysseus or Menelaus or Jason, it would not be thought that he was making any contribution to the practical wisdom of his hearers', *Geography*, I (1919), 1. 1. 19.

⁵⁴ See e.g. the lengthy index prefacing the text of the *Geography* in Strabo, *Strabonis geographicorum commentarios*, trans. Veronese and Tiphernas, sigs. Aa1^r-Bb8^v. As we shall see, in early modern England even Ptolemy's *Geography* was mined for its mythical content.

interest in the regions which furnished the scenes of the myths. Men of affairs are fond of just such entertainment, because the localities are famous and the myths are charming' (*Geography*, I, 1. 1. 19). The mythical content of geographical writing is a significant part of its function and reception in both classical and early modern contexts.

How does the treatment of mythology in classical geographical texts contribute to early modern thinking about both mythology and Hercules in English writing? The following section of this chapter will consider a text that is 'directly' related to Hercules' supposed battle at the Rhône, Strabo's *Geography*, alongside one that has more general importance as a source of mythological and what we might term mythological-historical information for early modern readers in a topographical literary format, Pausanias' *Description of Greece*. Examining these two texts in some detail is not intended to imply that they are the only important classical texts for investigating topography, myth and Hercules. I rather intend to provide a kind of 'case study', which takes its cues very particularly from the interests of this thesis. I have chosen Strabo and Pausanias because I believe that their works provide especially helpful examples of writing about landscape and topography with reference to spatial and mythological perspectives, and because Hercules features prominently in both.⁵⁵

3.2. Herakles in Strabo's *Geography* and Pausanias' *Description of Greece*⁵⁶

Both Strabo's *Geography* and Pausanias' *Description of Greece* (later second century CE) contain what can easily be classed as 'geographical' content, but they are very different works.⁵⁷ This is in part a difference of genre. As I outlined above, Strabo's *geographia*

⁵⁵ Reference to other key relevant classical 'geographical' writers such as Ptolemy and Pliny the Elder will also be made where necessary.

⁵⁶ Since these are Greek texts, the following discussion uses Greek forms (e.g. Herakles rather than Hercules).

⁵⁷ A comprehensive discussion of the complex differences between the *Geography* and the *Description of Greece* is beyond the scope of this thesis, and it will therefore stick closely to its particular concerns here. For one comparison of the two works, see Maria Pretzler, 'Comparing Strabo with Pausanias: Greece in context', in *Strabo's Cultural Geography: The Making of a Kolossourgia*, ed. Daniela Dueck, Hugh Lindsay, and Sarah Pothecary (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), 144-60.

presents a description of the entire known world, while Pausanias' *periegesis* confines itself to describing 'Greece' in considerably greater topographical, artistic and other detail.⁵⁸ Most obviously, then, the two texts function on contrasting scales.⁵⁹ They are also the product of very different periods in Greek history, with the consequence that what 'Greece' denotes in the two texts is not quite the same geographical area. But both texts share an interest in myth and myths and feature Herakles as an important mythic-historic figure. Examining the two works' treatments of myth and Herakles reveals important organisational and perspectival differences between them, and in turn points to how writing about myth can function in a 'geographical' context, and be shaped by landscape.

Pausanias' *Description of Greece* treats in ten books 'all Greece', which in practice refers to much of what we now consider the Greek part of the Balkan peninsula.⁶⁰ It is particularly interested in local cults, religious sites and monuments, and visual art more generally, but each book also includes discussions of history (sometimes at great length), mythology and mythical genealogies, and occasionally of local natural 'curiosities'.⁶¹ Although the work as we have it opens rather abruptly with a disorientating view of Cape Sounion and its temple dedicated to Athena on the Attic peninsula from the sea, in general it 'travels' around Greece using overland routes.⁶² The *Description* surveys the

⁵⁸ Discussions of the genre of Pausanias' work are frustrated by the loss of the majority of periegetic literature. Further problematic is the question of what as capacious a term as *periegesis* – which can refer to any text concerned with 'the description of regions, localities or monuments' – might mean in the context of this text, which itself does not use the word. See the discussion of the work's genre in William Hutton, *Describing Greece: Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), 241-72 (quotation from 249).

⁵⁹ Cf. Strabo's own description of Greece, which makes up only a section of the *Geography* (Books 8-10).

⁶⁰ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, trans. W. H. S. Jones, and Henry Arderne Omerod, ed. R. E. Wycherley, 5 vols (London; Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1918-35), I (1918), trans. Jones, 1. 26. 4. Unless otherwise specified, reference will be to this translation by volume number, book and relevant subsections of the *Description* itself, incorporated in the main text. Publication dates of individual volumes and translators will be omitted in the main text.

⁶¹ For history in the *Description*, see the unusually long historical 'introduction' to Book 4 (Messenia) and Susan Alcock's discussion in 'The Peculiar Book IV and the Problem of the Messenian Past', in *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece*, ed. Susan E. Alcock, John E. Cherry and Jaś Elsner (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001), 142-53.

⁶² For further discussion of this crucial aspect of the *Description*, see Maria Pretzler, *Pausanias: Travel Writing in Ancient Greece* (London: Duckworth, 2007), 34.

topographies, cults, monuments, and customs of the regions of Greece it includes from an itinerant and mainly foot-based perspective. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that Herakles, when Greece was, as Pomponius Mela remarks, ‘the ground that [he] trode last vppon’ [hic nouissime calcatum Graio Herculi solum (2. 36)], features frequently in the *Description* across a range of media and in various different forms.⁶³ Herakles is found not only in oral local history and cult, but also in art. He is the subject of statues and artistic representations on temple friezes, altars and other objects both in sanctuaries and market-squares; and gymnasias and race-courses are particularly likely to be sacred to him.⁶⁴

Herakles is however also a particularly itinerant hero, partly because his Labours took him all over as well as outside Greece, and he was consequently a prime candidate for insertion into local heroic genealogies and foundation myths. The movement of the *Description* from place to place and settlement to settlement thus parallels Herakles’ own travels and activities in the mythic-heroic past, and illustrates how location shapes myth. At Thespieae in Boeotia, for instance, Pausanias records a uniquely Thespian variation on the legend of Herakles and the fifty daughters of Thespaios, in which one daughter refuses Herakles and is punished with perpetual virginity (*Description*, IV, 9. 27. 6).⁶⁵ Episodes from the mythos of Herakles therefore take place in specific geographical locations. This point should be obvious in relation to Herakles in particular, since many of his most famous exploits are referred to by the locations in which they took place: the Stymphalian birds, for instance, bred on the River Stymphalus in Arcadia (*Description*, IV, 8. 22. 1, 3-6); and Pausanias remarks (without feeling the need to insert any further identifying information)

⁶³ Mela, *Situation*, trans. Golding, sig. H3^r; ‘Here is the ground last tramped by the Greek Hercules’, Mela, *Description of the World*, trans. Romer, 2. 36. Mela is describing the ‘saltus Oetaeus’, the mountain gorge of Oeta.

⁶⁴ Examples of all these different manifestations are helpfully indexed in Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, trans. Jones, V (1935), ed. Wycherley, Index, s. v. ‘Heracles, myths’, ‘Heracles, particular exploits’, ‘Heracles cult’ and ‘Heracles, images’, 227-28.

⁶⁵ For a ‘canonical’ (or at least more widely circulated) account of Thespaios and his fifty daughters, see e.g. Apollodorus, *Library*, trans. Frazer, I, 2. 4. 9-10.

that ‘the cave of the famous lion’ (the Nemean lion) can be seen in the mountains near Nemea in Corinthia (*Description*, I, 2. 15. 2). But the Thespian introduction of a daughter of Thespios who refuses Herakles also serves to provide an aetiology for the form the cult of Herakles takes in Thespieae, which had a virgin priestess serving at the sanctuary (*Description*, IV, 9. 27. 6), suggesting that location contours myth as much as showcasing it or prompting its rehearsal for the interested traveller.

What the *Description* in fact seems to suggest most consistently in regard to myth is that location participates in shaping myth, rather than merely providing a passive receptacle for mythical representations or mythical narrative. Examining what the temple of Herakles at Thebes chooses to ‘say’ about Herakles provides a helpful illustration of the geographical influence of particular places and contexts over myth. Pausanias observes that the mythological carvings on the gables of the temple of Herakles at Thebes do not feature the Stymphalian birds or the cleansing of the Augean stables, because space is given instead to Herakles’ wrestling with Antaios (*Description*, IV, 9. 11. 6). Thebes was a significant location in the mythos of Herakles. It was the site of his birth, since his mortal ‘father’ Amphytryon had been exiled there after accidentally killing his uncle Electryon.⁶⁶ Both Amphytryon and Herakles led military expeditions from Thebes: Amphytryon to avenge the killing of Alcmene’s brothers by the Taphians, Herakles to end the annual tribute demanded by the Minyans from the Thebans. It may not be coincidental that Pausanias continues his description of the decoration of Herakles’ temple at Thebes with an account of the dedication of large statues of Herakles and Athene in the temple by Thrasybulus and the other

⁶⁶ See e.g. Homer, *Iliad*, trans. A. T. Murray, rev. William F. Wyatt, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1999), II, 19. 95-100, for Thebes as the birthplace of Herakles; Apollodorus, *Library*, trans. Frazer, I, 2. 4. 5, provides a fleshed-out version of the circumstances of his family’s arrival. Pausanias mentions several other stories connected with Herakles in Thebes, often in relation to surviving monuments: the exile of Amphytryon; ‘the tomb of the children of Herakles by Megara’, and the stone that Athene threw at Herakles to stop his murderous rampage; and Herakles’ difficult birth: see *Description*, IV (1935), trans. Jones, 9. 11. 1; 11. 2; 11. 3 respectively.

Athenians who set out from Thebes in order to attack the Tyranny of the Thirty in Athens in 403 BCE (*Description*, IV, 9. 11. 6). Perhaps the inclusion of the rather more aristocratic wrestling-match of Herakles and Antaios, instead of the ‘rather unheroic’ feats of the Stymphalian birds and the Augean stables helps to construct a particular representation of Herakles useful to the political identity and designs of Thebes.⁶⁷ The collection of Labours depicted as part of the temple’s iconographic programme is shaped by the location (in a literal sense) of the site of representation itself (the temple), and by the apparent positioning (in a more figurative sense) of that site in political or strategic terms.⁶⁸ Location determines the ‘mythologer’ (or, to use Strabo’s term, the ‘μυθογράφος’, or *muthographos*) and thus the myth.⁶⁹ Since something of the particular emphases of the *Description* (interest in local cult and religious sites, visual art) are evident in the Herakleses it contains, we might also conclude that differently positioned ‘mythologers’ will produce different Herakleses.

Strabo’s Herakles is also an itinerant hero, ‘who visited many places and roamed over the world’, and was a person of ‘wide experience and information’ as a result (*Geography*, I, 1. 1. 16), but the text and indeed the world in which he peregrinates in the *Geography* does not have the same dimensions as Pausanias’. The *Description* and the *Geography* treat space in significantly different ways, with implications for myth in both cases.⁷⁰ If those parts of the *Description* dealing with sea voyages sometimes display a shaky awareness of marine and coastal topographies, then Strabo’s treatment of inland areas is, in the words of one critic, ‘surprisingly vague’.⁷¹ Spatial differences relate to generic

⁶⁷ Quotation from Emma Stafford, *Herakles* (London: Routledge, 2012), 28. On ‘political’ uses of Herakles in Thebes, see Angela Kühr, ‘Invading Boeotia: “Polis” and “Ethnos” in the Mirror of Theban Foundation Myths’, *Hermes*, 134 (2006), 367-72.

⁶⁸ See, similarly, Pausanias’ account of the rather different collection of labours depicted on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia: *Description*, II (1926), trans. Jones and Omerod, 5. 10. 9.

⁶⁹ Strabo, *Geography*, II (1923), 4. 1. 7. ‘Mythologer’ is used here in the sense of a *teller* of myths: see etymological note to ‘mythologer, n.’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, Oxford UP <<http://www.oed.com>> [accessed 16 September 2014]. Subsequent references to this database as ‘*OEDO*’.

⁷⁰ For a detailed and rich discussion of space and time in Strabo, see Clarke, 193-337.

⁷¹ Pretzler, *Pausanias*, 67; see 34, n. 14, on sea routes described by Pausanias.

differences: Strabo's *Geography* draws in a much more sustained way than the *Description* upon Greek *periploi*, and it consequently pays considerably more attention to describing and mapping coastlines than do Pausanias' land- and 'Greece'-centred descriptions.⁷² As a result the *Geography*'s representations of Herakles are not quite the same as Pausanias'. Shrines and sanctuaries are as in the *Description* key locations connected with Herakles, but in the *Geography* they feature prominently in the description of coastlines, headlands, and other points of meeting between sea and land such as harbours, and Herakles is among the deities that these 'high' spaces commemorate.⁷³ This perspective provides a view of Herakles not available in Pausanias, and also reveals something of the generic differences between the two texts.⁷⁴ Strabo's littoral Herakleses are thus at least in part a function of the *periplous*-inflected perspective which the *Geography* sometimes adopts to describe coastal spaces. Taken together, the *Geography* and the *Description of Greece* offer specific information about Herakles, much of which overlaps with the points of emphasis visible in both classical and early modern versions of Hercules' battle with Albion and Bergion at the Rhône: we have itinerant Herculesees, 'high' or marginal spaces, and links with particular spaces and locations in existent landscapes.

3.3. Strabo and Pausanias in sixteenth-century England

What might early modern English readers have made of these texts, what sorts of access might they have had to them, and what might they have done with the variety of information they contain? What, moreover, might classical geographical texts provide to early modern

⁷² For the *periplous* form as it relates to the *Geography*, see Clarke, 97-202.

⁷³ See e.g. *Geography*, II (1923), 3. 5. 3 (temple of Herakles on island at strait looking 'in' towards mainland); II (1923), 4. 6. 3, 5. 2. 8, III (1924), 6. 1. 5, V (1928), 10. 2. 21 (Harbours sacred to Herakles); 10. 4. 6 (Lucrinus Gulf in Italy shut off from main sea by a mound built by Herakles); II (1923), 5. 4. 8 (promontory at Herculeaneum); IV (1927), 8. 5. 1. (sacred headland of Taenarum, rumoured to be where Herakles brought Cerberus up from Hades).

⁷⁴ See also Clarke's brief discussion of 'standpoint', by which she means the ways in which *periplous* texts shape the perspective of Strabo's text, 206. The *Geography* also demonstrates the geographical reach of the 'cult' Herakles far outside of Greece.

readers and writers wanting to include mythological information in texts with a ‘topographical’ dimension? Certainly English writers seem to have taken note of the resources and possibilities that these texts present for writing about English space both past and present.⁷⁵ In *The laborious Journey & serche of Iohan Leylande, for Englandes Antiquities*, John Bale exhorts the reader to be particularly attentive to John Leland’s ‘laborious and fruteful doings’, as set out in Leland’s ‘newe yeares gyfte’ addressed to Henry VIII, because ‘ye shal fynde him no lesse profytable to vs, in the descrypcion of this particular nacyon, than were Strabo, Pliny, Ptholome, and other Geographers to their perusers, in the pycturinge out of the vniversall worlde.’⁷⁶ What seems to prompt Bale’s mention of these authors is Leland’s account of his own peregrinatory activities in England. Leland claims that

I haue so traueled in your [Henry VIII’s] domynions both by the see coastes and the myddle partes... that there is almost neyther cape nor baye, hauen, creke or pere, ryuer or confluence of ryuers, breches, washes, lakes, meres, fenny waters, mountaynes, valleys, mores, hethes, forestes, woodes, cyties, burges, castels, pryncypall manor places, monasteryes, and colleges, but I haue seane them, and noted in so doynge a whole worlde of thynges verye memorable (sig. D4^{r-v}).

Leland’s interest in ‘thynges verye memorable’ has much in common with the interest in ‘things worthy of mention’ expressed by (for instance) Pausanias.⁷⁷ Leland claims that he

⁷⁵ There has been some limited acknowledgment of this influence in scholarship, but (to the best of my knowledge) no previous discussion of classical geographical writing in the context of early modern uses of classical mythology, though Robert Carver has by implication considered the issue when he argues for the availability of the *Description* in relation to Sir Philip Sidney in “‘Valiant Aristomenes’: A Messenian Hero in Sidney’s *Old Arcadia*”, *N&Q*, 41 (1994), 26-28. On classical and early modern geographical writing in general see George Levine, *Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1987), 76-77; and Gerald Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany: Its Topography and Topographers* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959).

⁷⁶ John Leland and John Bale, *The laborious Journey & serche of Iohan Leylande, for Englandes Antiquities... with declaracyons enlarged: by Johan Bale* (London: [S. Mierdman for] J. Bale, 1549), sig. D5^r. Subsequent references to this edition, incorporated in the main text.

⁷⁷ For ‘things worthy of mention’ see e.g. Pausanias, *Description*, I (1918), trans. Jones, 2. 2. 6; 2. 15. 1. The phrase and variants upon it recur throughout the *Description*. Pausanias notes in Book 3 that ‘from the beginning the plan of my work has been to discard the many trivial stories current among the several communities, and to pick out the things most worth of mention—an excellent rule which I will never violate’, *Description*, II (1926), trans. Jones and Omerod, 3. 11. 1. For further discussion see Christian Habicht, *Pausanias’ Guide to Ancient Greece* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 20-24.

was motivated to travel in England by reading ‘hystoryographers’, or the writers who have ‘perscribed the actes of your [i.e. Henry VIII’s] most noble predecessours, and the fortunes of thys your realme’ (sig. D4^r, sig. D3^r), but the results he projects from this travelling are more generically diverse.⁷⁸ Leland envisages the production of a ‘quadrate table of syluer’, designed to display to Henry VIII ‘your worlde and impery of Englande’; a ‘descripcion... of your realme in wryttinge’, named in the margin of *The laboryouse Journey* as the ‘Liber de Topographia Britanniae primae’, in order to facilitate the production of painted or engraved visual representations; and the writing of a history in fifty books, to be called *De Antiquitate Britannica* (or *De Civilis Historia*), in which ‘the beginninges, encreases, and memorable actes of the cheife townes, and castelles’ of the various regions of England would be set out (sig. E1^r).⁷⁹

Bale’s expositions of Leland’s project here shows that the latter’s ambitions for representing ‘all those partes of thys your opulent and ample realme’ (sig. D4^r) aim to be geographically comprehensive, and reflect the range of geographical genres available to early modern readers and writers from cartography to chorography, and what we might call urban or city historical-topography. Leland’s plan to produce a ‘table’ of Henry’s realm and empire, with its focus on visual representation, points to a cartographical and mathematical geography which sounds distinctly Ptolemaic in inspiration; while the ‘descripcion... of your realme in wryttinge’ resembles the more discursive format of the chorography or topography.⁸⁰ And suspended between Leland’s introduction of his second and third projects

⁷⁸ According to the *OED*, ‘perscribe’, from classical Latin *perscribere*, is ‘[t]o write out or describe at length or in full’, ‘perscribe, v.’, *OEDO* [accessed 23 January 2015]. Leland’s use is the only entry.

⁷⁹ For Bale’s understanding of Leland’s body of work, see Bale, *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum... summarium* ([Wesel: D van der Straten for] I. Ouerton, 1548), sigs. Ooo4^r-Ppp1^r. Leland’s envisaged and surviving outputs are enumerated in James P. Carley, ‘The Manuscript Remains of John Leland, “The King’s Antiquary”’, *Text*, 2 (1985), 111-20.

⁸⁰ For the differences between these terms, see the discussion above in section 3.1, ‘Classical geographies and English topographical writing’; and Oruch, 5-9 in particular. Bale’s exposition of Leland’s proposals seems to reflect a Strabo-like sense of the users of geographies: ‘out of them [Leland’s proposals] myghtmen [sic] of

is his observation that classical writers such as Strabo and Ptolemy are important sources for the sorts of writing that he envisages. This is because these writers provide the forgotten ‘auncyent names of hauens, ryuers, promontories, hilles, woodes, cities, townes, castelles, and varyete of kyndes of people, that Cesar, Liui, Strabo Diodorus, ffabius Pictor, Pomponius Mela, Plinius, Cornelius Tacitus Ptolomeus, Sextus Rufus, Ammianus, Marcellinus, Solinus, Antoninus, and dyuerse other make mencyon of’ (sig. D7^v). As Bale’s gloss on this passage points out, ‘[m]uche more are we bounde... to these foren authors, than to oure owne Hystorians, sens the worldes beginninge’ (sig. D8^r). Bale might balance Leland’s focus upon describing ‘this particular nacyon’ against the more ‘vniversall’ efforts of Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy, but, as Leland himself points out, the fact that these authors are a source of ‘auncyent’ toponyms shows that they can also provide detailed geographical and even topographical accounts of ‘particular nacyon[s]’, including the British Isles.⁸¹

The list of natural and man-made topographical features that Leland produces recalls his own account (and the potentially ‘infinite recess’ of its topographical detail)⁸² of the ‘thynges verye memorable’ that he saw and recorded in his own journeys around England, and may thus suggest that classical accounts do not just provide information but also models for various kinds of writing about landscape and history.⁸³ Bale had no difficulty in

sondry occupienges, fatch most wonderful knowledge, for their necessary affayres euery where’, *The laboryouse Journey*, sig. D5^r.

⁸¹ See A. L. F. Rivet and Colin Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (London: Batsford, 1979), for a list of place-names in and of the British Isles found in classical sources. Gathering this sort of information was also an activity of the antiquaries of the sixteenth century: in the 1587 version of his ‘Description’ in *HC* Harrison lists various names given by ‘old writers’ to the main ‘corners, crags, points, and promontories’ of the British mainland: ‘Description’, *HC* (1587), I, sig. B1^r.

⁸² Quotation from James Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), 14.

⁸³ There was a ‘native’ tradition of what Mendyk calls ‘chorographic-like writing’ before the activities of Tudor writers such as Leland. Gildas’ sixth-century *De excidio et conquest Britanniae* (*The ruin and conquest of Britain*), and Nennius’ ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* (*The history of the Britons*) both contain topographical information about Britain as well as folkloric and local-historical detail: Mendyk, 39. But some potential late-medieval ‘British’ influences upon Leland’s projects, such as William Worcester’s late fifteenth-century *Itineraries*, may themselves come filtered through at least some awareness of classical writing with a topographical dimension: Worcester donated a manuscript of Pliny and Diodorus Siculus to Balliol College, Oxford: see Oxford, Balliol College, MS 124.

mentioning Strabo and other ‘geographers’ in response to Leland’s topographical itemizing, and Leland’s own acquaintance with and interest in classical geographical writings can be straightforwardly demonstrated.⁸⁴ As well as the classical authors mentioned in the ‘newe yeares gyfte’, ‘Strabo geogr.’, ‘Ptolomeus geogr.’, and Pomponius Mela are among the authors listed as ‘testimonia’ [witnesses, evidences] in his river poem *Cygnea cantio*.⁸⁵ Moreover, a manuscript of extracts in Latin copied from Strabo, Dionysius Periegetes, Diodorus Siculus, Pomponius Mela, and others survives in Leland’s hand in the British Library.⁸⁶ What unifies this collection is that all the extracts Leland chooses are concerned with the British Isles. Leland copies, for instance, Strabo’s description of the size, shape, natural features and people of Britain in the *Geography* (II, 4. 5. 1-4) in the Latin translation of Guarino Veronese, as well as most of the other references to ‘Britannia’ that the work contains.⁸⁷ In this the collection also demonstrates another substantial motivation that English antiquarians such as Leland had for engaging with classical geographical works, namely the collection of information about the British Isles in classical history, including (as Leland puts it above) the ‘auncyent names’ of British places (*The laboryouse Journey*, sig. D7^v). Book 4 of Strabo’s *Geography* would have been particularly interesting to English scholars and readers, because in it, as the 1523 edition of Veronese and Tiphernas’ Latin translation puts it, ‘Britain and also a few other neighbouring islands in the sea, and the customs and religious usages of all are set forth’.⁸⁸ In the same manuscript Leland also

⁸⁴ According to Bale, Leland was ‘excellentlye lerned’ in both Greek and Latin: *The laboryouse Journey*, sig. B4^v.

⁸⁵ John Leland, *KYKNEION AΣMA Cygnea cantio* (London: R. Wolfe, 1545), sig. A3^r. For some in-text citations of these authors in the commentary accompanying the poem see e.g. sig. C4^v (Strabo); sigs. B1^v, B2^v, D4^v, F2^r (Ptolemy); sig. C2^v (Pomponius Mela).

⁸⁶ The manuscript is currently London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius C.VI, fols. 1-89. For an account of this manuscript and its probable status as Leland’s *Antiquitates Britanniae*, see T. C. Skeat, ‘Two “Lost Works” by John Leland’, *The English Historical Review*, 65 (1950), 505-08.

⁸⁷ MS Cotton Julius C.VI, fol. 52^v-53^v. With the exception of a few omitted words, Leland’s translation is the same as Veronese’s, so it seems very likely that he copied the passage directly from one of the many editions of this work. See e.g. the text in *Strabonis geographicorum commentarios*, trans. Veronese, sig. m4^{r-v}.

⁸⁸ ‘Britannia quoque & aliæ aliquot in mari propinquæ insulæ, Moresque & ritus omnium explicantur’, Strabo, *Strabonis geographicorum commentarios*, trans. Veronese and Tiphernas, sig. I2^r.

copies out the passage from Pomponius Mela's *De chorographia* describing the battle between Albion and Bergion at the mouth of the Rhône, so we might conclude that the story was known to at least this English scholar well before 1550.⁸⁹

Early modern readers would have had at least theoretical access to printed Latin translations of Strabo's *Geography* by Veronese and Gregorius Tiphernas from 1469 (Rome), and to a printed Greek text from 1516 (Venice).⁹⁰ As MS Cotton Julius C.VI shows us, Leland certainly availed himself of this first Latin translation of the *Geography*. Since he was resident in Paris between about 1526 and 1529, he would have been well-placed to access printed editions of classical texts.⁹¹ Later in the sixteenth century, after at least thirteen further editions of Veronese and Tiphernas' translation, an entirely new translation by Wilhelm Xylander was printed in 1571 (Basel).⁹² The *Geography* would also be translated into Italian by Alfonso Buonacciuoli and printed in 1562 (Books 1-10) and 1565 (Books 11-25). The Italian translation demonstrates the ready availability of the *Geography* (and perhaps also demand for a vernacular text) to an ideal readership of educated men as envisaged by Buonacciuoli, who rather self-depreciatingly reflects upon the fact that educated readers 'will be able to make use of, and will perhaps more willingly make use of, the Greek Strabo or at least of the Latin translation, than the vernacular'.⁹³ Leland's

⁸⁹ MS Cotton Julius C.VI, fol. 60^r. Leland notes that he has used the edition and commentary of the *De chorographia* by Joachim Vadian (or Vadianus), first printed in 1518 in Vienna: see both the references to Vadianus and the sections copied from his commentary in MS Cotton Julius C.VI, fols. 60^r-61^v. He could have used the 1518 edition or any other of the editions of Vadianus' text and commentary reprinted in the following decades. On Vadianus' significant theoretical preface to his 1522 edition, see Strauss, 'Topographical-Historical Method', 98-100.

⁹⁰ The following brief account of the textual history of Strabo's *Geography* (on which there is much more to say) is very indebted to Aubrey Diller and Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'Strabo', in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries: Annotated Lists and Guides*, ed. Virginia Brown, F. Edward Crantz, and Paul Oskar Kristeller, 9 vols (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1960-), II (1971), ed. Kristeller and Crantz, 225-33; and Aubrey Diller, *The Textual Tradition of Strabo's Geography* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1975), passim.

⁹¹ On Leland's time, acquaintances and activities in Paris, see James P. Carley, 'John Leland in Paris: The Evidence of his Poetry', *Studies in Philology*, 83 (1986), 1-50 (8-9, esp. 12ff).

⁹² For these editions, see Diller and Kristeller, 228-31.

⁹³ 'Ma questi tali si potranno seruire, & forse piu volentieri si seruiranno di Strabone greco, o al meno della traduzione latina, che della volgare', in *La prima parte della Geografia di Strabone*, trans. Buonacciuoli, sig. a2^v.

collection of extracts from classical geographical texts, however, shows that even the learned could and did make use of Greek texts in Latin translation.

Bale's identification of the classical context of Leland's topographical work in *The laboryouse Journey* may also point to the potential relevance of the sorts of writers this context entails for his own work, even if for entirely different purposes. Without wishing to play down the considerable differences in outlook and approach between these two writers, characterising Bale as a rabid evangelical Protestant polemicist against Leland the melancholy humanist impedes recognising that Bale also engaged with, for example, Strabo the Geographer as well as Walafrid Strabo.⁹⁴ Bale feels the need to draw upon the authority of 'Plinius, Strabo, & soch other [i.e. classical] authors' even in *The examinacyon of Anne Askewe* (1546) and his own *Vocacyon* (1553).⁹⁵ Among the earliest references to Pausanias' *Description of Greece* that I have been able to find in English-language texts are in fact found in works by evangelical Protestants, such as George Joye's apocalyptic *Exposicion of Daniel the Prophet* (1545), and in translations such as Walter Lynne's 1550 translation of Johannes Carion's *Cronica*.⁹⁶ Lynne was a Dutch publisher resident in England who

⁹⁴ Leland, moreover, produced a lengthy anti-papal tract, *Antiphilarchia*, against as Bale puts it 'the ambycouse empire of the Romysh byshop', *The laboryouse Journey*, sig. C6^r. What is probably the presentation manuscript is now Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.5.14. For Leland and Bale antiquarian research is not separate from Protestant aims: Leland says that the purpose of his periegesis was also to bring 'full many thynges to light, as concernynge the vsurped autoryte of the Byshopp of Rome and hys complices, to the manifest and violent derogacyon of kyngely dygnyte', *The laboryouse Journey*, sig. C5^r. For a characterisation of Leland's Protestantism as primarily juridical (and therefore more temporising), however, see Simpson, 20-22.

⁹⁵ Quotation from Anne Askew, and John Bale, *The first examinacyon of Anne Askewe* ([Wesel: D. van der Straten], 1546), sig. A7^r. See John Bale, *The vocacyon of Iohan Bale to the bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande* ([Wesel? J. Lambrecht? For H. Singleton], 1553), sig. B4^r. In both cases Bale is cataloguing classical opinion on pagan religious practices. Bale lists one Strabo 'cretensis', Pomponius Mela, and others as general sources in John Bale, *The first two partes of the Actes, or vnchast examples of the Englysh votaryes* (London: [S. Mierdman for] J. Bale, 1551), sigs. K6^v-K7^r. Bale spent time in mainland Europe in the 1520s and was in exile there in 1539-48 and 1553-59. During these periods he arranged for many of his own works to be printed in major publishing centres such as Antwerp: here he would, had he wished, have had easy access to a wide range of printed texts including classical texts. See John N. King, 'Bale, John (1495-1563)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1175>> [accessed 25 January 2015].

⁹⁶ George Joye, *The exposicion of Daniel the Prophete* ([Antwerp: A. Goinus], 1545), sig. Z7^v; Carion, Johannes, *The thre bokes of Cronicles, Whyche John Carion... Gathered*, trans. Walter Lynne (London: [S. Mierdman] for W. Lynne, 1550), sig. H5^r.

specialised in the production of English translations of the works of continental reformers, and Joye was an evangelical Protestant who spent twenty years abroad in exile.⁹⁷ Bale certainly knew Joye's polemical writings, and might even have known him in person.⁹⁸ The perhaps unexpected appearance of Pausanias in the works of writers such as Joye demonstrates that (even?) this text could be recruited to support the causes of apocalyptic Protestant evangelicalism.

The way that the *Description* is used in Joye's *Exposicion* and Lynne's translation of Carion's chronicle seems to reflect the access that these writers could have had to Pausanias' text in print up to 1550. While the Aldine press in Venice printed the first Greek text of Pausanias in July 1516, only part of the *Description* was available in Latin translation in print before 1550.⁹⁹ Latin versions of Books 1 and 2 were first printed in 1500 in Venice using an incomplete translation by Domizio Calderini; and these early English mentions draw only upon Book 1 of the *Description* (which describes Attica).¹⁰⁰ Joye's *Exposicion* uses Pausanias as a source for the histories of the Graeco-Macedonian kings narrated at length in Book 1 of the *Description* in its account of the turbulent history of the Hellenistic Mediterranean after the death of Alexander the Great; while Lynne refers specifically to Pausanias' 'Atticall wrytinges'.¹⁰¹ Another edition of Calderini's incomplete translation was

⁹⁷ Overviews of their lives are in H. L. Parish, 'Joye, George (1490x95-1553)', and Andrew Pettegree, 'Lynne, Walter (d. in or before 1571)', both in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15153>> and <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17272>> respectively [both accessed 9 November 2014].

⁹⁸ Bale mentions Joye's tract in favour of clerical marriage approvingly in *The Actes of Englysh Votaryes*, sig. B1^r; and gives him an entry in the *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorium*, sigs. Ooo3^v-sig. Ooo4^r.

⁹⁹ The following account of the textual history of the *Description* is indebted to George B. Parks, 'Pausanias', in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*, ed. Brown, Crantz, and Kristeller, II (1971), ed. Kristeller and Crantz, 215-20. An updated account of the textual voyages of the *Description* is Didier Marcotte, 'La redécouverte de Pausanias à la Renaissance', in *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 3rd ser., 10 (1992), 872-77.

¹⁰⁰ See Pausanias, *Pausanias Historicus. Domitius Calderinus E Græco traduxit Atticæ descriptio*, trans. Domizio Calderini ([Venice: O. de Luna Papiensis, 1500]). Calderini started translating the *Description* in 1477 but the manuscript was left incomplete at his death in 1478. After this the translation apparently returned to Calderini's father's house in Torre del Benaco in Veneto, where Girolamo Avanzi saw it in 1491. See *Hieronymi auancii Veronensis... in Val. Catullum & in Priapeias Emendationes* (Venice: I. de Cereto de Tridino, 1495), sig. A5^v.

¹⁰¹ Joye, sig. Z7^v; Carion, *The thre bokes of Cronicles*, trans. Lynne, sig. H5^r. Joye writes that 'Pausanias telleth that he [Ptolemy Sotor] left aftir him sonnes/ Philadelph/ Ceraunion and other'; 'Ceraunion' I have not traced

printed at Basel in 1541, and the reprinting would seem to point to an increased interest in Pausanias from the middle decades of the sixteenth century, for two new, complete translations of the *Description* by Abraham Loescher (Basel) and Romulo Amaseo (Florence) appeared in 1550 and 1551 respectively. Like Strabo's *Geography*, Latin translations of Pausanias are likely to have played a much more significant role in the dissemination of the *Description* in early modern Europe, and consistently outnumber Greek-language editions of the work throughout the sixteenth century.¹⁰² There were at least six further editions of Amaseo's translation printed by 1600, including as an accompanying volume to a Greek text edited by Wilhelm Xylander and Friedrich Sylberg in 1583 in Frankfurt, and an Italian translation of the *Description*, also by Alfonso Buonacciuoli, was printed in 1593 in Mantua.¹⁰³

3.4. Hercules in the 'British History'

Both Strabo's *Geography* and Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, alongside many other classical geographical texts, were available to early modern Latin-literate readers in sixteenth-century England. Though the works of neither were printed in England in this period, the survival of multiple copies of the various Continental editions of both authors mentioned above in (for instance) College libraries in Oxford, often in contemporary English bindings, suggests that the 'Latin trade' also brought editions of the *Description* and the *Geography* to England in at least Latin and Greek.¹⁰⁴ These institutions contained more of

in Pausanias, but a Ptolemy surnamed Philadelphos is mentioned in Pausanias, *Description*, I (1918), trans. Jones, 1. 8. 6. On the Hellenistic biography-histories of Pausanias' Book 1, see Hutton, 276-94.

¹⁰² After the 1516 *editio princeps*, there was only one printing of the *Description* in Greek (Frankfurt, 1583) before 1600 – and here too the Greek text was accompanied by a Latin translation. See Parks, 215.

¹⁰³ Parks lists editions published in 1557 (Basel), two in 1558 (Lyon; as sextodecimo and duodecimo editions, these are 'pocket'-sized texts), and 1577 (Lyon): Parks, 218-19. The USTC records another Lyonnais edition from 1580: see *Universal Short Title Catalogue* <<http://www.ustc.ac.uk/index.php/search>> [accessed 10 November 2016]. Since Buonacciuoli died in 1581, his translation must have been complete some time before it was published. See Elpidio Mioni, 'Bonacciuoli, Alfonso', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Alberto Maria Ghisalberti (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960-), in *Treccani.it* <<http://www.treccani.it/biografico/>> [accessed 25 January 2015].

¹⁰⁴ This is hardly a fail-safe method of identifying patterns of book use and ownership in sixteenth-century England, but if a book survives in contemporary English binding a reasonable case might be made for its use

these sorts of texts than survive today. Merton College had copies of a ‘Strabo lat.’, and a ‘Tabulæ ptolemæi’ in 1566, but neither is found in the current library collection.¹⁰⁵ The inventories surviving from early modern Cambridge collected by Elizabeth Leedham-Green record copies of Strabo in 1546, 1552, 1557, twice in 1558, 1583, 1586, 1588, 1589, and 1617; as well as numerous copies of Ptolemy (*Geography* and *Tables*) and Dionysius Periegetes.¹⁰⁶ Oxford Colleges also bought books in large numbers from continental centres of the book trade such as the Frankfurt fair, so they would have had easy access to the cream of academic printing from across Europe.¹⁰⁷ In all probability, then, Latin-literate readers in sixteenth-century England would have been able to read about Hercules as he appears in Strabo’s *Geography* and in the whole of Pausanias’ *Description of Greece* after 1550.

The engagement of at least one of the English writers with whom this chapter began even with Pausanias can in fact be demonstrated. Harrison’s ‘Description’ in *Holinshed’s Chronicles* is an abridged extract of a much longer work that he named ‘The great English Chronologie’, a draft copy of which survives in Trinity College Dublin Library.¹⁰⁸ In this

in England at the time of its binding, as, for instance, a copy of the first printed edition of the *Geography* in Greek (Venice, 1516) in Christ Church Library in a binding with a sixteenth-century Oxford centrepiece: Oxford, Christ Church College Library, AC.1.12. Eton College Library also contains a copy of the 1583 parallel-text *Description* in a contemporary binding: see Windsor, Eton College Library, Fa.2.04. For introductory remarks on the ‘Latin trade’ see Julian Roberts, ‘The Latin Trade’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain 1557-1695*, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 141-73.

¹⁰⁵ N. R. Ker, ‘Appendix II: Merton College Inventory 1566’, in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Astor, 8 vols (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1984), III: *The Collegiate University*, ed. James McConica, 486-97 (490, 492).

¹⁰⁶ See *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, ed. Elizabeth Leedham-Green, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986), I: *The Inventories*, nos. 29, 62, 76, 94, 97, 148, 153, 156, 164, and 192 (Strabo); nos. 3, 5, 18, 29, 32, 52, 101, 107, 128, 148 and 164 (Ptolemy); nos. 76, 111, 113, 157, 164, and 172. There are only two references to Pausanias, in the same inventory from 1589 (no. 64), and none at all to Pomponius Mela: given the very probable wide circulation of this latter text, the picture of book-ownership painted by these inventories should perhaps not be taken as definitive.

¹⁰⁷ See N. R. Ker, ‘The Provision of Books’, in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Astor, III: *The Collegiate University*, ed. McConica, 441-77 (442-43).

¹⁰⁸ Dublin, Trinity College Dublin, MS 165. On the fraught relationship between the ‘Chronologie’, Harrison’s ‘Description’, and the other collaborators of *HC*, see G. J. R. Parry, ‘William Harrison and *Holinshed’s Chronicles*’, *The Historical Journal*, 27 (1984), 789-810. Harrison’s ‘Chronologie’ demonstrates that he was an apocalyptically-minded Protestant. For detail see G. J. R. Parry, *A Protestant Vision: William Harrison and the Reformation of Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987).

massive work Hercules is an even more prominent presence than he is in the ‘Description’, and space permits Harrison to cite a wider range of authorities, including Pausanias. For instance, attempting to place Hercules the ‘pyrate’ in relation to other classical characters in the timeline of biblical and classical history that the ‘Chronologie’ synchronises, Harrison observes that ‘[i]t semeth to me very straung that Castor and Pollux shold be in this voyage with Hercules sithens Pausanias... beside diuers other writers confesse, that thei were ascribed to the Cataloge of the goddes in... [the year] 2583 of the worlde’.¹⁰⁹

Early modern writers were also interested in establishing more literal connections between Hercules and the British Isles. Stow does not only summarise the story of Hercules and his battle with Albion and Bergion in his *Chronicles of England*, but also notes that ‘manye learned men haue iudged... that *Hercules* came hither’.¹¹⁰ In *Holinshed’s Chronicles* both Harrison and Holinshed also follow their narrations of this episode with speculations about Hercules’ possible historical presence in Britain. Harrison introduces the suggestion only to dismiss it, claiming that discussion is ‘impertinent’ here because Hercules ‘presence or absence maketh nothing wyth the alteration of the name of this our Region and Countrie’, and is therefore ‘not incident to my purpose’, which at this point in the ‘Description’ is to explicate the various ancient names connected with Britain.¹¹¹ But Harrison is being coy, for Hercules is in fact intimately connected with a prominent figure in both the etymological and genealogical narratives that Harrison constructs for the early inhabitants of Britain.¹¹² Albion’s combat with Hercules is found in antique sources such as Pomponius Mela and Strabo with no particular association with Britain, but post-classical readers did posit an etymological connection between Albion the giant and Albion as an

¹⁰⁹ Trinity College Dublin, MS 165, fol. 59^r. See Pausanias, *Description*, II (1926), trans. Jones and Omerod, 3. 13. 1-2, for this detail. Harrison is using Diodorus Siculus’ for his understanding of Hercules as a multiple figure, discussed further below. Hercules the ‘pyrate’ is discussed briefly in the Introduction.

¹¹⁰ Stow, sig. A8^v.

¹¹¹ Harrison, ‘Description’, *HC* (1577), I, sig. A2^r.

¹¹² On the close connections between etymology and genealogy in the early modern period, see Vine, 5, n. 27.

early name of the British Isles.¹¹³ Niccolò Perroti's much-read encyclopaedic commentary on Martial, the *Cornucopiae* (first printed 1489), asserts that 'formerly, Britain used to be referred to as Albion from Albion the son of Neptune', and the claim is picked up by Bale in his account of Albion.¹¹⁴ From this perspective Hercules' battle with Albion at the Rhône does have a potential connection to early British 'history'. Linking Albion the giant to Britain also works to bring Hercules closer to British 'history', for from this perspective Hercules' killing of Albion has significance for events in the British Isles themselves. Harrison certainly implies this when he links the death of Albion with British regime change, calculating that 'the regiment of Albion continued but seauen yeares, and then was the souereingtie of this Ile restored againe by Hercules vnto the Celts'.¹¹⁵

Uncovering a 'British' connection for the Albion slain by Hercules might explain why Leland also copied out Pomponius Mela's account of the battle into his collection of extracts of classical texts about Britain, despite the fact that this passage is not concerned with Britain as straightforwardly as many of the other extracts he chooses are.¹¹⁶ Leland's interest in the passage is illuminated by a section of commentary on it that he also copies, from the edition of the *De chorographia* by the Swiss humanist Joachim Vadianus.¹¹⁷ Leland singles out from Vadianus' lengthy and learned remarks on the passage his comments on

¹¹³ On Albion as a name for the British Isles, see the etymological note to 'Albion, n.', *OEDO* [accessed 25 January 2015]; and W. J. Watson, *The History of Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, introd. Simon Taylor (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2004), 6, 10-11. For a list of classical sources using the word, see Rivet and Smith, 247-48.

¹¹⁴ 'Britannia quondam ab Albione Neptuni filio Albion dicebatur', Niccolò Perroti, [...] *Cornucopiae, siue linguae latinae commentarii* (Venice: A. Manutius, 1513), sig. o2^v. For the argument that Perotti is the source of the Albion-Britain connection see T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (London: Methuen, 1950), 71 n. 2. Giraldi also makes this claim in *Herculis vita*, which the writers of *HC* do seem to have known: see Giglio Gregorio Giraldi, *Lilii Gregorii Gyraldi Ferrariensis Herculis vita* (Basel: M. Isengrin, 1539), sig. c3^r. See Bale, *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum*, sig. B4^r. Elyot caustically remarks that 'Perottus in Cornucopie, dyd omitte almost none that before him were written, but in wordis compounde he is to compendiose', Elyot, *Dictionary*, sig. A3^r.

¹¹⁵ Harrison, 'Description', *HC* (1587), I, sig. D1^v. This passage in the 'Description', titled 'Of the manifold conuersions and alterations of the estate of the common-wealth of Britaine, sithens the time of Samothēs', appears only in the 1587 version.

¹¹⁶ MS Cotton Julius C.VI, fol. 60^r.

¹¹⁷ On Vadianus' edition of the *De chorographia*, see Section 3.3, 'Strabo and Pausanias in sixteenth-century England', above.

who Albion and Bergion were (namely, ‘giants [and] the sons of Neptune’); and their fate with other robbers and undesirables at the hands of Hercules.¹¹⁸ Leland was probably interested in this piece of information in particular because Albion, Bergion, and their purported father Neptune were all fitted into the complicated narrative of Britain’s legendary prehistory and the origins of the British nation that English scholars both constructed and disputed for at least the first half of the sixteenth century: the ‘British History’.¹¹⁹ Early modern interest in Hercules in these types of texts and contexts seems to be predicated upon his involvement in this ‘history’. In *Holinshed’s Chronicles*, Hercules’ appearances form cameos in a much larger narrative which attempts to trace the origins of the inhabitants of the British Isles, and the repeated and ‘manifold conuersions and alterations’ of their estate, before the start of recorded history.¹²⁰ Harrison and Holinshed present an account of the British history which stars Samothēs (alias Dis), son of Japhet the third son of Noah, as the earliest post-diluvian ruler of the British Isles, then named Samothea.¹²¹ After the rule of a series of civilizing kings descended from Samothēs, the ‘Celtic’ dynasty is disrupted by the arrival of Albion, son of Neptune son of Osiris, who subdues the Samotheans and rules tyrannously until slain by Hercules.¹²² Next, and according to Harrison ‘within lesse than sixe hundred and two yeares’, Brutus or Brute, a descendent of Aeneas exiled from Italy for

¹¹⁸ ‘Albionem & Bergionem Gigantes fuisse Neptuni filios’, Mela, *Pomponii Melae de orbis situ libri tres... cum Commentariis*, sig. H4^v.

¹¹⁹ There is a large bibliography on this topic. For the term see Kendrick, 7 and *passim*; a good overview is Arthur Ferguson, *Utter Antiquity: Perceptions of Prehistory in Renaissance England* (Durham, NC; London: Duke UP, 1993), 84-105.

¹²⁰ Harrison, ‘Description’, *HC* (1587), I, sig. D1^v.

¹²¹ Harrison, ‘Description’, *HC* (1577), I, sig. A1^{r-v}.

¹²² Harrison, ‘Description’, *HC* (1577), I, sig. A1^v; Harrison, ‘Description’, *HC* (1587), I, sig. B1^{r-v}.

accidentally murdering his father, arrives in Britain, and slays its remaining gigantic inhabitants.¹²³ From Brutus and his Trojan people spring the British dynasty ‘proper’.¹²⁴

Harrison and Holinshed produce their ‘Description’ and ‘Historie’ by combining older accounts of the mythic prehistory of the British Isles with the new intricacies it developed throughout the sixteenth century.¹²⁵ While the prehistories that Harrison and Holinshed construct are inflected by their different generic and ideological concerns, in this respect both appear to be drawing upon the same body of source material. Brutus’ exile and his population of Britain with a band of errant Trojans was a well-known legend from Geoffrey of Monmouth’s influential twelfth-century *Historia regum Britanniae*, and was taken up both critically and uncritically by subsequent medieval chroniclers and historians such as Giraldus Cambrensis and Ranulph Higden, and, as Bale, Harrison, and Holinshed demonstrate, by many early modern writers.¹²⁶ But the early modern period also provided a suitably biblical back-story for Geoffrey’s pagan Trojan founders. John Bale’s *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum* (1548; revised edition 1557-59) introduces the pre-Trojan and pseudo-biblical Samotheans as the original inhabitants of Britain.¹²⁷ Wicked figures are also biblically-situated: Albion becomes a descendent of Noah’s wicked son Ham (or Cham), and Bale calculates that his death at the hands of Hercules takes place 2262 years

¹²³ Harrison, ‘Description’, *HC* (1587), I, sig. B2^r. There are passing references to Brutus in Harrison’s ‘Description’, but Holinshed provides the most detailed account: see Holinshed, ‘Historie’, *HC* (1577), I, sig. a5^r-a8^v. The special importance of Brutus to British mythical prehistory may be reflected in the upper-case lettering used for his name: see Holinshed, ‘Historie’, *HC* (1577), I, sig. a5^r.

¹²⁴ Harrison provides a helpful catalogue of the early rulers of Britain from Samothēs to Brutus, and from Brutus to (with digressions) Elizabeth I, in the 1587 version of the ‘Description’, *HC* (1587), I, sigs. C2^r-C3^r.

¹²⁵ For recent general discussion of the sources of *Holinshed’s Chronicles* in 1577 and 1587, including Harrison’s ‘Description’ and Holinshed’s ‘Historie’, see Henry Summerson, ‘Sources: 1577’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed’s Chronicles*, ed. Felicity Heal, Ian W. Archer, and Paulina Kewes (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012), 61-76; and Henry Summerson, ‘Sources: 1587’, in *Handbook of Holinshed’s Chronicles*, ed. Heal, Archer and Kewes, 77-92.

¹²⁶ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), 53-74. For general discussion of Geoffrey see Kendrick, 3-15. Geoffrey’s account is not the first to connect Brutus and the British Isles: Nennius’ early ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* also does so.

¹²⁷ John Bale, *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum*, sigs. B2^r-B3^v. See also the revised version in John Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytanniæ, quam nunc Angliam & Scotiam uocant: Catalogus*, 2 vols (Basel: I. Oporinus, 1557-59), I (1557), sigs. a1^r-a3^v.

after the creation of the world, and 1708 years before the birth of Christ.¹²⁸ Bale's Samothean additions come in large part from Annius of Viterbo's elaborate and notorious forgery of the history of 'Berosus', first printed in 1498.¹²⁹ This history, supplemented by other spurious 'ancient' historians and extensive commentary by Annius, ingeniously traced the repopulation of the world after the Great Flood by Noah and his descendants described in Genesis 6-9 down to the foundation of Troy. As Anthony Grafton notes, Annius' work 'looked – and read – like a comprehensive and powerful history of the world', weaving 'biblical history, ancient myths, and medieval Trojan legends into a single story'.¹³⁰ Although quickly exposed as a fake – Holinshed cautions in the 1587 version of his 'Historie of England' that 'most diligent antiquaries doo reiect [pseudo-Berosus] as a fabulous and counterfeit author' – Annius' work was as Bale's work demonstrates lingeringly influential upon accounts of national origins in early modern Europe.¹³¹

Hercules has a significant place in Annius' forgery, in which he is not one figure but many. This in itself is not novel, for Hercules is also a prominently multiple figure in the work of the very 'real' classical writer Diodorus Siculus, and from whom Annius culls much of his information about Hercules.¹³² The Hercules pseudo-Berosus is principally interested in is Hercules Egyptius or Libicus, the son of Osiris son of Cham, and thus the 'oldest' of

¹²⁸ Bale, *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum*, sig. B4^{r-v}; Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytanniæ*, I, sig. a3^v. For Bale's calculations see Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytanniæ*, I, sig. a4^r. The second figure is revised from 1701 in, Bale, *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum*, sig. B4^v.

¹²⁹ There is a large bibliography on Annius and his forgeries: for a recent discussion see Walter Stephens, 'When Pope Noah Ruled the Etruscans: Annius of Viterbo and His Forged "Antiquities"', *MLN*, 119 (2004), S201-23. On Annius' historical method see Christopher R. Ligota, 'Annius of Viterbo and Historical Method', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 50 (1987), 44-56.

¹³⁰ Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in the Age of Science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1991), 80-81. One text in the collection, by Propertius, was in fact genuine. On Annius' efforts to make his work creditable, see Stephens, S214-18.

¹³¹ Holinshed, 'Historie', *HC* (1587), I, sig. A3^v. Annius' impact on national histories is most recently discussed by Nicholas Popper, 'An Ocean of Lies: The Problem of Historical Evidence in the Sixteenth Century', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 74 (2011), 375-400 (378-82).

¹³² See e.g. Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, trans. C. H. Oldfather and others, 12 vols (London; Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1933-67), I (1933), trans. Oldfather, 1. 24, 2. 74. 8-39. Bale also draws on Diodorus for his account of the prehistoric inhabitants of Britain: see e.g. Bale, *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum*, sig. B3^r.

the Herculese described in his history.¹³³ Other, later Herculese also receive attention, including the ‘Greek’ Hercules, the son of Alcmena and Amphytryon.¹³⁴ But by view of the plan of world repopulation outlined by pseudo-Berosus, all the Herculese (and particularly Hercules Egyptius) are with other mythological figures incorporated into the work’s all-encompassing, ‘historical’ biblical genealogy. Annii presents the Trojans of classical myth as descendants of Hercules Egyptius, to the interest of at least one British reader, because presented thus British descent from Hercules via Brutus and his progeny is only one genealogical step away. Arthur Kelton’s poem *A commendacyon of Welshmen* (1546) praises the Welsh and the Tudor monarchs by praising their illustrious ancestry, traced directly from Hercules Egyptius to Aeneas.¹³⁵ The longest sections of the poem extol the deeds and worthiness of this Hercules, his travelling in mainland Europe and defeat of giants, and an addendum disparages the mendacious Greek ‘Alcides’ in favour of the Egyptian or, as Kelton prefers to call him, Libyan Hercules.¹³⁶ Kelton’s second publication, *A Chronycle with a Genealogie declaryng that the Britons and Welshmen are lineallye dyscended from Brute* (1547), attacks Polydore Vergil’s critique of the ‘British history’, and praises Henry VIII for bringing English law to Wales, but covers much similar ground as *A commendacyon*, with genealogical tables providing visual reinforcement of Welsh descent from the Egyptian Hercules and Brutus.¹³⁷

¹³³ Annii of Viterbo, *Berosi sacerdotis Chaldaici antiquitatum Italiae ac totius orbis libri quinque* (Antwerp: J. Steelsius, 1552), sig. E1^vff, esp. sigs. L6^r-M6^r. Subsequent references to this printing.

¹³⁴ See e.g. Annii, sigs. P1^v-P2^r (Hercules Alceus) and sigs. M6^v-M7^r (Hercules Alemannus).

¹³⁵ Descent from Hercules Libicus to Brutus is set out in Arthur Kelton, [*A commendacyon Of Welshmen*] (London: [R. Grafton?], 1546), sigs. a7^v-c1^r; d1^rff. Scholarship on Kelton is sparse and disparaging: W. A. Ringler censures his ‘ostentatious, and dishonest, parade of learning’, in W. A. Ringler, ‘Arthur Kelton’s Contributions to Early British History’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 40 (1977), 353-56 (355); although Philip Schwyzer considers Kelton more sympathetically in relation to ‘the literary history of British nationalism’, in Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 37.

¹³⁶ Kelton, *A commendacyon*, sigs. h2^v-h3^r. Similar distinctions are made in Kelton’s *A Chronycle with a Genealogie declaryng that the Britons and Welshmen are lineallye dyscended from Brute* (London: R. Grafton, 1547), sig. b7^{r-v}.

¹³⁷ Kelton, *A Chronycle*, sigs. c5^v-d2^r.

Kelton draws heavily on pseudo-Berosus in both *A commendacyon* and *A Chronycle*, but the poems' subject matter is not confined to the construction of an illustrious and mythically-inflected genealogy for the Tudor dynasty and the Welsh more generally.¹³⁸ Kelton also spends a great deal of time in *A commendacyon* praising the religious changes wrought in England as a result of Henry VIII's repudiation of papal supremacy, by which according to Kelton the perils of 'false Idolatrye' have been avoided.¹³⁹ *A Chronycle* portrays Wales as an ancient haven for Christianity, where '[t]he Faith remayned, full hole and sounde | Accordyng to Christes religion | Without spot or gall, of infection', and laments Rome's pride, cruelty and perpetual tendency towards tyranny.¹⁴⁰ Thanks to Henry VIII, however, in Britain '[t]he power of Rome, so long misused | Our kyng hath now vtterly confused.'¹⁴¹ We might therefore identify an interest in both syncretic mythical-biblical genealogy and – whether sincerely or conveniently – the promotion of Reformed faith in the British Isles in Kelton's two poems. If this Kelton is the same Arthur Kelton who notified the authorities that one Stephen ap Powell had set up 'a table of... Imagerye of Thomas Beckett' in the parish church of New Radnor in Wales, then Kelton's Reformist outlook in his poems might be more than mere sycophancy.¹⁴² Given Kelton's published interest in Wales, and his railings against idolatry in his poems, as well as the close proximity of New Radnor to Kelton's residence in Shrewsbury, it seems reasonable to assume that the Kelton involved in this incident is the same person as the author of *A commendacyon of Welshmen*,

¹³⁸ References to pseudo-Berosus abound in both poems: see e.g. Kelton, *A commendacyon*, sig. b1^v, sig. b6^v; Kelton, *A Chronycle*, sig. b7^r. Annus is one of the few among the many authorities named by Kelton that he seems to have actually consulted: see Ringler, 356.

¹³⁹ Kelton, *A commendacyon*, sig. h1^r.

¹⁴⁰ Kelton, *A Chronycle*, sig. d6^r. Kelton sets the scene with an extensive description of classical Rome's wicked emperors and bloodthirsty persecutions of Christians.

¹⁴¹ Kelton, *A Chronycle*, sig. c2^r.

¹⁴² Kew, The National Archives, SP 46/1, fol. 33^r. The document uses words and phrases which suggest Reformist sympathies on the part of its writer or writers, noting that the table is at an altar 'somytyme called Saint Thomas Altar', and calls the Pope the 'Bysshop of Rome', fol. 33^r.

and *A Chronycle with a Genealogie*.¹⁴³ As much of Bale's writing demonstrates, interest in British prehistory can sit alongside Reformist sentiments: Samoths and his descendants provide a useful means of constructing a pristine religious tradition prior to the arrival of 'Roman' Christianity in the seventh century CE. For many antiquarians of Reformist inclination investigation into neglected and forgotten records languishing in monasteries also aids the furtherance of Christian truth, pitting 'the most graue and auncient authors' against 'the fonde dreames of doting Monkes and fabling Frears'.¹⁴⁴ Leland claims that his periegesis around Britain brought 'full manye thynges to light, as concernynge the vsurped autoryte of the Byshopp of Rome and hys complices' (*The laboryoue Journey*, sig. C5^r); as a result his researches, according to Bale, not only uncovered the 'monumentes of auncient writers', but also contributed to 'the amendement or els more clere aperaunce of the true Chrysten faith' (*The laboryoue Journey*, sig. C1^v).

The concerns of both Kelton's poems come together in the following stanza from *A Chronycle*:

¶ Of this Hercules, Called Egipcious
 Came the notable, and famous lignage
 Downe to Troy, and so to Brutus
 Unto this day, with all the surplusage
 To our most noble, ryall of courage
 Henry the eyght, elect by grace deuine
 Of the same discent, stocke blud and lyne.¹⁴⁵

The stanza wishes to move smoothly (despite or because of 'surplusage'?) from Hercules and Brutus to Henry, and emphasises Henry's connection to his mythical-historical 'ancestors' with the multitude of genealogical terms in its final line ('discent, stocke blud and lyne'). Yet the ambiguously positioned (and punctuated) phrase that this Henry is 'elect

¹⁴³ For Kelton's biography see Philip Schwyzer, 'Kelton, Arthur (d. 1549/50)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15307>> [accessed 14 September 2016].

¹⁴⁴ William Lambarde, *A Perambulation of Kent* (London: [H. Middleton] for R. Newberie, 1576), sig. B3^r.

¹⁴⁵ Kelton, *A Chronycle*, sig. c3^r.

by grace deuine’ inserts a clear Protestant resonance into the stanza.¹⁴⁶ Hercules’ prominence in this stanza and in Kelton’s poetry as a whole is partly an Annian hangover, since Kelton makes heavy use of Annius’ Berosian history. But Kelton’s emphasis on Hercules has further contemporary and metaphorical appropriateness in the context of other descriptions of Henry VIII as ‘our English Hercules’ for his efforts in ‘subduying... the Romaine monster hydra’.¹⁴⁷ Kelton’s main concern is with the several historicised Herculese he acquired from Annius, but he is also quite capable of introducing Hercules as an exemplary figure, so that a parallel can be constructed between the hero and Henry VIII as active, reforming figures.¹⁴⁸ In *A commendacyon* Kelton follows an extended set piece of praise of Henry VIII and his religious reforms with the reminder that Hercules is the active genealogical principle through which the biblical dynasty of Osiris is ‘conua[yed] | Downe vnto Troy | With all ther succession’.¹⁴⁹ Urging Henry’s heir, the future Edward VI, to ‘furnish | And fully fynyshe | What his father hath begonne’, Kelton again reminds the reader (and perhaps Edward himself) of Edward’s ancestor Hercules, and closes *A commendacyon* by listing his twelve labours and noble deeds.¹⁵⁰ The importance of slotting a ‘famous Champion’ like Hercules into the genealogical tree is not just to provide one’s dynasty with an elevated and antique pedigree. Kelton is also promoting ‘Herculean’ action in the present: a ‘British Hercules’ to keep slaying the many and multiply-headed beast that is England’s enemies.

¹⁴⁶ Since the line is the penultimate line of the stanza and is unpunctuated, ‘elect by grace deuine’ could conceivably refer to Henry’s ‘membership’ of the line of Brutus, as well as more obviously to his status as a member of the saved religious elect.

¹⁴⁷ Anthony Cope, *The historie of two the moste noble capitaines of the worlde, Anniball and Scipio* (London: T. Berthelet, 1544), sig. a4^v, a4^r. This comparison probably ultimately derives from descriptions of Luther as ‘Hercules Germanicus’ destroying the ‘Hydra’ of the Church of Rome, via the description of the seven-headed beast in Revelation 13, often identified with the Roman papacy by Reformers. For an image of ‘Hercules Germanicus’ see David M. Whitford, ‘The Papal Antichrist: Martin Luther and the Underappreciated Influence of Lorenzo Valla’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 61 (2008), 26-52, figure 1 (27).

¹⁴⁸ Hence his awareness that Hercules is a figure ‘Of whom the Poetes, so much dothe faine | Had neuer more vertue force or myght’, Kelton, *A Chronycle*, sig. b6^v.

¹⁴⁹ Kelton, *A commendacyon*, sig. g7^r.

¹⁵⁰ Kelton, *A commendacyon*, sig. h1^v.

3.5. Topographical mythologies? Hercules at Hartland Point and William Camden's *Britannia*

Drawing upon the Samothean backstory anglicised by Bale in their accounts of the early inhabitants of Britain before Albion and the arrival of Brutus, Harrison and Holinshed both present a Hercules, son of Osiris, who destroys 'tyrantes' and quells 'great tyrannie[s]' and who thus has at least something of an exemplary moral function as well as a 'historical' identity.¹⁵¹ As I noted above, however, in both the 'Description' and the 'Historie' discussion about Hercules extends to the question of whether or not any Herculesees ever visited Britain. Holinshed uses Giglio Gregorio Giraldi's *De vita Herculis* (1539) to claim that 'Hercules came ouer hither into Britayne', a fact which is 'confirmed by the name of an head of land in Britayn called Promontorium Herculis, as in Ptolomie ye may reade, which is thought to take name of his arriual at that place.'¹⁵² Though considering the issue 'impertinent' to his aims, Harrison includes the very similar information that 'by an auncient monument séene of late, and the Cape of Hartland in the West countrie, called Promontorium Hercules in olde tyme, diuers of our Brytishe wryters doe gather great likelyhoode that he shoulde also be here.'¹⁵³

While Holinshed starts from texts, and Harrison with a declaration of the irrelevance of the entire question, in both cases the crucial piece of 'evidence' presented for Hercules' presence in Britain is topographical: a headland in Cornwall that was once known as the Promontorium Herculis [the Promontory of Hercules], identified by Harrison and Camden as Hartland Point in Devonshire.¹⁵⁴ Their accounts of Hercules 'in' early Britain therefore

¹⁵¹ Holinshed, 'Historie', *HC* (1577), I, sig. A3^r; Harrison, 'Description', *HC* (1587), I, sig. A1^v. Harrison and Holinshed are not the first writers to reply upon Bale and 'Berosus' courtesy of Anniius. Lambarde's discussion of the Samotheans in *A Perambulation of Kent* predates the publication of *HC*: see Lambarde, sig. B3^{r-v}.

¹⁵² Holinshed, 'Historie', *HC* (1577), I, sig. A3^v. Holinshed patriotically suggests that Giraldi relies in turn upon Gildas for this information, though Gildas makes no such claim.

¹⁵³ Harrison, 'Description', *HC* (1577), I, sig. A2^r. The 1587 version of the passage substitutes 'antiquaries' for 'wryters', Harrison, 'Description', *HC* (1587), I, sig. B1^v.

¹⁵⁴ Harrison, 'Description', *HC* (1577), I, sig. A2^r; Camden, *Britannia* (1586), sig. G3^v.

combine written accounts and one particular and suggestively-named topographical feature. Harrison does not give further information about the other ‘auncient monument’ testifying to Hercules’ presence in Britain, and inserts a cautionary ‘as I heare’ in relation to this detail in the 1587 version of the ‘Description’, but it is possible that this ‘monument’ might also be a non-textual object.¹⁵⁵ The defensiveness of Harrison’s comments, and the references to oral discussion with other participants (‘as I heare’, ‘our Brytische writers’ or ‘antiquaries’), suggest that these accounts are themselves ‘monuments’ to an active discussion about whether Hercules came to Britain which is otherwise undocumented.¹⁵⁶ Considering why this subject might have been a point of debate among English writers interested in British prehistory also demonstrates the active impact of classical geographical writing on English thinking about Hercules. The question of whether or not Hercules was ever ‘in’ Britain seems to have been prompted by the presence of the ‘Herculis Promontorium’ among the coordinates for Britain in Ptolemy’s *Geography*, as Holinshed’s remarks make clear.¹⁵⁷ Despite Ptolemy’s own resistance to the conflation of *geographia* ‘proper’ and the more descriptive mode of chorography, English writers (or, perhaps, ‘antiquaries’) nonetheless used even the Ptolemaic tables for decidedly non-geographical, mythological information.¹⁵⁸

Camden’s *Britannia* acknowledges the potential connection between places and mythologies both ‘British’ and classical, but it does so with some unease. Discussion of mythological material in the *Britannia* is prompted by its surveying of topographical

¹⁵⁵ Harrison, ‘Description’, *HC* (1587), I, sig. B1^v. Though of course ‘monument’ can also refer to textual records: see Bart van Es, *Spenser’s Forms of History* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), 23–28.

¹⁵⁶ Save by Camden in the *Britannia*: see the discussion below.

¹⁵⁷ Holinshed, ‘Historie’, *HC* (1577), I, sig. A3^v. See e.g. Ptolemy, *Geographia vniversalis, vetus et nova*, trans. Pirckheimer, sig. A2^v, for the Promontorium coordinates in list form; see ‘Prima Europae tabula’, in *Claudii Ptholemaei Alexandrini Liber geographiae* (Venice: G. Penzio, 1511), for the position of the coordinates on a map (situated around the same area of the Cornish coastline as Hartland Point), n.p.

¹⁵⁸ ‘antiquaries’ from the 1587 version of Harrison’s ‘Description’: see Harrison, ‘Description’, *HC* (1587), I, sig. B1^v.

features, rather than vice versa.¹⁵⁹ Camden's references to Hercules, for instance, are usually incidental to subjects that Camden is more interested in. The *Britannia* only includes the 'fabulous report' [fabulantur] of the battle of Hercules and Albion at the mouth of the Rhône so that Camden can make an etymological point about the word *craux*.¹⁶⁰ In general Camden seems not to have a great deal of time for *fabulae* of either classical or non-classical provenance, and especially not for 'our (folk) tales, the sorts of things idle people wrote, and foolish people believe', but the opening sections of the *Britannia*, and its descriptions of Cornwall and Devon are nonetheless full of legendary and Herculean incidence.¹⁶¹ Mythological references enter the discussion as an effect of the way the *Britannia* is structured. Camden seems to attempt to acknowledge (but not accept) the traditional legendary narrative of the origins of Britain and its people, while also modelling his own work on that of classical geographical authors such as Strabo.¹⁶² It is for this latter reason that Camden begins the descriptions of the regions which make up the *Britannia* 'at the farthest parts in the West, that is to say, at Cornwall, and so passe over the other countries in order, imitating heerein Strabo, Ptolomee and the most ancient Geographers, who alwaies begin their description in the Western countires, as being first from the first Meridian' [Ab vltimo autem Occidente, id est, à Cornwallia auspicabor, & indè reliquas prouincias suo

¹⁵⁹ A partial (but no less uncomfortable) exception is Camden's discussion of the name and history of Britain: see Camden, *Britain* (1586), sigs. B1^r-C4^r; Camden, *Britain*, trans. Holland, sigs. A1^r-C2^v. The *Britannia* was first printed in 1586, and appeared in expanding editions in 1587, 1590, 1594, 1600, and 1607 in England. I try to be sensitive to the changing nature of the text in the course of this discussion, and in Chapter 4, 'Coda: Hercules, giants, William Camden's *Britannia*, and Spenser'. An English translation by Philemon Holland was printed in 1610, and another contemporary translation by Richard Knolles survives in the Bodleian Library (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 849). This translation was owned by Camden and was 'a treasurer he much esteemed', MS Ashmole 840, fol. 1^r.

¹⁶⁰ Camden, *Britain*, trans. Holland, sig. B5^r; Camden, *Britannia* (1586), sig. C1^v.

¹⁶¹ 'fabellis nostris (quas vani esset scribere, & stulti credere)', from notes describing the project of the *Britannia* in London, British Library, Cotton MS Julius F.vi., fol. 121^v. On Camden's historiographical outlook see Fritz Levy, 'The Making of Camden's *Britannia*', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 26 (1964), 70-97 (82).

¹⁶² Indeed Justus Lipsius and J. J. Scaliger called Camden the 'British Strabo': see Levy, 70.

ordine perlustrabo imitatus in hōc Strabonem, Ptolemæum, & vetustissimos Geographos, qui ab Occiduis regionibus descriptiones suas semper exordiuntur].¹⁶³

This principle of organisation shapes the sort of references to Hercules that appear in the *Britannia*, including Camden's account of the promontory 'Hertypoicnt' (now Hartland Point) in Devonshire. As in *Holinshed's Chronicles*, Hartland Point is identified with the *Herculis promontorium*, or Promontory of Hercules, listed in the table of coordinates in Ptolemy's *Geography*. Unlike in *Holinshed's Chronicles*, however, in the *Britannia* Ptolemaic coordinates seem to have more systematic narrative weight as organisational devices in his description, as do place-names or landmarks mentioned in other (sufficiently antique) classical texts such as Diodorus Siculus' *Library of History* and the Antonine Itineraries.¹⁶⁴ *Holinshed's Chronicles* uses the Promontory of Hercules as supporting 'evidence' for Hercules' visit to Britain. But Camden includes the Promontory in his account primarily because it features in Ptolemy's *Geography*, and discusses its myths as a consequence of including the landmark: its 'name... hath given credit to a verie formall tale, That Hercules (forsooth) came into Britaine, and vanquished here I wot not what Giants' [...nomen fidem fabulæ admodum speciosæ fecit, Herculem nimirum in Britanniam aduenisse, & nescio quos Gigantes debellasse].¹⁶⁵ Richard Knolles' contemporary translation of 'fabulæ admodum speciosæ' as 'a right faire ffable' is perhaps clearer to twenty-first century readers than Holland's 'formall'.¹⁶⁶ Camden moves from the promontory to its associated Hercules myths, while Harrison and Holinshed move from Hercules to the promontory.

¹⁶³ Camden, *Britain*, trans. Holland, sig. P5^r; Camden, *Britannia* (1586), sig. F1^{r-v}.

¹⁶⁴ Ptolemaic and similar reference points such as HERCULIS PROMONTORIUM are typographically distinguished from other places and landmarks Camden discusses: they are frequently (though not with absolute consistency) put in upper-case lettering from the earliest printed edition of the text onwards.

¹⁶⁵ Camden, *Britain*, trans. Holland, sig. R6^r; Camden, *Britannia* (1586), sig. G3^v.

¹⁶⁶ MS Ashmole 849, fol. 119^v.

Camden's treatment of the Promontory of Hercules points to the very different aims, intellectual origins, and scholarly context of the *Britannia*: as Thomas Roebuck has recently suggested, Camden and his researches should be distinguished from those of other English chorographers because (put simply) his frame of reference is different to theirs.¹⁶⁷ Although Camden was part of regional antiquarian networks, Roebuck argues, his work can be better understood in the context of the international Republic of Letters, as the second-person address found in the *Britannia*'s discussion of the mythology of the Promontory of Hercules, and the texts it chooses to cite ('At inquires, Franciscus Philelphus in epistolis, & Lilius Giraldus in Hercule suo illud [i.e. Hercules' visit to Britain] affirmavit'), would indeed seem to suggest.¹⁶⁸ But Camden does nonetheless devote considerable space to discussing the Promontory's Herculean connections. He includes a small mythography of Hercules, which cites various authorities both classical and more recent, and lists various allegorical approaches to Hercules (moral, in which Hercules symbolizes 'the power of humane wisdom' [humanæ sapientiæ vim]; and natural or physical, where Hercules stands for the sun, and his twelve labours for the Zodiac), and discusses Varro's observation (as recorded by Cicero) that there were many and not one Hercules.¹⁶⁹

All this, however, is prefatory to Camden's own (and devastatingly logical) explanation: that the *name* of the promontory (but not Hercules) arrived 'either through the vanitie of Greekes, or from the superstitious Religion of Britans... [the Greeks] because hee [Hercules] had been a great traveller, such as travelled were wont to offer sacrifice unto him; and to him likewise consecrate the places where they first arrived' [... vel à Græcorum

¹⁶⁷ Thomas Roebuck, 'Antiquarianism and Regionalism, 1586-1640' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2010), 26-30.

¹⁶⁸ Roebuck, 27, on Camden and the Republic of Letters. On this term, with bibliography, see Roebuck, 87-89. Latin text from Camden, *Britannia* (1586), sig. G3^r; Holland's English translation reads, 'But you wil say, that Franciscus Philelphus in his Epistles, and Lilius Giraldus in his Hercules, averre no lesse [i.e. that Hercules visited Britain]', *Britain*, sig. R6^r.

¹⁶⁹ Camden, *Britannia* (1586), sig. G3^r; Camden, *Britain*, trans. Holland, sig. R6^r.

vanitate, vel à Britannorum religione... quoniam ille [i.e. Hercules] multum peregrinatus est, qui peregrinabantur, illi sacra facere soliti sunt, eidémque loca ad quæ appulêrunt, consecrare].¹⁷⁰ So also, says Camden, can we account for other features of the landscape with Herculean names, such as the homonymous promontories found in Mauritania and Anatolia.¹⁷¹ Although the point of this discussion would appear to be to satirize stories such as the story of Hercules' voyages in 'that Cup which God Nereus had given him' [poculo illo... quod Nereus sibi dederat], and perhaps also those who credit them, its more immediate effect is to bring a great deal of different types of information about Hercules rather suddenly into the local, Devonshire setting of the Promontory.

Though Camden's use of Ptolemaic landmarks in the *Britannia* is often accompanied by consideration of the probable etymologies of both their classical and more modern names, his discussion of the Promontory of Hercules is unusual in its mythological length and its deconstructive humour.¹⁷² The rather striking effect that Camden's Herculean digression might have had here is perhaps less clear from the perspective of later Latin editions of the *Britannia*, and its 1610 printed English translation, than it might have been to readers of the earlier editions of the work. Versions of the *Britannia* printed from 1594 onwards contain more widespread references to Hercules, and become more insistently demythologizing in their treatment of the mythology attached to place-names and the legendary accounts of Britain's origins. In this they point to the increasing historiographical problem that mythological figures both classical and non-classical present. So in the 1607 edition of the *Britannia* Camden adds to his account of the first inhabitants of Britain the rather specious disclaimer that he ('a plaine meaning man, and an ingenuous student of the truth') has merely repeated the opinions of others, and not challenged the traditional account of Brutus as the

¹⁷⁰ Camden, *Britain*, trans. Holland, sig. R6^r; Camden, *Britannia* (1586), sig. G3^v.

¹⁷¹ Camden, *Britain*, trans. Holland, sig. R6^r; Camden, *Britannia* (1586), sig. G4^r.

¹⁷² See Levy, 96-97, for a helpful reading of this passage.

founder of the British nation.¹⁷³ There is however a sting in the tail of this apparent tolerance. Let the British continue to believe that they are descended from the Trojans, says Camden, because ‘I wot full well, that Nations in old time for their originall, had recourse vnto Hercules, and in later ages, to the Trojans. Let Antiquitie heerein be pardoned, if by entermingling falsities and truthes, humane matters and divine together, it make the first beginnings of nations and cities more noble, sacred, and of greater maiestie’ [Haud me latet vetustioribus seculis gentes originem suam ad Herculem, posterioribus ad Troianos retulisse. Detur hæc venia Antiquitati vt miscendo vera falsis, humana diuinis primordia gentium & vrbium splendidiora & augustiora faciat].¹⁷⁴

Many of the later Herculean insertions in the *Britannia* use a similar method of ‘destructive logic’ as Camden’s discussion of the Promontory of Hercules.¹⁷⁵ In the 1594 *Britannia* Camden adds to his brief account of the claim (in Solinus’ *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*) that Ulysses went to Scotland, and that ‘a certaine altar engraven with Greek letters’ ‘proves’ the visit, an explanation very similar in its method to that used for the Promontory of Hercules.¹⁷⁶ Rather than signifying Ulysses’ presence in Scotland in the past, the altar is more readily explicable as a product of the devotion of Greek sailors, for since Ulysses was a great traveller, ‘[n]o marvell then, if Saylers made vowes very often unto him above all others; and unto those places where they arrived and landed, did consecrate according to their vowes, names from him’ [Non igitur mirum frequentissimum nauigantes illi votum nuncupasse, & locis quibus appellabant nomina votiuia ab illo accepta consecrasse].¹⁷⁷ The 1594 *Britannia* also adds to its ever-expanding account of the Romans

¹⁷³ William Camden, *Britannia* (London: for G. Bishop and I. Norton, 1607), sigs. A3^v-A4^r, to be cited subsequently as ‘*Britannia* (1607)’. For English translation, see *Britain*, trans. Holland, sig. A5^r.

¹⁷⁴ Camden, *Britain*, trans. Holland, sigs. A4^v-A5^r; Camden, *Britannia* (1607), sig. A3^v.

¹⁷⁵ Levy, 96, for ‘destructive logic’.

¹⁷⁶ William Camden, *Britannia* (London: G. Bishop, 1594), sigs. C8^v-D1^r, to be cited subsequently as ‘*Britannia* (1594)’. Camden, *Britain*, trans. Holland, sig. C4^v. For the original, shorter version see Camden, *Britannia* (1586), sig. C4^v.

¹⁷⁷ Camden, *Britain*, trans. Holland, sig. C4^v; Camden, *Britannia* (1594), sig. C8^v.

in Britain Diodorus Siculus' claim, already included in relation to the Promontory of Hercules in earlier editions, that 'neither Dionysius, nor Hercules, nor any other Worthy or *Demigod* have we heard to haue attempted war upon that people' [Diodorus Siculus scribat, *Britanniam nullius aduene imperium expertam, neque enim Dionysium, neque Herculem, neque heroa aut Deum quempiam accepimus eos bello tentasse*].¹⁷⁸

Much sixteenth-century English writing with a significant 'geographical' component, or interest in the legendary prehistory of the British Isles, also has much to say about Hercules. This is not an inexplicable or random phenomenon. Rather it comes at least in part out of the mythological resources available to early modern readers in classical geographical texts. Texts such as Strabo's *Geography* and Pausanias' *Description of Greece* – and even, as far as some English antiquarians were concerned, Ptolemy's mathematical *Geography* – present mythological narratives and figures such as Hercules as part of descriptions of particular places and landscapes, landmarks, and topographical features. From this perspective it is not strange to find classical mythology in topographical literature.

The reading of classical geographical works by English proponents of reformed religion from the mid-sixteenth century particularly demands our attention, because it challenges received ideas about earlier English Protestantism as a monolithic cultural force in England, often taken to be exemplified by author-evangelists such as Bale, and which force an intellectual opposition between Bale and Leland. James Simpson, for instance, presents Bale and Leland as 'speak[ing] for radically divided cultural enterprises. Together

¹⁷⁸ Camden, *Britain*, trans. Holland, sig. C5^v; Camden, *Britannia* (1594), sig. D1^v. In relation to the Promontory of Hercules, Camden points out in the 1586 *Britannia* that 'Diodorus Siculus... in plaine termes affirmeth, that neither Hercules, nor Father Bacchus went ever into Britaine' [Diodorus Siculus... disertis verbis asserat, nec Herculem, nec Liberum patrem vnquam Britanniam adiisse], *Britain*, trans. Holland, sig. R6^r; *Britannia* (1586), sig. G3^v. For this passage in Diodorus, see *Library of History*, III (1939), trans. Oldfather, 5. 21. 1-2.

they expose the dividedness of mid-sixteenth-century English historiography. Bale the millenarian Protestant constantly differs from Leland the civic humanist, even as he would speak with Leland as the joint voice of a coherent new age'.¹⁷⁹ Perhaps contrary to expectation, however, evangelical engagement with classical sources and their content seems to have been both wide and eclectic. As a result, Protestant engagement with classical mythological narratives in texts interested in British topography and the 'British history' more generally can be viewed as part of a process of 'repopulating' a landscape with myth after the removal of traditional Catholic topoi such as shrines and their associated narratives. This work complements recent work by Alexandra Walsham on British and Irish Protestant engagement with (and creation of) the landscape in texts in her ground-breaking study *The Reformation of the Landscape*. Walsham explores the effect that successive initiatives of religious reform had on perceptions and constructions (or 're-formation') of the British landscape from both Protestant and Catholic perspectives, and how the physical environment, rather than being 'an inert and passive backdrop to...momentous events,' in turn influenced theological, ritual, and cultural change in early modern Britain.¹⁸⁰ But Walsham does not take account of early modern reading of classical, and particularly Greek, geographical writing by readers who were also writers of 'landscapes', and also (to varying degrees) Protestant. Even the most sceptical scholars of British 'history' and topography, such as Camden, attempted to retain a mythical underpresence to their national identity.

If the appearance of mythological content in English 'topographical' writing is from this perspective not so strange, we might by extrapolation identify *place* as a significant component of allusion to classical mythology in early modern literature itself. Thinking about mythology in classical geographical writing, and early modern engagement with these

¹⁷⁹ Simpson, 12. This is not of course to ignore the differences between Bale and Leland that Simpson clearly outlines: Simpson, 19-31.

¹⁸⁰ Walsham, 4; 13 ('re-formation'). For a summary (and extensive bibliography) see Walsham, 1-17.

texts, therefore opens the door to thinking about the function of setting in texts both for alluding to and creating mythological narratives, alongside more obvious indicators such as the proper name (Hercules). It is the role and possibilities of *place* (or setting, *locus*, or *topos*) in early modern literary writing that will form the focus of the next chapter of this thesis.

4. Hercules and *The Faerie Queene*¹

More discursive possibilities emerge from atomic survivals: is it really likely that Spenser would have written the stanza in which the harp of Orpheus appears without that magic name to energize and illumine? What endures does so by grace of such details.²

Gordon Braden's essay 'riverrun', from which the quotation above is taken, aptly observes that proper names, and particularly those from classical mythology, have a special role and power in the transmission of mythological information in literary texts. Through the 'magic' proper name, therefore, stories and figures from Graeco-Roman mythology are often identifiably present in texts in startlingly obvious ways, and available for easy enumeration by commentators and cataloguers both early modern and modern.³ If we wish to talk about Orpheus, or Hercules, or another mythological figure 'in' *The Faerie Queene*, we can point to moments when these names are mentioned, and to the 'peculiar numinosity' that comes with them: Orpheus as the civilising ur-poet mending the strife of the Argonauts, Hercules as 'that great Champion of the antique world' (*FQ*, 4. 2. 1; 1. 11. 27), and so on.⁴

The Faerie Queene contains several overt references to Hercules by name or epithet, often in combination with reference to his heroic (and unheroic) activities.⁵ For instance, as Redcrosse fights the Dragon in Book 1, Redcrosse's torments are described as greater than those of 'that great Champion of the antique world': Hercules suffered 'twelue huge labours', but, fighting a fire-breathing monster, Redcrosse endures 'twelue thousand dolours' (1. 11. 27; 4). But Hercules' tortures in the 'poysoned garment' of Nessus, and his

¹ In this chapter, references to *The Faerie Queene* (henceforth '*FQ*') are to Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton, second rev. edn (London: Longman, 2007), by book, canto and stanza number (unless otherwise specified), and are incorporated in the main text.

² Gordon Braden, 'riverrun: An Epic Catalogue in *The Faerie Queene*', *ELR*, 5 (1971), 25-48 (28).

³ For the poet as epic cataloguist, see Braden, *passim*. Early twentieth-century discussions of classical mythology in Spenser's works often took dictionary-like forms: see, for instance, Alice Sawtelle, *The Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology* (Boston: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1896), and Henry Lotspeich, *Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1932). On the history of scholarship on classical mythology and the *FQ*, see section 4.5, 'Hercules and the critics', below.

⁴ For 'peculiar numinosity' see Braden, 27.

⁵ There are references to Hercules by name or epithet at: *FQ*, 1. 7. 17, 1. 11. 27, 2. 5. 31, 2. 7. 54, 2. 10. 11, 3. 7. 61, 3. 12. 7, 4. 1. 23, 4. 10. 27, 4. 11. 16, 5. 1. 2, 5. 5. 24, 5. 8. 31, 5. 10. 10, and 6. 12. 32. There are also references to beasts destroyed by Hercules at 1. 7. 17, 5 Pr. 6, and 6. 12. 32, 35 (and, if Spenser's Busirane recalls the mythological tyrant Busiris, also at 3. 11-12).

immolation on the pyre on Mount Oeta serve as a counterpart to Redcrosse's own broiling inside his red-hot armour, 'that erst him armd, | That erst him goodly armd, now most of all him harmd' (1. 11. 27). In Book 5, reference to Hercules provides a dubious precedent for Artegall's feminised subjection to Radigund (5. 5. 24); and in Book 2 Hercules' sacred tree provides moralized colour to Cymochles' 'creeping slomber' nearby (2. 5. 30-31); and Guyon sees relatives of the apples that he 'with conquest bold | Got from great *Atlas* daughters', the Hesperides, in Proserpina's deadly garden during his sojourn with Mammon (2. 7. 54). The poem also models some of the actions of its protagonists on Herculean ones: Arthur's killing of Maleger in Book 2, and Artegall's defeat of the knight Sanglier in Book 5, for example, seem to allude to Hercules' killing of Antaeus and capture of the Erymanthian boar respectively (2. 11. 46; 5. 1. 13-30).

This chapter does not provide an exhaustive account of the numerous references and allusions to Hercules in *The Faerie Queene*.⁶ Rather it concentrates on the ways references to this mythological figure take place through objects and settings. Following Chapter 3's discussion of Hercules' encounter with Albion and Bergion at the mouth of the Rhône, it traces Spenser's own uses of this particular episode from Hercules' mythos. Spenser refers to this battle twice in *The Faerie Queene* (2. 10. 11, 4. 11. 5), but Hercules' Rhône-side activities are also 'active' in other discernibly Herculean episodes in *The Faerie Queene*. Tracing the use of myth in these episodes, and paying attention to the fluid topography of the poem, reveals a range of unexpected mythic subjects. This permits us to think more generally about how the poem 'alludes' to myth and to Hercules, and for what purposes.

⁶ For detailed discussion of Hercules in the *FQ* in general, see Anthony W. Wolk, 'Hercules and *The Faerie Queene*' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 1965). The circumference of Herculean allusion in the *FQ* is considerably wider than the 'magic name'. Critics have read Herculean significance into the actions of characters in *FQ* Book 5 in particular: pre-eminent here is T. K. Dunseath, *Spenser's Allegory of Justice in Book V of 'The Faerie Queene'* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1968). A recent study finds a reference to Hercules in the name of another character, Book 4's mysterious titular 'Telamond': see Andrew Moore, 'An Herculean Precedent for Spenser's "Telamond"', *N&Q*, 53 (2006), 461-63.

Identifying mythological allusions which do not primarily function through mythological names also reveals a ‘local’ dimension to Herculean allusions in the poem. The appearances – and not-quite appearances – of a given mythological figure or episode in the poem can be profitably read in close relation to their particular textual contexts. Thinking about the working of mythological allusions through ‘places’ both textual and topographical not only significantly reforms our understanding of classical mythology in *The Faerie Queene*, but also, taking Braden’s cue, provides a framework for what to do when the ‘magic name’ does not appear.

4.1. Hercules, Albion, and the Briton Chronicle

The first explicit reference to Hercules and Albion in *The Faerie Queene* is found early in Book 2’s Briton Chronicle (canto 10), during its account of the wars of Brutus and his fellow colonists (or colonialists) against the ‘saluage nation’ (2. 10. 7) of giants they find already dwelling in Britain.⁷ I describe this reference as ‘explicit’ because it involves the direct citation of the proper names ‘Albion’ and ‘Hercules’, and the place and outcome of their battle.⁸ In the context of its place in the Briton Chronicle, however, the referential function of the names turns out to be more complicated. The incident is subsidiary not only to another giant-fight apparently original to Spenser, but also, syntactically speaking, even to its weaponry. According to the Briton Chronicle, parts of the British landscape still bear witness to the eradication of the giants, and to the paraphernalia of the battles in which they were defeated:

⁷ Further reference to Brutus’ conquest of Britain and slaying of the giants is in *FQ*, 3. 9. 47-51. For a topographically-sensitive account of this episode in relation to English chronicle writing, see Bart van Es, *Spenser’s Forms of History* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), 40-43.

⁸ In literary terms, ‘reference’ is often used (however problematically) to describe a text’s mention of another text in a more explicit or direct manner, in contrast with the term ‘allusion’, in which the mention may be ‘implied, indirect, or passing’: see ‘allusion, n.’, 1, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, Oxford UP <<http://www.oed.com>> [accessed 1 November 2016]. Subsequent references to this database as ‘*OEDO*’. I adopt the distinction temporarily here for the purposes of my discussion. On ‘reference’ versus ‘allusion’, and helpful deconstruction of the difference, see Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), esp. 21-25.

But those three monstrous stones doe most excell
 Which that huge sonne of hideous *Albion*,
 Whose father *Hercules* in Fraunce did quell,
 Great *Godmer* threw, in fierce contention,
 At bold *Canutus*, but of him was slaine anon. (2. 10. 11)

Hercules' slaying of Albion appears to be included here in order to provide an explanatory backdrop to the 'contention' between Godmer and Canutus. Hercules and Albion are mentioned only when our attention is directed elsewhere, to the traces of another, later battle still visible (we are told) in the 'three monstrous stones' that survive as topographical features. But the stanza's very foregrounding of these 'monstrous stones' demonstrates that direct citation of mythological names is not the only way in which mythological allusion takes place here. Stone-throwing is as much of a central feature of Hercules' battle with Albion as it appears to be in the fight between Canutus and Godmer, and the recurrence of this action in this more recent battle is therefore unlikely to be coincidental. It might rather serve to connect the battle between Godmer and Debon in the Chronicle more closely with its mythic ancestor. This battle is thus not only drawn into literal 'genealogical' relationship with Hercules' fight with Albion – the otherwise unknown Godmer is said to be Albion's 'huge sonne' – but also reproduces an important element of this first battle's action. In this case the stones themselves (which do not appear in Geoffrey or other extant sources) also provide an additional point of contact between this stanza of the Briton Chronicle and the Stony Plain.⁹ As we saw in Chapter 3, in classical accounts such as those by Strabo and Pomponius Mela, the stone-throwing of the Hercules-Albion battle is linked aetiologically to the physical nature of the landscape in which it took place, and the battle is posited (more or less seriously) as the 'explanation' for the Crau's stony state.¹⁰ Hercules' fight with Albion

⁹ For discussion of the sources informing the 'British History' in this stanza, see Carrie Anna Harper, *The Sources of the British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene* (Philadelphia: Winston, 1910), 48-50.

¹⁰ See Strabo, *Geography*, trans. H. L. Jones, 8 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1917-32), II (1923), 4. 4. 1. 7; and Pomponius Mela, *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World*, trans. F. E. Romer (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 2. 78. Subsequent references to these texts and translations (as *Geography*

in France is not only introduced by mentioning names (*Hercules*, *Albion*, ‘Fraunce’) in the Briton Chronicle, but also by the transposition of both stones and stone-throwing into the new battles and the new-but-familiar topographies of its stanzas. Allusion to a myth may thus also take place through its apparently peripheral elements: for instance, its significant objects (stones), patterns of action (stone-throwing), and setting (stony or littoral plains).

4.2. Arthur and Maleger at the Rhône?

The reproduction of some of the more peripheral elements of the Hercules-Albion battle in the Briton Chronicle’s account of the battle between Godmer and Canutus is not exact.¹¹ Rather like Book 5’s Geryoneo, who (we are told) is the son of the mythical Geryon defeated ‘Vnder *Alcides* club’ (5. 10. 11), we have here more of a mythic blood relative than a clone.¹² How then ought we read the relationship set up in the stanza between Hercules-Albion and Canutus-Godmer? We could interpret this inexactness as a type of ‘authorising’ gesture: no source has been identified for the battle between Godmer and Canutus, or even for their names, and were it an invention of Spenser’s then connecting this new story to the battle between Hercules and Albion might serve to make it more ‘legible’ by aligning it to this already-existent mythical ‘frame’. But reading the stanza’s use of Hercules and Albion’s stone-throwing in this way seems to me to present a rather linear and unidirectional impression of how allusion works here. The neutral terms ‘connect’, ‘draw upon’, and similar used so far in this discussion suggest that the earlier myth straightforwardly ‘informs’

and *Description*) by volume, book and relevant subdivision, unless otherwise specified. See Chapter 3 for extensive discussion of these texts and Hercules at the Stony Plain.

¹¹ The stone-throwing of *FQ*, 2. 10. 11 has the giant Godmer throwing stones at the Trojan Canutus, while the story as it appears in Mela and Strabo’s versions suggests that stone-throwing was carried out exclusively by Hercules; or, in the versions of the tale by William Harrison and Raphael Holinshed in *Holinshed’s Chronicles*, by Hercules and his army. Stone-throwing in the Briton Chronicle, however, is carried out by giants rather than by their killers. See Ralph Holinshed and others, *The Firste volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande*, 2 vols (London: for J. Hunne, 1577), I, sigs. A1^v-A2^r, A3^{r-v}. Subsequent citations to this text as *Holinshed’s Chronicles* (1577).

¹² See *FQ*, 5. 10. 8-11 for Geryon, Geryoneo, and Hercules. For discussion of how Spenser’s mythmaking in these stanzas intersects with the anti-Spanish political allegory of canto 10, see van Es, 128-129.

its later developments.¹³ A less inert process might, however, be at work. What we could call mythic allusion also provides a site for creative imitation, and might even function as a vehicle for or signal of generic modulation.¹⁴

Another instance of stone-throwing in *The Faerie Queene* illustrates well how clusters of Herculean associations function through the topography of the cantos in which they appear. After Maleger's first apparent defeat by Arthur, and his subsequent resurrection 'fresh to contend' again in canto 11 of Book 2 (2. 11. 35), the poem directs (or diverts) our attention to a feature of the landscape in which the pair are fighting:

... Thereby there lay
An huge great stone, which stood vpon one end,
And had not bene remoued many a day;
Some land-marke seem'd to bee, or signe of sundry way.

The same he snatcht, and with exceeding sway
Threw at his foe... (2. 11. 35-36)

So Maleger uproots the stone and throws it at Arthur, who rather easily avoids it. The most prominent (and well-commentated) Herculean allusion in canto 11 of Book 2 is the apparent parallel between Arthur's method of dispatching Maleger, and Hercules' wrestling with the giant Antaeus.¹⁵ Like the Antaeus described by (for instance) Fulgentius, Boccaccio, and Natale Conti, Maleger cannot be defeated while he maintains contact with the earth, and Arthur must like Hercules resort to 'scruz[ing]' him to death in mid-air, before, in a detail

¹³ The thinking of these sentences is loosely influenced by Hinds, 14-15.

¹⁴ Since both Godmer and Geryoneo are described as relatives of pre-existing mythical figures (Albion, Geryon), their appearances seem to have literary significance in a broader sense. See Geryoneo's setting up of an 'setting vp an Idole of his owne, | The image of his monstrous parent *Geryone*' (5. 10. 13) in the light of Seneca's recommendations in *Epistula* 84 that 'similem esse te volo quomodo filium, non quomodo imaginem; imago res mortua est' [I would have you resemble him [the writer you admire] as a child resembles his father, and not as a picture resembles its original; for a picture is a lifeless thing]. Text and translation from Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*, trans. Richard M. Gummere, 3 vols (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1917-25), II (1920), *Epistula* 84. 8.

¹⁵ The connection is made from the earliest printed commentary on the *FQ* onwards: see John Jortin, *Remarks on Spenser's Poems* (London: [W. Bowyer] for J. Whiston, 1734), 70.

apparently unique to Spenser, throwing his body into a ‘standing lake’ (2. 11. 46).¹⁶ But the wrestling of Hercules and Antaeus is not the only echo of Herculean activities at work in this rather overdetermined episode. Antaeus’ stone is the most obvious signpost that there is more going on here. The appearance of a very precisely described and placed stone is unusual in Book 2 of *The Faerie Queene*, in which much of the landscape traversed by Guyon and Arthur seems vague, absent, or, when described, often subsidiary to an identifiable allegorical purpose. For instance, Guyon is led by Archimago to the Red Cross Knight ‘an uncouth way | Through woods and mountains’, and Red Cross himself is even found in what A. C. Hamilton calls ‘a topographical emblem of temperance’, in ‘a pleasant dale, that lowly lay | Betwixt two hils, whose high heads ouerplast, | ... | Through midst thereof a little riuer rold’ (2. 1. 24); later, Guyon will approach the Cave of Mammon through a Temptation-of-Christ-like ‘desert wilderness’ (2. 7. 2).¹⁷

Maleger’s stone, and the attention that the poem pays to it and its hurling at Arthur, therefore stand out in this episode. The throwing of this stone, if not here by a giant, but at least during the course of a battle between two combatants associated with Hercules and one of his giant opponents, suggest that Hercules’ fight with Albion at the mouth of the Rhône is also an active mythic subtext at this moment in *The Faerie Queene*. Hercules’ Rhône-side experiences may also gloss this episode’s peculiar topography, which has perplexed its critics. Arthur’s combat with Maleger and his forces is set in epic simile at least on a floodplain: Maleger’s minions ‘[l]ike a great water flood, that tombling low | From the high mountaines, threats to ouerflow | With suddein fury all the fertile plaine’ (2. 11. 18).¹⁸ The

¹⁶ For a conspectus of opinion on what Maleger has been taken to ‘mean’ in the episode, much of which is informed by mythographical readings of the Hercules-Antaeus myth, see Philip B. Rollinson, ‘Maleger’, in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 1178-81 (henceforth ‘*SpEnc*’); and *FQ*, 2. 11. 34n.

¹⁷ Quotation from Hamilton, following Douglas Brooks-Davies, *Spenser’s Faerie Queene: A Critical Commentary on Book I and II* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1977), *FQ*, 2. 1. 24n. For the Temptation of Christ see *FQ*, 2. 7. 2n and Matthew 4:1.

¹⁸ The Variorum edition discusses the simile’s classical forerunners: see *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A*

puzzling ‘standing lake’ into which Arthur throws Maleger has no parallel in other written accounts of Hercules’ killing of Antaeus, and might be illuminated by Strabo’s description of the Stony Plain, where, in the words of a 1571 Latin translation of the *Geography*, ‘in the middle... there are waters and salt springs’ [in medio... aquæ, & salinæ sunt], and his observation that according to Poseidonius the Plain itself was once a lake (*Geography*, vol. 2: 4. 1. 7).¹⁹ In both instances the potential ‘trace’ of Hercules’ fight with Albion is signalled through topographical markers: stones, rivers, and lakes.²⁰ As with the ‘three great stones’ marking the place of Godmer’s fight with Canutus in the Briton Chronicle, here landscape and setting can be as important as (mythological) names and patterns of action in alluding to classical mythology in this episode.

Canto 11’s ‘land-marke’ has however long been recognized as a ‘literary’ marker at this moment in *The Faerie Queene*. Maleger’s stone-throwing also recalls Turnus’ attempt to throw a ‘saxum... ingens’ at Aeneas during their fatal encounter in the last book of the *Aeneid*²¹:

nec plura effatus saxum circumspicit ingens,
saxum antiquum ingens, campo quod forte iacebat,
limes agro positus litem ut discerneret arvis.

Variorum Edition, ed. Edwin Greenlaw and others, 11 vols (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1932-1957), II: *The Faerie Queene*, Bk. 2 (1933), 341-342. Henceforth cited as *Variorum*, to *FQ* Book and page number.

¹⁹ Strabo, *Strabonis nobilissimi et doctissimi philosophi ac geographi rerum geographicarum commentarii*, trans. Wilhelm Xylander (Basel: H. Petri, 1571), sig. I6^v. The Greek text reads ‘ἐν μέσῳ δ’ ὕδατα καὶ ἀλκίδες συνίστανται’ [(i)n the middle... stand water and salt springs] (*Geography*, II (1923), 4. 1. 7). It is also worth mentioning that in Mela’s account of the Marseillan seaboard includes a *stagnum* (‘Inter eam & Rhodanum maritima Auaticorum stagno assidet’ [Between it [Massilia] and the Rhodanus, Maritima Avaticorum sits besides a marsh], *Description*, 2. 78) and ‘[a] standing water’ is the first translation that Thomas Cooper’s *Thesaurus* offers: see Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus linguae Romanae et Britannicae* (London: H. Wykes, 1565), s.v. ‘Stagnum, stagni’. Why Spenser inserts a ‘standing lake’ into the episode has long been a point of critical discussion. For other, mainly moral-allegorical, readings, see most recently William Oram, ‘Spenserian Paralysis’, *SEL*, 41 (2001), 49-70 (56, n. 13).

²⁰ My use of ‘trace’ here is translated from Alessandro Barchiesi, *La traccia del modello: effetti omerici nella narrazione virgiliana* (Pisa: Giardini, 1984), title and passim. This work will be subsequently cited in English translation from Alessandro Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects in Vergil’s Narrative*, trans. Ilaria Marchiesi and Matt Fox, introd. Philip Hardie (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton UP, 2015).

²¹ Noted by Jortin, 70; see also *Variorum*, II: *FQ II* (1933), 346; and *FQ*, 2. 11. 35n. Some commentaries on the *Aeneid* even make the connection with this passage in the *FQ*: see e.g. Virgil, *The Aeneid of Virgil*, ed. R. D. Williams, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1972-73), II (1973), 12. 896n., 504.

[Saying no more, he glances round and sees a huge stone, an ancient stone and huge which by chance lay upon the plain, set for a landmark to keep dispute from the fields].²²

Virgil's lines themselves allude to several instances of Homeric stone-throwing in the *Iliad*, so that in a sense the *limes* here is a 'signpost' of the presence of another text as much as it represents a cross-path between them.²³ But as such a 'signpost' it also points to itself.²⁴ Unlike the Iliadic stone-throwers, Turnus is unable to throw his stone effectively at Aeneas ('tum lapis ipse viri vacuum per inane volutus | nec spatium evasit totum necque pertulit ictum' [The very stone, whirled by the hero through the empty air, did not traverse the whole distance, nor drive home its blow], *Aeneid*, II, 12. 906-07), and the moment therefore demonstrates something of the difference of this battle in the *Aeneid* as compared to its Homeric intertexts, and the fates of its actors.²⁵ The passage signals its own difference through alluding to stone-throwing moments in another text.

If this *limes ingens* marks a virtuosic moment of what Stephen Hinds calls (in a different context) 'reflexive annotation' on Virgil's part, *The Faerie Queene* declines to provide its own 'huge great stone' with a secure identification.²⁶ Instead we are informed rather teasingly that it '[s]ome land-marke seem'd to bee, or signe of sundry way' (2. 11. 35, my emphases). So described, the stone might recall the 'certain signes... sett in sondrie place' that the Proem to Book 2 claims are visible to the attentive reader who wishes to 'fynd'

²² Translation and Latin text from Virgil, *Aeneid*, in *Virgil*, trans. H. R. Fairclough, rev. G. P. Goold, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard UP, 1999-2000), II: *Aeneid, Books 7-12, Appendix Vergiliana* (2000), 12. 896-98. Subsequent references to this text and translation unless specified, as *Aeneid*, incorporated in the main text.

²³ I intend 'cross-path' as '[a] path that crosses between two roads or points' ('cross-path, n.', *OEDO* [accessed 12 August 2016]), so as a point of *connection* between these texts. On the passage's Homeric allusions, see e.g. *Aeneid*, ed. Williams, II (1973), 502-06; and Virgil, *Aeneid: Book XII*, ed. R. J. Tarrant (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012), 320-27.

²⁴ The following discussion is indebted to Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects*, esp. 1-6, though Barchiesi's discussion does not include this particular passage.

²⁵ On Virgilian transformations of Homeric intertexts more generally see Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects*, 2-5; 69ff.

²⁶ Hinds, 1. Hinds' discussion of learned 'Alexandrian' allusion actually uses the word 'signpost' to describe the methods poets use to reflexively annotate their own work, but this term itself, as the *FQ* shows, is no less a way of (to adopt another of Hinds' phrases) 'metaphorizing allusion': see Hinds, 3-5 (4).

Fairyland (2 Pr. 4).²⁷ While this might sound like a relatively straightforward piece of detective work for the reader, ‘certain signes’ in ‘sondrie place’ are in fact frustratingly unspecific quantities; and we subsequently learn in the same stanza that even if the reader does ‘discover’ Fairyland, he [*sic*] must nonetheless ‘yield his sence to bee too blunt and bace | That no’t without an hound fine footing trace’ (2 Pr. 4). Since ‘fine footing’ here is at least as much the metre of the poem (and perhaps, by extension, its construction more generally) as it is any physical pathway into a ‘real’ Fairyland (as Guyon uses ‘footing’ in 2. 1. 12), at least some of the ‘signes’ available to the discerning reader might be textual or literary ones.²⁸ Maleger’s stone is thus potentially also a site of literary detective work which readers are invited to unpack.

The stanza’s claims of uncertainty about the nature of its own ‘huge great stone’ also dramatise something of *The Faerie Queene*’s own cultural and temporal remoteness from its Virgilian intertext.²⁹ As a ‘land-marke’ Spenser’s stone is, as John Upton pointed out, related to the ancient dool-stone, ‘used in boundaries’ and connected to Virgil’s *limes* as such, but in early modern England landmarks extended beyond classical into Biblical territory.³⁰ Railing against the wickedness of the age, Job complains in the translation of the Geneva Bible that ‘*Some remoue the land markes, that robbe the flockes and feede thereof.*’³¹ These Biblical ‘land markes’ are also markers of boundaries, and their removal is a sign of

²⁷ Alternative religious and topical interpretations of the ‘signes’ in the Proem are offered by Hamilton, with bibliography: see *FQ*, 2 Pr. 4n.

²⁸ Cf. the literary use of ‘footing’ in *FQ* Book 4’s praise of Chaucer: the narrator claims that in his continuation of the Squire’s Tale ‘I follow here the footing of thy feete, | That with thy meaning so I may the rather meete.’ (4. 2. 34). A Lucretian subtext seems plausible: see Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, trans. W. D. Rouse, rev. M. F. Smith, 2nd rev. edn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1992), 3. 3–4.

²⁹ Cf. Barchiesi’s description of Homer in Virgil as ‘present also as a cultural model that has by now become relativized’, Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects*, 4 (his emphases).

³⁰ The word ‘landmark’ in the sense of both ‘boundary’ and an object marking that boundary was current in sixteenth-century England, and is in fact the older signification of the word: see ‘landmark, n.’, 1.a., *OEDO* [accessed 21 April 2015]. For Upton’s remarks, see Edmund Spenser, *Spenser’s Faerie Queene*, ed. John Upton, 2 vols (London: for J. and R. Tonson, 1758), II, 499.

³¹ Job 24:2. All citations are from the 1576 edition of the Geneva Bible, *The Bible and Holy Scriptures contained in the Olde and Newe Testament* (London: C. Barker, 1576), unless otherwise specified, incorporated into the text.

wickedness, as repeat Old Testament injunctions against ‘remou[ing] the ancient boundes which thy fathers haue made’ (Proverbs 23:20) make clear, because doing so challenges tradition and established order, and as a result deprives men of their inheritances.³² As Calvin remarks in a sermon on Job 24:1-9, if landmarks ‘be not certaine and continuall, there will bee no more good neighbourhod among vs, but oure life shall be more disordered than the life of brutishe or wild beasts’.³³

With this there emerges some conceptual difference between classical and Biblical landmarks. In Virgil the *limes* is a sign that the Golden Age is gone, since ‘ante Iovem nulli subigebant arva coloni: | ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campum | fas erat’ [Before the reign of Jove no tillers subjugated the land: even to mark possession of the plain or apportion it by boundaries was sacrilege].³⁴ Designed to settle land disputes, the *limes* points backwards to an earlier time, and, one might extrapolate, perhaps even to a Golden Age pre-Homeric way of resolving conflicts.³⁵ In the Old Testament, however, it is rather the removal of the landmark that signals the degeneration of the times and is a sign of a wicked man. In *The Faerie Queene*, the ‘land-marke’ Maleger throws has not been ‘remoued many a day’, and his ‘snatch[ing]’ it up suggests that the cursed Biblical connections of landmarks are also at play here.³⁶ Spenser’s landmark is thus also bound up in the particular dynamics of

³² See also Proverbs 23:10, Deuteronomy 19:19 and 27:17. The Geneva Bible chooses ‘boundes’; the Bishops’ Bible and the Coverdale Bible both use ‘landmark’ for Proverbs.

³³ John Calvin, ‘The .xci. Sermon, which is the first vpon the .xxiiii. Chapter’, in *Sermons of Master Iohn Caluin, vpon the Booke of Iob*, trans. Arthur Golding (London: H. Bynneman for L. Harison and G. Bishop, 1574), sig. Gg2^v.

³⁴ Virgil, *Georgics*, in *Virgil*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. G. P. Goold, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard UP, 1999-2000), I: *Eclogues; Georgics; Aeneid I-VI* (1999), 1. 125-27.

³⁵ So the stone of the *Aeneid* also has its own temporal complications. In the *Iliad* the stone that Athene throws at Ares is explicitly linked to a past time: it ‘lay on the plain, jagged and great, that men of former days had set to be the boundary mark of a field.’ Homer, *Iliad*, trans. A. T. Murray, ed. William F. Watt, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1999), II, 21. 403-405. Subsequent references to this translation.

³⁶ That Spenser’s stone stands ‘vpon one end’ might even visually suggest the prehistoric menhir. The reception of prehistoric monuments by Christians after the decline of ‘paganism’ is a disputed issue (see Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* [Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011], 19-36 and ns), but the use of ancient barrows as sites for execution and the burial of criminal might suggest that at least sometimes they had sinister connotations: see Walsham, 511; and Nicola Whyte, ‘The Deviant Dead in the Norfolk Landscape’, *Landscapes*, 4 (2003), 24-39.

its historical and cultural setting, which necessarily change (or, perhaps, ‘contaminate’) the potential field of meanings of Virgil’s *saxum antiquum ingens*.³⁷

There might even be a geopolitical context to Maleger’s landmark, since Spenser himself was embroiled in disputes about land ownership and occupation in relation to his estate at Kilcolman in Ireland.³⁸ From late 1588 or early 1589 Spenser occupied Kilcolman as an undertaker, leasing over 3,000 acres of land. This estate formed part of the lands that Gerald Fitzgerald, the fourteenth earl of Desmond, had forfeited to the crown after the second Desmond Rebellion (1579-83), and which were therefore ripe for English colonisation. Spenser’s portion of the Desmond lands had been previously owned by the Roche family, and Spenser faced a protracted legal battle with his neighbour Lord Maurice Roche over his right to the estate.³⁹ The Roches were powerful Old English landowners who resented the encroachment of New English settlers onto their land. Roche, whose family had been resident in Ireland since the Norman Conquest, accused Spenser repeatedly in legal depositions and petitions to Elizabeth and to Walsingham of encroaching upon his ancient rights to the land: ‘by collor of his office and by makeinge of corrupt Bargaines with certaine persons’, claims Roche in a 1589 petition to the Queen, Spenser has claimed ‘falslie title to parcell of the L. Roches laundes [and] disposed the said L. Roch of certaine castles and xvi plough laundes’.⁴⁰ Moreover, Spenser and the other settlers have, according to Roche, not settled the land but actually ‘made waste six other ploughe laundes of his Lordships lauffull

³⁷ This process is why (for example) mythographical or moralising readings of the Arthur-Maleger episode are both valid and useful, though I have not concentrated upon them, because they contribute to the complex field of meaning that is activated in this part of the poem.

³⁸ For Spenser’s legal disputes and colonial activities at Kilcolman, see most recently Andrew Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012), 197-230. A timeline and summary of sources relating to Spenser’s occupation of Kilcolman, and his legal troubles is in Willy Maley, *A Spenser Chronology* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 50-61.

³⁹ For Lord Roche and Spenser, see Hadfield, 202-07. The lands had reverted to the Desmonds from the Roches by escheat: see Hadfield, 202.

⁴⁰ Petition quoted in Ray Heffner, ‘Spenser’s Acquisition of Kilcolman’, *MLN*, 46 (1931), 493-93 (496). Also in Maley, 51-52.

inheritance', plundering it of its resources rather than developing its potential for its future possessors.⁴¹

As Andrew Hadfield points out, Roche's claim that he has been denied his 'lauffull inheritance' is calculated to appeal to English legal understanding⁴², and the dispute perhaps sits uncomfortably close to those Old Testament injunctions against removing or even unsettling the boundaries or landmarks that demarcate the ownership of lands and territories, and guard men's inheritances: Deuteronomy even stipulates that '[c]ursed be he that remooueth his neighbours marke' (27:17).⁴³ Spenser's own troubling of bounds and 'inheritance[s]' at Kilcolman complicates rather than explicates Maleger's stone-uprooting and stone-throwing in canto 11 of Book 2 of *The Faerie Queene*, for his run-ins with the Roches illustrate the conflict and indeed competition between different 'English' populations in Ireland far more than (in this instance) the 'mere Irish' population. If Maleger's accoutrements and association with Antaeus in *The Faerie Queene* seem to align him more with the autochthonous Irish than with Old English settlers such as the Roche family, then the canto is engaging in its own 'pretending[s]' to a delineation of a scenario that is not, at least, historically verifiable.⁴⁴

4.3. Myth and the varieties of τόποι (*topoi*)

Virgil's lines do not quite point to any singular act or moment of stone-throwing in the *Iliad*, but rather less precisely activate several identifiable instances of this action in the text.⁴⁵ In this stone-throwing might come to stand for something generally (and perhaps also

⁴¹ Petition quoted in Heffner, 496; Maley, 52. For 'waste' as a technical legal term, see Hadfield, 202-03.

⁴² Hadfield, 202.

⁴³ See the discussion above.

⁴⁴ '[P]retending[s]' from Roche's description of Spenser's purported offences against his land in his petition, in Heffner, 496.

⁴⁵ Among the Homeric passages 'active' in these lines are: *Iliad*, I, 5. 302 (Diomedes throws a stone at Aineias); I, 12. 445-62 (Hector lifts a stone too heavy for men and uses it to smash the gates of the Greek camp); and II, 21. 403-6 (Athene throws a stone at Ares). In Barchiesi's terms, this is Virgil using Homer as a 'genre model': Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects*, 74-78 (74).

generically) ‘Homeric’ that happens in epic conflicts between gods, and between god-like men, remote from newer men and their activities. In this context it is appropriate that the *limes* itself is also a ‘*saxum antiquum*’ [ancient stone].⁴⁶ From the perspectives of its appearances in Homeric epic, stone-throwing in these lines of the *Aeneid* starts to emerge as what we might term a *topos*.⁴⁷ It marks the entrance of both Homeric echoes into the action at this particular moment in the *Aeneid*, and the complications of historical and temporal distance between the Homeric ‘model’ and the later text. In this sense the *saxum antiquum* is a point at which various *traccie* – or, as Spenser might say, ‘footing[s]’ – are collected together: (a) τόπος as a literary ‘place’ or passage from a text.⁴⁸ However, as a particularly positioned stone⁴⁹ it is also in some sense a *literal* place: (b) τόπος as a geographical location; a position.⁵⁰

The overlap of literary and physical τόποι here is helpful for thinking about Hercules and, by extension, myth more broadly in *The Faerie Queene*. As we have seen, in Spenser the ‘footing[s]’ activated by the appearance of stone-throwing in the Briton Chronicle and in the fight between Arthur and Maleger do not lead back to one particular text or source: stone-throwing is not only an activation of some specific lines from Book 12 of the *Aeneid* and a marker of epic, but is also bound up in other mythographical and Biblical contexts as

⁴⁶ My emphasis. Thus Tarrant’s comment that *antiquum* is also ‘a marker of literary antiquity and of the stone’s Homeric provenance’, Virgil, *Aeneid: Book XII*, ed. Tarrant, 897n.

⁴⁷ *Topos* is a term with a long and complicated history. I use the word with caution, and not primarily in the various rhetorical senses in which it is used in Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* (on the rhetorical *topoi* in the *Rhetoric*, see Ed Dyck, ‘Topos and Enthymeme’, *Rhetorica*, 20 [2002], 105-117.) More pertinent here is an understanding of *topos* as, in Hinds’ phrase, ‘an intertextual gesture’ which ‘rather than demanding interpretation in relation to a specific model or models, like the allusion... invokes its intertextual tradition as a collectivity’: Hinds, 34; see also 34-47. I have used the Greek word τόπος in the paragraph in order to communicate more clearly its range of meanings.

⁴⁸ *Traccie* is used as in Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects*, passim. For ‘footing’ in Spenser see e.g. *FQ*, 2 Pr. 4, and above. The definitions of τόπος (*topos*) given in alphabetized brackets in the following sentences are paraphrased from the LSJ s.v. ‘τόπος’, A. 4 and A.

⁴⁹ I.e. the stone is ‘*limes agro positus litem ut discerneret arvis*’ [set for a landmark to keep dispute from the fields], Virgil, *Aeneid*, II, 12. 898.

⁵⁰ Hence, perhaps, the spatiality of the rhetorical exercise of keeping track of one’s argument by mentally assigning its different parts to different rooms in an imaginary house: see LSJ s.v. ‘τόπος’, A. 7.

well as the story of Hercules' fight with Albion at the mouth of the Rhône.⁵¹ Yet since much of the allusive work in these episodes is done *through* precise topographical indicators, allusion ends up depending on these contextual indicators (stones, lakes, rivers in epic simile) to signify at all. So, if a *topos* is a conceptual τόπος in which many potential links and allusions accumulate, in these examples it is also a physical τόπος which alludes (at least in part) through being precisely located in particular topographical scenarios, while not being specific or singular in its allusive (or other) effects.

Thinking about a *topos* as a place of accumulation both literal and literary leads inevitably to thinking about genre.⁵² And in fact the activation of myth through setting, or through the reproduction of elements of mythic action with strong topographical dimensions (e.g. stone-throwing), in these episodes seems to share something with the way that *The Faerie Queene* deals with genre. As Colin Burrow has observed, '[p]laces in *The Faerie Queene* are very often associated with actions and language appropriate to particular genres and their related modes'.⁵³ Certain types of location are associated with certain types of genre (the forest with romance, for instance), and the movement of the poem's characters from place to place and across various topographies often signals a change in or modulation of genre.⁵⁴ And among the *topoi* accumulated in these textual places are mythological ones.

⁵¹ Cf. Raphael Lyne's description of Spenser's mythological practice as featuring 'the clustering of possible intertextuality', in *Ovid's Changing Worlds: English 'Metamorphoses' 1567-1632* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001), 115. As 'possible' suggests, in Lyne's analysis these moments require the poet's careful curation, and are to be distinguished, with difficulty, from 'structured allusions', 113. Here Lyne's focus is on Spenser's use of Ovidian myth and perhaps also mythological practice, rather than on *topos* (in various senses) as a means of allusion to myth per se: see esp. 113-29, but see 116 for brief discussion of location in relation to Ovid's *loci amoeni* in the *Metamorphoses*.

⁵² Hence τόπος as a topic or commonplace in LSJ s.v. 'τόπος', A. II. See Colin Burrow, 'Spenser's Genres', in *The Oxford Handbook of Edmund Spenser*, ed. Richard McCabe (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010), 403-29 (413). Van Es discusses genre specifically in relation to the 'forms of history' available to and used by Spenser: 1-20.

⁵³ Burrow, 414. Genre is moreover an important part of the intertextual theorising of classicists such as Gian Biagio Conte and Barchiesi who have a great deal of time for *topos* as a type of 'intertextual gesture' (Hinds, 34). In his account of Virgil's use of Homer, Barchiesi formulates an opposition between the '*example model*' (i.e. allusion to a particular source passage) and the '*genre model*' [*modello-genere*]: Homer is for Virgil both '*script*' and '*repertoire of genre*'. See Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects*, 73-78 (74, 73) (all emphases Barchiesi's).

⁵⁴ Though it is not always clear whether the character informs the genre-place, or the genre-place their actions. Burrow, 414-15.

The arrival of stone-throwing in canto 11 of Book 2 of *The Faerie Queene* also activates a temporary shift in genre. Spenser's inclusion of stone-throwing in the fight between Arthur and Maleger also has the effect of importing Virgilian 'colouring' or 'frame' into this moment in *The Faerie Queene*, and his 'huge great stone' marks the (temporary) entrance of epic into the episode.⁵⁵

Of course we might also phrase the analysis above quite differently: we could say that the temporarily epic dimensions of the fight between Arthur and Maleger 'cause' the appearance of those aspects of its setting with appropriately epic resonances (i.e. stone-throwing). The potentially coercive (for want of a better word) relationship between genre, setting, and even 'explicit' references to myth is illustrated in the rather different mention of Hercules in the pageant of the rivers at the marriage of the Thames and the Medway in Book 4 of *The Faerie Queene*.⁵⁶ Here the 'hideous *Albion*' of the Briton Chronicle (2. 10. 11) has metamorphosed into something more of a victim (and perhaps something closer to 'Albion' as a name for Britain), killed 'by great mischaunce' by Hercules (4. 11. 16). The word 'mischaunce' has sufficiently complex connotations (not just 'ill fortune' but also 'disaster, calamity, evil', 'unlucky accident') to suggest at least that the focalisation of the Hercules-Albion encounter as represented here seems to have shifted away from the giant-killing triumphalism of the Briton Chronicle.⁵⁷ Since what has perhaps most obviously shifted in these two incidents is genre – we move from chronicle to river-marriage poem – change of genre as a change of 'place' can lead to a change in the presentation of mythological material.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ So, to use Barchiesi's terms, this is Virgil functioning as a '*genre model*' for Spenser: Barchiesi, *Homeric Effects*, 74.

⁵⁶ Van Es reads the marriage of the Thames and the Medway as 'a classically chorographic poem', and thus as a generic insert into Book 4: see 59. On this episode's use of the generically epic catalogue, see Braden, *passim*.

⁵⁷ For definitions of 'mischaunce' see 'mischaunce, n.', 1., 2., *OEDO* [accessed 16 August 2015].

⁵⁸ It is also worth noting that the catalogue of rivers in which mention of Albion and Hercules occurs here is flagged by Spenser as a Homeric (and, because of the augmentation of the number of tongues, Virgilian)

4.4. Hercules and the critics

Connecting mythological allusion in *The Faerie Queene* with its uses of different settings and ‘places’ corrects the tendency of criticism on the poem to assume the unity of both the ‘world’ of the poem, and of its treatment of mythological figures such as Hercules. Critical conceptualizations of the workings of classical myth in the poem, as well as of its purportedly unified nature, moreover, have further consequences for the way its representations of landscape and space more broadly are interpreted. The following section offers a brief conspectus of relevant scholarship on Hercules in *The Faerie Queene*, in order to expose the underlying assumptions about the nature of mythology which inform much twentieth-century discussion of mythology in Spenser.

The study of myth in Spenser’s works has in general moved over the last hundred years from the micro- to the macro-level, but in neither configuration has it engaged with the particular contexts in which Hercules and myth more broadly make themselves known in Spenser’s works. The earliest discussions of Hercules in Spenser’s works are descriptive in focus, listing references Spenser makes to Hercules, explaining their forms (why, for instance, Hercules is called the ‘Tirynthian groome’ in the *Epithalamion*), their probable classical sources, and any ‘mistakes’ in Spenser’s handling of his mythological materials.⁵⁹ In order to conceptualise mythological ‘mistakes’, these studies rely on an understanding of mythology as a body of stories with singular, ‘true’ forms, so that particular myths have ‘original[s]’, which Spenser’s versions either follow or deviate from.⁶⁰ As a result, although the dictionary-like format of such studies atomises and alphabetises both *The Faerie Queene* and its classical mythology, their effect is in fact to remove Spenserian references to

imitation at *FQ* 4. 11. 9: see Braden, 26.

⁵⁹ For the ‘Tirynthian groome’ see Sawtelle, 61-63; and Lotspeich, 71-72. Scholarship on Spenser’s uses of classical mythology between 1910 and 1948 is discussed in Bernard J. Vondersmith, ‘A History of the Criticism of “The Faerie Queene”’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Duquesne University, 1971), 66-77.

⁶⁰ For ‘original’ see Sawtelle, 8.

Hercules from their precise locations, and thus to imply their atemporal harmony in Spenser's texts.

Subsequent studies have made more ambitious claims for the importance and presence of Hercules, most commonly across the entirety of *The Faerie Queene*. One characteristic contribution is Anthony Wolk's 1965 doctoral dissertation on 'Hercules and *The Faerie Queene*', which argues that 'Spenser, in writing *The Faerie Queene*, wrote a Heracleid'.⁶¹ To substantiate this, Wolk, assuming like earlier commentators that all mentions of Hercules refer to a single figure, identifies a series of parallel references to Hercules across the various books of the poem, which go 'beyond their immediate context', and provide an 'element of continuity for the whole book'.⁶² Why Hercules should feature thus in the poem is due to 'the Renaissance picture of Hercules' as a useful exemplar of virtue.⁶³ Patrick Cook's *Milton, Spenser and the Epic Tradition* (1996) also characterises the poem as a 'Heracleid', and, starting from Book 1, traces a series of 'Labours' and other episodes from Hercules' mythos through the poem to Book 6.⁶⁴

What is interesting about the work of both Wolk and Cook is that both attempt to provide a unified vision of Hercules throughout *The Faerie Queene*. Both are responding to Aristotle's comments in the *Poetics* about the unity of plot structures, and which take Heracles as an example.⁶⁵ *The Faerie Queene*, however, resists: Wolk himself admits that references to Hercules in this work neither proceed consistently nor are particularly receptive

⁶¹ Wolk, 'Hercules and *The Faerie Queene*', 1. Wolk has since changed his view: his entry for Hercules in *The Spenser Encyclopedia* says that the *FQ* 'is no *Herculeid*': see Anthony W. Wolk, 'Hercules', in *SpEnc*, ed. Hamilton, 936-37 (936).

⁶² Wolk, 'Hercules and *The Faerie Queene*', 1. '[B]ook' here means the whole of the poem as is.

⁶³ Wolk, 'Hercules and *The Faerie Queene*', 19.

⁶⁴ Patrick J. Cook, *Milton, Spenser and the Epic Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), 98-114.

⁶⁵ Aristotle claims that '[a] plot is not unified, as some think, if built round an individual... So all those poets are clearly at fault who have composed a Heracleid... they think that, since Heracles was an individual, the plot too must be unitary', Aristotle, *Poetics*, in *Poetics*, trans. Stephen Halliwell, in *Aristotle, Poetics, Longinus, On the Sublime, Demetrius, On Style*, trans. Stephen Halliwell, W. Hamilton Fyfe, Doreen C. Innes, and W. Rhys Roberts, rev. Donald A. Russell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1995), 1451a16-22.

to structural elucidations ('with every pattern we can concoct, Spenser seems already to have gone his own way'); while already in Book 3 'the pattern of Herculean allusions' Cook identifies in the first two Books 'breaks down', and order can be reimposed on interpretation only after some critical sophistry of Herculean proportions.⁶⁶ With classical epic and continental mythography as his touchstones, Cook is unable to account for the appearance of Albion in Book 4, and concludes that, mythologically, 'there is nowhere to go. Hercules here adds conspicuous irrelevance to his repertoire of textual functions'.⁶⁷ Cook's study is laudable for its attention to Hercules as a crucial figure in epic tradition, but this very focus results in a search for 'integral unity' that in mythological terms *The Faerie Queene* does not sustain.⁶⁸ Even though Cook is finally forced to admit that 'the unity Hercules lends is countered by the burgeoning variety and multiplicity of interpretative demands that follow in his wake', both he and Wolk persist in extrapolating from 'particular textual references' to Hercules 'a scheme for organizing the whole of *The Faerie Queene*'.⁶⁹

Studies of individual Books of *The Faerie Queene* focusing on Hercules run into similar difficulties. T. K. Dunseath's *Spenser's Allegory of Justice in Book Five of 'The Faerie Queene'*, for instance, argues that Book 5's Artegall is a 'type of Hercules', 'compounded of the same faults, promising the same virtues', and Dunseath is determined to map many parallels explicit and somewhat less explicit between the two figures.⁷⁰ Dunseath anachronistically casts Book 5 as a *bildungsroman* which demonstrates the 'education' of its central 'character' Artegall from a flawed to an exemplary hero.⁷¹ As a result, Dunseath must treat Hercules as a psychologised individual as much as Artegall (both

⁶⁶ Or, in Cook's words, 'after some heroic grasping of the discourse for which the clearer patters of Books 1 and 2 have prepared us', Cook, 105. For 'Herculean allusions' see 104-05.

⁶⁷ Cook, 107.

⁶⁸ Cook, 100.

⁶⁹ First quotation from Cook, 114; second two quotations from Wolk, 'Hercules and *The Faerie Queene*', 3.

⁷⁰ Dunseath, 51.

⁷¹ Dunseath, 235. Charges of anachronism are already made in Jane Aptekar, *Icons of Justice: Iconography and Thematic Imagery in Book V of 'The Faerie Queene'* (New York; London: Columbia UP, 1969), 223, n. 6.

have ‘serious personality problems’), and find in the variety, ambiguity and contradictions of the various stories clustering around Hercules an uplifting teleological ascent towards glory which can provide a parallel for Artegall’s own transformation into a worthy knight of justice in Book 5.⁷² Dunseath’s efforts here show that he is attempting to use mythology as a structure for the interpretation of Book 5: ‘Spenser has so carefully integrated the character of Hercules with that of Artegall... that the myth emerges as a major image of Book Five, the myth determining the structure and controlling the imagery.’⁷³

The problem with Wolk, Cook, and Dunseath’s accounts of Hercules in *The Faerie Queene* is that they wish to impose unity and continuity on the ‘variety and multiplicity’ of references to Hercules that the poem presents.⁷⁴ In doing so these studies are in thrall to an older tradition in Spenser scholarship that sought not only to find a coherent and unified ‘structure’ across the entire *Faerie Queene* as we have it, but also in Spenser’s use of classical mythology. Critical discussions of structure in *The Faerie Queene* have often been linked to mythology in various incarnations, which is marshalled as evidence in support of underlying and purportedly unifying thematic patterns in the poem as a whole. This tendency is particularly pronounced in Anglo-American studies of Spenser from the mid-twentieth century.⁷⁵ A. C. Hamilton’s *The Structure of Allegory in ‘The Faerie Queene’* (1961), and Kathleen Williams’ *Spenser’s Faerie Queene: The World of Glass* (1966), for example, read mythology and myths as structuring devices particularly useful in those books of *The Faerie Queene* in which ‘structure’ is more difficult to discern.⁷⁶ Hamilton, for instance, argues that

⁷² Dunseath, 74, for ‘serious personality problems’. For a discussion of the difficulty of ‘psychological’ treatments of characters in the *FQ*, see Michael Murrin, ‘The Varieties of Criticism’, *Modern Philology*, 70 (1973), 342-56 (348-49).

⁷³ Dunseath, 49.

⁷⁴ Quotation from Cook, 107.

⁷⁵ And scholarship from this period is often the last to have given substantial space to discussing classical mythology in Spenser’s works.

⁷⁶ A. C. Hamilton, *The Structure of Allegory in ‘The Faerie Queene’* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961); Kathleen Williams, *Spenser’s Faerie Queene: The World of Glass* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966). See also Kathleen Williams, ‘Some Uses of Myth in *The Faerie Queene*’, *English Literary History*, 28 (1961), 101-20.

in Books 3 and 4 Spenser is able to harmonise thematic contradictions in his unruly source romances (love from Ariosto, war from Malory) by introducing two pairs of figures from Graeco-Roman mythology – Venus and Adonis, and Cupid and Psyche, who ‘provide the pattern for the diverse action within the two books’.⁷⁷ ‘Myth’ thus has an ‘organising function’ in *The Faerie Queene*, simultaneously contributing to and revealing the ‘unity’ already present in the poem, and providing, in Hamilton’s words, the ‘poetic structure’ or even ‘the contrapuntal framework’ for Spenser’s allegories.⁷⁸

These sorts of approaches to *The Faerie Queene* owe a heavy debt to the writings of Northrop Frye, and form part of efforts by critics interested in Spenser to rehabilitate the poet after his depredation at the hands of the New Critics in the 1930s and 1940s.⁷⁹ Critics such as Frye and Hamilton are responding to disparaging New Critical assessments of the poem as ‘an allegorical construct... an abstract framework of statement which was to be illustrated and ornamented by overlaying the framework with concrete detail’.⁸⁰ Thus Hamilton states at the opening of *The Structure of Allegory* that he will ‘focus upon the image itself’ of *The Faerie Queene*, rather than reading it with a philosophical, historical or moral ‘key’ in hand.⁸¹ (Hamilton’s term ‘contrapuntal framework’, quoted in the paragraph above, in fact seems to come directly from Frye.⁸²) In an article on *The Faerie Queene*

⁷⁷ Hamilton, *Structure*, 138.

⁷⁸ Williams, ‘Uses of Myth’, 101 (‘organizing function’); Hamilton, *Structure*, 128 (‘contrapuntal framework’). Dunseath is very influenced by Hamilton: his book appears to attempt to refute Hamilton’s claim that Book 5 is irredeemably ‘historical’ by proving (with Hamilton’s methods) that it is not.

⁷⁹ For an account of Frye’s *Anatomy of Criticism* in its mid-twentieth-century critical context, see Frank Lentricchia, *After the New Criticism* (London: Athlone Press, 1980), 3-26. Spenser’s New Critical reception is briefly outlined in David H. Radcliffe, *Edmund Spenser: A Reception History* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1996), 172-74.

⁸⁰ Cleanth Brooks, *Modern Poetry and the Tradition* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), 220.

⁸¹ Thus appropriating the very tools of the New Critics in Spenser’s defence. Hamilton, *Structure*, 12; see also 5-7.

⁸² Northrop Frye, *The Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1957), 90. Hamilton studied under Frye at the University of Toronto in the 1950s. On Frye’s use of the musical concept of ‘counterpoint’ see James Shell, “‘A Mandala of the Ear’: Northrop Frye and Music”, *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 76 (2007), 1055-71 (1062-64).

published in the same year as Hamilton's book, Frye himself recommends examining 'the imagery of the poem rather than its allegory' if we wish to demonstrate its 'unity'.⁸³ An 'image' for Frye is 'any unit of a verbal structure seen as part of a total pattern or rhythm'; accordingly, what we must identify in *The Faerie Queene* is not disparate images but a 'general structure of imagery'.⁸⁴ Since according to Frye images and imagery are the means through which a text such as *The Faerie Queene* makes and communicates its 'meaning', it therefore follows that the poem must also be capable of demonstrating 'unity'.⁸⁵ Thus for Frye *The Faerie Queene* displays a 'unified epic structure'; and if it is 'merely uncompleted, then it still may be a unity, like a torso in sculpture'.⁸⁶ Focusing on 'imagery' becomes the basis for viewing the poem as a unified structure.

Frye claims that this 'structure of imagery' in *The Faerie Queene* can be sought 'in the axioms and assumptions which Spenser and his public shared, and which form the basis of [the poem's] imaginative communication'.⁸⁷ These 'axioms and assumptions' are not the poem's allegorical, historical, or moral content, all of which Frye regards as secondary to the primacy of the image, but they do include 'mythical' and 'archetypal' readings of the poem's events, characters, and actions.⁸⁸ Thus Frye identifies some of the 'frameworks' of the poem, for instance, as 'the nine muses', and 'the twelve months', which Spenser 'thinks

⁸³ Northrop Frye, 'The Structure of Imagery in *The Faerie Queene*', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 30 (1961), 109-27 (111). Frye presents the *FQ* as a crucial text for the development of his critical method: the *Anatomy*, he tells us, grew out of his attempts 'to apply the principles of literary symbolism and Biblical typology which I had learned from Blake' to the *FQ*: Frye, *Anatomy*, vii.

⁸⁴ Northrop Frye, 'The Archetypes of Literature', *The Kenyon Review*, 13 (1951), 92-110 (102); Frye, 'Structure of Imagery', 112. Much of 'Archetypes' is included in Frye, *Anatomy*, 3-67. Here 'image' is subsumed into the category of symbol: see Frye, *Anatomy*, 71.

⁸⁵ See Frye's related claims that criticism too can only be meaningful when practised with the assumption of its 'total coherence': see Frye, 'Archetypes', 96; and *Anatomy*, 12-19.

⁸⁶ Frye, 'Structure of Imagery', 110, 109.

⁸⁷ Frye, 'Structure of Imagery', 112.

⁸⁸ Frye's privileging of the image over allegorical and historical content informs Hamilton's claim that 'what [Spenser] labours to express is an image rather than moral ideas. These may inform and sustain the image, but the image itself is primary', Hamilton, *Structure*, 12. Allegory is for Frye a kind of accretion 'onto' the images or imagery of a text perpetuated by abstractly-minded critics; thus all commentary on literature is itself also 'allegorical interpretation, an attaching of ideas to the structure of poetic imagery', Frye, *Anatomy*, 89.

inside' and uses to construct his poem.⁸⁹ The prominence of these types of subjects in Frye's analysis of *The Faerie Queene* points to the significance that 'myth' holds for Frye as a way of thinking about the structuring of literary texts.

Focusing for a moment on Frye's understanding of the term 'myth' is helpful for contextualising critical treatments of Spenser's use of mythology influenced by Frye.⁹⁰ For Frye, 'myths', understood broadly, are various types of narrative units, or 'a certain type of story', which form the fundamental structures of literary texts.⁹¹ Part of Frye's interest in 'myth' comes from his dissatisfaction with viewing literary works as static objects, rather than as 'movements' in time: both 'myth' and *mythos*, therefore, reflect what Frye sees as the continuous experience of reading a literary text.⁹² This series of narrative units, however, also point to the broader continuity that the text creates, for in most fictions, says Frye, 'the *mythos* or sequence of events which holds our attention is being shaped into a unity.'⁹³ Viewing myth and *mythos* as narrative units or sequences of events (and sometimes even as 'movements' themselves) therefore permits Frye to also affirm the unity of 'myth', and thus of literary texts dealing in 'myths'. As such 'myth' is 'an abstract story-pattern', irresistible to the writer because it 'presents him [*sic*] with a ready-made framework, hoary with antiquity, and allows him to devote all his energies to elaborating its design'.⁹⁴ Frye recognises the accumulative tendency of mythical stories, but reads this as indicative of the 'unity' of mythology itself, for 'they ['myths'] show an odd tendency to stick together and

⁸⁹ Frye, 'Structure of Imagery', 110.

⁹⁰ The term 'myth' does not have critical consistency across Frye's multi-decade critical output. It does not even have a consistent signification across the four parts of the *Anatomy*. For detailed discussion of 'myth' in its various senses in Frye's thought, see Ford Russell, *Northrop Frye on Myth: An Introduction* (New York; London: Garland, 1998), 21-23; and *passim*.

⁹¹ For 'certain type of story', see Northrop Frye, 'Myth, Fiction, and Displacement', *Daedalus*, 90 (1961), 587-605 (597).

⁹² Frye, 'Myth, Fiction, and Displacement', 587. In this essay 'myth' does not quite overlap with *mythos*, which for Frye corresponds more to 'plot' than 'narrative'. Plot, says Frye, 'is like the trees and houses that we focus our eyes on through a train window: the narrative is more like the weeds and stones that rush by in the foreground', Frye, 'Myth, Fiction, and Displacement', 588.

⁹³ Frye, 'Myth, Fiction, and Displacement', 591.

⁹⁴ Frye, 'Myth, Fiction, and Displacement', 597, 598.

build up bigger structures'.⁹⁵ As a result, 'mythology as a total structure, defining as it does a society's religious beliefs, historical traditions, cosmological speculations... is the matrix of literature'.⁹⁶

From this schema it is perhaps difficult not to conclude, as David Radcliffe puts it, that 'Spenser's poetry, as Frye describes it, resembles nothing so much as Frye's own archetypal criticism'.⁹⁷ And Frye's sense of myth as providing a 'natural' structuring of both human experience and texts, and the identity of 'myth' so defined with the 'archetype' in narrative form, is indeed (among other things) partly Frazerian and partly Jungian in inspiration.⁹⁸ So '[i]n the solar cycle of the day, the seasonal cycle of the year, and the organic cycle of human life,' says Frye, 'there is a single pattern of significance, out of which myth constructs a central narrative around a figure who is partly the sun, partly vegetative fertility and partly a god or archetypal human being'.⁹⁹ The various phases of these 'cycles' correspond to the four seasons and to different generic 'archetypes': the dawn or spring phase, for instance, is the place of myths of creation, the birth of the hero, and similar, and of the archetype of romance.¹⁰⁰

I outlined some of the problems with 'archetypal' approaches to mythology in an early modern context in the Introduction to this thesis, but it is nonetheless the case that Fryvian ideas about the functions and nature of 'myth' have been pervasive in scholarship on Spenser and classical mythology. Fryvian-influenced ideas about mythology in *The Faerie Queene* continue to reach a far broader audience through his pupil A. C. Hamilton's

⁹⁵ Frye, 'Myth, Fiction, and Displacement', 598.

⁹⁶ Frye, 'Myth, Fiction, and Displacement', 600.

⁹⁷ Radcliffe, 182.

⁹⁸ 'The myth is the central informing power that gives archetypal significance to the ritual and archetypal narrative to the oracle. Hence the myth *is* the archetype, though it might be convenient to say myth only when referring to narrative, and archetype when speaking of significance', Frye, 'Archetypes', 99, 104-04. For overviews of Frye's uses of Frazer and Jung, see Ford, 31-43, 116-22. See the Introduction to this thesis for further discussion of twentieth-century myth criticism.

⁹⁹ Frye, 'Archetypes', 104. Acknowledged by Frye here.

¹⁰⁰ From Frye, 'Archetypes', 104. For extensive elucidation of these schema see Frye, *Anatomy*, 158-239.

edition of *The Faerie Queene* (1977, 2001, 2007). Hamilton's early critical work was considerably influenced by Frye: as I noted above, Hamilton's book *The Structure of Allegory in 'The Faerie Queene'* takes much of its critical framework from Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism*.¹⁰¹ Hamilton's introduction to the first edition of his text of *The Faerie Queene* emphasises the 'unity' of the poem, and defends 'archetypal' interpretations of it.¹⁰² In the context of *The Faerie Queene*, the purpose of archetypal reading is, tellingly, according to Hamilton 'to control and direct the multiplication of interpretations of the poem by revealing the larger framework provided by mythology'.¹⁰³

Frye's influence reaches its zenith, however, in James Nohnberg's monumental work *The Analogy of 'The Faerie Queene'* (1976). Nohnberg tells us that his book began life as a 1969 doctoral dissertation supervised by Frye on 'the "unity of design" in *The Faerie Queene*'.¹⁰⁴ Nohnberg's learned synthesis of vast reams of classical and post-classical philosophy, theology, hermeticism, and texts literary and non-literary alike has turned out to be, to use his phrase, an 'unrepeatable experiment', and *The Analogy of 'The Faerie Queene'* has had few direct critical descendants.¹⁰⁵ As its title suggests, this study also seeks to establish the 'unity' of the poem.¹⁰⁶ As the title perhaps also indicates, however, the book's project requires the bringing together of heterogeneous matters, for Nohnberg identifies two contrary 'elements' to *The Faerie Queene*: one that 'unifies and assimilates', and one that

¹⁰¹ Hamilton published a defence of Frye's critical methods as late as 1990, so the influence was long-lasting. See A. C. Hamilton, *Northrop Frye: Anatomy of His Criticism* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1990). Contemporary objections to Hamilton and Frye's archetypal approach are in Rudolf B. Gottfried, 'Our New Poet: Archetypal Criticism and "The Faerie Queene"', *PMLA*, 83 (1968), 1362-77.

¹⁰² Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (London: Longman, 1977), 3, 10. Subsequent references are to this edition as '*FQ* (1977)'. In a rather Fryvian elevation of the critic, this edition presents its critical commentary not at the bottom of the page but in columns parallel to the text itself.

¹⁰³ Spenser, *FQ* (1977), 10. Hamilton seems to echo Dunseath's claims for the 'myth' of Hercules 'determining the structure and controlling the imagery' of Book 5, quoted above: Dunseath, 49.

¹⁰⁴ James Nohnberg, *The Analogy of 'The Faerie Queene'* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976), x, xiv. 'I dare not match my pipe with Tityrus his style [here, Frye], but I have followed him far off, and his high steps adore', Nohnberg, xiv.

¹⁰⁵ Nohnberg, xii.

¹⁰⁶ Nohnberg, also like Frye, aims to produce 'a critically unified commentary', Nohnberg, ix.

‘diversifies and accommodates’.¹⁰⁷ The most immediate analogy under construction here is between these movements (to use a Fryvian term), which Nohnberg equates respectively to the poem’s structure, under the sign of Pan (‘the god of totalities’), and its ‘fable’, under the sign of Proteus (the god of transformations who ‘never takes a definitive total form’).¹⁰⁸ Myth is part of the poem’s ‘fable’ or (in Nohnberg’s words) ‘the conspicuous heterogeneity of its matter’, though, as Nohnberg’s characterisation of the two poles of his study under mythological deities indicates, mythology also has a larger structuring role to play in this analysis.¹⁰⁹ And there is a clear hierarchy to the poem’s Pan and Protean ‘elements’, The pluralising impulse that Nohnberg identifies in the poem is however firmly subordinated to its totalising one: ‘though Proteus is not Pan... his manifestations may still issue in an apotheosis of formity’.¹¹⁰ The provisionality of formity here, however, quickly metamorphoses into certainty, for, claims Nohnberg, ‘the heterogeneous may seek its rationalization in the homologous; every plurality harbors an honorary totality’.¹¹¹ It is therefore hardly surprising to learn that Nohnberg treats Hercules as a ‘classical type’.¹¹²

4.5. Landscapes and the ‘world’ of *The Faerie Queene*

Critical assumptions about the structural and mythic ‘unity’ and ‘coherence’ of *The Faerie* often depend upon the further assumption that the poem presents a ‘world’, because, as Paul Alpers puts it, ‘[t]he concept of structure requires that there be an identifiable reality within the poem that gives it its coherence and indeed its being.’¹¹³ The poem’s purported structural

¹⁰⁷ Nohnberg, ix.

¹⁰⁸ Nohnberg, ix, x.

¹⁰⁹ Nohnberg, ix.

¹¹⁰ Nohnberg, x.

¹¹¹ Nohnberg, x. Nohnberg is glossing the book’s epigraph from (appropriately enough) Pico della Mirandola, “He who cannot attract Pan, approaches Proteus or Nature in vain.”, Nohnberg, x.

¹¹² Nohnberg, 41 (Hercules as ‘classical type’).

¹¹³ Paul Alpers, *The Poetry of ‘The Faerie Queene’* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1967), 112. See also 19-32; 133-34. Alpers thinks that any coherence the poem does contain is found in ‘the activity of the reader’s mind as he [*sic*] responds to and interprets the parts of the poem’, 124. Post-structural approaches to the *FQ* have of course been considerably more comfortable with the poem’s potential disunities, but these studies have not been particularly interested in classical mythology and its functions in Spenser.

coherence and the ‘world’ it presents are often explicitly connected: ‘Fairyländ’, says Kathleen Williams, for instance, ‘is a place where, though human confusions are not glossed over, law is made more manifest through the poem’s firmness of structure’.¹¹⁴ Firmnesses of various types are presented as defences against the nebulous landscapes and potentially endless happenings of romance which threaten particularly in Book 4: for Hamilton the mythic pairs of Venus and Adonis and Cupid and Psyche permit Spenser to ‘reduce the nightmare world of romance to the ordered dream of faery land’.¹¹⁵ The poem somehow manages ‘an integration of multiple meanings into a perfect whole’, and presents a ‘total image’ to the reader, which ‘is its own world, the faery land which is the poet’s fiction.’¹¹⁶

Evidently ‘world’ can mean various things in this context: not just Fairyländ as a precisely imagined physical space, or correspondent to locations in the ‘real world’; but also Fairyländ as a moral, political, mental, philosophical, metaphysical, typological, or allegorical ‘world’, or all or some of the above.¹¹⁷ But studies which attempt to construct joined-up or ‘mappable’ accounts of the space of *The Faerie Queene* seem to be vulnerable to the same difficulty that faces ‘unified’ analyses of its myths: to paraphrase Alpers, the various and multiple experience of ‘reading’ the landscape of the poem often appears to resist precise location or visualisation.¹¹⁸ Recent scholarship on the ‘world’ of *The Faerie Queene* has been more at ease pointing to the fragmentary and multiple nature of the spaces it portrays.¹¹⁹ To generalise, this sort of work characterises the poem’s setting as one in which locales both mythical and non-mythical go quickly in and out of focus in response to local narrative concerns, and which are produced in response to the reader’s experience of

¹¹⁴ Williams, *World of Glass*, xviii.

¹¹⁵ Hamilton, *Structure*, 138.

¹¹⁶ Hamilton, *Structure*, 14.

¹¹⁷ For a recent overview of critical approaches to Fairyländ, see Matthew Woodcock, *Fairy in ‘The Faerie Queene’: Renaissance Elf-Fashioning and Elizabethan Myth-Making* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 5-7.

¹¹⁸ See Alpers, 124ff.

¹¹⁹ For relatively recent examples, see Woodcock, 76-80, and Christopher Burlinson, *Allegory, Space and the Material World in the Writings of Edmund Spenser* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2006), esp. 22-44.

the poem instead of being pre-existent or external to it.¹²⁰ Christopher Burlinson describes the method of *The Faerie Queene's* presentation of space as flexible and various in the degree of 'spatial coherence' it chooses to employ at different moments in its episodes.¹²¹ Burlinson's comments are useful here because they leave us free to abandon the idea that *The Faerie Queene* presents 'a single, integrated landscape' not for (for instance) a space constructed in the mind of the 'psychological experience' of the reader, but for specific places and locations, 'real', mythically-inflected, or both.¹²² Rather than treating the poem as a coherent monospace that Hercules can be found 'inside', we might more usefully consider how particular myths of Hercules function in particular localities in *The Faerie Queene*.

4.6. Giants, Hercules, and the Giant with the Scales

Understanding space in *The Faerie Queene* as a feature of the poem that is more variously than consistently conceived permits us to think much more freely about the particular mythic topographies it chooses to spatialize at particular moments. With this more flexible conception of the working of space and myth in mind, we can examine another instance in the poem which shares both topographical and mythical subtexts with the episodes already discussed above.¹²³ The disturbing encounter of Artegall and his iron henchman Talus with the 'mighty Gyant' standing 'Vpon a rocke' in the second half of canto 2 of Book 5 (5. 2. 30) takes place in a *topos* which considerably expands the allusive remit of the episode, and which has a significantly Herculean dimension. In this case, excavating these aspects of Artegall's encounter with the Giant with the Scales also supports readings of the episode as

¹²⁰ See Woodcock, 79 (perhaps taking direction from Alpers) and notes; Burlinson, *passim*.

¹²¹ Burlinson, 22-44. Burlinson is concerned with the 'materiality' of and in Spenser's texts, and as a result needs to leave room (so to speak) in his analysis for material objects and a material 'world', while acknowledging that the poem neither presents a coherent space nor is even consistently interested in portraying 'materiality'. For the theoretical argument see Burlinson, 6-44.

¹²² Burlinson, 28; see also 29. For the reader's 'psychological experience', see Alpers, *passim*.

¹²³ This is not to imply that these episodes are interested in exactly the same things: they rather draw upon an overlapping set of mythical and topographical materials for their own particular purposes.

more ethically complex than it initially seems.

Canto 2 of Book 5 features Artegall's meeting with the first of several giants in the Book, and it does not go well.¹²⁴ Artegall and Talus come across this Giant standing upon a rock and holding 'An huge great pair of ballance' (5. 2. 30), ministering a sort of redistributive justice to the followers who surround him. At first the Giant claims that he will use his scales to 'weigh' the physical world, and to re-apportion the elements that have moved out of their ancient equalities; but the real implication of his measuring is not merely the levelling of mountains to plains, but also the social redistribution of wealth from the 'most' to the 'least' (5. 2. 37). As the agent of 'Justice' and upholder of existent hierarchy, Artegall takes an entirely different perspective on equity (God has put all things in their proper places), and engages the Giant in debate; but the episode ends with Talus throwing the Giant off his rock to his death, and decimating his 'rascall crew' (5. 2. 52).

Much has been written about the ethical implications of this episode both for Artegall and for Book 5's conception of 'Justice', and its various possible historical correlations.¹²⁵ But much less has been said about canto 2 in the light of Book 5's well-attested interest in Hercules.¹²⁶ This episode achieves its Herculean resonances through its setting in a high-up and apparently coastal space. This setting is not only a type of location in which references to Hercules are to be found in texts such as Strabo's *Geography*, but one which also recalls the combats between the legendary Trojan colonists of Britain and its original giant inhabitants described in the Briton Chronicle and in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*

¹²⁴ On giants and 'giant-like or tyrannical figures' in Book 5, see in brief Roger O. Iredale, 'Giants and Tyrants in Book Five of *The Faerie Queene*', *Review of English Studies*, 17 (1966), 373-81 (374).

¹²⁵ There is a large literature on these topics. For the former, see in particular Elizabeth Fowler, 'The Failure of Moral Philosophy in the Work of Edmund Spenser', *Representations*, 51 (1995), 47-76. Various historical possibilities as to the groups the episode may be attacking are explored in *Variorum*, V: *FQ V* (1936), 336-347, and in Michael O'Connell, 'The Giant with the Scales', in *SpEnc*, 867-69.

¹²⁶ Book 5's special interest in Hercules has been explored at book-length by Dunseath and Aptekar, discussed above in section 4.4, 'Hercules and the critics'. A brief comparative study of Hercules in Sidney and Spenser, including *FQ* Book 5, is Victor Skretkowicz, 'Hercules in Sidney and Spenser', *N&Q*, 27 (1980), 306-310.

regum Britanniae.¹²⁷ Considering the canto from this perspective expands the range of reference to Hercules in Book 5, and suggests that the giants of the ‘British History’ provide a useful subtextual framework for understanding the fate of the Giant with the Scales. The episode shows how mythological allusion of both classical and non-classical varieties works through, and often depends upon, the construction of particular geographical settings.

Artegall and Talus come across the Giant with the Scales in a precisely situated space.¹²⁸ After having dealt with Pollente and Munera and their associated structures – Pollente’s illegal toll-bridge is ‘refourmed’ (28. 8), and Munera’s castle ‘raced’ to the ground (28. 1) – Artegall and Talus travel along ‘[t]ill that at length nigh to the sea they drew’ (29. 2).¹²⁹ Their encounter with the Giant with the Scales is thus likely to take place in a cliff-top, littoral setting.¹³⁰ A seaboard location is further suggested by the canto’s choice of the verb ‘coasted’ (29. 8) to describe the movement of the pair towards the ‘crew’ of people gathered in the area (29. 5); and by Talus’ violent removal of the Giant off his ‘rocke’ into the sea (30. 2, 49. 6-9). The Giant himself gestures to ‘the sea (which plaine he shewed there)’ (32. 3). The Giant does not merely talk about troubling reversals of the social hierarchy, but embodies one such reversal in his own positioning on ‘the higher ground’ at the opening of the episode (49. 8), and from which he is violently removed.

¹²⁷ Considering the contribution of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s pseudo-historical *Historia regum Britanniae* and consequently of the legendary ‘British History’ to this canto points to another connection between Book 2 and Book 5 of the *FQ*. See Andrew King, *The Faerie Queene and Middle English Romance: The Matter of Just Memory* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000), 189, for a more general account of Book 5’s interest in British History and medieval romance. For an influential account of connections between Books 2 and 5 see Nohnberg, 351-372.

¹²⁸ In the following discussion references given are to *FQ* 5, canto 2 unless otherwise specified, and include stanza line number for precision.

¹²⁹ The setting of this episode differs significantly from that of the events of the first half of canto 2 (the defeat of Pollente, and the destruction of Munera and her castle, 5. 2. 4-28), but one point of comparison is that in each case Artegall and Talus’ opponents meet watery ends; though while Pollente stains the waters of the river with his blood (5. 2. 19), in the case of Munera (after Talus has drowned her in the ‘durty mud’), ‘the streame washt away her guilty blood’ (5. 2. 29).

¹³⁰ As Hamilton points out (5. 2. 29.8n), the littoral destination makes sense (which means, for Hamilton, *narrative* sense) because Artegall was informed at the start of canto 2 that Florimell and Marinell will be marrying at the ‘Castle of the strond’ (5. 2. 4).

This setting is significant because it provides a means of bringing Hercules into ‘play’ in the episode, not through names but through space. Various sorts of ‘high’ and marginal spaces are favourite haunts of Hercules in classical geographical writing. As I discussed in Chapter 3, this type of setting, moreover, continues to inform references to Hercules in English writing with topographical interests such as William Camden’s *Britannia*, where the most sustained discussion of Hercules takes place in relation to Hartland Point, a headland in Devon which Camden identifies with the Ptolemaic Promontory of Hercules.¹³¹ Artegall, moreover, enters upon the scene with Herculean resonances already clustering around him.¹³² Although from a sequential perspective, at the outset of the second canto most of the parallels and relationships that Book 5 constructs between Hercules and Artegall are yet to come, Artegall is presented from the start of Book 5 as a member of the ‘vertuous race’ combating the ‘wicked seede of vice’, like Bacchus and Hercules before him (5. 1. 1-2).¹³³ Thanks to its setting, this part of canto 2 is permeated by a Herculean field of reference.

The rather precise situation presented at the opening of this episode – a giant standing upon a ‘cliffe’ on the coast – is also, however, a type of setting that readers of the 1590 *The Faerie Queene* might recognise. Many of the giants encountered by Brutus and his companions in the Briton Chronicle in Book 2 meet similar fates to that of the Giant with the Scales. The giant Debon is forced to leap across the ‘ample Pitt’ by Coulin, and fell to his death; while the ‘gore’ of the ‘mighty *Goëmot*’, defeated by Corineus, still ‘besprincl[es]’ the river Hogh (2. 10. 11, 10).¹³⁴ The fate of Goëmot or Gogmagog is in fact of particular

¹³¹ See Chapter 3.5, ‘Topographical mythologies? Hercules at Hartland Point’.

¹³² The various connections between Artegall and Hercules are dealt with in detail by Dunseath, *passim*. The more obvious parallels are that in canto 5 Artegall is defeated and enslaved by the Amazonian Radigund rather like Hercules was by Omphale. As in canto 12 of Book 2, Arthur too sometimes serves as Book 5’s Herculean avatar, as when he defeats the Souldan, Malegin, and Geryoneo in cantos 8-10.

¹³³ See, however, Dunseath, 51-56, for an attempt to interpret the Proem and all the major events of the early cantos of Book 5 as Herculean in subtext and related to Artegall.

¹³⁴ See also *FQ* 3. 9. 50, which features the same giants.

import to the events of the second half of canto 2 of Book 5. The viscera of this giant ‘besprincl[es]’ the Hough because in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s influential account of the combat in the twelfth-century *Historia regum Britanniae*, Corineus, furious that Gogmagog has managed to injure him, throws him off a cliff:

imposuit illum humeris suis, &... ad proxima littora cucurrit. Deinde summitatem excelsæ rupis nactus, excussit se, & prædictum letale monstrum quod super humeros suos ferebat in mare proiecit. at ille per abrupta saxa cadens, in multa frustra dilaceratus est: & fluctus sanguine maculauit.

[he lifted the giant on his shoulders and ran to the nearby shore... Coming to the edge of a high cliff, he hurled over the fearful monster he bore on his shoulders, casting him into the sea. As he fell down the rocky crags, the giant was torn into many pieces and stained the sea red with his blood].¹³⁵

The death of Gogmagog as described by Geoffrey would seem to have many similarities of detail with the demise of the Giant with the Scales in Book 5. Talus ‘shouldered’ this giant ‘from off the higher ground’, ‘throwing’ him down the rock upon which he has been standing (5. 2. 49.8-9); and he falls ‘downe the cliffe’ like a shipwreck broken up into a ‘thousand peeces’ (5. 2. 50.3).¹³⁶ It is possible that Talus ‘[a]pproaching nigh vnto him [the Giant] cheeke by cheeke’ (5. 2. 49.7) recalls the wrestling in which Corineus and Gogmagog engage in Geoffrey.

Geoffrey’s account of Gogmagog and his death in the *Historia regum Britanniae* seems to inform other descriptions of giants and the deaths of some of the other undesirables in *The Faerie Queene*: the giant Orgoglio has for a club ‘a snaggy Oke’ (1. 7. 10) which, like Gogmagog, he has uprooted from the earth; and there might also be a buried connection between Pollente’s death in the Lee, ‘[w]hose waters with his filthy blood it stayned’ (5. 2.

¹³⁵ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae* (henceforth ‘HRB’) in *Rerum Britannicarum, id est Angliae, Scotiae, vicinarumque insularum ac regionum* (Heidelberg: H. Commelinus, 1587), sig. A5^r. Subsequent references to this text unless otherwise specified. English translation adapted from Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. M. D. R. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), 1. 16. 305-08. Subsequent references to this translation (as ‘Geoffrey’), by book, page, and line number.

¹³⁶ Indeed, in another branch (Φ) of the HRB manuscript tradition, the text reads ‘mille’ rather than ‘multa’ in the passage I excerpt above: see *Geoffrey*, 2. 487n.

19), and Gogmagog's own staining of the sea red with his blood in Geoffrey.¹³⁷ Reading the fate of the Giant with the Scales, and the location in which his death occurs with the giants of the legendary prehistory of Britain in mind is also mythically appropriate to Book 5 of *The Faerie Queene*. As we saw above, Hercules also makes a brief entrance into the Briton Chronicle by name as the killer of Albion 'in Fraunce' (2. 10. 11). We might not therefore be entirely surprised at another encounter between a figure with a Herculean background and a giant in a high space in another part of *The Faerie Queene*. Book 5's habit of describing almost all Artegall's opponents as 'tyrants' might make the giants of the 'British History' a useful subtextual framework for understanding the fate of the Giant with the Scales in 5. 2.¹³⁸

What should we take from the parallel? Perhaps here again we have a combat between giants and men in which the moral poles seem clearly defined: giants are (like tyrants) to be oppressed by heroes. But while these connections initially seem to provide a rather straightforward heroic comparison for Artegall's own giant-killing activities in this canto, in fact they, like other Artegall-Hercules contacts in Book 5, are more probably a two-edged sword. I remarked earlier upon the awkwardness of the stanza describing (or almost describing) Hercules' vanquishing of Albion in Book 2 (10. 11): in addition to its confusing historical-genealogical detail, the tautologies of 'hideous *Albion*' and Godmer's 'father', and 'huge sonne' and 'Great *Godmer*', disrupt the flow of the main clause with the result that its referent is not immediately clear. It is initially difficult to work out who is fighting whom. While the effect of the arrangement of lines in stanza 11 is to produce a text in which

¹³⁷ The Latin text describes Gogmagog as 'tantæ virtutis existens, quercum semel excussam velut virgulam corili euellibat' [so strong that he could loosen and uproot an oak tree as if it were a twig of hazel], *HRB*, sig. A5^r (Geoffrey, ed. Reeve, trans. Wright, 1. 21. 471-72); for Gogmagog's blood and the sea, see above and *Geoffrey*, 1. 21. 486-87.

¹³⁸ Excepting only Pollente (though he 'tyrannize[s]' the rich, 5. 2. 6.9) Munera, and, interestingly, the Giant with the Scales himself, all Artegall's opponents in Book 5 are called tyrants: Grantorto is a 'strong tyrant' (5. 1. 3.7), as are the Souldan and Geryoneo (5. 8. 45.1; 5. 10. 6.8); Radigund a 'Tyranresse' (5. 6. 11.2). Aptekar notes that Book 5 contains by far the most references to 'tyrants' in the *FQ*, 154.

Hercules and the giants of the ‘British History’ are bound together, it is not a very syntactically easy combination. In this the stanza also enacts the difficulty that it and all English writing on the early history of Britain has incorporating Hercules into its historical narrative: it is difficult to work out where this hero ‘fits in’, morally, historically, or textually.¹³⁹ As a result the Herculean resonances in canto 2 of Book 5 might at the very least serve to introduce some interpretative turbulence into an episode which, if we think that the text merely ‘means what it says’¹⁴⁰, might seem a morally unambiguous exposition of the proper working of a particular type of ‘justice’. The mythology of this episode rather supports the views of critics like Elizabeth Fowler, who, working from quite different premises, have argued that the episode contains a critique of its own outcome, and of Artegall's position and methods.¹⁴¹

Artegall tries his best not to get actively involved: the episode puts him at one remove from the action by having Talus rather than Artegall himself shoulder the Giant off his rock to his death. In this too, however, he is positioned like Hercules is in the ‘British History’ of canto 10 of Book 2. The mythic and the textual distance between giant and giant-killer may well turn out to be as precarious and awkward as the ‘higher ground’ (5. 2. 49) from which this Giant plies his balances.

Coda: Hercules, giants, William Camden’s *Britannia*, and Spenser

The more than slightly awkward combination of Hercules and Albion, and the Trojans’ combats against the giants of Britain in the Briton Chronicle also reflects something of the treatment of both Hercules and Britain’s legendary prehistory in William Camden’s *Britannia*. As we saw in Chapter 3, the *Britannia* contains considerable Herculean material,

¹³⁹ There is also a generic dimension to these moments in *FQ* 2. 10 and 5. 2. In keeping Hercules at one remove from the action, the cantos do not quite make it into epic: as a result, epic, rather like Hercules, lurks at one remove from the main action in the mythic subtexts of the episodes.

¹⁴⁰ Hamilton, *Structure*, 7.

¹⁴¹ See in particular Fowler.

and references and discussions of Hercules increase across its successive editions.¹⁴² Camden's work, which it seems reasonable to assume that Spenser would have known well, is in fact also an important repository of information on the giants of the 'British History'.¹⁴³ In the parts of the *Britannia* describing Cornwall and Devonshire, accounts of the combats of Britain's legendary early inhabitants with giants occur in uncomfortable topographical and textual proximity to discussions of Hercules. This is most clearly demonstrated by Camden's treatment of the legend of the fight between Corineus and Gogmagog near Tavistock on the Haw Hill.¹⁴⁴ Perhaps to avoid the question of the veracity of a story in which 'credere non libet' [it does not please (me) to believe], Camden quotes the description of the giants wrestling in Johannes de Havilla's twelfth-century satirical-allegorical poem *Architrenius*:

Cubitis ter quatuor altum
Gogmagog Herculeâ suspendit in aëre lucta,
Anthæumque suum scopulo detrusit in æquor.¹⁴⁵

With Gogmagog twelve cubits high...
Whom up he hang'd twixt heaven and earth, (thus once Alcides hung
Antæus fell) and from the rock into the Sea him flung.¹⁴⁶

Camden quotes progressively more lines from this section of the poem in successive editions

¹⁴² See Chapter, 3.5, 'Topographical mythologies? Hercules at Hartland Point'.

¹⁴³ As is well known (and often quoted), *The Ruines of Time* praises Camden as 'the nourice of antiquitie, | And lantern vnto late succeeding age, | [...] | *Cambden*, though time all moniments obscure, | Yet thy iust labours euer shall endure', in Edmund Spenser, *The Shorter Poems*, ed. Richard McCabe (London: Penguin, 1999), 169-170, 174-175.

¹⁴⁴ Again, fights with giants take place in high spaces: 'As for that rock, from whence, they say, this giant was cast down, it is now called the *Haw*: a very hill standing between the town and the Ocean: on the top wherof... there is a right delectable and goodly prospect every way' [Scopulus verò ille, è quo Gigantem detrusum, ferunt, the Haw nunc dicitur, qui collis est inter oppidum, & Oceanum interiectus, in cuius summitate... gratissimus vndiquaque patet prospectus]. English translation from William Camden, *Britain, Or a chorographically description of the most flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Ilands adioyning, out of the depth of Antiquitie*, trans. Philemon Holland (London: G. Bishop and J. Norton, 1610), sig. R2^v. Subsequent references are to this translation (as '*Britain*'). Latin text from William Camden, *Britannia sive florentissimorum regnorum, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, et insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica descriptio* (London: for R. Newbery, 1586), sig. G1^r. Subsequent references to this edition (as '*Britannia* (1586)') unless otherwise specified.

¹⁴⁵ Camden, *Britannia* (1586), sig. G1^r. For a modern text and translation of these lines see Johannes de Hauvilla, *Architrenius*, ed. and trans. Winthrop Wetherbee (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994), 5. 424-427. Subsequent reference to this text and translation unless otherwise specified.

¹⁴⁶ Camden, *Britain*, trans. Holland, sig. R2^v.

of the Britannia: three in 1586, four in 1587, and six from 1590 onwards.¹⁴⁷ The Herculean parallel in these lines seems to work in a similar way to the incorporation of Hercules' fight with Albion in the Briton Chronicle in *The Faerie Queene* (2. 10. 11). As in the Briton Chronicle, Hercules' defeat of another giant, Antaeus, provides a sort of mythic ancestor for the latter battle which forms the narrative subject of the episode. Although Hercules remains (literally) in the centre of the passage, in early modern English translations of *Architrenius* his appearance is confined rather awkwardly into parentheses.¹⁴⁸ One again Hercules does not quite 'fit' into the picture.

This section of *Architrenius* is closely interested in geographical context. The lines come from an Arthurian episode in the poem which serves as an elaborate compliment to the Cornish background of Johannes' likely audience, the newly appointed archbishop of Rouen Walter de Coutances (d. 1207).¹⁴⁹ While witnessing an allegorical war between 'largos et avaros' [the generous and the greedy], the poem's titular hero Architrenius suddenly encounters the Arthurian knight Gawain and is told about the Trojan origins of the Britons and, in particular, the heroic activities and giant-killing of Corineus, and the Cornish origins of Uther Pendragon and thus of King Arthur, interspersed with fulsome compliments to the family of Walter.¹⁵⁰ The entire story, including its Herculean ancestor, is carefully and deliberately positioned in Cornwall for panegyric purposes. The use that English antiquaries make of this passage is instructively diverse. The lines appear in John Leland's

¹⁴⁷ Subsequent extended quotations in William Camden, *Britannia* (London: for R. Newbery, 1587), sig. H2^r; William Camden, *Britannia* (London: for G. Bishop, 1590), sig. K1^r. (Subsequent references to these editions as *Britannia* [1587] and *Britannia* [1590]).

¹⁴⁸ Note the even worse job done by the translator of John Leland's *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii Regis Britanniae*: 'These Corineus his puyasant strength (of eager moode to fight) | To tell sent headlong: Gogmagog of twelue cubites height, | By him (like Hercules wrastling) into the aire was throwne | His Antheus eke and from the rocke in seaes was cast adowne.' John Leland, *A Learned and True Assertion of the original, Life, Actes, and death of... Prince Arthure, King of great Brittain*, trans. Richard Robinson (London: J. Wolfe, 1582), sigs. D3^v-D4^r.

¹⁴⁹ On the dedicatee see *Architrenius*, Prologus (probably not by de Hauvilla), 19. De Hauvilla seems to have thought of Walter as a potential patron. See Winthrop Wetherbee, 'Introduction', in *Architrenius*, x-xi. The odour of the *HRB* in the poem is very strong.

¹⁵⁰ *Architrenius*, 5. 377-95. All this information is indebted to the *HRB*.

Assertio inclytissimi Arturii regis Britanniae (1544), and in the notes accompanying his Latin river poem *Cygnea cantio* (1545), and it is possible that Camden initially encountered the passage in these texts.¹⁵¹ Both the *Assertio* and *Cygnea cantio* use the lines to argue that Britain was once inhabited by giants, a fact evident both in the ‘ossa gigantea’ [bones of giants] Leland himself claims to have seen in his travels across England, and ‘by auctoritie of forraine and of our owne writers’, including de Hauvilla.¹⁵²

Spenser’s own treatments of Hercules would also seem to be inflected by the increasing historiographical problem that mythological figures both classical and non-classical present in the successive editions of the *Britannia*. Looking at the developing entrance of Hercules in the successive editions of the *Britannia* demonstrates that Camden’s discussion of the Promontory of Hercules in the first printed edition of the work might have stood out more than it does now. If we read merely the last printed Latin edition, or the 1610 and 1695 English translations, we miss something of the novelty (intellectual, as much as anything else) of Camden’s digression as it might have potentially appeared to readers (such as Spenser) only able to access the earlier versions of the *Britannia*.¹⁵³ If we were to say that the discussion or its method does not quite yet ‘fit’ with much of the rest of the early editions of the *Britannia*, we might have a useful parallel to the slightly awkward ‘fitting in’ of Hercules into the Briton Chronicle in *The Faerie Queene*.¹⁵⁴

This chapter has traced the various appearances of the myth of Hercules’ battle with

¹⁵¹ Leland, *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii Regis Britanniae* (London: [R. Wolfe] for J. Herford, 1544), sigs. C3^v-C4^r; John Leland, *Cygnea cantio* (London: R. Wolfe, 1545), sig. C2^r. Leland quotes four of the same lines from *Architrenius* as Camden.

¹⁵² Leland, *Cygnea cantio*, sig. C2^r (‘ossa gigantea’); English translation from Leland, *A Learned and True Assertion*, trans. Robinson, D4^r; Latin text ‘& externorum, & nostrorum scriptorum auctoritate constat’, in Leland, *Assertio*, sig. C3^v.

¹⁵³ Spenser, dying in 1599, would only have been able to read the 1586, 1587, 1590 and 1594 printed English editions of the *Britannia*.

¹⁵⁴ It might also be worth noting Colin’s own description of what is probably Land’s End in Cornwall from the sea in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*: ‘The first to which we nigh approched, was | An high headland thrust far into the sea, | Like to an horne, whereof the name it has’, in Spenser, *The Shorter Poems*, ed. McCabe, 280-282.

Albion and Bergion at the Rhône through *The Faerie Queene* in order to demonstrate the importance of topography and location to understanding how mythic allusion works in this poem. The chapter shows that reference to Hercules in *The Faerie Queene* does not only take place through the citation of recognisably ‘mythic’ names, but also through objects and settings, such as stone-throwing and clifftops. Recognising this ‘local’ and specific dimension to mythic allusion in *The Faerie Queene* reforms our sense both of what ‘myth’ is and what it ‘does’ in the poem: rather than ‘joining up’ all references up into a unified entity with a single, overarching signification, we are free to read the particular appearances of a given myth or mythical figure in close relation to their particular poetic contexts and genres. Thinking in this way about the operation of mythic allusion in the poem also, however, permits us to glimpse connections between disparate episodes—such as the very interest that several different episodes in *The Faerie Queene* show in Hercules, giants, and high spaces—and understand more fully its rich allusive resonances.

5. Hercules and drama

This chapter follows many of the Herculean tracks established in previous chapters in this thesis, and takes a broad approach to its subjects. It focuses upon Herculeses in performances of various types, including entertainments, royal entries, and plays.¹ The Herculeses that it examines make various types of ‘appearance’ in these works. Most obviously, Hercules does appear ‘in person’ in dramatic works such as *Love’s Labour’s Lost* and *The Lamentable Tragedie of Locrine* in our period, and critics such as Eugene Waith have interpreted other dramatic characters as types of ‘Herculean hero’.² But this chapter locates these ‘literal’ appearances of Hercules alongside what it terms his ‘rhetorical’ appearances in dramatic texts. ‘Rhetorical’ Herculeses do not necessarily constitute all references to Hercules in a work, but rather indicate verbal ‘appearances’ of the hero, and ‘Herculean speech’, which invoke in particularly acute form problems of proportion and decorum. As we shall see, Hercules is not only a morally (or mythologically) complex figure, but also a rhetorically unstable one: ‘comic’ and ‘tragic’ Herculeses are difficult to separate, and ‘tragic’ or ‘grand’ speech itself risks collapsing into ridiculous hyperbole. Dramatic texts featuring Hercules in both ‘rhetorical’ and ‘literal’ guises transpose these instabilities for their own confessional, political, and theatrical contexts.

5.1. Hercules at Kenilworth Castle

According to one account, among the entertainments devised and put on by the Earl of Leicester and his associates for the visit of Elizabeth I to Kenilworth Castle in July 1575 was an entertainment which featured Hercules in a starring role. *The Princelye Pleasures at*

¹ Only the texts of those performances, and in a few instances, as section 5.1 below demonstrates, ‘eyewitness’ accounts of them, are available for study. My account focuses on these texts and does not attempt to engage with the question of ‘performance’ in a more general or theoretical sense.

² See Eugene M. Waith, *The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1962). Waith’s book is discussed further in the Introduction to this thesis. Similar analyses are found in e.g. Heiner Zimmerman, ‘Macbeth and Hercules’, *Renaissance Studies*, 20 (2006), 356-78.

the Courte at Kenelwoorth, a prose account of Elizabeth's visit interspersed with texts of the entertainments planned for it, recounts that on the entrance of the Queen and her retinue through the first gate of the castle,

there stooode *Hercules* for Porter, who seemed to be amazed at such a presence, vpon such a sodain, proffered to stay them. And yet at last being ouercome by viewe of the rare beutie and princelie countenance of her Maiestie, yielded himselfe and his charge, presenting the keyes vnto her highnesse [...]³

Another account of Elizabeth's visit to Kenilworth, the *Letter* ascribed to the mercer and very minor courtier Robert Langham, does not explicitly identify the porter as Hercules, but nonetheless confirms his Herculean associations: 'a Porter, tall of parson, big of lim and stearn of coountinauns, wrapt also all in sylk, with a club and keyz of quantitee according'.⁴

Hercules' appearance as a porter at the gates of Kenilworth in 1575, apparently quite distinct from the other early modern English Hercules encountered so far in this thesis, only makes sense if we understand the Kenilworth festivities in the broader context of sixteenth-century royal entertainments, and as a collaborative enterprise. The text which claims to preserve the entertainments devised and presented to the Queen during her visit was included in George Gascoigne's posthumously published *Whole woorkes* in 1587, and Gascoigne is indeed its most probable author. Gascoigne was employed by the Earl of Leicester to

³ 'A briefe rehearsal, or rather a true Copie of as much as was presented before her maiestie at Kenelworth, during her last aboade there', in George Gascoigne, *The Whole woorkes of George Gascoigne Esquyre* (London: A. Jeffes [for R. Smith], 1587), sig. A1^v-A2^r. Subsequent references are to this edition (as 'PP') unless otherwise specified, in the text. The PP was first printed anonymously in 1576, but the single surviving copy of this text was lost in a fire at Birmingham Free Library in 1879, and is now known to us only through three pre-1879 reprints. A new critical edition is 'The Princely pleasures, at the Courte at Kenelwoorth', ed. Elizabeth Goldring, in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring and others, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2014), II: 1572-1578, 289.

⁴ *A Letter: whearin, part of the entertainment vntoo the Queenz Maiesty, at Killingworth Castl, in warwik Sheer, in this soomerz Progress. 1575. iz signified*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring, in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring and others, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2014), II: 1572-1578, 244. References (as '*A Letter*') will be to this text. For discussion of the letter's authorship and Langham's connections to Leicester, see Elizabeth Goldring, '"A mercer ye wot az we be": The Authorship of the Kenilworth *Letter* Reconsidered', *ELR*, 38 (2008), 245-69.

produce some of the entertainments for the Queen at Kenilworth, and the *Princelye Pleasures* presents Gascoigne's contributions as among the more major entertainments devised for the visit.⁵ Gascoigne also seems to have had an prominent role in 'editing' or compiling the texts of the entertainments for publication in the *Princelye Pleasures*.⁶ As the *Princelye Pleasures* itself shows, however, the Kenilworth 'deuices' (title page) prepared for the Queen are in fact variously authored. Six other men are also named as writers and performers of entertainments: William Hunnis, John Badger, George Ferrers, Richard Mulcaster, William Patten, and Henry Goldingham.⁷ The *Princelye Pleasures* is moreover an unreliable account of the entertainments. Although it claims to include 'as much as was presented before her maiesties at Kenelworth' (title page), and attempts to present a continuous series of events, the account of the visit preserved in Langham's *Letter* shows that all did not take place as the *Princelye Pleasures* describes.⁸ Even Gascoigne's own longest and most elaborate contribution to the entertainments, a proto-masque featuring a nymph of Diana's suspiciously named Zabeta, 'being prepared and redy--- two or three dayes, yet neuer came to execution' (sig. C2^v).⁹ What this means for our purposes is that there are available several accounts of the 'deuice' featuring Hercules at Kenilworth: in the

⁵ Gascoigne's precise relationship to Leicester is not clear, but he was employed by the Earl in 1575. See Eleanor Rosenberg, *Leicester, Patron of Letters* (New York: Columbia UP, 1955), 166-72; and G. W. Pigman, 'Biographical Introduction', in George Gascoigne, *A Hundreth Sundry Flowres*, ed. G. W. Pigman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), xxxix. Subsequent references to Gascoigne's *Hundreth Sundry Flowres*, and *A discourse of the adventures passed by Master F. J.* (as 'F.J.') are to this edition unless otherwise stated, by poem or page and line number, in the main text.

⁶ On the *PP* as a collaboration between Gascoigne and Leicester, and an 'official account of the 1575 Kenilworth festivities for posterity', see Elizabeth Goldring, 'Gascoigne and Kenilworth: The Production, Reception, and Afterlife of *The Princely Pleasures*', *ELR*, 44 (2014), 363-87 (380).

⁷ Listed in order of first mention in the *PP*. Hunnis, Ferrers and Patten had considerable experience of court pageantry: Gascoigne was in fact one of the more inexperienced contributors to the Kenilworth entertainments. See Gillian Austen, *George Gascoigne* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2008), 119.

⁸ The *PP* also disdains to describe the 'countrie shewe... and the merry marriage' put on by the townspeople of Coventry, 'the which were so plaine as needeth no further explication', *PP*, sig. B2^r.

⁹ Gascoigne claims that '[t]he cause whereof I cannot attribute to any other thing, then to lack of opportunitie and seasonable weather', *PP*, sig. C2^v; and the preface to the 1576 printing of the *PP* makes similar claims: see 'The Princelye pleasures', ed. Goldring, 289. The entertainment's pro-marital agenda is however more likely to have been the cause of its removal from the programme. For this widely-held view see e.g. Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (New York; Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993), 56-96.

Princelye Pleasures, Gascoigne's prose description of the entertainment, the speech performed by Hercules as 'porter' itself, and the 'playner declaration and rehearsall' (sig. A4^r) of the first day's entertainments in Gascoigne's dialogue between the Savage Man and Echo. Langham's *Letter* provides another description of the Queen's entrance into Kenilworth.

Gascoigne might in every other vein indite, but his treatment of Hercules in his other works is notably uniform.¹⁰ Hercules appears most frequently as a lover in Gascoigne's prosimetrical collection *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowers* (1573), and in this guise he is also (more or less implicitly) a moral lesson. *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowers* contains a poem titled 'The lover encouraged by former examples, determineth to make vertue of necessitie', which features Hercules as one example of a 'wigh[t] bewicht in love', alongside David, Solomon, Holofernes, Sampson, and Ovid (47.2). Rather than drawing moral lessons about the dangers of both love and women from the various tribulations these figures experience, the speaker in this poem finds 'sollace' in their examples (47.3). Hercules *et al* provide the speaker with textual reflections of his own experiences ('whiles I read and ryfle their estates, | In ev'ry tale I note mine owne anoye' [47.7-8])¹¹, but also remind him of the remoteness of these figures from his own context: if 'the good, the wise, the stout, the bolde' are overcome (47.44), what hope for him?

Whose force is like to that which *Sampson* had?
If I be bold, whose courage can surmount,
The hart of *Hercules*, which nothing dread?
Yet *Dalila*, and *Deyanyraes* love,
Did teach them both, such pangs as I must prove. (47.32-36).

¹⁰ '...diuers men, with diuers vaines did write, | But *Gascoigne* doth, in euery vaine indite.', 'N. R. in commendation of the Authour, and his workes', in George Gascoigne, *The Steele Glas* (London: [H. Bynneman] for R. Smith, 1576), sig. A3^v.

¹¹ I find no specific use of 'rifle' in the *OED* to denote something like 'leafing through the pages of a book', but this seems to be clearly implied in these lines. See 'rifle, v (1)', in *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, Oxford UP <<http://www.oed.com>> [accessed 12 November 2015]. Subsequent references to this database as 'OEDO'.

Since both '[t]he strongest champion and the learnedst man, | Have bene and be, by lust of love controll'd', the speaker similarly resolves 'To live in love, and never to repent.' (47.45-46, 48).

This set of unfortunate lovers seems to have been something of an associative group for Gascoigne, because David, Solomon, Hercules, and Sampson also appear in F. J.'s first poem in *A discourse of the adventures passed by Master F. J.* (146.10-17). According to G. T., F. J. composes the poem after he contrives to send a suggestive letter to Elinor, who 'semed to take upon hir the matter' (*F. J.*, 146.5).¹² This poem makes a similar argument to 'The lover encouraged': if David, Solomon, Hercules, and Sampson are subject to love, 'What wonder seemeth then? when stares stand thicke in skies, | If such a biasing starre have power to dim my dazled eyes?' (*F. J.*, 146.16-17). In contrast to the speaker in 'The lover encouraged', however, F. J. makes no mention of the 'drugges of sower despite' (49.12) awaiting all of these famous lovers. He may thus, as Pigman suggests, be 'incapable of understanding the logic of his own examples' – and the potential consequences of his own conduct.¹³ F. J. does not 'marke the meanings of their mates' ('The lover encouraged', 49.10), and perhaps the process of doing so is as a result expected of the reader.¹⁴ The careful arrangement of the *Hundred Sundry Flowers* (even if it does not appear to have quite gone to plan in the printing-house), however, seems to encourage reading across the different parts of its collection.¹⁵ Since F. J.'s purportedly extempore composition precedes 'The lover

¹² Note that throughout this version of *F. J.* we are in the hands of a deeply unreliable narrator who is not to be trusted.

¹³ *F. J.*, 146.15n.

¹⁴ '[M]ates' in 49.10 seems to denote both 'outcomes' (in a metaphor from chess: see 'mate, n.1.', *OEDO* [accessed 12 November 2015]); and the more readily available 'companion' (see 'mate, n.2.', *OEDO* [accessed 12 November 2015]). For the former see 'Alas alas I thought my selfe belov'd, | When deadly hate, | Did play check mate [...]', *Dan Bartholmew of Bath*, in *A Hundred Sundry Flowers*, ed. Pigman, 7. 31-32.

¹⁵ The apparent misplacing of some of the materials in *A Hundred Sundry Flowers* (such as its dedicatory letters) rather undermines the complex reading that the volume seems interested in promoting: for discussion and proposals of likely intended arrangements, see Austen, 71-74.

encouraged' in the collection in its 1573 arrangement as *A Hundred Sundry Flowers*¹⁶, this latter poem presents a development or working through of the content of F. J.'s.¹⁷ G. T.'s literary-critical judgement on F. J.'s poem makes clear that it is a contingent work: 'I have heard the Authour saye, that these were the first verses that ever he wrote upon like occasion. The which considering the matter precedent, may in my judgement be well allowed' (*F. J.*, 146.22-24).¹⁸

5.2. The Porter of Kenilworth

The Hercules who appears as the porter of Kenilworth seems to have little in common with Gascoigne's Herculese. This is not only a generic difference consequent on the fact that this Hercules is in an entertainment. Exemplary Herculese do feature slightly in other entertainments prepared for Elizabeth, such as in the entertainment (also starring Gascoigne) put on at Sir Henry Lee's residence in Woodstock, which the Queen also visited after Kenilworth on her summer progress of 1575.¹⁹ In this entertainment Hercules appears only in the passing sententious observation (perhaps more agreeable to Elizabeth) that 'nothing notable is woun without difficulty, *Hercules* had by his labours his renowne and his end by his Love'.²⁰ Gascoigne's Herculese emphasise the amatory dimension of the hero, and both the comic and subversive potentials of his entanglements with unsuitable women such as Omphale. These concerns are as we shall see also potentially at work in the entertainment featuring Hercules at Kenilworth, but more immediately obvious are its allusions to royal

¹⁶ Gascoigne would revise and reorder this collection and (re)publish it with some additional and some revised material in 1575 as *The Posies of George Gascoigne Esquire* (London: H. Bynneman for R. Smith, 1575).

¹⁷ 'The lover encouraged' is in *A Hundred Sundry Flowers* number 47 of *The devises of sundry gentlemen*, which immediately follows *F. J.* in the volume.

¹⁸ This comment does not appear in Gascoigne's 1575 revision of *F. J.* (which gets rid of G. T.).

¹⁹ Elizabeth visited Kenilworth 9 – 27 July 1575, and Woodstock 29 August – 3 September 1575, stopping at Lichfield, Worcester, and estates in the West Midlands in between. See the chronological descriptions in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Goldring and others, II: 1572-1578, 231-332.

²⁰ *The Queenes Maiesties Entertainment at Woodstock* (London: for T. Cadman, 1585), sig. B4^r. Gascoigne makes clear in the dedication to his manuscript presentation copy for the Queen that he did not author this entertainment.

pageantry and legendary British prehistory. There is a considerable body of scholarship on the ways in which the Kenilworth entertainments display and may attempt to further Leicester's political interests and ambitions, and this episode is not an exception. Casting Hercules as porter to Kenilworth facilitates the castle's Arthurian claims, and alludes to its occupant's commitment to reformed religion with its porter's declaration that even he is 'no Poper'.²¹ As I shall demonstrate below, this has significant stylistic effect on the speech and on its confessional affiliations.

The entrance Leicester and his associates prepared for the Queen at Kenilworth works hard to resemble royal entries for monarchs into the city of London.²² *The Princelye Pleasures* recounts that, prior to entering the first gate of Kenilworth and encountering Hercules, the Queen's arrival at the first gate was greeted by 'sixe Trumpetters hugelie aduanced, much exceeding the common stature of men in this age, who had likewise huge and monstrous Trumpettes counterfetted, wherein they seemed to sound', standing on the upper parts of the gate (sig. A1^v).²³ The outsize physique of these trumpeters, and the narrative's description of their size in relation to a past age in which men were generally less physically declined, strongly suggests that these figures represent giants. Giants, often on bridges or gates, had by 1575 a longstanding connection to royal pageantry, and had been appearing on the Stonegate at the southern end of London Bridge in connection with royal entries and festivities since the early fifteenth century.²⁴ These oversize figures wore a

²¹ *PP*, sig. A2^r.

²² For the argument that the *PP* is modelled on continental European festival books, which commemorated the progresses, entries, and entertainments put on for foreign monarchs, and with which Leicester was very familiar, see Goldring, 'Gascoigne and Kenilworth', 365-75.

²³ For a plan of the system of gates and entryways into Kenilworth through which Elizabeth would have passed in 1575, see Richard K. Morris, "'I was never more in love with an olde howse nor never newe worke coulede be better bestowed": The Earl of Leicester's remodelling of Kenilworth Castle for Queen Elizabeth I', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 89 (2009), 241-305 (243).

²⁴ Surviving records have giants featuring in pageantry on the Bridge from 1413, in Henry V's coronation festivities. See Caroline M. Barron, 'Pageantry on London Bridge in the Early Fifteenth Century', in *'Bring furth the pagants': Essays in Early English Drama Presented to Alexandra F. Johnston*, ed. David N. Klausner and Karen S. Marsalek (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 91-104 (95).

variety of costumes and weapons, and were often styled as defenders of the entering king. Returning from his coronation in France on 21 February 1432, for instance, the infant Henry VI was greeted at London Bridge by a giant, who, ‘*with his swerd drawe in his hande, shewed with countenaunce, doth manace all foregn enemys to the death without mercy, that seith or doth ayenst the Kynges right*’.²⁵

‘[R]ight’ here is not just right to rule but also right of way or right of entrance. The giant on London Bridge who welcomed Henry V on his return from Agincourt in November 1415 was both king’s champion and ‘warder’ [*ianitor*], and brandished both an axe and the keys to the city.²⁶ As ‘porter’, the Kenilworth Hercules (also a figure of outsize proportions)²⁷ performs a similar function by delivering up ‘both club and keyes’ to Elizabeth at the entry (*PP*, sig. A2^r). The key-keeping duties of these pageant giants, and their positioning on the Stonegate, the traditional boundary of the city of London, indicates that giants are here also associated with bounds and liminality, for such ‘entries’ marked the formal passage from one jurisdiction to another.²⁸ Pageant giants in liminal, defensive positions are also prevalent in the sixteenth century.²⁹ The royal welcome prepared for Charles V in London in 1522 included giant figures on the Stonegate at London Bridge, and originally intended for the giants to hand the keys of the city to Henry VIII, although this did not in the end take place.³⁰ Giants also featured in Mary and Philip’s royal entry

²⁵ Layamon, *The Brut*, ed. Friedrich W. D. Brie, 2 vols (London: Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co for the Early English Text Society, 1906-1908), II: *Continuation of the Brut from 1430-1446 [F]*, 462. Thorn has been silently modernised to ‘th’.

²⁶ *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. and trans. Frank Taylor and John S. Roskell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 103.

²⁷ Cf. Gascoigne’s dialogue between the Savage Man and Echo, which describes the figure as a ‘monstrous man’, *PP*, sig. A5^v; and Langham’s description of the porter as ‘full of parson, big of lim’, *A Letter*, 244.

²⁸ As Leicester would have no doubt known. On the Stonegate, see Barron, 91.

²⁹ We should also acknowledge the tradition of giants in civic pageantry such as the annual London Lord Mayor’s Show. See Tracey Hill, *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Lord Mayor’s Show, 1585-1639* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2010), esp. 180-81.

³⁰ For a detailed account of Charles V’s entry, see Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 191-92.

celebrating their marriage in 1554, and Elizabeth's own coronation entry in 1558.³¹ In fact the giants showcased in the entry for Charles are significantly different to those in the entry pageants for Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth, and, as we shall see, the entry prepared for Elizabeth at Kenilworth took note. The figures in 1522 were (appropriately enough) a giant Hercules and Sampson complete with ass's jawbone, but in 1554 and 1558 the pageant organisers chose 'actual' giants creatively extrapolated from the legendary history of Britain. In their royal entry in 1554 (18 August), Philip and Mary were first met at London Bridge by 'two great Giauntes: the one named Corineus Britannus, and the other Gogmagog Albionus', holding a table of Latin verses.³² These verses, addressed more to Philip than to Mary, present the giants as signifying England more broadly, so that Corineus seems to be '[t]he archer Britayne' [sagittipotens... Britania], and 'Gogmagog Albionus' the 'noble England' who 'openeth her bosome' [gremium tibi nobilis Anglia pandit] to the new king.³³ Two giants also saw the monarchs out of the city at Temple Bar at the entry's close, again with 'a long table wrytten with Romaine Letters' over the entryway.³⁴

Elizabeth's own coronation entry into London in 1559 (14 January) resembled Philip and Mary's in some of its details.³⁵ Given the ostentatiously Protestant allegiance of its pageants, the devisers of the entertainments in this entry might also have been 'correcting' the Catholic entry of 1554. Corineus and Gogmagog appeared again, this time holding a

³¹ Detailed accounts are in Anglo, 327-28, 338 (Philip and Mary), and 344-59 (Elizabeth). On giants in Elizabeth's royal entry, see Germaine Warkentin, 'Introduction', in *The Queen's Majesty's Passage & Related Documents*, ed. Germaine Warkentin (Toronto: Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2004), 33, n. 64. Subsequent references to this volume as *The Queen's Majesty's Passage*.

³² Quotation from John Elder, *The Copie of a letter sent in to Scotlande, of the ariuell and landyng, and moste noble marryage of the most Illustre Prynce Philippe, Prynce of Spaine to the most excellente Princes Marye Quene of England* (London: J. Waylande, 1555), sig. B5^v. Elder's letter is one of the more detailed accounts of the entry; for others, see Anglo, 318-43.

³³ As reported in Elder, sigs. B5^v-B6^r.

³⁴ Elder, sig. C4^r. This table featured 'a longe declaration of the prayse of the kynge, with a bryffe rehearsall of all sayd pagauntis': *Two London Chronicles from the Collection of John Stow*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, in *Camden Miscellany Vol. 12* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1910), 38. Here thorn represented as 'y' has been silently changed to 'th'.

³⁵ See Warkentin, *passim*. It is possible that the 'giants' of 1554 were re-used in 1558. See Anglo, 354.

table of Latin verses at Temple Bar gate, at the end of the traditional processional route.³⁶ The gate was ‘dressed finely with two images of Gotmagot the Albion, and Corineus the Briton, two giants big in stature furnished accordingly’.³⁷ The verses that these giants display (re)expound the meaning of the five arches that the procession has passed through in its route around the city and their associated pageants, and conclude the event by bidding the Queen farewell.³⁸ By passing through Temple Bar towards Westminster, the Queen left the city and concluded the pageant, again with Gogmagog and Corineus marking the transition from one jurisdiction to another.

In its use of giants in close proximity to gates, therefore, the entertainment prepared for Elizabeth’s entry to Kenilworth in 1575 evidently intends to replicate something of a monarch’s entry to London. This entry further alludes to a royal entry by putting its giants into an Arthurian context. Gascoigne’s prose account of the entry in the *Princelye Pleasures* explicates the giant trumpeters on the gate battlements as ‘by this dum shew it was ment, that in the daies and Reigne of K. *Arthur*, men were of that stature. So that the Castle of *Kenelworth* should seeme stil to be kept by *Arthurs* heires and their seruants’ (sig. A1^v). The Queen’s passing through the gate into the Castle proper was moreover marked by an entertainment featuring the Lady of the Lake, who, as Langham’s *Letter* remarks, is ‘famous in king *Arthurz* book’.³⁹ Having trumpeters so ‘much exceeding the common stature of men in this age’ on the scene in the entertainment does not only point specifically to ‘the daies... of K. *Arthur*’ (sig. A1^v), but also recalls the longer legendary period of prehistory as

³⁶ For the route of Elizabeth’s coronation entry through London, see the map in Warkentin, 47.

³⁷ ‘The Receiving of the Queen’s Majesty’, in *The Queen’s Majesty’s Passage*, 93.

³⁸ For the verses see *The Queen’s Majesty’s Passage*, 94-95. There was also an English version of the Latin verses displayed on a lesser table. Modern English translation of the Latin verses is in *The Queen’s Majesty’s Passage*, Appendix III, 130-31.

³⁹ Langham, *A Letter*, 245. See also *PP*, sigs. A2^v-A3^r.

fabricated by Geoffrey of Monmouth, in which Britain was populated by giants and not by men, and in which Corineus and Gogmagog play prominent roles.⁴⁰

The ‘quotation’ of aspects of royal entry pageants in Elizabeth’s welcome to Kenilworth alone reveals a great deal about the extent of Leicester’s ambitions for the royal visit.⁴¹ As keeper of Kenilworth Leicester is both servant to the Tudor dynasty descended from Arthur but also (and more provocatively) an Arthurian ‘heir[e]’ (sig. A1v).⁴² Arthurian origins probably seemed a more promising focus than Leicester’s actual undistinguished pedigree, and the disgraceful recent history of the Dudley family. Dudley’s grandfather Edmund Dudley was, as William Cecil noted, ‘but a solicitor’, who was executed for treason in 1510.⁴³ Leicester’s father John Dudley and brother Guildford Dudley were also executed for treason in 1553. The *Princelye Pleasures* spends much time bolstering the Arthurian credentials of the entertainments presented to Elizabeth at Kenilworth. Gascoigne’s own dialogue between the Savage Man and Echo carefully insists on the Arthurian nature of the entertainment accompanying Elizabeth’s entrance into the Kenilworth Tiltyard. This dialogue aims to clarify (or control) the import of the entertainments: the Savage Man (played by Gascoigne) rather disingenuously calls upon Jupiter to reveal ‘what hath moued these sundry shewes, | which I of late did see’ (sig. A4^r). In the context of Gascoigne’s control of the *Princelye Pleasures* as a text which only in fact selectively narrates the events of the Queen’s visit to Kenilworth, the dialogue functions as much as an opportunity to insist

⁴⁰ See Chapter 3, ‘Topographical mythologies: Hercules at the mouth of the Rhône and beyond’, and Chapter 4.6, ‘Giants, Hercules, and the Giant with the Scales’.

⁴¹ Much has been written on this topic: for a concise introduction, see Elizabeth Goldring, ‘Gascoigne and Kenilworth’, esp. 363-64, n. 4.

⁴² Elizabeth seems to have understood: after the speech of the Lady of the Lake, Langham records that ‘[i]t pleased her highnes too thank this lady and too ad withall, we had thought indeed the Lake had been ours, and doo you call it yourz noow? Well we wyll heerin common more with yoo hereafter’, *A Letter*, 245. The *PP* does not include this comment. See the discussion by Frye, 56ff.

⁴³ Cecil cited in S. J. Gunn, ‘Dudley, Edmund (c. 1462-1510)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford UP, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8147>> [accessed 15 November 2015]. Subsequent references to this database as ‘*ODNB*’.

upon the ‘Arthurian’ nature of the entertainments as to actually record what was performed.⁴⁴ So the Savage Man’s identification of the ‘great men’ on the walls as ‘some Gyants certainly’ (sig. A5^r, A5^v) is refined into a more precisely Arthurian interpretation: the giants ‘serued, | King Arthur man of might. | And euer since this castle kept, | for Arthurs heyres by right’, and affirmed by Echo’s repetition of ‘Right’ (sig. A5^v).⁴⁵ Since giants in royal entries often defend the monarch’s ‘right’ both of rule and of way, presenting the giants on the Kenilworth gate as performing a similar function – upholding the ‘right’ of Arthur’s heirs – is a bold adaptation (or appropriation?) of princely privilege and ritual.⁴⁶

5.3. Hercules, John Badger, and the Protestants

Introducing Hercules in the very next sentence of the account of the *Princely Pleasures* functions to present Hercules as one of the ‘seruants’ of Arthur (and, therefore, of Leicester) who keep Kenilworth. Hercules is not here a timeless and unfortunate lover, but is instead placed in ‘historical’ time both as an inhabitant of Britain’s legendary prehistory, and as a servant – indeed ‘porter’ (or *ianitor*) of Arthur.⁴⁷ Elizabeth’s encounter with Hercules therefore took place in a context infused with references to British prehistory. Meeting a possibly-giant Hercules in a quasi-Galfridian setting in the company of giants here is not altogether surprising when we recall the Hercules associated with giant-killing and the legendary prehistory of Britain discussed earlier in this thesis.⁴⁸ Hercules is also an appropriate companion figure to the giants occupying liminal places in royal entries to London. As I demonstrated in Chapter 3, the Hercules who features in the legendary

⁴⁴ Gascoigne’s rehearsal of the first day’s entertainments in the Dialogue may indeed account for why the Hercules entertainment makes it into the *PP* at all, given that the collection seems to include works by authors other than Gascoigne only when Gascoigne’s own compositions explicitly mention or respond to them. See Austen, 117.

⁴⁵ Langham’s description of the Lady of Lake as ‘famous in king Arthurz book’ suggests that the entertainments’ Arthurian efforts were at least partially successful: *A Letter*, 245.

⁴⁶ Cf. *The Brut*, ed. Brie, II, 462.

⁴⁷ For ‘ianitor’ see *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. and trans. Taylor and Roskell, 103; and discussion above.

⁴⁸ See Chapters 3, ‘Topographical mythologies’, and 4, ‘Hercules and *The Faerie Queene*’.

prehistory of Britain also has a significantly liminal quality, since although he is the killer of Albion, the fight takes place ‘in Fraunce’ rather than Britain, and whether or not Hercules makes it to the British Isles is a disputed question.⁴⁹

The entertainment featuring Hercules and welcoming the Queen to Kenilworth shows something of the pressures of different authorships and agendas operating in the *Princelye Pleasures* and in the entertainments themselves. Leicester’s dynastic ambitions are well-served by Gascoigne’s emphasis upon the Arthurian elements of the legendary frame of the entertainment in his Dialogue, but the interests of other contributors to the *Princelye Pleasures* lie slightly elsewhere. As Chapter 3 of this thesis demonstrated, the ‘British History’ in its sixteenth-century articulation in England also presented a significant opportunity to evangelical Protestants invested in finding a pre-Roman Christian religious tradition in England. Writers such as John Bale emphasise (or invent) the purity of English Christianity in the period after the destruction of the giants and before the arrival of Christianity from Rome. Several of the contributors to the Kenilworth entertainments had by 1575 long-standing reformed interests. William Hunnis, for instance, author of the Sybil’s speech which greeted Elizabeth outside the castle walls, had participated in a conspiracy to assassinate Mary and Philip and put Elizabeth on the throne in 1555-56.⁵⁰ Richard Mulcaster, moreover, who contributed Latin verses to the *Princelye Pleasures*, was one of the devisers of the ostentatiously Protestant pageants which featured in Elizabeth’s coronation entry in 1559, and almost certainly the author of the principal account of the entry.⁵¹ Gascoigne himself was a keen opportunist and had served in the English expeditions

⁴⁹ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton, 2nd rev. edn (London: Longman, 2007), 2. 10. 11. Subsequent references (as ‘*FQ*’) to this edition.

⁵⁰ See Andrew Ashbee, ‘Hunnis, William (d. 1597)’, in *ODNB*, ed. Cannadine <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14187>> [accessed 23 June 2016].

⁵¹ For Mulcaster’s contribution to the Kenilworth entertainments, which he may have performed, see *PP*, sig. A3^v (‘master Muncaster’). Mulcaster’s involvement in the Kenilworth entertainments makes the case for the influence of royal entries even more probable.

to assist the Dutch provinces in their revolt against Spanish rule, a cause close to Leicester's heart. Both Leicester's own commitment to reformed religion, and the involvement of reform-minded writers in the entertainments make Protestant overtones likely.⁵²

The speech attributed to Hercules and which accompanies Gascoigne's prose description of Hercules' actions in the entertainment before the Queen emphasises the 'Porter's' confessional allegiance considerably more than Gascoigne's summary leads readers to expect. This speech is not by Gascoigne, but is attributed in the *Princelye Pleasures* to John Badger, Superior Bedel of Theology at the University of Oxford.⁵³ Originally from Worcestershire, John Badger (1530-77) was a student at Christ Church from 1549, receiving his B.A. in 1554, and his M.A. in 1555.⁵⁴ Badger remained at Christ Church (where he would later request to be buried) until about 1563, and held a number of high-status posts in the University.⁵⁵ He was Clerk of the Market with Robert Lister in 1567-68, and Superior Bedel of Theology from 1571 until his death in July 1577.⁵⁶ The clerkship of the market, a medieval grant which empowered the University to set the price of grain in the city, was one of the many ways in which the University controlled trade in Oxford, much to the discountenance of its non-academic residents.⁵⁷ Badger's position in 1567-68 was therefore one of significant power. Bedels at Oxford performed key administrative duties

⁵² For a brief overview of Leicester's religious interests, see Simon Adams, 'Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester (1532/3-1588)', in *ODNB*, ed. Cannadine <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8160>> [accessed 10 June 2016].

⁵³ 'These verses were deuised and pronounced by master Badger of Oxenforde, Maister of Arte, and Bedle in the same Vniuersitie', *PP*, sig. A2^{r-v}.

⁵⁴ *Register of the University of Oxford, Vol. I: (1449-63; 1505-71)*, ed. C. W. Boase and Andrew Clark, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press for the Oxford Historical Society, 1885-89), I (1885): 1449-63; 1505-71, ed. Boase, 223. Subsequent references to this work as 'Register'. The information about Badger's time at Christ Church is from Ms Judith Curthoys, Archivist, Christ Church College, private communication (6 November 2015).

⁵⁵ Badger asks to be buried in Christ Church in his will (made 1577): see Oxford, Oxford University Archives, Register of Chancellor's Court, Hyp/A/5 (Reg GG), fol. 228^v. His will also suggests that he had close connections with citizens of the town of Oxford. It was not unusual for University members to have significant familial and personal ties to the town; this and a narrowing of the gap in educational social status between leading figures in town and gown Oxford had become much more common by the seventeenth century. See Alan Crossley, 'City and University', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Astor, 8 vols (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1984), IV: *Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 105-34 (107).

⁵⁶ *Register*, II (1887): 1571-1622, ed. Clark, 253, 257.

⁵⁷ See Crossley, 127-28 and notes, for a brief account of the clerkship of the market.

for the University, and were present at public gatherings of the University such as funerals and processions. Superior bedels like Badger received their main income from a collection from the schools of the university, and the position was both prestigious and financially advantageous.⁵⁸

The appearance of a senior University official in the entertainments at Kenilworth should not be surprising to us. By 1575 the Earl of Leicester had been Chancellor of Oxford for ten years.⁵⁹ As a significant member of the University hierarchy, Badger would have had ample opportunity to encounter both Leicester and the Queen herself, who visited Oxford in September 1566.⁶⁰ In 1566 is very probable that Badger's ceremonial duties would have put him in the Queen's presence, and he certainly also encountered her at the plays members of the University put on in the Queen's honour at Christ Church during her visit. Badger's university context permits us to understand something of the nature of the speech he wrote for and performed 'as' Hercules. As in Gascoigne's prose paraphrase, Hercules first professes himself amazed at the disturbances caused by the Queen's arrival:

What stirre, what coyle is here[?]
come back, holde, whether now?
Not one so stout to stirre,
what harrying haue we here? (*PP*, sig. A2^r).

Not all of the content of Badger's speech, however, blends smoothly with Gascoigne's narration of the event and its Arthurian preamble. Badger's Hercules has nothing to say

⁵⁸ For more information on bedels and their duties see M. B. Hackett, 'The University as a Corporate Body', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Astor, 8 vols (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1984), I: *The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. J. I. Catto, 37-95.37-95 (85-87).

⁵⁹ Leicester was elected Chancellor on 31 December 1564.

⁶⁰ It is also possible that Badger might have known or encountered Richard Mulcaster, who also had some connection to Oxford and Christ Church in the 1550s. Although also educated at Cambridge, Mulcaster applied for admission to Christ Church in Oxford in May 1556, and proceeded M.A. at the University on 17 December 1556. See William Barker, 'Mulcaster, Richard (1531/2-1611)', in *ODNB*, ed. Cannadine <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19509>> [accessed 30 November 2015].

about Arthur or the gigantic retinue on the walls of the Tiltyard.⁶¹ But he does take care to outline his confessional identity to his audience:

My frends a Porter I,
no Poper here am plast
By leaue perhaps els not
while club and limmes doe last. (sig. A2^r).

‘Popper’ is not well-attested in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, but appears to be a derogatory term for a Catholic perhaps related to ‘popeling’.⁶² Hercules’ speech contains several other words which seem to have religious overtones. Both ‘coyle’ and ‘garboyle’ (‘A garboyle this in deede’, sig. A2^r) refer to types of disturbance, often public and civic, and sometimes religious in nature or motivation.⁶³ In an English translation of a sermon of Calvin, for instance, Calvin remarks that ‘the enemies of the Gospell make a triumphing, and spit fire, and keepe a great coyle too deface all that belongs too God’; more precisely for Rudolf Gwalther, the ‘enemies of God’ are the Anabaptists, who ‘erre and keepe a pernicious coyle’.⁶⁴ As even a cursory glance at the *Oxford English Dictionary* and Early English Books Online will demonstrate, these words are far from exclusively religious in their signification, but their appearance in proximity to Hercules’ claim that ‘My frends a Porter I, | no Poper here am plast’ (sig. A2^r) seems more suggestive. This speech therefore seems to have an anti-Catholic dimension to it. Although not a reliable guide to the entertainments at

⁶¹ The absence of Arthur may reflect this speech’s lack of interest in courtly fictions or subjects (unlike Gascoigne’s work), if Arthur is a ‘courtly’ figure.

⁶² The only instance in the *OED* is this very passage: see ‘popper, n.2’, *OEDO* [accessed 17 November 2015]. Earlier instances of ‘popper’ on the Early English Books Online (EEBO) corpus seem to all be typographical errors (for e.g. ‘popery’). The word is at any rate close to ‘pope’ and its derivatives. ‘Popeling’ is a relatively new word in the second half of the sixteenth century: see ‘popeling, n.’, *OEDO* [accessed 15 June 2016]. See also ‘The Princely pleasures’, ed. Goldring, 292, n. 450.

⁶³ See the contexts of the uses of ‘coil’ in its *OEDO* entry: ‘coil, n.2.’, *OEDO* [accessed 17 November 2015], and in text searches of the EEBO corpus. Indeed the earliest recorded use of ‘coil’ on EEBO (predating the *OED* by nineteen years) comes from the Protestant propagandist Luke Shepherd’s *Philogamus*, a denunciation of clerical celibacy: see *Philogamus* ([London? n. pr., 1548?]), sig. B1^v.

⁶⁴ John Calvin, ‘The .xvi. Sermon, which is the first vpon the third Chapter [of *Ephesians*]', in *The sermons of M. Iohn Caluin, vpon the Epistle of S. Paule too the Ephesians*, trans. Arthur Golding (London: [T. Dawson] for L. Harison and G. Bishop, 1577), sig. O8^{r-v}; Rudolf Gwalther, ‘The .lxii. Homelie’, in *An hundred, threescore and fiftene Homelyes or Sermons, vpon the Actes of the Apostles*, trans. John Bridges (London: H. Denham, 1572), sig. Hhh1^r.

Kenilworth, and especially not to those written by others, Gascoigne also confirms some of the religious possibilities in Hercules' speech. In the dialogue between the Savage Man and Echo, the Savage Man asks 'Hercules stood hie, | why came he from his Dorter?' (sig. A5^v). 'Dorter' is a word which denotes a dormitory, and particularly monastic dormitories, and therefore also seems to be Catholic in its implications.⁶⁵

Presenting an entertainment with anti-Catholic, or at least religiously suggestive, vocabulary, and a framing narrative which sets its scene in legendary British prehistory supports Leicester's interest in promoting the active Protestant English involvement in Continental Europe that would become dominant in his circle in the early 1580s. As a student of Christ Church during the newly-founded College's period as 'a powerhouse of Edwardian Protestantism' under the headship of the reformist Richard Cox, Badger himself may have shared something of Leicester's religious views.⁶⁶ Christ Church seems to have remained reform-minded in the later decades of the sixteenth century. Scholars such as Cox left the College and university administration (or were dismissed) with the accession of Mary I, but in the 1560s Calvinists such as James Calfhill and Thomas Sampson were back in prominent positions at Christ Church and the university.⁶⁷ The appointments also reveal Leicester's influence in promoting reformed thinking at a lingeringly conservative University.⁶⁸ Sampson, whose appointment to Christ Church was secured through Leicester's

⁶⁵ See 'dortour | dorter, n.', sense a., *OEDO* [accessed 14 November 2015]. In the *FQ* the Blatant Beast chases the monks 'into their dortours sad, | And searched all their cels and secrets neare; | In which what filth and ordure did appeare, | Were yrkesome to report', 6. 12. 24.

⁶⁶ Quotation from Jennifer Loach, 'Reformation Controversies', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Astor, 8 vols (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1984), III: *The Collegiate University*, ed. James McConica, 364-96 (380). Cox was head of Christ Church until he was replaced by the religious conservative Richard Marshall in 1553. He was also Chancellor of the University from 1547 to 1552. For a detailed description of intellectual and religious life at Christ Church in the 1540s and early 1550s, see Jane Dawson, 'The early career of Christopher Goodman and his place in the development of English Protestant thought' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 1979), 10-62.

⁶⁷ Calfhill was a student at Christ Church from 1548, supplicating for the BA in 1549 and the MA in 1552. He returned to Oxford in 1560 and was appointed canon of the second prebend and subdean at the College. In 1564 he became the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. See Brett Usher, 'Calfhill, James (1529/30-1570)', in *ODNB*, ed. Cannadine <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4390>> [accessed 16 June 2016].

⁶⁸ For the University's religious conservatism into the reign of Elizabeth see Loach, 393-96.

intervention, and who was later the first minister in the reformed Church of England to be deprived for nonconformity, immediately set about purging Christ Church Cathedral of its Catholic vestiges.⁶⁹ As a result of these appointments Christ Church was a centre of the vestiarian controversy in Oxford in the same period.⁷⁰ Badger's university role as Superior Bedel also required him to take an active part in investigating instances of nonconformity in Oxford. In May 1577, for instance, Badger was charged with conveying Rowland Jencks, a bookseller and known Catholic in Oxford accused of seditious talk, to London.⁷¹ These sorts of duties would also have brought him into contact with Leicester, for Jencks was to be questioned by Leicester and Privy Council.⁷² It therefore is likely that Badger had some personal investment in reformed thinking – or at least an eye to the opportunities such an investment could procure.

5.4. Eloquence, decorum, and Hercules

Aside from its confessional codings, Badger's speech for Hercules is also stylistically distinct from the contributions of the other authors, including Gascoigne, to the Kenilworth entertainments. This is in part due to the generic difference between this speech and the *Herculeses* in prose romance and prosimetrical texts: one cannot envisage the Hercules in Gascoigne's *F. J.* or 'The lover encouraged' claiming in semi-alliterative seven-syllable lines that they are not 'Poper[s]'. Words such as 'coyle', 'garboyle' and indeed 'Poper' might have been unfamiliar or at least unusual to the audience of Hercules' speech in 1575, for they are all sixteenth-century coinages or adaptations into English.⁷³ Why might

⁶⁹ For an overview of Sampson's career pre- and post-Oxford, see Alec Ryrie, 'Sampson, Thomas (c. 1517-1589)', in *ODNB*, ed. Cannadine <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24595>> [accessed 16 June 2016].

⁷⁰ Inasmuch as it troubled Oxford at all: see Loach, 383-84.

⁷¹ This would turn out to be among Badger's last acts as Superior Bedel, for he was dead by the end of July 1577, probably of the plague which hit Oxford in the summer of that year.

⁷² The incident is recorded at length in *Register*, II (1887), ed. Clarke, 154.

⁷³ The first recorded citation of 'coyle' in the *OED* is 1567 (see 'coil, n.2', *OEDO* [accessed 17 November 2015]), and the earliest citation I could find was c. 1548 (see above). The earliest citation for 'garboyle' in the *OED* is 1548 (see 'garboil, n.', *OEDO* [accessed 17 November 2015]); a general text search on EEBO finds no earlier uses. 'Paragon' also seems to be a sixteenth-century coinage: its first recorded citation in the *OED* is 1548 (see 'paragon, n.', *OEDO* [accessed 17 November 2015]).

Hercules be given this sort of vocabulary? On the one hand, using relatively ‘new’ words and neologisms (‘Poper’) in the speech may intend to convey a voguish and ‘inkhorn’ effect. However, as a ‘roough’ verbal production, the unusual vocabulary of the speech may mark it as an artefact of the legendary British past that the entertainment evokes more generally.⁷⁴

If those aspects of Hercules’ language here which appear most archaic are in fact also most ‘on trend’, this is less paradoxical than it sounds. From a Ciceronian perspective neologism and archaism are different sides of the same oratorical coin. In Book 3 of *De oratore*, Crassus argues that an appropriately copious vocabulary ought to be the foundation of an orator’s style.⁷⁵ The orator can accomplish this augmentation and ornamentation of his vocabulary by using ‘rare words, new coinages, and words used metaphorically’ [aut inusitatum verbum aut novatum aut translatum].⁷⁶ Crassus’ ‘rare words’ [inusitatum verbum] are actually archaisms which now survive (if at all) in contemporary use only in poetic [poeticum] language.⁷⁷ These archaisms, Crassus says, can add ‘grandeur and antiquity’ [grandior atque antiquior] to the style of one’s speech.⁷⁸ Crassus adds to this point, however, a significant qualification: archaisms can only have a beneficial stylistic effect if they are ‘used in the proper context’ [loco positis].⁷⁹ Using ‘rare words’ alone, or more

⁷⁴ Cf. ‘rough, adj. (and int.)’, *OEDO*, II.6.a, II.8.a. (roughness of craftsmanship: rudimentary, crude). See also IV.16.a. (roughness of sound: discordant), IV.18.a. (roughness of diction and style) [all accessed 16 June 2016].

⁷⁵ To add to the numerous continental printings of *De oratore* already available to Latin-literate readers, a Latin text of was printed for the first time in England in 1573, by John Kingston (whose connections to reformed religion were noted in Chapter 1): see *Marci Tullii Ciceronis de oratore libri tres*, ed. Philip Melanchthon (London: J. Kingston, 1573). Given Kingston’s involvement, the choice of Melanchthon’s text may not be coincidental.

⁷⁶ Text and translation from *De oratore*, in Cicero, *De oratore III, De fato, Paradoxa Stoicorum, De partitione oratoria*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1948), 3. 28. 153. Subsequent reference to this text and translation (as ‘*DO*’).

⁷⁷ ‘Rare words are usually archaisms which because of their antiquity have passed out of use in everyday speech’ [Inusitata sunt Prisca fere ac vetusta et ab usu quotidiani sermonis iamdiu intermissa], *DO*, 3. 28. 153.

⁷⁸ *DO*, 3. 28. 153.

⁷⁹ ‘...alia multa [i.e. archaic words] quibus loco positis grandior atque antiquior oratio saepe videri solet.’ *DO*, 3. 28. 153. Earlier in Book 3 Crassus recommended that orators do not ‘employ words that are no longer in customary use, except occasionally and sparingly, for the sake of decoration’ [...utendum verbis eis quibus iam consuetudo nostra non utitur, nisi quando ornandi causa, parce, quod ostendam], *DO*, 3. 10. 39.

generally, avoiding the ‘commonplace and hackneyed’ for more ‘select and distinguished terms’ is not then a guarantee of stylistic or oratorical success.⁸⁰

We might consider how successful Badger’s attempt to make Hercules a good Ciceronian is here. Crassus emphasises the importance of aural and critical judgement when considering vocabulary, and a bad decision not only adds no grandeur or dignity to one’s speech, but might make that speech inappropriate, or remote from its proper context. ‘[W]hat better style of expression can there be,’ asks Crassus, ‘than that our language should be correct, lucid, ornate and suitably appropriate [apte congruenterque] to the particular matter under consideration?’⁸¹ For implicit in the argument of the *De oratore* is the assumption that an orator’s language and his speech should be appropriate [quid aptum sit] to the situation in hand.⁸² Different causes, audiences, occasions and indeed speakers themselves require different types of oratory [non omni causae nec auditori neque personae neque tempori congruere orationis unum genus].⁸³ This difference is a matter of language and style in both verbal and non-verbal senses, because ‘the effect of all these oratorical devices depends on how they are delivered’ [haec ipsa omnia perinde sunt ut aguntur].⁸⁴

Crassus’ observations on how to speak appropriately and therefore well all depend upon the idea of decorum.⁸⁵ Casting Hercules as the star of an entertainment might make

⁸⁰ ‘In the case of proper words therefore it is the distinction of an orator to avoid what is commonplace and hackneyed and to employ select and distinguished terms that have some fullness and sonority in them’ [In propriis est igitur illa laus oratoris ut abiecta atque obsoleta fugiat, lectis atque illustribus utatur in quibus plenum quiddam et sonans inesse videatur], *DO*, 3. 28. 150.

⁸¹ ‘Quinam igitur dicendi est modus melior... quam ut Latine, ut plane, ut ornate, ut ad id quodcumque agetur apte congruenterque dicamus?’, *DO*, 3. 10. 37.

⁸² ‘quid aptum sit, hoc est, quid maxime deceat in oratione’ [...the subject of appropriateness, that is, what style is most suitable in a speech], *DO*, 3. 54. 210. ‘He’ only is appropriate here because in Rome and the early modern period alike, rhetoric and the public speaking lie, as Leonardi Bruni says, ‘absolutely outside the province of women’. *De Studiis et Literiis*, quoted in Patricia Parker, *Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property* (London; New York: Methuen, 1987), 104.

⁸³ ‘no single kind of oratory suits every cause or audience or speaker or occasion’, *DO*, 3. 55. 210-211. Cf. also Quintilian, *The Orator’s Education*, ed. and trans. D. A. Russell, 5 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2001), V, 11. 1. 29-59. Subsequent references to this edition (as ‘*OE*’), by volume, book and subsidiary parts.

⁸⁴ *DO*, 3. 56. 213. For the necessity of diverse language and style for diverse situations see *DO*, 3. 55 *passim*.

⁸⁵ For preliminary explication of decorum principally in an early modern English context, see Chapter 2.1, ‘Comic Herculeses in the ‘old’ *Arcadia*’.

appropriate and decorous speech particularly difficult to attain. Yet Hercules is also a central figure in texts which seem to permit a grand, expansive style suitable to their weighty subject matter, such as the classical tragedies *The Women of Trachis*, *Hercules furens*, and *Hercules Oetaeus*.⁸⁶ As we saw in Chapter 1, Senecan tragedies such as *Hercules furens* and *Hercules Oetaeus* were in the early modern period presented as texts with the potential to initiate moral improvement in their readers, and their moral effect is characterised by readers such as Thomas Newton as a function of their ‘peereless sublimity and loftinesse of Style’.⁸⁷ These plays, therefore, with ‘grauity of Philosophicall sentences, more waightynes of sappy words, or greater authority of sound matter beateth down sinne’.⁸⁸

Senecan tragedy is as we shall see a particularly rich context for this speech, but the maintenance of decorum between tragic language and tragic situation, and especially as far as Hercules is concerned, is more difficult than we might expect. This is due first of all to the style of oratory typically employed in tragedies. Of the three ‘styles’ of oratory set out by theorists such as Quintilian and the anonymous author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, the ‘grand’ [grande; gravis] style is most insistently associated with tragedy.⁸⁹ This ‘robust’ [robustum] style ‘consists of a smooth and ornate arrangement of impressive words [verborum gravium levi et ornate constructione]’: as this punning description suggests, it is a style which may be physically impressive *upon* as well as to its auditors (we might remember Seneca’s weighty words beating down sin).⁹⁰ A major effect of this ‘grand’ style is therefore to rouse the emotions of its audience, because verbal and rhetorical ‘force’ [vis]

⁸⁶ Latin versions of parts of Heracles’ final speeches in Sophocles’ *Women of Trachis* are in Cicero’s *Tusculan Disputations*: see Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, trans. J. E. King (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1946), 2. 8. 20. Subsequent references to this text and translation (as ‘TD’), by book and subsidiary parts.

⁸⁷ Thomas Newton, in *Seneca his tenne tragedies* (London: T. Marsh, 1581), sig. A3^v.

⁸⁸ Newton, in *Seneca his tenne tragedies*, sigs. A3^v-A4^r.

⁸⁹ Quintilian, *OE*, V, 12. 10. 59 (‘grande’); *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, trans. Harry Caplan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1954), 4. 8. 1 (‘gravis’). Subsequent references to this translation (as ‘RH’) by book and subsidiary parts.

⁹⁰ Quintilian, *OE*, V, 12. 10. 59 (‘robustum’); *RH*, 4. 8. 11 (‘Gravis est quae constat ex verborum gravium levi et ornate constructione’).

is most effective for generating feeling; and as a result the audience will be ‘dragged through the whole range of emotions’ by the orator.⁹¹

But both the ‘grand’ style, and the feelings it may move in its hearers are not only potentially rhetorically effective, but also problematic from the perspective of decorum. Speaking ‘grandly’ requires the use of ‘the most ornate [ornatissima] words’ available, and ‘figures of thought and figures of diction which have grandeur [gravitatem]’; but in doing so the speaker runs the risk of slipping into bombast or ‘swollen’ [sufflata] speech instead.⁹² The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* characterises ‘swollen’ oratory as dangerously near [propinqua] to ‘grand’ oratory, and making use of many of the same rhetorical devices as speaking grandly: ‘to those who are inexperienced, turgid and inflated language often seems majestic—when a thought is expressed either in new or in archaic words, or in clumsy metaphors, or in diction more impressive than the theme demands’.⁹³ Since using rare words, new words, and metaphors is exactly what Crassus recommends the aspiring orator do in order to improve his oratorical style in *De oratore*, telling the difference between ‘swollen’ and ‘grand’ speech may in practice not be straightforward.⁹⁴ Knowing ‘grand’ from ‘swollen’ speech, and avoiding the latter, is therefore not a matter of precept or following

⁹¹ ‘...secundum [i.e. of the styles] movendi... ut... in movendo vis exigi videatur’ [the second [style] that of appealing to the emotions... force [seems to be required] for rousing emotion], Quintilian, *OE*, V, 12. 10. 59. Speaking in the ‘grand’ style, ‘hic iram, hic misericordiam inspirabat: hoc dicente iudex pallebit et flebit et per omnis adfectus tractus huc atque illuc sequitur nec doceri desiderabit.’ [(the orator) will inspire anger and pity. When he speaks, the judge will turn pale, weep, let himself be dragged through the whole range of emotions; he will follow the speaker, now in one direction, now in another, and never feel the need of being given the facts.] *OE*, V, 12. 10. 62. Note however the modern textual emendations in this passage.

⁹² *RH*, 4. 8. 11: ‘In gravi consumetur oratio figura si quae cuiusque rei poterunt ornatissima verba reperiri, sive propria sive extranea, ad unam quamque rem adcommodabuntur... et si exornationes sententiarum aut verborum quae gravitatem habebunt... adhibebuntur.’ [A discourse will be composed in the Grand style if to each idea are applied the most ornate words that can be found for it, whether literal or figurative; ...and if we employ figures of thought and figures of diction which have grandeur.]; 4. 10. 15 (‘sufflata’).

⁹³ ‘item gravis oratio saepe inperitis videtur ea quae turget aut duritur aliunde translatis aut gravioribus quam res postulat aliquid dicitur’, *RH*, 4. 10. 15.

⁹⁴ Cicero, *DO*, 3. 28. 153. Hence George Puttenham’s anxiety about what is and is not decorous: ‘since the actions of man with their circumstances be infinite, and the world likewise replenished with many judgments,’ he observes, ‘it may be a question who shall have the determination of such controversy as may arise whether this or that action or speech be decent or indecent’, in *The Art of English Poesy*, ed. Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2007), 348. Subsequent references to this edition by page number.

certain rules, but more nebulously of oratorical experience, and, more troublingly, of perception: the inexperienced are misled by the appearance of ‘grandeur’ [specie gravitatis] and cannot perceive [perspicere] the true ‘tumidity’ of ‘swollen’ oratory.⁹⁵ The possibility that speaking ‘grandly’ may slip into inflation – and how does one distinguish between them, anyway? – introduces a disturbing instability into the separation of these two styles.

Oratory which rouses the emotions is also problematic from the perspective of decorum. This is because the feelings it generates may be excessive to the situation at hand, and ‘anything which goes too far is a breach of decorum’.⁹⁶ The generating of extreme emotions in potentially excessive language is a feature of tragedy, and of tragic Herculeses. Quintilian recommends that although it is appropriate to use emotional appeals for persuasive effect in oratory, context again is all: ‘[i]n trivial cases, of course, to raise such tragic storms [has tragoedias movere] is like putting Hercules’ mask and buskins on a baby’.⁹⁷ Part of the effect of this analogy, which was as we shall see well-known in the early modern period due to its inclusion in Erasmus’ *Adagia*, comes from the incongruity of its juxtaposition of the more usually ‘truculent’ [truculentus] stage Hercules with something not at all similar in dimension or behaviour.⁹⁸ But the fact that Quintilian chooses a Herculean analogy to talk once again about the importance of using the right words in the right context also points to the problematic diversity of Hercules’ theatrical portrayals (as

⁹⁵ ‘In hoc genus plerique cum declinantur et ab eo quo profecti sunt aberrarunt, specie gravitatis falluntur nec perspicere possunt orationis tumorem’ [Most of those who fall into this type, straying from the type they began with, are misled by the appearance of grandeur and cannot perceive the tumidity of the style], *RH*, 4. 10. 15.

⁹⁶ ‘Indecorum est super haec omne nimium’, Quintilian, *OE*, V, 11. 1. 91. Quintilian continues, ‘ideoque etiam quod natura rei satis aptum est, nisi modo quoque temperare, gratiam perdit’ [and this is why even what is naturally suitable enough to the situation loses its appeal if it is not also measured and restrained]. As we discussed in Chapter 2, the problem of ‘excess’ (rhetorical and otherwise) is also gendered; see also Parker, 111ff. Puttenham can’t quite make up his mind: ‘in every one of these passions being, as it were, indecencies, there is a comeliness to be discerned, which some men can keep and some men cannot, as to be angry, or to envy, or to hate, or to pity, or to be ashamed, decently—that is, none otherwise than reason requireth’, 370-71.

⁹⁷ ‘Nam in parvis quidem litibus has tragoedias movere tale est quasi si personam Herculis et coturnos aptare infantibus velis’, Quintilian, *OE*, III, 6. 1. 36. Cf. also V, 11. 1. 44-45.

⁹⁸ ‘truculentus’ is Quintilian’s own description of the Hercules who appears tragedies ‘ad scaenam componuntur’ [composed for the stage]; see *OE*, V, 11. 3. 73-74.

comic buffoon in Aristophanes' *Birds*, for instance, as well as tragic hero) and the indecorous behaviour attributed to Hercules in other stories from his mythos.⁹⁹ The dramatic resonances of Quintilian's remark are clear when we remember that a *cothurnus* was a type of shoe worn by tragic actors in classical drama, and which refers by extension to a 'loftie and high stile' suitable for tragedy.¹⁰⁰

Writers on rhetoric such as Cicero are moreover far from unambiguously approbatory about Herculean tragedy.¹⁰¹ In the *Tusculan Disputations* speaker 'M.' quotes large sections from Heracles' dying laments in Sophocles' *Women of Trachis*, ostensibly to illustrate the proposition that pain is an evil thing, but really to argue that poets such as Sophocles do not portray great men in a morally praiseworthy way. Instead they 'represent brave men wailing, they enervate our souls, and... do it with such charm that they are not merely read, but learnt by heart.'¹⁰² As a result, says 'M.', 'the strength of manliness is completely sapped.'¹⁰³ 'M.' frames his quotations of these passages in with descriptions that emphasise their emotionality: '[w]hat cries he utters...!'; Hercules is 'shrieking aloud', and finally 'broke down under stress of pain at the moment when death itself was opening the gate of immortality'.¹⁰⁴ This calls attention to the potentially excessive emotionality (as Cicero sees it) of inappropriately modulated tragedy in general, but also more particularly to the risks surrounding Hercules as a tragic speaker.

⁹⁹ See Chapter 2, 'Hercules in Arcadia, and the *Arcadias*', for discussion of Hercules as a comic figure in drama and some of the most prominent indecorous aspects of his mythos.

¹⁰⁰ See Lewis & Short, s.v. 'Cothurnus, i, m.', and the numerous examples under 'Cothurnus, cothurni', and 'Cothurnatus', in Cooper, *Thesaurus*.

¹⁰¹ Elsewhere Cicero uses examples from tragedies to illustrate the range of modulations in voice and gesture that an orator must employ to properly convey different emotions and sentiments: see *DO*, 3. 58. 217-219.

¹⁰² 'Lamentantes inducunt fortissimos viros, molliunt animos nostros, ita sunt deinde ducles, ut non legantur modo, sed etiam ediscantur.' Cicero, *TD*, 2. 11. 27.

¹⁰³ Cicero, *TD*, 2. 11. 27.

¹⁰⁴ Cicero, *TD*, 2. 8. 20 ('quas hic voces...edit!'); 2. 7. 19 (Philoctetes 'Herculem viderat in Oeta magnitudine dolorum eiulantem' [had seen the mighty Hercules on Oeta shrieking aloud in the extremity of his pains]); and 2. 8. 20 ('Herculem ipsum, qui tum dolore frangebatur, cum immortalitatem ipsa morte quaerebat').

The inventory of Badger's books made after his death in 1577 shows that he owned a work by Quintilian, most probably the *Institutio oratoria*, and a collection of Cicero's rhetorical works which would almost certainly have included the *De oratore* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, so we may presume that the problems of decorum and emotional and tragic excess posed by a figure such as Hercules would not have been unknown to him.¹⁰⁵ Given this familiarity, we must assume that Badger's choice of Hercules nonetheless to deliver this speech in his contribution to the Kenilworth entertainments is useful to his purposes.¹⁰⁶ Starting with an ireful Hercules 'stearn of coountinauns' and 'full of passions' is key to the dramatic transformation that the entry scene effects, which ends with Hercules giving up his keys and club to the sovereign and 'on his kneez humbly praiz[ing, i.e. praying] pardon of hiz ignorauns & impaciens'.¹⁰⁷ Presenting a Hercules who submits to the Queen's 'beutie, grace, and cheare' may be more pointed still (and not entirely favourable to Elizabeth) in the context of Hercules' well-known weakness for women.¹⁰⁸ Hercules' status as a figure who blurs the boundaries between various types of appropriate and inappropriate language and action also means that he is well-suited to appear in an entertainment set at the principal gate of Kenilworth Castle, which, as a gateway, ritually marks the passage from one jurisdiction to another. Casting Hercules as the 'porter' (or *ianitor*?) of this liminal space both further aligns the entertainment with royal entries into London featuring giants and sometimes even Herculesees in porter-like roles, and expands the liminality at stake here from

¹⁰⁵ 'John Badger, Scholar (M.A.): Probate Inventory, 1577', ed. William M. Abbott, in *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, ed. Robert J. Fehrenbach and E. S. Leedham-Green, 8 vols (Binghampton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992-), V (1998), no. 115 (pp. 11-23). Book 115.14 is 'quintilianus'; book 115.30 is 'Rethorica Tullii'. Subsequent reference to the inventory as 'Badger, Probate Inventory, 1577'. Collections of Ciceronian rhetorical texts such as the Aldine edition printed from 1514 (Venice) include *DO* and indeed the *RH*.

¹⁰⁶ And we should also remember that Badger himself delivered the speech in the person of Hercules at Kenilworth: see *PP*, sig. A2^{r-v}.

¹⁰⁷ Quotations from Langham, *A Letter*, 244.

¹⁰⁸ *PP*, sig. A2^r. This is an implication not lost on Spenser. Cf. the slightly different take on events in Gascoigne's dialogue between Echo and the Savage Man: 'why dyd he let them passe', says the Savage Man, 'And yield his keyes? percase he knew, | his masters will so was', *PP*, sig. A5^v.

physical to stylistic rhetorical boundaries.¹⁰⁹ As a result the speech here presses uncomfortably on the problematic issue of stylistic decorum.

5.5. Hercules and the language of Senecan tragedy

Presenting a ‘stearn’ Hercules ‘burst[ing] out in a great pang of impaciens’, and speaking with ‘passions’ and ‘stormz’ aligns not only the words of the speech but also Badger’s delivery of it with Senecan tragedy.¹¹⁰ Badger’s interest in drama more generally can be straightforwardly demonstrated: he owned copies of comedies by Plautus and Terence, and performed in the plays put on by the University to entertain Elizabeth when she visited Oxford in 1566, because one ‘Badger’ appears among the names of the ‘Actors in the Playes’ listed in a contemporary account of the entertainment by Miles Windsor.¹¹¹ Senecan tragedy might have been more interesting still to Badger if he was of reformist inclination. As I showed in Chapter 1, several of the translators of tragedies by or attributed to Seneca printed in the 1560s such as John Studley and Alexander Neville were ‘hot’ Protestants; and the collection of Senecan translations published in 1581 by Thomas Newton was produced with similar interests in mind.¹¹²

The linguistic particularities of these translations seem to have been as important and interesting to readers as their tragic subject matter. By the mid-1590s, quite possibly as a result of Newton’s presentation of the tragedies as a coherent moral-tragic bloc in *Seneca*

¹⁰⁹ For *ianitor* see the royal entry of Henry V described in *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. and trans. Taylor and Roskell, 103; and the discussion above.

¹¹⁰ Langham, *A Letter*, 244.

¹¹¹ See ‘Badger, Probate Inventory, 1577’: book 115.21 is ‘Comedia plauti’; book 115.40 is ‘therentius’. For the cast list see Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 257, fol. 107. Miles Windsor’s account of the 1566 visit is textually complicated: for thorough discussion see John R. Elliott Jr., ‘Queen Elizabeth at Oxford: New Light on the Royal Plays of 1566’, *ELR*, 18 (1988), 218-229 (esp. 219 and ns.). The list was first printed by Frederick Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), 105-06; a more recent transcription is in Elliott, 222.

¹¹² Not all the translators were so inclined, however: *Thyestes*, *Troas*, and indeed *Hercules furens* were all translated by Jasper Heywood, was Catholic: see Chapter 1, ‘Hercules in early modern England: The tragedies of Seneca’, for full discussion. Heywood matriculated at Oxford in 1547 and was there until about 1560, making him a close contemporary of Badger’s, although there is no surviving evidence that they were acquainted.

his *Tenne Tragedies* in 1581, theatrical Herculesees are linked to a particularly Senecan ‘style’ of dramatic utterance.¹¹³ In *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* Bottom excitedly envisages playing a ‘tyrant’, and to play a tyrant is to play in ‘Ercles’ vein, a tyrant’s vein’.¹¹⁴ What this means in practice is producing exactly the kind of overblown bombast that rhetoricians Roman and early modern alike warn against:

I could play Ercles rarely, or a part to tear a cat in, to make all split.
 The raging rocks
 And shivering shocks
 Shall break the locks
 Of prison gates,
 And Phibbus’ car
 Shall shine from far
 And make and mar
 The foolish Fates.
 This was lofty...

(*MND*, 1. 2. 24-34).¹¹⁵

These ‘grand’-style lines are burlesqued from John Studley’s translation of the pseudo-Senecan *Hercules Oetaeus*, and they share with Studley’s translation an inclination towards alliteration (‘fyrye flashe’, ‘roaring rocks’) and ‘impressive’ words [verborum gravium].¹¹⁶ Speaking ‘loftily’ would appear to be contaminating or infective, because even Bottom’s claims about his imagined performance as a ranting tyrant are exaggerated: it would be done ‘rarely’, and ‘all’ would ‘split’ (*MND*, 1. 2. 25). While what is probably most at risk of splitting here are the auditors’ ears, Bottom’s totalising claims also make him sound like Hercules willing destruction upon himself and the world in *Hercules Oetaeus*: ‘Let Pindus tumbled be on me, houghe Aemus let me haue | [...] |...thunweildy masse | Of all the world

¹¹³ See Chapter 1.6, ‘Thomas Newton and *Seneca his Tenne Tragedies* (1581)’, for discussion of Newton’s curation of the collection.

¹¹⁴ William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, ed. Peter Holland (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 1. 2. 35. Subsequent references to this edition (as ‘*MND*’), in the main text.

¹¹⁵ ‘The raging rocks... foolish Fates’ (26-33) in fact appears as prose in both quarto and folio versions of *MND*: its lineation as verse is editorial.

¹¹⁶ *Hercules Oetaeus*, trans. John Studley, in *Seneca his tenne tragedies*, ed. Newton, sigs. Bb6^r and Cc5^v. Subsequent references to this text. Many modern editions of *MND* cite these pages of the *Tenne tragedies* to illustrate Bottom’s Senecan parody: see e.g. *MND*, 1. 2. 26-33n. For ‘verborum gravium’ see *RH*, 4. 8. 11.

should fal on mee and might be brought to passe | That Phoebus flaming axletree should
burne vppon my graue'.¹¹⁷

Although Bottom's Senecan burlesque was written some decades after Badger wrote his speech for Hercules at Kenilworth, the alliterative qualities, meter, and passionate expression of this earlier Herculean production also lends it a Senecan overlay, if not a parodic one. Langham's description of the entertainment in *A Letter* demonstrates the strength of a Senecan paradigm for orating Herculeses in dramatic or semi-dramatic contexts, and arguably presents the speech as *more* Senecan than its written text permits. Langham's description focuses on the 'passions' and 'pang[s]' of the porter-figure, who 'stormz' until his epiphanic understanding of the 'heroicall Soueraintie' of the Queen takes place.¹¹⁸ The Virgilian allusions in the written text of the speech in the *Princelye Pleasures*, however, allow us to see that in an important sense the almost-theophany that the entertainment enacts is not 'Senecan' at all.¹¹⁹

5.6. Hercules and Shakespeare 1: *Love's Labour's Lost*

Bottom in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* might talk about raging 'in Ercles' vein', but even in this play featuring Hercules' traditional bosom companion Theseus as a major character we hear very little about Hercules himself.¹²⁰ Hippolyta recounts a boar-hunt with Hercules

¹¹⁷ *Hercules Oetaeus*, trans. Studley, sig. Ee3^r. Seneca's text reads 'Pindus incumbat mihi | atque Haemus ... | [...] | ... hic mundus ruat | superque nostros flagret incensus toros | Phoebeus axis' [Pindus could bear down on me, and Haemus... the very heavens should fall upon me... and Phoebus' burning chariot blaze above my couch], *Hercules on Oeta*, in Seneca the Younger, *Tragedies*, ed. and trans. John G. Fitch, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2002-04), II (2004), 1382-83, 1385-87. For bombastic speakers who 'tear a passion to tatters' and risk the auditors' ears see William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. G. R. Hibbard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 3. 2. 5-13 (9).

¹¹⁸ Langham, *A Letter*, 244.

¹¹⁹ E.g. Elizabeth is 'some soueraigne Goddes sure', says Hercules: *PP*, sig. A2^r. In the *Aeneid* Aeneas and his companions encounter a beautiful maiden who resembles the huntress goddess Diana. Not realising that it is his mother Venus in disguise, Aeneas exclaims, 'by what name should I call you, maiden? for your face is not mortal nor has your voice a human ring; O goddess surely!' [o—quam te memorem, virgo? namque haud tibi vultus | mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat; o dea certe!]: Virgil, *Aeneid*, in Virgil, *Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1-6*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1999), 1. 327-28.

¹²⁰ See Chapter 2.3, 'From clowns to duchesses', for discussion of Theseus and Hippolyta in relation to Hercules.

and Cadmus in Crete; and Theseus later declines to hear a musical version of the Centauromachy because '[t]hat have I told my love | In glory of my kinsman Hercules' (*MND*, 4. 1. 111-17; 5. 1. 46-47).¹²¹ In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* Hercules is (as so often) a peripheral figure who stalks around the edges of the text and never quite makes it inside the borders of its dramatic 'world'. In general Shakespeare's plays seem to be more interested in Hercules from the 'rhetorical' perspectives of proportion and decorum. This is particularly true in the only play in the canon which does feature a 'walk on' Hercules. The 'great Hercules' who appears in the disastrous pageant of the Nine Worthies in *Love's Labour's Lost* is a strong contender for the most well-known Hercules in surviving early modern English drama.¹²² And yet the Hercules the pageant presents is woefully and indeed deliberately un-Herculean.¹²³ Casting difficulties require that Hercules must be played by the pageboy Moth, and therefore represented as a boy. The pageant's deviser and apologist Holofernes declares that:

*Great Hercules is presented by this imp,
Whose club killed Cerberus, that three-headed canus,
And when he was a babe, a child, a shrimp,
Thus did he strangle serpents in his manus. (LLL, 5. 2. 582-85)*¹²⁴

Although Moth-as-Hercules gets off lightly in comparison with the other pageant actors, who are hounded into retreat by the spectators, Holofernes' desire to provide an 'apology' for his appearance shows that a junior Hercules is not standard pageant practice: 'Quoniam *he seemeth in minority, | Ergo I come with this apology*' (*LLL*, 5. 2. 588-89).

¹²¹ What Hippolyta remembers most about the boar-hunt is the tonal qualities of the baying of its hounds: 'I never heard | So musical a discord, such sweet thunder', *MND*, 4. 1. 116-17.

¹²² William Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. H. R. Woudhuysen (Walton-on-Thames: Nelson, 1998), 5. 2. 582. Subsequent references to this edition (as '*LLL*'), incorporated into the main text.

¹²³ Every one of the other heroes proposed as 'Herculean heroes' by critics such as Eugene Waith are more convincingly Herculean than the Hercules who actually appears in the pageant.

¹²⁴ We should surely also hear a suppressed rhyme with 'anus' in lines 283 and 285.

The most obvious of Moth's problems here is his small size. This difficulty is remarked upon by several other participants in the pageant and is the principal objection to Moth playing Hercules. 'Pardon, sir, error!' says Armado, '[h]e is not quantity enough for that Worthy's thumb. He is not so big as the end of his club' (*LLL*, 5. 1. 222-24). Armado's complaint may be, as William C. Carroll argues, the result of an over-literal understanding of what dramatic representation involves, but it also points to a more complex problem posed by the pageant.¹²⁵ Much of the joke of the pageant is indeed in the woeful disjunction between received ideas about the Worthies, and '[t]he pedant, the braggart, the hedge-priest, the fool, and the boy' playing them (*LLL*, 5. 2. 538-39). But we can be more specific about the nature of the disjunction here. Armado describes Moth's size in relation to Hercules' appendages (his thumb and club), suggesting that it is not merely that Moth is 'too small' to play Hercules, but more that a Moth-sized player is not appropriately *scaled* for the task: there will be no fitting match between speaker and subject.

With a speaker ill-matched to his subject (and vice versa) we return to a particularly Herculean version of the issues surrounding decorum discussed above. Herculean problems of proportion are expressed potently through metaphors relating to the body and clothing in the early modern period, and perhaps begin with the version of Quintilian's remark (that to raise tragic storms in trivial contexts is like putting Hercules' mask and buskins on a baby [est quasi si personam Herculis et coturnos aptare infantibus]) found in Erasmus' *Adagia* as *Herculis cothurnos aptare infanti* [to put Hercules' boots on a baby].¹²⁶ The popularity of

¹²⁵ William C. Carroll, *The Great Feast of Language in 'Love's Labour's Lost'* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976), 83-85. I am indebted to Carroll's thorough and insightful reading of *LLL* and its interest in decorum and style.

¹²⁶ Quintilian, *OE*, III, 6. 1. 36, discussed above. Desiderius Erasmus, *Adages*, trans. Margaret M. Phillips and others, Collected Works of Erasmus, 31-36, 6 vols (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1982-), V (2005), trans. Denis L. Drysall, ed. John N. Grant, III. vi. 67. Subsequent references to this translation, by chiliad, century, and adage number. For English instances see M. P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of all the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), S366. Subsequent references to this work are to this edition as 'Tilley', by proverb number.

the phrase might be adduced from the fact that ‘Herculis cothurnos’ receives its own extensive entry in Thomas Elyot’s 1542 revision of his Latin-English dictionary *Bibliotheca Eliotæ*. The *Bibliotheca* explains that the phrase is used ‘where in a thyng of lyttell importance was sette forthe any great eloquence or other thyng solempne, more apte for a greatter matter, as one shulde putte Hercules hosen on a chylde’s legges.’¹²⁷ Elyot is mostly following Erasmus here, but he adds the arch remark that that style ill fitting its subject ‘is so commune a vyce nowe a dayes amonge studentes of eloquence, that in writyng and speakyng, they seeme to prepare the hose or [i.e. before] they knowe the measure of the legge, whereon they wyl put it.’¹²⁸ By adding this comment, Elyot both extends the clothing metaphor (one should know the true measure of one’s target leg) and refers the proverb back once more towards the subject of ‘eloquence’ itself.

Something similar is at work in the pageant of the Nine Worthies in *Love’s Labour’s Lost*. Moth’s incongruous appearance as Hercules puts the Quintilianic-Erasmian adage onstage, by presenting a baby [*infans*] in Herculean accoutrements which, like the pageant itself, would be ‘more apte for a greatter matter’.¹²⁹ ‘Infans’ as a term seems to carry rhetorical overtones, since it does not only refer to a child, but more specifically to ‘[a] childe that can not speake’.¹³⁰ Thomas Cooper’s gloss in his *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae* continues on to say that in addition to denoting (rather obviously) ‘an infant’,

¹²⁷ Sir Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotæ. Eliotis Librarie* (London: T. Berthelet, 1542), s.v. ‘Herculis cothurnos’. Subsequent references to this edition. The same information is included in the mythological index to Cooper, *Thesaurus*, s.v. ‘Herculis cothurnos’.

¹²⁸ Elyot, *Bibliotheca*, s.v. ‘Herculis cothurnos’.

¹²⁹ Elyot, *Bibliotheca*, s.v. ‘Herculis cothurnos’. It is true that Moth does not seem to be presenting a specifically *tragic* Hercules, which is the subject of Quintilian’s remarks, but we should note the (bathetic?) reduction of tragic accoutrements first in Erasmus’ version (Herculis cothurnos – no mention of a *persona* [mask]), and then the move to the more generic ‘boot’ in Elyot.

¹³⁰ Cooper, *Thesaurus*, s.v. ‘Infans, infans’. Spaces between words and colons have been silently added to these citations. Cf. Elyot’s definition in the *Bibliotheca*: ‘a chylde that can not yet speake. It is also every thyng that is very yonge. Also it signifieth not eloquent. some tyme an ideote that can not speake’, Elyot, *Bibliotheca*, s.v. ‘Infans’.

‘infans’ also signifies ‘one of no eloquence or vtterance’.¹³¹ Moth is in fact twice called an infant in *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, both times in mock-oratorical and mock-scholastic contexts. ‘Define, define, well-educated infant’ says Armado during their exchange about great men in love and Armado’s own case (*LLL*, 1. 2. 90); and later in the play, irritated by Moth’s cuckoldly intimations, Holofernes will dismissively tell the page that ‘[t]hou disputes like an infant. Go, whip thy gig.’ (*LLL*, 5. 1. 61-62).¹³² What the pageant might turn out to actually be staging is not a burlesque of a pageant Hercules (as far as we can tell) but more a descant upon a proverb in Erasmus’ *Adagia*.

Love’s Labour’s Lost also contains verbal references to Hercules which comment upon problems of decorum and proportion, and contribute to the comic potential of particular scenes.¹³³ The Spanish braggart Armado (perhaps himself only a few generic steps away from the comic Hercules and the *miles gloriosus* of Roman comedy) is a focus for Herculean reference in the play. So for the lovesick Armado’s benefit Moth includes Hercules in first place in a litany of examples of great men brought low by love (*LLL*, 1. 2. 63-67); and taking the cue Armado compares himself rather infelicitously to the Nemean lion in the love verses he writes to Jacquenetta (*LLL*, 4. 1. 87-88).¹³⁴ Slightly more complex than these references is Berowne’s use of Hercules in his whipping of the ‘hypocrisy’ of the King and other Navarrese nobles for falling in love despite their ascetic vows (4. 3. 149):

O, what a scene of fool’ry have I seen,
Of sighs, of groans, of sorrow, and of teen!
O me, with what strict patience have I sat,
To see a king transformed to a gnat!

¹³¹ Cooper, *Thesaurus*, s.v. ‘Infans, infantis’. Cf. also the Ciceronian ‘infantia’, which is ‘Foolishnesse: lacke of vtterance: lack of eloquence or grace to tell his tale’, Cooper, *Thesaurus*, s.v. ‘Infantia’.

¹³² Cf. the density of rhetorical references, compounded with puns about cuckoldry, in this second reference in particular: ‘What is the figure? What is the figure?’ says Holofernes (it is ‘Horns’), *LLL*, 5. 1. 59-60.

¹³³ Some critics even see Herculean references in *LLL*’s title, and in Ferdinand’s vow to tread the hard path of virtue and to reject pleasure: see *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, ed. G. R. Hibbard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), n. to title.

¹³⁴ The opportunity that Moth gives Armado for self-identification with Hercules might also provide another reason why Armado objects to Moth playing Hercules in the pageant.

To see great Hercules whipping a gig,
 And profound Solomon to tune a jig,
 And Nestor play at push-pin with the boys,
 And critic Timon laugh at idle toys! (*LLL*, 4. 3. 161-167)

On the one hand Hercules is merely one name in a very bathetic list of exemplary historical figures, imagined here as pursuing activities singularly ill-fitted to the decorum of their typical roles. Hercules' gig-whipping here however also raises the same problems of scale and proportion as the pageant. A gig is a child's toy, singularly unsuited not only to the uses of a martial hero but also to the proportions of most averagely-sized adults. Imagining Hercules playing with a child's toy returns us once more to thinking about Moth.

5.7. Hercules and Shakespeare 2: *King John*

The proverb *Herculis cothurnos aptare infanti* also features in *King John*, and here in connection with that most Herculean of accoutrements, the lion's-skin.¹³⁵ In *King John* the Duke of Austria consistently appears onstage wearing a lion's-skin, much to the disgust of the Bastard. Austria's reasons for wearing the lion's-skin are more second-hand than Herculean, because according to the play he acquired it by killing Richard I, alias Richard Cœur-du-lion or the Lionheart, who in Tudor popular tradition 'robbed the lion of his heart' by ripping it out through its mouth (*KJ*, 2. 1. 3).¹³⁶ Richard's lion-killing exploits took place during his imprisonment by the historical Duke of Austria, and alongside his courtship of the Duke's daughter, and are therefore the stuff of courtly romance, but *King John* creates numerous points of connection between Austria's lion's-skin and Hercules's killing of the Nemean lion. The play blurs the distinction between Herculean and Austrian lion's-skins

¹³⁵ References to *King John* (as '*KJ*') will be to *King John*, ed. L. A. Beaurline (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990), unless otherwise specified, incorporated into the main text.

¹³⁶ See for instance the account and woodcut in John Rastell, *The Cronycles of Englande and of dyuers other realmes* (London: I. Rastell, 1530), sig. B2^v. *KJ* also refers to the story at 1. 1. 262-69. Both *KJ* and *The Troublesome Raigne of John, King of England* conflate the historical Duke of Austria Leopold V, who held Richard I prisoner in 1192-93, with the Viscount Aymar V of Limoges, whose territories Richard was besieging at the time of his death in 1199. Having Richard I and then Austria wear the lion's-skin may be either *KJ* or *The Troublesome Raigne*'s innovation, depending on which play one awards primacy to. For *KJ* see E. A. J. Honigmann, 'Introduction', in *King John*, ed. E. A. J. Honigmann (London: Methuen, 1954, repr. 1984), xxiii.

(‘O, well did he become that lion’s robe | That did disrobe the lion of that robe’, says Blanche, which could refer, more or less ironically, to either figure, *KJ*, 2. 1. 141-42), and characters opposed to Austria deliberately invoke Hercules as a contrast to Austria’s questionable valour.

But the lion’s-skin is most active in the language of *King John*. The Bastard introduces the lion’s-skin theme in an exchange with Austria rich with proverbial language, and connects the garment with Hercules’ lion’s-skin through the proverb *Herculis cothurnos aptare infanti*. This lion’s-skin, says the Bastard,

...lies as sightly on the back of him
As great Alcides’ shoes upon an ass. (*KJ*, 2. 1. 143-44).

The Bastard uses *Herculis cothurnos aptare infanti* in conjunction with another, ‘An ass in a lion’s skin’: taking the two proverbs together, the insult’s basic meaning is that the lion’s-skin looks terrible on Austria, because he is not valorous enough to wear it.¹³⁷ To the Bastard, the sight of Austria wearing Richard I’s lion’s-skin presents ‘a scene of fool’ry’ akin to that imagined by Berowne in *Love’s Labour’s Lost* (4. 3. 161), and part of the problem is indeed that a person with pretensions to Herculean levels of valour does not quite make the grade. Wearing the outward accoutrements of Hercules is no guarantee of suitability for a Herculean role.

There is however more to say about Hercules and particularly the lion’s-skin in *King John*. In the same dialogue as the lion’s-skin insult the Bastard uses various other proverbs, often explicitly noting their proverbial nature: ‘You are the hare of whom the proverb goes, | Whose valour plucks dead lions by the beard’ (2. 1. 137-38).¹³⁸ Proverbs are a feature of

¹³⁷ For ‘An ass in a lion’s skin’, see Tilley, A351, and R. W. Dent, *Shakespeare’s Proverbial Language: An Index* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), A351. Subsequent references to this edition as ‘Dent, *SPL*’, by proverb number.

¹³⁸ Cf. Dent, *SPL*, H165 (‘So hares may pull dead lions by the beard’). For other proximate proverbs, see e.g. *KJ*, 2. 1. 288-89 (‘Saint George that swinged the dragon, and e’er since | Sits on his horseback at mine hostess’

the Bastard's speech throughout *King John*, but the density of proverbial reference evident in these lines also points to the Bastard's own problematic relationship to verbal decorum. From an early modern perspective, proverbs are an acceptable component in the ornamentation of speech, but, as ever, 'anything which goes too far is a breach of decorum'.¹³⁹ Writers such as Henry Peacham present a slightly paradoxical picture of proverbs, since in order to be eligible for use a proverb must be both common, 'in euerie mans mouth', and yet 'witty, and well proportioned, whereby it may be discerned by some speciall marke and note from common speech'.¹⁴⁰ The essential criterion is that excess ought to be avoided: proverbs ought 'to be sparingly sprinkled, both in priuate speech, and in publike orations, and then not without some fit occasion to vse them, for prouerbs being fitly applyed and duly placed, do extend their power and shew their dignitie: otherwise they loose their grace, and the oration his strength.'¹⁴¹ The concentration (and, as we shall see, repetitiveness) of the Bastard's use of proverbs, however, push at the boundaries of the acceptable.¹⁴²

The proverbial nature of much of the Bastard's language in this scene distinguishes it from that of the other speaking characters, and is another instance of the ways in which the Bastard's contributions are disruptive and unexpected. In fact the Bastard is a particularly troublesome figure in the episode in the play which features his Herculean insult. This

door') with Tilley S42; *KJ*, 2. 1. 352-54 ('O now doth Death line his dead chaps with steel...') with Dent, *SPL*, D138.1. Shakespeare might also have *The Spanish Tragedy* in mind: arguing for his son's right to the captured Balthazar, Hieronymo says, '[m]y tongue should plead for yong *Horatios* right. | He hunted well that was a Lions death, | Not he that in a garment wore his skin: | So Hares may pull dead Lyons by the beard', Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedie*, ed. Emma Smith (London: Penguin, 1998), 1. 2. 170-73.

¹³⁹ 'Indecorum est super haec omne nimium', Quintilian, *OE*, V, 11. 1. 91. Quintilian classifies the proverb as 'quod est velut fabella brevior et per allegorian accipitur' [a sort of abbreviated fable understood allegorically], *OE*, II, 5. 11. 21. Cf. Puttenham, 273.

¹⁴⁰ Henry Peacham, *The garden of eloquence* (London: R. F[ield] for H. Jackson, 1593), sig. F3^{r-v}. Subsequent references to this edition.

¹⁴¹ Peacham, *The garden of eloquence*, sig. F4^r.

¹⁴² Other vices to be avoided are according to Peacham proverbs of 'strangenesse, vnlikenesse, vncomelinesse, barrenness, and vntruth', and the Bastard's targets certainly feel themselves ill-used: see Peacham, *The garden of eloquence*, sig. F4^r.

episode is also the first time that the Bastard appears onstage as a bastard. It features a confrontation between the French delegation upholding Arthur's right to the English throne, and John and his entourage, and takes place directly after the Bastard's disavowal of his legitimate paternity in favour of the 'honour' of bastardy as Richard I's illegitimate son (1. 1. 164). As a bastard, the Bastard has a problematic status in this noble company.¹⁴³ His contributions to the dialogue, and the language in which he makes them, seem to be related to this difficult status.¹⁴⁴ Rather like bastardry itself, in a sense, the Bastard's linguistic contributions are often tangential to those of other speaking characters and are therefore disruptive to the dialogues in which he takes part. Here he first speaks after Austria has rather ineffectually attempted to silence Constance and Eleanor ('Peace!', 2. 1. 133), and tellingly Austria responds to the Bastard's interruption by asking who (and/or what) he *is*: 'What the devil art thou?' (2. 1. 134). Other characters in *King John* find the Bastard's interruptions unwelcome, and their comments show that the more precise problem is that this character tests the boundaries of both linguistic and social decorum. 'We like not this, thou dost forget thyself', says King John after the Bastard has taken one too many opportunities to taunt Austria with the calf's-skin (3. 1. 134).¹⁴⁵ High-status male characters in *King John* call disapproving attention to the Bastard's high-flown language. Austria responds to the first round of the Bastard's lion's-skin taunts by criticizing his linguistic excesses: 'What cracker is this same that deafs our ears | With this abundance of superfluous breath?' (2. 1. 147-48). Towards the end of the play the Bastard's final lengthy speech urging

¹⁴³ And more generally from an early modern perspective. For an overview of early modern law on and attitudes towards bastardy, see Alison Findlay, *Illegitimate Power: Bastards in Renaissance Drama* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1994), 1-44.

¹⁴⁴ The scene is therefore as much an exploration of the position (linguistic and otherwise) of bastards as anything else. Cf. Juliet Dusinberre's description of the Bastard of *KJ* as a 'disruptor of official discourse, [and] ... also of official lineage', in 'King John and Embarrassing Women', *Shakespeare Survey*, 42 (1990), 37-52 (50).

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Austria's reproof of the Bastard in *The Troublesome Raigne of John, King of England* (London: [T. Orwin] for S. Clarke, 1591): 'Good words sir sauce, your betters are in place', sig. C2^v. This work will be discussed at length below; subsequent references are to this edition unless specified (as 'TR').

the continuation of war between the English and French is received in a similar manner by the Dauphin, who casts the Bastard as a ‘brabblers’, who ‘canst outscold us’ (5. 2. 162, 160).¹⁴⁶

As the Dauphin’s characterisation of the Bastard as a type of scold intimates, this character is not the only speaker reproved for ‘excessive’ or overblown speech in *King John*. John, Philip, and the Dauphin attempt to silence Eleanor and Constance’s interruptions, and comment negatively on the nature of their speech.¹⁴⁷ For instance, the burgeoning argument between Constance, the Bastard, and Austria is interrupted with ‘[w]omen and fools, break off your conference’, 2. 1. 150)¹⁴⁸; and even the child Arthur attempts to quell his mother’s complaints: ‘Good my mother, peace. | I would that I were laid low in my grave. | I am not worth this coil that’s made for me’ (2. 1. 163-65).¹⁴⁹ Arthur is objecting to the particular form of his mother’s ‘coil’ with Eleanor, his grandmother, which here involves imitating the way that a person might talk to a young child (‘Give grandam kingdom, and it grandam will | Give it a plum...’, 2. 1. 161-62). At the end of this scene Philip orders Constance to either be silent or ‘be more temperate’ in her speech, because ‘[i]t ill beseems this presence to cry

¹⁴⁶ The Bastard himself ‘calls out’ the overblown language of the proposal that the Citizen of Angiers delivers to John and Philip: ‘without this match, | The sea enraged is not half so deaf, | Lions more confident, mountains and rocks more free from motion’, *KJ*, 2. 1. 450-53. This may represent another instance of a higher-status character (here, the Bastard) rebuking the excessive language of a lower-status one. But the *proverbial* quality of the Citizen’s oratory (cf. Dent *SPL*, S169.2, ‘As deaf as the sea’; R151, ‘As fixed (firm) as a rock’, etc.), and the Bastard’s clear connection of excessive language with bastardy (‘I was never so bethumped with words | Since I first called my brother’s father Dad’, *KJ*, 2. 1. 466-67) suggests that something more complex is going on.

¹⁴⁷ The first interruption in *KJ* is made by Eleanor in its opening lines:

[CHATILLON.] [...] The borrowed majesty of England here.

ELEANOR. A strange beginning, “borrowed majesty”?

KING JOHN. Silence, good mother, hear the embassy. *KJ*, 1. 1. 4-6.

¹⁴⁸ One is reminded perhaps of the admiration of ‘fooles, women, and boys’ for the Giant with the Scales in *FQ*, 5. 2. 30, who are as Elizabeth Fowler points out ‘the groups of people to whom franchise is not yielded’: see ‘The Failure of Moral Philosophy in the Work of Edmund Spenser’, *Representations*, 51 (1995), 47-76 (60).

¹⁴⁹ There is a textual crux around *KJ*, 2. 1. 147-50. The Folio text reads ‘*King Lewis*, determine what we shall doe strait’ for 2. 1. 149, and one editorial solution is to treat ‘King’ as a speech prefix and assign 2. 1. 149 to Philip (see e.g. *King John*, ed. Honigmann, 2. 1. 149n and xxiv-xxv; and *The Life and Death of King John*, ed. A. R. Braunmuller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 2. 1. 149n). The effect of doing so is that, as Dusinberre remarks, ‘all three men are enlisted in an attempt to silence the two women and the Bastard’, 49, n. 36.

aim | To these ill-tuned repetitions' (2. 1. 195-97). The problem is one that we are familiar with from Chapter 2: female speakers such as Eleanor and Constance, though of high rank, nonetheless have dubious claims to public authority and discourse, and their contributions to the dialogue are characterised as inappropriate, even 'embarrassing', and excessive to the matter at hand.¹⁵⁰ The Bastard's interventions often occur in conjunction with or shortly after the speech of these characters, and associate him with these similarly indecorous and marginalised speakers. The Bastard is after all only admitted into the royal fold through female intervention – Eleanor's claim that he displays 'some tokens of my son' (1. 1. 87) – and we might therefore expect his position to be a troublesome one.¹⁵¹

Skins again constitute an abusive refrain in the Bastard's second encounter with Austria in *King John*. Furious at the kings' self-serving negotiation of a marriage between the Dauphin and Blanche of Spain, and the end of French agitation for her son Arthur's right to the English throne, Constance decries Austria's unworthy wearing of the 'bloody spoil' (3. 1. 116) of the lion's-skin:

Thou wear a lion's hide! Doff it for shame,
And hang a calf's-skin on those recreant limbs (*KJ*, 3. 1. 128-29).

Constance's insult, like the Bastard's earlier in the play, combines several proverbial ideas. It metamorphoses Austria from 'An ass in a lion's skin', to the proverbial foolishness and cowardliness of the calf.¹⁵² The insult extends the Bastard's comments about the inappropriateness of the lion's-skin for Austria by suggesting an alternative and more fitting genre of garment. It also makes the same point as the Bastard's earlier insults, because here

¹⁵⁰ See Chapter 2.3, 'From clowns to duchesses', and Dusingberre, esp. 41.

¹⁵¹ The Dauphin's comment that the Bastard can 'outscold' all the other (male) speakers (*KJ*, 5. 2. 160) also genders the Bastard female, since scolding is a stereotypically female quality: see 'scold, v.', 1.a., and 'scold, n.', esp. 1.a., in *OEDO* [both accessed 3 July 2016].

¹⁵² On 'calf' as a typically foolish and/or cowardly person, see 'calf, n.1', 1.c., *OEDO* [accessed 4 July 2016]. Cf. Constance's insults at *KJ*, 3. 1. 114, 121. The introduction of calves may also recall bastardy, cf. Tilley C756: 'Who bulls the cow must keep the calf', recalled in *KJ*, 1. 1. 123-25 ('...your father might have kept | This calf [here, the Bastard], bred from his cow, from all the world').

too a jarring difference between a person and their outward show is identified and decried. Austria is also a version of a Moth in Herculean accoutrements here, as a ‘little valiant’ who ‘brag[s] and stamp[s] and swear[s]’, and ‘spoke like thunder on my side’ (3. 1. 116, 122, 124).¹⁵³ The nature of Constance’s insult suggests that her interventions in this scene and the earlier scene in which the Bastard introduced his own proverbial lion’s-skin insult are related. And in fact the Bastard takes up the phrase ‘And hang a calf’s-skin on those recreant limbs’, and (with small variations) taunts Austria with it for the rest of their exchange.¹⁵⁴ Moreover, in this later scene Constance’s outburst, from which the Bastard takes his cue, is once again prompted by Austria’s attempt to make her be quiet: ‘Lady Constance, peace’ (3. 1. 112). Since it is at this point in the earlier encounter that the Bastard connects Austria’s lion’s-skin to Hercules’ *cothurnos*, the Bastard’s interruptions, and particularly his mentions of Hercules and his accoutrements, seem to occur at points of linguistic or dramatic inappropriateness or indecorousness in the dialogue.

The lion’s-skin in *King John* does correspond to a ‘real’ onstage object: the lion’s-skin garment that Austria must wear in order to initiate the chain of skin-related proverbs and insults. But in general the play is considerably more interested in the lion’s-skin as a verbal rather than a physical quantity.¹⁵⁵ As with Moth in *Love’s Labour’s Lost*’s pageant

¹⁵³ For Hercules as a ‘little valiant’, we might recall Zelmane’s device in the *New Arcadia*, which is ‘a Hercules made in little form’, Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke’s Arcadia (The New Arcadia)*, ed. Victor Skretkowicz (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 69. For further discussion see Chapter 2, ‘Hercules in Arcadia’.

¹⁵⁴ The Bastard repeats the taunt at *KJ*, 3. 1. 129, 131, 133, 199, 220, and 229. The Folio attributes 3. 1. 131 and 3. 1. 133 not to the Bastard but to King Philip; their re-attribution to the Bastard is an editorial intervention, but makes sense in the context of the scene and its continuities with the rest of the play.

¹⁵⁵ Some modern productions of *KJ* have had the Bastard appear onstage after killing Austria clad in the lion’s-skin, although the Folio is silent about what happens to the skin after Austria’s death. Sometimes productions use the lion’s-skin in place of what the Folio directions do specify: ‘Enter Bastard with Austria’s head.’ Accessed via the digital facsimile of the Bodleian First Folio of Shakespeare’s plays, *Mr. William Shakespeares comedies, histories, & tragedies* (London: I. Jaggard and E. Blount [for] W. Jaggard, and others, 1623), sig. Aa6^r, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. G c.7 <<http://firstfolio.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/book/html>> [accessed 1 October 2016]. Why productions substitute lion’s-skin for head is, appropriately enough, to do with a sense of propriety: as Braunmuller comments, ‘fearing laughter, producers from Garrick’s time to the present have often rewritten and substituted Austria’s lion’s-skin for his head’, *KJ*, ed. Braunmuller, 3. 2. 2n. See also Geraldine Cousin, *King John* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1994), 36.

of the Nine Worthies, Austria's lion's-skin prompts Shakespeare to think of an Erasmian phrase (*Herculis cothurnos aptare infanti*) rather than a stage property.¹⁵⁶ This adage opens the door to thinking about decorous and indecorous speech, excessive and permissible language, and the relationships between characters of various and conflicting statuses, and it is this proverbial context which most informs the lion's-skin's function in *King John*. As a garment, moreover, the lion's-skin is a particularly tempting property for a rhetorically-minded writer when we remember the abundance of clothing metaphors that rhetoricians ancient and early modern use to talk about what language is and is not decorous (or 'fitting') in different contexts, for different persons, and similar.¹⁵⁷ Part of Hercules' failing in his Omphale dalliance was to change clothes with his mistress; and Hercules, through the adage, becomes again a signal for the troubling of decorum.

King John's particular interest in linguistic forms of decorum and indecorum, and its Erasmian take on Austria's lion's-skin, is even more evident when we consider the very different function of the lion's-skin in *The Troublesome Raigne of John, King of England*. This anonymous work, performed by the Queen's Men and most probably Shakespeare's source for *King John*, focuses more straightforwardly on the lion's-skin as a stage property rather than what we might term a proverbial stage property. At their first encounter in this play, a more spirited Austria and a more bombastic Bastard argue at even greater length about the skin, which is constantly referenced in their dialogue. Here the lion's-skin is for the Bastard 'my Fathers spoyle', 'the matchles monument', and 'the Trophei of a King'. 'Shamst thou not,' the Bastard rails to Austria, 'To grace thy carkasse with an ornament |

¹⁵⁶ Other proverbs wrapped up with *Herculis cothurnos aptare infanti* in *KJ* also have Erasmian connections, such as *KJ*, 2. 1. 137-38 (quoted above) with Erasmus, *Adages*, VI (2006), trans. Grant and Betty I. Knott, ed. Grant, IV. vii. 82: 'Mortuo Leoni et lepores insultant' [Even hares attack a lion when it's dead]. Cf. Dent, *SPL*, H165.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Quintilian, *OE*, V, 11. 1. 3, quoted above; and Puttenham's lengthy remarks on 'decency' in clothing in the same chapter in which he discusses 'decency' in writing, 366-69.

Too precious for a Monarchs couerture?’¹⁵⁸ A stage direction indicates that in their next encounter the Bastard takes back the lion’s-skin from Austria (‘The Bastard chaseth *Lymoges* the Austrich Duke, and maketh him leaue the Lyons skinne’), and the lion’s-skin continues to be a subject of dialogue until Austria is finally killed by the Bastard later in the play.¹⁵⁹ The lion’s-skin is also the centre of a brief courtly subplot in *The Troublesome Raigne* about the Bastard’s suit to Blanche of Spain. After taking the skin from Austria, the Bastard presents it to Blanche, ‘[b]eing the first aduenture I atchieued, | And first exploit your Grace did enioyne: | Yet many more I long to be enioynd’.¹⁶⁰ Considerably more stage time is given to the lion’s-skin (and fighting over the skin) than in *King John*, which removes this separate and non-verbal encounter between Austria and the Bastard in which the lion’s-skin is retrieved. When the Bastard does kill Austria, and (one presumes) obtain the lion’s-skin, the killing takes place offstage and is confirmed not by the display of the lion’s-skin but of Austria’s head instead. In *King John* the lion’s-skin in fact disappears as an explicit object of reference after the conclusion of the ‘And hang a calf’s-skin on those recreant limbs’ refrain (3. 1. 129f.).

5.8. The lion’s-skin in the 1590s: some speculations

One way of explaining the difference between the lion’s-skins of *King John* and *The Troublesome Raigne* is to consider *The Troublesome Raigne* in the context of what we might call the ‘house style’ of the theatre company which performed it, the Queen’s Men. Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean present plays such as *The Troublesome Raigne* associated with the Queen’s Men as productions of ‘theatrical literalism’ which favour the

¹⁵⁸ All quotations in the last two sentences from *TR*, sig. C3^r.

¹⁵⁹ Stage direction in *TR*, sig. C4^r. The Bastard’s killing of Austria takes place in an exactly parallel scene (omitted in *KJ*), also non-verbally: ‘The Bastard pursues *Austria*, and kills him’, *TR*, sig. E2^r.

¹⁶⁰ *TR*, sig. D1^r. The Bastard promised to ‘present’ the lion’s-skin to Blanche earlier: see *TR*, sig. C3^r. Using the lion’s-skin as a courtly token effects another difference of emphasis in *TR* as compared to *KJ*: as Blanche’s suitor (‘I thought to haue mooude the match’, sig. D2^v), *TR*’s Bastard is differently invested in the outcome of the negotiations between John and King Philip later in the play.

‘objective and visual’ onstage: ‘the figures and costumes of the actors, the objects they handle, and the properties and structures which frame their acting space.’¹⁶¹ The deictic use of the lion’s-skin to further action both violent and courtly, and its appearances in the battles and ‘Excursions’ which have a prominent role in *The Troublesome Raigne*, and in other surviving Queen’s Men plays more generally, suggest that its treatment in this play might be profitably understood through this ‘literalist’ dramatic framework.¹⁶² Thinking about the difference of the lion’s-skin of *The Troublesome Raigne* from that of *King John* from this perspective leads us to think about how this prop may also reflect something of the relationships between theatrical performing companies in London in the 1590s, and, in consequence, reveal how particular props can encode both what we might call mythic and theatrical memory.

Formed in 1583, the Queen’s Men were the dominant company both in London and the provinces for much of the 1580s and earlier 1590s.¹⁶³ Surviving plays which can be reliably associated with the Company in addition to *The Troublesome Raigne* include *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, *King Leir*, *Selimus*, and Robert Greene’s *Frier Bacon and frier Bongay*.¹⁶⁴ Greene’s *Frier Bacon* also requires a lion’s-skin, because Hercules is among the spirits conjured by the German sorcerer Vandermast to prove his magical superiority to Friar Bungay. ‘Hercules *Prodie, Prodi* Hercules’, says Vandermast, and indeed ‘Hercules *appeares in his Lions skin*.’¹⁶⁵ If *The Lamentable Tragedie of Locrine* (printed 1595) is also

¹⁶¹ Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen’s Men and their Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 128. For a more recent, qualifying take on the Queen’s Men, see Brian Walsh, *Shakespeare, the Queen’s Men, and the Elizabethan Performance of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009), 30-35, 48-107.

¹⁶² ‘Excursions’ in *TR*, sigs. C4^r and E2^v. On the Queen’s Men’s use of battle scenes see McMillin and MacLean, 129-30.

¹⁶³ In the following discussion I am indebted to McMillin and MacLean, on the Queen’s Men; and Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642*, 4th rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009), on the other playing companies active in London in the 1590s.

¹⁶⁴ Lists of Queen’s Men’s plays are in McMillin and MacLean, 89-89 (very likely plays), 91-93 (possible plays).

¹⁶⁵ Robert Greene, *The honorable historie of frier Bacon and frier Bongay*. (London: [A. Islip] for E. White, 1594), sig. E4^{r-v}.

a Queen's Men play, as G. M. Pinciss proposes, a lion's-skin also makes an appearance as part of the play's moralistic dumb show of Hercules subjugated by Omphale, and intended to illuminate Locrine's own amorous subjection to '*Humbers concubine*'.¹⁶⁶ There is little surviving evidence to date most of these plays precisely, but the writing and performing of *Frier Bacon and frier Bongay* is usually dated to around 1589, and the play was printed in 1594.¹⁶⁷ Assuming as seems reasonable that *The Troublesome Raigne* pre-dates Shakespeare's *King John*, it is probable that this play was written between at most 1587 and 1590, so we can extrapolate that a lion's-skin was part of the props required by the repertory of the Queen's Men at least in the period 1587 to 1591, the year in which *The Troublesome Raigne* was first printed.¹⁶⁸

What use is this information to *King John*? It is conceivable that the Queen's Men's lion's-skin enjoyed a theatrical life well into the 1590s, and perhaps not only with the Queen's Men. Traditional accounts of the Queen's Men represent the company as in 'decline' by the early 1590s, and they certainly played less frequently in London in these years, with their last recorded performance at court on 6 January 1594.¹⁶⁹ By the mid-1590s there was plenty of theatrical competition in London. To tell a familiar tale, although the theatres were closed by the outbreak of plague for much of 1592 to 1594, in May 1594 there was a major reorganisation of the London playing companies, which resulted in the emergence of the Lord Chamberlain's Men and the (new) Lord Admiral's Men.¹⁷⁰ These

¹⁶⁶ *The Lamentable Tragedie of Locrine, the eldest sonne of King Brutus* (London: T. Creede, 1595), sig. G2^r. The playtext instructs, 'let their follow *Omphale* daughter to the king of *Lydia*, hauing a club in her hand, and a lions skinne on her back, *Hercules* following with a distaff. Then let *Omphale* turn about, and taking off her pantofle, strike *Hercules* on the head, then let them depart', *Locrine*, sig. G1^v.

¹⁶⁷ On the dating see e.g. McMillin and MacLean, 94, 88.

¹⁶⁸ McMillin and MacLean, 94, date *TR* inclusively from 1587 to not later than 1591; its most recent editor Charles Forker goes for a more conservative estimate of 1589-90. See Charles R. Forker, 'Introduction', in *The Troublesome Reign of John, King of England*, ed. Charles R. Forker (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2011), 31.

¹⁶⁹ For 'decline', see Gurr, 56. This is not to say that the company dissolved: as McMillin and MacLean demonstrate, the Queen's Men toured extensively (and, one presumes, successfully) in the provinces until 1602-03, 55-67.

¹⁷⁰ For an overview of early modern theatre companies, see Gurr, 38-99, esp. 47-66.

companies, rather than the Queen's Men, would come to monopolise public theatre in London into the seventeenth century.¹⁷¹ But the Queen's Men do appear in London again just before this reorganisation, performing in partnership with Sussex's Men at the Rose in April 1594 for eight days.¹⁷² Among the plays they performed in this brief run was *Frier Bacon and frier Bongay*.¹⁷³ Sussex's Men had already played a season at the Rose from December 1593 to February 1594 which included performances of *The Jew of Malta* and other plays appearing in their April run, but other plays performed, such as 'frier bacone' and 'kinge leare', are likely to have been contributions from the Queen's Men's repertory.¹⁷⁴

Playing *Frier Bacon and frier Bongay* at the Rose would probably have required either the procurement of a lion's-skin, or the re-use of the lion's-skin that the Queen's Men would have already had at hand. What then happened to this lion's-skin? It is possible that it went on touring the provinces with what remained of the Queen's Men until the early seventeenth century.¹⁷⁵ Since Henslowe records that the Admiral's Men performed the first and second part of 'herculous' (both now lost) at the Rose from May to November 1595, a lion's-skin might, however, have been a useful garment to keep in stock.¹⁷⁶ Perhaps the Queen's Men left their lion's-skin behind after their brief run at the Rose in 1594.

¹⁷¹ A concise précis of this history is in Gurr, 47-99.

¹⁷² The run is recorded in Philip Henslowe's diary: see Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. R. A. Foakes, 2nd rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 21. Subsequent references are to this edition (as '*Henslowe*').

¹⁷³ Entries in Philip Henslowe's diary for a 'fryer bacune' performed by Lord Strange's Men at the Rose from February 1591 (*Henslowe*, 16) led scholars to suppose that *Frier Bacon and frier Bongay* was a play owned and performed both by Strange's and the Queen's Men; the discovery of another contemporaneous play starring Friar Bacon as its hero (*John of Bordeaux*) makes this unlikely. See McMillin and MacLean, 90.

¹⁷⁴ Titles quoted from *Henslowe*, 21. 'kinge leare' is probably the Queen's Men's *King Leir*. The Lord Sussex's Men was in 1594 a company under the patronage of the Robert Radcliffe, the new Fifth Earl of Sussex. They appear in repertory lists through the 1590s, but have not received a great deal of scholarly attention. For discussion of the December-February and April repertories, see Scott McMillin, 'Sussex's Men in 1594: The Evidence of *Titus Andronicus* and *The Jew of Malta*', *Theatre Survey*, 32 (1991), 214-23.

¹⁷⁵ On the company's later touring history, see McMillin and Maclean, 55-67.

¹⁷⁶ *Henslowe*, 28, 29. The first part was 'ne' [i.e., 'new'] on 7 May 1595, and the second part on 23 May 1595. A lion's-skin might conceivably have been required for other plays on Trojan themes such as 'troye' (premiered 22 June 1596), *Henslowe*, 47. A 1598 inventory of the goods of the Lord Admiral's Men, now lost but preserved in Edmund Malone's *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare* (1790), includes 'i lyone skin', as well as 'Hercolles lymes': *Henslowe*, 319, 318. Foakes glosses 'lymes' as 'armour', *Henslowe*, General Index and Glossary, s.v. 'lymes', 'limes', 358.

Recognising the Admiral's Men's need for a lion's-skin draws our attention to the fact that the Chamberlain's Men might also have used such an item. Certainly many plays by Shakespeare of the 1590s and performed by the Chamberlain's Men seem to require lion's-skins. In addition to *King John*, Moth's appearance as 'great Hercules' in the pageant of *Love's Labour's Lost* could have made use of a lion's-skin, perhaps for extra comic burlesquing effect; and the lion in the Mechanicals' representation of Pyramus and Thisbe in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* might also have required some leonine accoutrements for similar reasons. There may in fact have been a plurality of lion's-skins on the early modern public stage in the 1590s; or the Queen's Men's lion's-skin might have continued to make the rounds of the post-Queen's Men London stage.

These speculations are worth indulging in first of all because they may help to clarify the relationship between *King John* and *The Troublesome Raigne* by demonstrating more clearly how the former is responding not only to the latter's treatment of its subject but also of its props. The lion's-skin in *King John* becomes an entirely different object in comparison to its uses in *The Troublesome Raigne*. Since this lion's-skin seems to share what we might call rhetorical interests with the other possible lion's-skins in *Love's Labour's Lost* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, moreover, we might also read these and *King John*'s lion's-skin more precisely as pointed, and perhaps deliberately contrasting, interventions in a theatrical landscape already littered with Herculean accoutrements by the mid-1590s. In this the lion's-skin carries memories of its previous onstage appearances as well as its mythic signification as the garment of Hercules – especially if the lion's-skin at the point of its use by the Admiral's or the Chamberlain's Men was already a recycled product.¹⁷⁷ If so, the second- or third-hand nature of the prop by this point in its theatrical life might add something to our

¹⁷⁷ i.e. the lion's-skin might have been literally the same prop/garment as worn by Hercules, Austria, etc., in the Queen's Men's plays. If this *was* the same prop/garment as that used by the Queen's Men, moreover, it would have been in a rather bedraggled condition by the mid-1590s.

understanding of the shabby and not-quite-up-to-scratch Hercules of *Love's Labour's Lost*, as well as the lion of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. If Austria's lion's-skin in *King John* is already in a material sense also literally 'borrowed', then the second-hand nature of his heroism is further evident.

Reading the lion's-skin as a rather combative feature of the history of the early modern stage and its companies in London in the 1590s is less unlikely when we remember that (probably) the Queen's Men themselves were capable of sophisticated play about both lion's-skins and Hercules. Robert Greene's *Orlando Furioso* (printed 1594) is also sometimes claimed for the Queen's Men, though it was performed by Lord Strange's Men at the Rose Theatre in February 1592.¹⁷⁸ It is worth noting that in this play Hercules appears in the play's language literally (and gruesomely) associated with *legs* ('Hercules hosen on a chylde legges'?), and that a lion's-skin is the assumed identifying token of Hercules.¹⁷⁹ A frenzied Orlando drags a shepherd he has mistaken for Medoro offstage and tears him apart, and returns onstage afterwards '*with a leg*', announcing,

Villaine [Orgalio], prouide me straight a Lions skin,
Thou seest I now am mightie Hercules:
Looke wheres my massie club vpon my necke.¹⁸⁰

Orlando's self-identification with Hercules here is neither completely un-Ariostean nor entirely flattering: since the play is *Orlando Furioso*, Hercules *furens* is probably lurking in the frame.

¹⁷⁸ See McMillin and Maclean, 92-93.

¹⁷⁹ For 'Hercules hosen on a chylde legges' see Elyot, *Bibliotheca*, s.v. 'Herculis cothurnos'.

¹⁸⁰ Robert Greene, *The historie of Orlando Furioso One of the twelue Pieres of France* (London: J. Danter for C. Burbie, 1594), sig. D4^v. The version of the text preserved in Robert Alleyn's part of Orlando reads 'villains provide me straight a lions skynne | for I thou seest / I am mighty Hercules | see whers my massy clubb vpon my neck | I must to hell to fight with Cerberus': London, Dulwich College, MS 1, Article 138, 2^r. Accessed via Henslowe-Alleyn Digitisation Project at <<http://www.henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/images/MSS-1/Article-138/02r.html>> [accessed 1 August 2016]. For discussion of the differences between the printed text and part versions of the play, see most recently R. A. Foakes, 'The "Part" of Orlando in Robert Greene's play *Orlando Furioso*', Henslowe-Alleyn Digitisation Project: Digital Essays <<http://www.henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/essays/orlando/html>> [accessed 1 August 2016].

Orlando's self-identification with Hercules suggests that the lion's-skin is a potent Herculean 'signifying badge' on the early modern stage.¹⁸¹ As the varied content of this chapter demonstrates, however, the lion's-skin and its signification take various forms, and the appearances of Hercules in performance are not always combined with the demonstrable appearance of this particular Herculean accessory.¹⁸² Other 'Herculean' accoutrements, such as bombastic (and even overblown) rhetoric, and settings such as gateways and, perhaps, the prehistorical era of the 'British History', also signify the arrival of a would-be Hercules, or, more nebulously, of a Herculean field of reference. Many if not most of these 'uses' of Hercules play, sometimes inadvertently, with the rhetorical, generic, and even moral instabilities and ambiguities associated with the hero. In the richest instances, 'literal' and 'rhetorical' uses of both Hercules and the lion's-skin are not mutually exclusive. In *King John* Shakespeare transmutes the rather straightforward lion's-skin of *The Troublesome Raigne* into an object which is both a physical stage property, and an Erasmian, proverbial property, and which illustrates (and also facilitates) its interlocutors' conflicts of decorum, speech, and status. It may also slyly comment upon the lion's-skins, and, perhaps, their would-be Herculean inhabitants, circulating on the early modern stage in the 1580s and 1590s. *Love's Labour's Lost* does feature a 'walk on' Hercules in its pageant of the Nine Worthies (who may also have been clothed in a lion's-skin), and yet this scene is curiously frustrating from a Herculean perspective: this most obviously 'Herculean' character in Shakespeare is also the least 'Herculean'. The scene's dependence on Herculeses both 'Herculean' and 'non-Herculean' for its effects, and its own 'staging' of the Erasmian

¹⁸¹ 'Signifying badge' is taken (slightly out of context) from Sir Philip Sidney, *A Defence of Poetry*, in *Miscellaneous Prose*, ed. Jan van Dorsten and Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 96.

¹⁸² It is of course possible that a lion's-skin was used in performances such as John Badger's at Kenilworth: no evidence of this survives, but some sort of Herculean costume might have been used.

proverb *Herculis cothurnos aptare infanti*, however, illustrate both the instabilities (rhetorical and otherwise) of Hercules, and the rich literary effects those instabilities entail.

Conclusion

The ‘topographical’ Herculesees that this thesis explored in Chapters 3 and 4 also make an appearance in the Sala d’Ercole in the Villa Farnese in Caprarola, Italy.¹ There is much that is remarkable about the Villa Farnese, an imposing pentagonal mansion constructed from 1559 by Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese on the fortified *rocca* built by his grandfather, Alessandro Farnese (later Pope Paul III). Particularly notable even to contemporaries, however, was the magnificence, detail, and elaborate iconography of the Villa’s decoration. Most of its rooms are decorated with sumptuous and detailed frescos, depicting the history and achievements of the Farnese dynasty, as well as allegorical, religious, and astrological subjects, and cartographical representations of the entire known world.² Hercules forms the subject of one prominent room in the Villa, the Sala d’Ercole (the room or hall of Hercules). This room is a loggia in the Villa’s front façade originally designed as a belvedere, frescoed with episodes from Hercules’ mythos, and views of Farnese territories in the larger Lazio region.³ An elaborate majolica fountain featuring another landscape scene occupies the right-hand end of the Sala. The Herculean frescos are the work of the Italian painters Federico Zuccaro and Jacopo Bertoja, and the townscapes possibly also by Bertoja and the ‘Francesco’ painter.⁴ The Sala was decorated over several years, with the vault completed by the end of August 1569, and the frescos on the walls of the Sala, and the fountain executed in 1572.

¹ I would like to thank the St Hilda’s Graduate Research Fund for a grant which enabled me to visit the Villa Farnese in April 2016.

² For detailed accounts and analyses of the complex iconographical programmes of some of these rooms, with plates, see e.g. Loren W. Partridge, ‘Divinity and Dynasty at Caprarola: Perfect History in the Room of Farnese Deeds’, *The Art Bulletin*, 60 (1978), 494-530; Loren W. Partridge, ‘The Room of Maps at Caprarola, 1573-75’, *The Art Bulletin*, 77 (1995), 413-44; and, conversely, Mary Quinlan-McGrath, ‘Caprarola’s Sala della Cosmografia’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50 (1997), 1045-1110.

³ The Sala’s front-facing openings are now glazed over, though they were initially open and fitted with canvas shades. See Loren W. Partridge, ‘The Sala d’Ercole in the Villa Farnese at Caprarola, Part I’, *The Art Bulletin*, 53 (1971), 467-86 (467). I am indebted to this article throughout my discussion of the Sala.

⁴ Recognition of Jacopo’s contribution to the Sala is relatively recent: see Partridge’s definitive attribution in ‘Sala d’Ercole... Part I’.

As we might expect, the frescos in this room detail several well-known Herculean deeds. Four scenes in the vault depict Hercules killing the Hydra, capturing the Cretan Bull, fighting the Centaurs, and subduing Cerberus.⁵ These frescos, however, are small in size and relatively inconspicuous compared to the other Herculean frescos in the Sala. Alongside these ‘canonical’ labours are two frescos depicting Hercules’ encounter with Albion and Bergion: Albion and Bergion in the act of stealing Hercules’ cattle, and the rain of stones sent by Jupiter to defeat them; and, most prominently of all, five scenes of Hercules’ activities and adventures in the local Lazio area. These frescos portray the story, recorded in Servius’ commentary on Book 7 of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, that Hercules created the Lago di Vico in the Cimini mountains (situated around 12 km from Caprarola) when he was challenged by the local people to exhibit his strength: thrusting his iron staff into the ground, no-one was able to remove it until Hercules himself did, and caused a stream of water to flow from the hole, thus creating the lake.⁶ In an otherwise unattested detail, the central and largest fresco of the vault also depicts Hercules swimming in the lake. As if to prevent misinterpretation, all these larger frescos are paired with texts describing the scenes portrayed.⁷ These frescos all occupy more prominent positions in the Sala than the frescos of the four ‘canonical’ labours of Hercules. The Albion-Bergion frescos feature in the lunettes at each end of the Sala, and the ‘local’ scenes occupy the largest spaces in the vault. The viewer is evidently intended to take particular note of these scenes.

⁵ For a plan of the frescos in the Sala, see Partridge, ‘Sala d’Ercole... Part I’, 476.

⁶ ‘ET CIMINI CUM MONTE LACUM et lacus et mons hoc nomine appellantur. sane hoc habet fabula. aliquando Hercules, cum de Hispania redirect, ad hos populus venit. qui cum a singulis provocaretur ad ostendendam virtutem, defixisse dicitur vectem ferreum, quo exercebatur. qui cum terrae esset adfixus et a nullo potuisset auferri, eum rogatus sustulit, unde immensa vis aquae secuta est, quae Ciminum lacum fecit.’ Servius, *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, ed. Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen, 3 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1878-1902), II: *Aeneidos librorum VI-XII commentarii*, ed. Thilo (1881), 7. 697.

⁷ No text accompanies the frescos of the four ‘canonical’ labours: perhaps they are in no need of clarification, or they are less important in the overall iconographical scheme of the room.

For a modern reader it is rather exciting, and perhaps surprising, to find Hercules' battle with Albion and Bergion included among the episodes from Hercules' mythos that the Sala d'Ercole chooses to portray. But, as I showed in Chapter 3, this particular Herculean encounter was well-known and easily available in the early modern period, thanks to its inclusion in Strabo's *Geography*, Pliny's *Natural History*, and especially Pomponius Mela's *Description of the World*.⁸ At any rate, the younger Alessandro Farnese had a number of *ideatori* in his employment – learned men such as Fulvio Orsini and Annibal Caro, who designed erudite iconographical programmes for the artistic projects of the Farnese – to whom even the most recondite aspects of Hercules' mythos would not have been inaccessible.⁹ In this context it is therefore notable that the painted inscription accompanying the fresco of Hercules slaying Albion and Bergion appears to contain an 'error'. The inscription describes how the 'pirates' Albion and Bergion were defeated by the rain of rocks, but it locates the encounter not on the Stony Plain (the Crau), but 'in the Lamonian fields' [LAMONIS IN ARVIS].¹⁰ As Loren Partridge shows, these 'Lamonian fields', punning on the title 'Lemanian fields', are located in the Farnese-owned State of Castro.¹¹ Castro was another local Farnese territory, situated about 55 km from Caprarola, and its regional centre is among the towns frescoed on the walls of the Sala. The 'error' of location in fact points the viewer, and this episode itself, back towards physical centres of Farnese influence and control.¹²

⁸ See Chapter 3, 'Topographical mythologies: Hercules at the mouth of the Rhône and beyond'.

⁹ For a detailed study of Caro, see Clare Robertson, 'Annibal Caro as Iconographer: Sources and Method', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45 (1982), 160-81. It is probable that Orsini designed the programme of the Sala d'Ercole; he may be the gentleman portrayed on the lower right-hand wall in the Sala. See Loren Partridge, 'The Sala d'Ercole in the Villa Farnese at Caprarola, Part II', *The Art Bulletin*, 54 (1972), 50-62 (53-54).

¹⁰ In full the inscription reads 'SAXA PLVVNT HVIC AVXILIO IOVE MISSA PER AVRAS PRAEDONES QVIBVS OPPRESSIT LAMONIS IN ARVIS'. Source: own observation, Villa Farnese, Caprarola.

¹¹ Partridge, 'Sala d'Ercole... Part II', 51.

¹² Partridge provides a detailed explication of the Albion-Bergion frescos beyond the capacities of this discussion, and suggests that the mythological battle alludes to the Farnese struggle for dominance with the Papacy in the Duchy of Parma after the death of Paul III in 1549, which the Farnese won: see 'Sala d'Ercole... Part II', 51.

There is a great deal more to be said about the Sala d'Ercole's representations of Hercules, and its elaborate iconographic programmes.¹³ But it is worth briefly considering the implications of its substitution of the Lamonian fields for the Stony Plain in the fresco described above. What does this change suggest about the role of 'place' or 'setting' in these frescos, and in relation to Hercules more generally? The substitution might cast doubt upon this thesis' argument that setting matters in mythological allusion. Yet in its context the substitution confirms the significance of the location of this encounter, for the fresco in the Sala d'Ercole depends upon the 'original' location of the episode in the Stony Plain to illuminate and even 'give bite' to its departure from it. Contemporary witnesses to the frescos both note the difference, and recognize its political-territorial motivations.¹⁴

*** **

This thesis has examined some of the 'versions' of Hercules available in English writing between 1545 and 1600, across a range of genres, formats, and writerly interests. It focused on these fifty-five years partly out of the need for bounds, even rather arbitrary ones, that such an expansive and voluminous subject as Hercules requires, and partly because these dates do broadly encompass a later, 'Tudor' period which sees the arrival of several new 'versions' of Hercules. First of all, the beginnings of reform in religion in England in the 1530s has demonstrable mythological impact by the early 1540s, when in reform-minded polemic the Church of Rome starts to take on a new identity as a 'monstruous hydra', with Henry VIII correspondingly as 'our Englyshe Hercules'.¹⁵ The mid-sixteenth century is also the date at which the entirety of Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, a text which this thesis

¹³ Richly and comprehensively detailed in Partridge, 'Sala d'Ercole... Part II'.

¹⁴ See the accounts detailed in Partridge, 'Sala d'Ercole... Part II', 51 n. 94.

¹⁵ 'monstruous hydra' from *The exposition and declaration of the Psalme, Deus ultionum Dominus*, trans. Henry Parker (London: T. Berthelet, 1539), sig. B8^r; 'our Englyshe Hercules' from the translator's preface to *The first tome or volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the newe testamente*, trans. Thomas Caius and others, ed. Nicholas Udall (London: E. Whitchurche, 1548), sig. A4^v.

has argued is significant both to early modern understandings and uses of classical mythology, becomes available in Latin translation (1550). As this thesis shows, Pausanias is an author read even before 1550 by evangelical English authors, and the impact of this text, and of other circulating classical ‘geographical’ works such as Strabo’s *Geography*, upon representations of Hercules into the later sixteenth century should not be underestimated. The thesis ends its discussion in the late 1590s, shortly before the accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne in 1603. With the arrival of the new incumbent came new ‘versions’ of Hercules, centred less around James himself than his son, Henry. Henry became a focus for Herculean comparisons of the virtuous and martially-inclined sort. George Chapman’s memorial to the prince in *The whole works of Homer* (1616), for example, features two rather imperial pillars with a central inscription which forms an imposing ‘H’.¹⁶ Even after Henry’s death, Ben Jonson’s masque *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* presents a Hercules who is an ‘active friend of Virtue’, overcoming both Antaeus and the base pleasures of the ‘Belly’.¹⁷ These Herculeses merit further investigation, but are outside the scope of this study.

The first two chapters of this thesis focused on demonstrating the variousness of ‘Hercules’ locatable in sixteenth-century English writing and translations.¹⁸ Chapter 1 examined the English translations of Seneca’s two ‘Hercules’ plays, *Hercules furens* and *Hercules Oetaeus*, by Jasper Heywood and John Studley respectively, and the printed English translations of Seneca’s other plays made between around 1559 and 1581. It showed that despite their apparently common subject matter, these two ‘Hercules’ plays are vastly

¹⁶ The inscription reads ‘MUSAR: HERCUL: COLUM:’: see *The whole works of Homer: Prince of poets In his Iliads, and Odysses*, trans. George Chapman (London: [R. Field and W. Jaggard] for N. Butter, 1616), sig. *1^r.

¹⁷ Ben Jonson, *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618), ed. Martin Butler, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012), V: 1616-1625, 135, 78.

¹⁸ A more detailed account of the contents of the thesis is contained in the Introduction.

different in their purposes, and in the confessional identities of their authors. This conclusion came out of my larger argument that much modern scholarship on sixteenth-century English translations of Seneca's tragedies applies modern understandings of 'Seneca' to texts produced in an early modern context in which there was no agreement about the authorship of the tragedies, nor about Seneca's precise contribution to the corpus. This study therefore has broader implications for the scholarly industry of discussion about 'Senecan' language in early modern drama more generally. Seneca's *Herculeses* are certainly no strangers to Sidney, whose 'old' and 'new' *Arcadias* are discussed in Chapter 2, but the focus of this chapter is less on print culture, and Hercules as a 'character', and more on 'rhetorical' appearances of the hero: in oaths and exclamations, and through more nebulous allusions to the figure, and the different implications of all these appearances for genre in both these narratives. Framing the appearances of Hercules here in the context of his comic as well as tragic representations brings into the discussion for the first time the ambivalent nature of this hero, and his usefulness (or not) as a source of tonal instability.

Taken together, the two opening chapters show a selection of the variety of ways of 'doing' Hercules – in translation, as a 'character', in passing reference, in an exclamation, in the adoption of a particular 'voice' – available in early modern England.¹⁹ The next two chapters add several more versions to the thesis' collection, but concentrate more precisely on the ways in which mythological allusion takes place. Focusing on the subjects of the Caprarolan frescos, Albion and Bergion in their battle with Hercules at the Rhône as found in English texts, Chapter 3 identifies classical geographical writing as a significant source for mythological information, and particularly Herculean information, in the early modern

¹⁹ Several of these ways are concisely contained in the 'old' *Arcadia*'s description of Dametas as 'swearing... with a voice like him that plays Hercules in a play and, God knows, never had Hercules' fancy in his head': Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The Old Arcadia)*, ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 31.

period, and traces its circulation and reception in sixteenth-century England. But it is most concerned with what sorts of models these texts provide to early modern readers. I suggest that the presentation of mythological information and narratives alongside description of geographical places and topographical features in texts such as Strabo's *Geography*, and Pausanias' *Description of Greece* presents a way of 'doing' mythological allusion as a 'local' textual practice. In Chapter 4 I examine Spenser's 'uses' of Hercules in *The Faerie Queene* as a case study of this 'local' operation of mythology. Alongside offering a new account of the hero in the poem, I delve into the history of scholarship of Spenser in order to uncover some of the critical assumptions that have until recently informed much discussion of 'myth' in *The Faerie Queene*. As I argued in the Introduction to this thesis, showing how scholarship has conceptualized 'myth' in relation to Spenser has far broader implications for early modern literary studies, for Spenser has served as a major conduit for universalizing, Fryvian conceptualizations of mythology as an archetypal and synchronic structure.

The final chapter of the thesis (Chapter 5) puts the lessons of Chapters 3 and 4 into slightly different practice by demonstrating the interplay of 'rhetorical' and 'character' Herculeses in English dramas and entertainments. The chapter confirms and develops the Herculean discussions of previous chapters in various ways. As in Chapters 1 and 3, it identifies confessional inflections in the use of Herculean material by the men charged with producing the entertainments for Elizabeth I's visit to Kenilworth in 1575, most notably by John Badger. It builds on Chapter 2's discussion of classical dramatic sources for 'comic' and 'tragic' Herculeses by analysing Herculeses who 'appeared' in various senses on the sixteenth-century English stage, and it traces the complex relationship between the Erasmian proverb *Herculis cothurnos aptare infanti* [to put Hercules' boots on a baby], and Shakespearean drama in particular, as well as the possible movements of a very real lion's-

skin property between plays, playhouses, and perhaps even playing-companies in London in the 1580s and 1590s. These discussions are unified by their relevance to (and commentary on) the problems of scale, proportion, and, by extension, potential excessiveness, that surround Hercules and also Herculean speech.

The chronological bounds of this thesis reflect its belief in the historical specificity of not only the ‘versions’ of Hercules available at different times and in different places, but also of textual transmission. It demonstrates that many of the ‘versions’ of Hercules that it presents are inflected by the availability of particular texts at particular times, such as the appearances of Hercules in ‘topographical’ contexts in English writing; or of historically-contingent notions about authors and authorship, such as the ways in which modern ideas about Seneca as a single author distort discussion of early modern use of his texts, and indeed of his Herculeses. Thinking about myth from (or through) a historical perspective again reflects back upon the content of this thesis more broadly. Exploring what classical geographical texts say about Hercules, and what they ‘do’ with what they say, as I do in Chapter 3, is a way into thinking about the processes of mythological allusion in early modern texts, and towards identifying these processes as ‘local’ in operation. ‘Local’ here can and often does denote geographical proximity, but it also indicates a general truth from this author’s perspective: that things, and mythological stories no less, in different places, and indeed in different times will often have different identities that may not translate, or, at least not perfectly. Instead of urging assimilation, we might do better to recognize the possibilities – narrative, critical, historical, and otherwise – that specificity and difference offer us.

Bibliography

The most substantial entries have been divided into subsections, according to the types of texts concerned (e.g. ‘original works’, ‘translations’, etc.)

Primary

Manuscripts

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.5.14
 Dublin, Trinity College Dublin, MS 165
 Kew, The National Archives, PROB 11/110/49
 Kew, The National Archives, PROB 11/134/428
 Kew, The National Archives, SP 46/1
 London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius C.VI
 London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius F.vi.
 London, British Library, MS Hargrave 399
 Oxford, Balliol College, MS 124
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 849
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS E Museo 55
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 464
 Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 257
 Oxford, Oxford University Archives, Register of Chancellor’s Court, Hyp/A/5 (Reg GG)

Specific copies of rare books referred to, including annotated books

New York, New York Public Library, *KC 1561 (Seneca)
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Antiq.d.F.1 (3)
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. G c.7, accessed via the digital facsimile of the Bodleian First Folio of Shakespeare’s plays, <<http://firstfolio.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/book/html.>>
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 784
 Oxford, Christ Church College, AC.1.12
 Windsor, Eton College Library, Fa.2.04

Printed texts

Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, trans. Stephen Gaslee, rev. edn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969)
 Annius of Viterbo, *Berosi sacerdotis Chaldaici antiquitatum Italiae ac totius orbis libri quinque* (Antwerp: J. Steelsius, 1552)
 Apollodorus, *The Library*, trans. J. G. Frazer, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921)

---, *The Library of Greek Mythology*, trans. Robin Hard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997; repr. 2008)

Aristotle, Longinus, and Demetrius, *Aristotle, Poetics. Longinus, On the Sublime. Demetrius, On Style*, trans. Stephen Halliwell, W. Hamilton Fyfe, Doreen C. Innes, and W. Rhys Roberts, rev. Donald A. Russell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995)

Askew, Anne, and John Bale, *The first examinacyon of Anne Askewe* ([Wesel: D. van der Straten], 1546)

Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, trans. John C. Rolfe, 3 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927)

Avanzi, Girolamo, *Hieronymi auancii Veronensis... in Val. Catullum & in Priapeias Emendationes* (Venice: J. de Cereto de Tridino, 1495)

Bale, John, *The Actes of Englysh votaryes* (Wesel [i.e. Antwerp]: [S. Mierdman], 1546)

---, *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum* ([Wesel: D. van der Straten for] J. Ouerton, 1548)

---, *The first two partes of the Actes, or vnchast examples of the Englysh votaryes* (London: [S. Mierdman for] J. Bale, 1551)

---, *The vocacyon of Iohan Bale to the bishopricks of Ossorie in Irelande* ([Wesel? J. Lambrecht? For H. Singleton], 1553)

---, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytanniae, quam nunc Angliam & Scotiam uocant: Catalogus*, 2 vols (Basel: J. Oporinus, 1557-59)

---, *The pageant of popes, Contayninge the lyues of all the Bishops of Rome, from the beginnynge of them to the yeare of Grace 1555*, trans. John Studley (London: T. Marsh, 1574)

---, *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale*, ed. Peter Happé and John N. King, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 70 (Binghampton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 1990)

The Bible and Holy Scriptures contened in the Olde and Newe Testament (London: C. Barker, 1576)

The Holy Bible: New International Version (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2015)

Calvin, Jean, *Sermons of Master Iohn Caluin, vpon the Booke of Iob*, trans. Arthur Golding (London: H. Bynneman for L. Harison and G. Bishop, 1574)

---, *The sermons of M. Iohn Caluin, vpon the Epistle of S. Paule too the Ephesians*, trans. Arthur Golding (London: [T. Dawson] for L. Harison and G. Bishop, 1577)

Camden, William, *Britannia sive florentissimorum regnorum, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, et insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica descriptio* (London: for R. Newbery, 1586)

---, *Britannia sive florentissimorum regnorum, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, et insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica descriptio* (London: for R. Newbery, 1587)

---, *Britannia sive florentissimorum regnorum, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, et insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica descriptio* (London: for G. Bishop, 1590)

- , *Britannia sive florentissimorum regnorum, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, et Insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitæ Chorographica descriptio* (London: for G. Bishop, 1594)
- , *Britannia sive florentissimorum regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, et Insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica descriptio* (London: for G. Bishop and I. Norton, 1607)
- , *Britain, Or a chorographically description of the most flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Ilands adioyning, out of the depth of Antiquitie*, trans. Philemon Holland (London: G. Bishop and J. Norton, 1610)
- Carion, Johannes, *The thre bokes of Cronicles, Whyche John Carion... Gathered*, trans. Walter Lynne (London: [S. Mierdman] for W. Lynne, 1550)
- Chariton, *Callirhoe*, ed. and trans. G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995)
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius Ciceroes *thre bookes of duties, to Marcus his sonne... Wherunto the latine is adioyned*, trans. Nicholas Grimald (London: R. Tottell, 1558)
- , *Marci Tullii Ciceronis de oratore libri tres*, ed. Philip Melanchthon (London: J. Kingston, 1573)
- , *On Duties*, trans. Walter Miller (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913)
- , *Tusculan Disputations*, trans. J. E. King (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1946)
- , *De oratore III, De fato, Paradoxa Stoicorum, De partitione oratoria*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948)
- , *De natura deorum, Academica*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951)
- Conti, Natale, *Mythologiae sive explicationum fabularum libri X* (Venice: Fonti, 1581)
- , *Natale Conti's Mythologiae*, trans. John Mulryan and Steven Brown, 2 vols (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006)
- Cooper, Thomas, *Thesaurus linguæ Romanæ et Britannicæ* (London: H. Wykes, 1565)
- Cope, Anthony, *The historie of two the moste noble capitaines of the worlde, Anniball and Scipio* (London: T. Berthelet, 1544)
- Crinitio, Pietro, *De honesta disciplina lib. XXV. De poetis latinis .lib. V. Et poemarum lib. II* (Paris: J. Bade, 1510)
- Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History*, trans. C. H. Oldfather and others, 12 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933-67)
- Elder, John, *The Copie of a letter sent in to Scotlande, of the ariually and landynge, and moste noble marryage of the most Illustre Prynce Philippe, Prynce of Spaine to the most excellente Princes Marye Quene of England* (London: J. Waylande, 1555)
- Elizabeth I, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, ed. Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009)
- Elyot, Sir Thomas, *The boke named the Gouvernour* (London: T. Berthelet, 1537)
- , *The Dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot knyght* (London: T. Berthelet, 1538)
- , *Bibliotheca Eliotæ Eliotis Librarie* (London: T. Berthelet, 1542)

---, *Bibliotheca Eliotæ. Eliotes Dictionarie*, rev. Thomas Cooper (London: T. Berthelet, 1559)

Erasmus, *The first tome or volume of the Paraphrases of Erasmus vpon the newe testamente*, trans. Thomas Caius and others, ed. Nicholas Udall (London: E. Whitchurche, 1548)

---, *Adages*, trans. Margaret M. Philips and others, 6 vols, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 31-36 (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1982-)

Estienne, Robert, *Dictionarium propriorum nominum virorum, mulierum, populorum, idolorum, urbium, fluviorum, montium, caeterorumque locorum quae passim in libris prophanis leguntur* (Paris: R. Estienne, 1541)

Euripides, *Suppliant Women, Electra, Heracles*, ed. and trans. David Kovacs (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998)

---, *Heracles*, ed. Godfrey W. Bond (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981)

Fisher, William, *A Sermon preached at Paules crosse the firste Sunday after Newyeeres day, being the thirde day of Ianuary. 1580.* (London: T. Dawson for T. Charde and E. Aggas, 1580)

---, *A Sermon preached at Paules crosse the firste Sunday after Newyeeres day, beeing the thirde day of Ianuary. 1580.* (London: T. Dawson for T. Charde and E. Aggas, 1580)

---, *A godly sermon preached at Paules Crosse the 31. day of October 1591* (London: E. Allde for E. Aggas, 1592)

Gascoigne, George, *The Posies of George Gascoigne Esquire* (London: H. Bynneman for R. Smith, 1575)

---, *The Steele Glas* (London: [H. Binneman] for R. Smith, 1576)

---, *The Whole woorkes of George Gascoigne Esqurye* (London: A. Jeffes [for R. Smith], 1587)

---, *A Hundreth Sundry Flowres*, ed. G. W. Pigman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000)

---, 'The Princelye pleasures, at the Courte at Kenelwoorth', ed. Elizabeth Goldring, in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Golding and others, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), II: 1572-1578

Geoffrey of Monmouth, and others, *Rerum Britannicarum, id est Angliae, Scotiae, vicinarumque insularum ac regionum* (Heidelberg: H. Commelinus, 1587)

---, *History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966)

---, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. M. D. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007)

Gesta Henrici Quinti, ed. and trans. Frank Taylor and John S. Roskell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975)

Gildas, *The Ruin of Britain, and Other Works*, ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom (London: Phillimore, 1978)

Giraldi, Giglio Gregorio, *Lilli Gregorii gyraldi ferrariensis Herculis vita* (Basel: M. Isengrin, 1539)

Greene, Robert, *The honorable historie of frier Bacon, and frier Bongay* (London: [A. Islip] for E. White, 1594)

---, *The historie of Orlando Furioso One of the twelue Pieres of France* (London: J. Danter for C. Burbie, 1594)

Gwalther, Rudolf, *An hundred, threescore and fiftene Homelyes or Sermons, vppon the Actes of the Apostles*, trans. John Bridges (London: H. Denham, 1572)

de Hauvilla, Johannes, *Architrenius*, ed. and trans. Winthrop Wetherbee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

Heliodorus, *An Æthiopian historie*, trans. Thomas Underdowne (London: H. Wykes for F. Coldocke, 1569)

---, *An Æthiopian historie*, trans. Thomas Underdowne (London: H. Wykes for F. Coldocke, 1577)

Henslowe, Philip, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. R. A. Foakes, 2nd rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Heywood, John, *A dialogue conteinyng the number in effect of all the prouerbes in the englishe tongue, compacte in a matter concernyng two maner of mariages* (London: T. Berthelet, 1546)

---, *[A dialogue conteinyng the number in effect of all the prouebes in the englishe tongue, compacte in a matter concernyng two maner of mariages* (London: T. Berthelet, [1550])

---, *An hundred Epigrammes* (London: T. Berthelet, 1550)

---, *Two hundred Epigrammes, vpon two hundred prouerbes, with a thynde hundred newly added* (London: T. Berthelet, 1555)

---, *An hundred epigrammes* (London: T. Powell, 1556)

---, *A dialogue conteining the number in effect of all the prouerbs in the Englishe tounge, compact in a matter concernyng two maner of mariages* (London: T. Powell, 1556)

---, *The spider and the Flie* (London: T. Powell, 1556)

---, *A breefe balet touching the traitorous takynge of Scarborow Castell* (London: T. Powell, [1557])

---, *A fourth hundred of Epygrams* (London: T. Powell, 1560)

Holinshed, Raphael, and others, *The Firste volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande*, 2 vols (London: for J. Hunne, 1577)

---, and others, *The First and second volumes of Chronicles* (London: H. Bynneman for J. Harrison and others, [1587])

Homer, *The whole works of Homer: Prince of poets In his Iliads, and Odysses*, trans. George Chapman (London: [R. Field and W. Jaggard] for N. Butter, 1616)

---, *The Crowne of all Homers Workes Batrachomyomachia Or the Battaile of Frogs and Mise His Hymn's – and – Epigrams*, trans. George Chapman (London: J. Bill, 1624)

---, *Iliad*, trans. A. T. Murray, rev. William F. Wyatt, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999)

Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer, ed. and trans. Martin L. West (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003)

Hyginus, *L'astronomie*, ed. and trans. André Le Bœuffe (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1983)

Jonson, Ben, *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)

- Joye, George, *The exposicion of Daniel the Prophete* ([Antwerp: A. Goinus], 1545)
- Kelton, Arthur, [*A commendacyon Of Welshmen*] (London: [R. Grafton?], 1546)
- , *A Chronycle with a Genealogie declaryng that the Britons and Welshmen are lineallye dyscended from Brute* (London: R. Grafton, 1547)
- Kyd, Thomas, *The Spanish Tragedie*, ed. Emma Smith (London: Penguin, 1998)
- Lambarde, William, *A Perambulation of Kent* (London: [H. Middleton] for R. Newberie, 1576)
- The Lamentable Tragedie of Locrine* (London: T. Creede, 1595)
- The lawes resolutions of womens rights: or, The lawes prouision for woemen* (London: [M. Flesher for] J. More, 1632)
- Layamon, *The Brut*, ed. Friedrich W. D. Brie, 2 vols (London: Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co for the Early English Text Society, 1906-1908)
- Lefèvre, Raoul, *Le recueil des histoires de Troyes*, ed. Marc Aeschbach (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1987)
- Leland, John, *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii regis Britanniae* (London: [R. Wolfe] for J. Herford, 1544)
- , *KYKNEION ΑΣΜΑ Cygnea cantio* (London: R. Wolfe, 1545)
- , *A Learned and True Assertion of the original, Life, Actes, and death of... Prince Arthure, King of great Brittain*, trans. Richard Robinson (London: J. Wolfe, 1582)
- Leland, John, and John Bale, *The laboryouse Iourney & serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes Antiquitees... with declaracyons enlarged: by Johan Bale* (London: [S. Mierdman for] J. Bale, 1549)
- A letter: Whearin, part of the entertainment vntoo the Queenz Maiesty, at Killingwoorth Castl, in warwik Sheer, in this soomerz Progress. 1575. iz signified* ([London: J. Charlewood, 1578?])
- A Letter: whearin, part of the entertainment vntoo the Queenz Maiesty, at Killingworth Castl, in warwik Sheer, in this soomerz Progress. 1575. iz signified*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring, in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Golding and others, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), II: 1572-1578
- Two London Chronicles from the Collection of John Stow*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, in *Camden Miscellany Vol. 12* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1910)
- Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, trans. W. D. Rouse, rev. M. F. Smith, 2nd rev. edn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992)
- Lynche, Richard, *An historical treatise of the travels of Noah into Europe* (London: A. Islip, 1601)
- Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, ed. and trans. Robert A. Kaster, 3 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011)
- Nennius, *British History; and The Welsh Annals*, ed. and trans. John Morris (London: Phillimore, 1980)
- Newton, Thomas
- Own works

---, *An Epitaphe vpon the worthy and Honorable Lady, the Lady Knowles* (W. How for R. Johnes, [1569])

---, *Approoved medicines and Cordiall Receiptes, with the natures, qualities, and operations of sundry Simples* (London: T. Marsh, 1580)

---, *Atropoion Delion, or, the death of Delia: With the Teares of her Funerall* (London: [W. White] for W. Johnes, 1603)

Edited collections and other works

Bandello, Matteo, and François de Belleforest, *Straunge, Lamentable, and Tragical Hystories*, trans. R. S., ed. Thomas Newton (London: H. Jackson, 1577)

Brownsword, John, *Ioannis Brunsuerdi, Maclesfeldensis gymnasiarchae progymnasmata quædam poetica*, ed. Thomas Newton (London: [T. Orwin] for T. Woodcock, 1589)

---, *Ioannis Brunsuerdi, Maclesfeldensis Gymnasiarchæ Progymnasmata, quædam Poetica*, ed. Thomas Newton (London: [T. Orwin] for T. Woodcock, 1590)

Leland, John, and Thomas Newton, *Principum, Ac illustrium aliquot & eruditorum in Anglia virorum, Encomia, Trophæa, Genethliaca, & Epithalamia*, ed. Thomas Newton (London: T. Orwin, 1589)

Stanbridge, John, *Vocabula Magistri Stanbrigii*, ed. Thomas Newton (London: J. Aldee, 1577)

Translations

Cicero, *The worthye Booke of Old age otherwyse entituled the elder Cato*, trans. Thomas Newton (London: T. Marsh, 1569)

---, *The booke of Marcus Tullius Cicero entituled Paradoxa Stoicorum*, trans. Thomas Newton (London: T. Marsh, 1569)

---, *Fovvre seuerall Treatises of M. Tullius Cicero: Conteyninge his most learned and Eloquent Discourses of Frendshippe: Oldage: Paradoxes: and Scipio his Dreame*, trans. Thomas Newton (London: T. Marsh, 1577)

Curione, Celio Agostino, and others, *A notable historie of the Saracens*, trans. Thomas Newton (London: W. How for A. Veale, 1575)

Daneau, Lambert, *True and Christian friendship... Together also with a right excellent Inuectiue of the same Author, against the wicked exercise of Diceplay, and other prophane Gaming*, trans. Thomas Newton (London: [G. Robinson] for A. Veale, 1586)

Hyperias, Andreas, attrib., *The true tryall and Examination of a Mans owne selfe*, trans. Thomas Newton (London: J. Windet, 1586)

---, *The true tryall and Examination of a Mans owne selfe*, trans. Thomas Newton (London: J. Windet, 1587)

Lemnius, Levinus [Lemse, Lieven], *The Touchstone of Complexions*, trans. Thomas Newton (London: T. Marsh, 1576)

---, *The Touchstone of Complexions*, trans. Thomas Newton (London: T. Marsh, 1581)

Luther, Martin, *A commentarie or Exposition vppon the twoo Epistles generall of Sainct Peter, and that of Sainct Jude*, trans. Thomas Newton (London: [J.

Kingston] for A. Veale, 1581)

Parker, Matthew, *A Funerall Sermon, both Godlye, Learned, and comfortable, Preached at S. Maries in Cambridge, Anno 1551. at the buriall of the Reuerend Doctor, and faithfull Pastor of the Churche of Christe, Martin Bucer*, trans. Thomas Newton (London: T. Purfoote, 1587)

Ortelius, Abraham, *Theatrum orbis terrarum: The theatre of the whole world: Set forth by that Excellent Geographer Abraham Ortelius*, trans. W. B. (London: J. Norton, 1606)

Ovid, *The .xv. Bookes of P. Ouidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphosis*, trans. Arthur Golding (London: W. Seres, 1567)

---, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller, rev. G. P. Goold, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977-84)

---, *The Art of Love and Other Poems*, trans. J. H. Mozley, rev. G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979)

---, *Fasti*, trans. J. G. Frazer, rev. G. P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989)

---, *Thomas Heywood's Art of Love*, trans. Thomas Heywood, ed. M. L. Stapleton (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000)

Pausanias, *Pausanias Historicus. Domitius Calderinus E Græco traduxit Atticæ descriptio*, trans. Domizio Calderini ([Venice: O. de Luna Papiensis, 1500])

---, [*Pausanias*], ed. Markos Mousouros (Venice: A. Manutius and A. Torresano, 1516)

---, *Pausaniae historici praeclarissimi Commentariorum Græciam describentium, Attica & Corinthiaca*, trans. Domizio Calderini (Basel: R. Winter, 1541)

---, *Pausaniae de tota Græcia Libri decem*, trans. Abraham Loescher (Basel: J. Oporinus, 1550)

---, *Pausaniae veteris Graeciae descriptio*, trans. Romulo Amaseo (Florence: L. Torrentino, 1551)

---, *Pausaniae de florentiss. veteris Graeciae regionibus commentarii*, trans. Romulo Amaseo (Basel: M. Isengrin, 1557)

---, *Pausaniae decem regionum veteris Graeciae descriptio*, trans. Romulo Amaseo, 2 vols (Lyon: J. Faure at the house of the heirs of G. Giunta, 1558)

---, *Pausaniae decem regionum veteris Graeciae descriptio*, trans. Romulo Amaseo, 2 vols (Lyon: J. Faure at the house of S. Honorat, 1558)

---, *Pausaniae decem regionum veteris Graeciae descriptio*, trans. Romulo Amaseo, 2 vols (Lyon: at the house of A. Marsilius, 1577)

---, *Pausaniae decem regionum veteris Graeciae descriptio, totidem libris comprehensa*, trans. Romulo Amaseo (Lyon: at the house of the heirs of I. Giunta, [1580])

---, *ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΠΗΓΗΣΙΣ. Hoc est, Pausaniae accurata Græciæ descriptio*, ed. Wilhelm Xylander, trans. Romulo Amaseo (Frankfurt: C. de Marne and J. Aubry, 1583)

---, *Description of Greece*, trans. W. H. S. Jones, and Henry Arderne Omerod, ed. R. E. Wycherley, 5 vols (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918-35)

Peacham, Henry, *The garden of eloquence* (London: R. F[ield] for H. Jackson, 1593)

- Perotti, Niccolò, [...] *Cornucopiae, siue linguae latinae commentarii* (Venice: A. Manutius, 1513)
- Plautus, *Plautus*, ed. and trans. Wolfgang de Melo, 5 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011-), I: *Amphitryon, The Comedy of Asses, The Pot of Gold, The Two Bacchises, The Captives* (2011)
- Plutarch, *Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin, 11 vols (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914-26), I: *Theseus and Romulus, Lycurgus and Numa, Solon and Publicola* (1914)
- Pollux, Julius, *Ivlii Pollvcis Onomasticon, hoc est instrvctissimvm rervm et synonymorum Dictionarium*, trans. Rudolf Gwalther (Basel: R. Winter, 1451)
- Pomponius Mela, *Pomponii Melae de orbis situ libri tres... cum Commentariis*, ed. Joachim Vadianus (Basel: A. Cratander, 1522)
- , *The worke of Pomponius Mela. The Cosmographer, concerninge the Situation of the world*, trans. Arthur Golding (London: [J. Charlewood] for T. Hacket, 1585)
- , *Chorographie*, ed. and trans. Alain Silberman (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1988)
- , *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World*, trans. F. E. Romer (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998)
- The Primer in Englishe and Latine* (J. Kingston and H. Sutton, 1557)
- The exposition and declaration of the Psalme, Deus ultionum Dominus*, trans. Henry Parker (London: T. Berthelet, 1539)
- Ptolemy, *Claudii Ptholemaei Alexandrini Liber geographiae* (Venice: for G. Penzio, 1511)
- , *Geographia vniversalis, vetus et nova*, trans. Willibald Pirckheimer (Basel: H. Petri, 1540)
- , *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*, trans. J. L. Berggren and Alexander Jones (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000)
- Puttenham, George, *The Art of English Poesy*, ed. Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007)
- The Queenes Maiesties Entertainment at Woodstock* (London: for T. Cadman, 1585)
- The Queen's Majesty's Passage & Related Documents*, ed. Germaine Warkentin (Toronto: Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2004)
- Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, ed. and trans. D. A. Russell, 5 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001)
- Rastell, John, *The Cronycles of Englande and of dyuers other realmes* (London: I. Rastell, 1530)
- Reardon, B. P., ed., *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1989)
- Rhetorica ad Herennium*, trans. Harry Caplan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954)
- Scott, William, *The Model of Poesy*, ed. Gavin Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- Seneca, Lucius Annaeus
- Collections of works: tragedies

- Seneca, Lucius Annaeus, *Tragoediae*, ed. Gellio Bernardino Marmita (Lyon: A. Lambillon and M. Sarazin, 1491)
- , *Senecae Tragoediae*, ed. Benedictus Philologus (Florence: P. di Giunta, 1506)
- , *Senecae Tragoediae*, ed. Benedictus Philologus (Florence: P. di Giunta, 1513)
- , *Scenecae tragoediae*, ed. Hieronymus Avantius (Venice: A. Manutius, 1517)
- , *L. Annei Senecae Cordubensis Tragoediae Decem* (Lyon: S. Gryphius, 1536)
- , *Le tragedie di Seneca*, trans. Lodovico Dolce (Venice: G. Battista and M. Sessa, 1560)
- , *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies*, trans. Thomas Newton and others (London: T. Marsh, 1581)
- , *L. Annæ Senecæ Cordubensis tragœdiæ*. (London: R. Robinson for T. Man and T. Gubbin, 1589)
- , *L. Annæi Senecae et aliorum Tragoediæ serio emendate*, ed. Daniel Heinsius (Leiden: J. Orlers, A. Cloucq, and J. Maire, 1611)
- , *L. & M. Annaei Senecae atque aliorum tragoediae*, ed. Thomas Farnaby (London: F. Kingston for W. Welby, 1613)
- , *L. Annæ Senecæ Tragœdiæ*, ed. Johann Friedrich Gronow (Leiden: Elzevir, 1661)
- , *Jasper Heywood and his translations of Seneca's 'Troas', 'Thyestes', and 'Hercules furens'*, trans. Jasper Heywood, ed. Henry de Vocht (Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1913)
- , *Tragedies*, ed. and trans. John G. Fitch, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002-2004)
- , *Elizabethan Seneca: Three Tragedies*, trans. Jasper Heywood and John Studley, ed. James Ker and Jessica Winston (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2012)

Collections of works: other

- , *En tibi lector optime, Lucii Anneii Senecæ sanctissimi philosophi lucubrationes omnes*, ed. Desiderius Erasmus (Basel: J. Froben, 1515)
- , *The workes of Lucius Annæus Seneca, Both Morrall and Naturall*, trans. Thomas Lodge (London: W. Stansby, 1614)
- , *L. Annei Senecae opera, et ad dicendi facultatem, et ad bene uiuendum utilissima*, ed. Desiderius Erasmus (Basel: J. Froben, 1529)
- , *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*, trans. Richard M. Gummere, 3 vols (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917-25)
- , *Select Letters of Seneca*, ed. Walter C. Summers (London: Macmillan, 1929)
- , *Letters from a Stoic*, trans. Robin Campbell (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969)

Individual works (arranged alphabetically)

- , *La tragedie d'Agamemnon*, trans. Charles Toustain (Paris: M. Le Jeune, 1556)
- , *Agamemnon, tragedie*, trans. Louis-François Le Duchat (Paris: J. Le Royer, 1561)

- , *The eyght tragedie of Seneca. Entituled Agamemnon*, trans. John Studley (London: T. Colwell, 1566)
- , *Agamemnon*, ed. R. J. Tarrant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976)
- , *Apocolocyntosis*, ed. and trans. P. T. Eden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984)
- , *Lucii Annei Senecæ Tragedia prima quæ inscribitur Hercules furens*, trans. Jasper Heywood (London: H. Sutton, 1561)
- , *L. Annei Senecæ Cordubensis Tragoedia prima, quæ inscribitur Hercules furens* (Paris: G. Buon, 1563)
- , *Seneca's 'Hercules furens': A Critical Text With Introduction and Commentary*, ed. John G. Fitch, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, 45 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987)
- , *Hercules Oetaeus: testo critico, traduzione e commento*, ed. and trans. Daniela Averna (Rome: Carocci, 2002)
- , *The seuenth Tragedie of Seneca, Entituled Medea*, trans. John Studley (London: T. Colwell, 1566)
- , *Lucii Annei Senecæ ad Gallioneni de Remedis Fortuitorum. The remedies against all casuall chaunces*, trans. Robert Whittington (London: W. Myddylton, 1547)
- , *The seconde tragedie of Seneca entituled Thyestes*, trans. Jasper Heywood (London: house of T. Berthelet, 1560)
- , *The sixt tragedie of the most graue and prudent author Lucius, Anneus, Seneca, entituled Troas, with diuers and sundrye addicions to the same*, trans. Jasper Heywood (London: R. Tottell, 1559)
- , *The sixt tragedie of the most graue and prudent author Lucius, Anneus, Seneca, entituled Troas, with diuers and sundrye addicions to the same*, trans. Jasper Heywood (London: R. Tottell, 1559)
- , *The sixt Tragedie of the most graue and prudent author Lucius Anneus, Seneca, entituled Troas, with diuers & sundrie addicions to the same*, trans. Jasper Heywood (London: T. Powell for G. Bucke, [1562])

Attributed to Seneca

- , *A frutefull worke of Lucius Anneus Seneca named the forme and Rule of Honest lyuyng bothe in the Latin tongue & in the Englyshe*, trans. Robert Whittington (London: W. Myddylton, 1546)
- , *A frutefull worke of Lucius Anneus Senecæ. Called the Myrour or Glasse of Maners and wysedome bothe in latin and in Englysshe*, trans. Robert Whittington (London: W. Myddylton, 1547)

Shakespeare, William, *Mr. William Shakespeares comedies, histories, & tragedies* (London: I. Jaggard and E. Blount [for] W. Jaggard, and others, 1623)

- , *King John*, ed. E. A. J. Honigmann (London: Methuen, 1954, repr. 1984)
- , *Hamlet*, ed. G. R. Hibbard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987)
- , *The Life and Death of King John*, ed. A. R. Braunmuller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989)

- , *King John*, ed. L. A. Beaurline (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- , *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. G. R. Hibbard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990)
- , *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Peter Holland (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994)
- , *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. H. R. Woudhuysen (Walton-on-Thames: Nelson, 1998)
- , *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ed. William C. Carroll (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2004)
- Shepherd, Luke, *Philogamus* ([London? n. pr., 1548?])
- Sidney, Sir Philip, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London: [R. Field for] W. Ponsonby, 1598)
- , *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962)
- , *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The Old Arcadia)*, ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973)
- , *Miscellaneous Prose*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and J. A. van Dorsten (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973)
- , *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, ed. Maurice Evans (London: Penguin, 1977)
- , *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The New Arcadia)*, ed. Victor Skretkowicz (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987)
- Sidney, Sir Philip, and others, *Sidney's 'The Defence of Poesy' and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism*, ed. Gavin Alexander (London: Penguin, 2004)
- Servius, *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, ed. Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen, 3 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1878-1902)
- Solinus, and Pomponius Mela, *C. Iulii Solini polyhistor, rerum toto orbe memorabilium thesaurus locupletissimus. Huic ob argumenti similitudinem Pomponii Melae de situ orbis libros tres... adiunximus* (Basel: M. Isengrin and H. Petri, 1538)
- Sophocles, *Antigone, The Women of Trachis, Philoctetes*, ed. and trans. Hugh Lloyd-Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994)
- Spenser, Edmund, *Spenser's Faerie Queene*, ed. John Upton, 2 vols (London: for J. and R. Tonson, 1758)
- , *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition*, ed. Edwin Greenlaw and others, 11 vols (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1932-57)
- , *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (London: Longman, 1977)
- , *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton, Hiroshi Yamashita, and Toshiyuki Suzuki, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 2001)
- , *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton, Hiroshi Yamashita, and Toshiyuki Suzuki, 2nd rev. edn (London: Longman, 2007)
- , *The Shorter Poems*, ed. Richard McCabe (London: Penguin, 1999)
- Stow, John, *The Chronicles of England, from Brute vnto this present yeare of Christ. 1580.* (London: R. Newberie for H. Bynneman, 1580)
- Strabo of Amasia, ...*Strabonis geographicorum commentarios*, trans. Guarino Veronese and Gregorio Tiphernas (Basel: V. Curio, 1523)

- , *La prima parte della Geografia di Strabone*, trans. Alfonso Buonacciuoli (Venice: F. De Franceschi, 1562)
- , *La seconda parte della Geografia di Strabone*, trans. Alfonso Buonacciuoli (Ferrara: V. Panizza, 1565)
- , *Strabonis nobilissimi et doctissimi philosophi ac geographi rerum geographicarum commentarii libris XVII contenti*, trans. Wilhelm Xylander (Basel: H. Petri, 1571)
- , *Geography*, trans. H. L. Jones, 8 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917-32)
- Terence, *The Woman of Andros, The Self-Tormentor, The Eunuch*, ed. and trans. John Barsby (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001)
- A transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D.*, ed. Edward Arber, 4 vols (London: Stationers' Company, 1875-77)
- The Troublesome Raigne of Iohn King of England* (London: [T. Orwin] for S. Clarke, 1591)
- The Troublesome Reign of John, King of England*, ed. Charles R. Forker (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011)
- Udall, Nicholas, and Terence, *Floures for Latine Spekyng selected and gathered oute of Terence* (London: T. Berthelet, 1534)
- de la Vardin, Jacques, *The Historie of George Castriot, surnamed Scanderberg, King of Albanie. Containing his famous actes, his noble deedes of Armes, and memorable victories against the Turkes, for the Faith of Christ*, trans. Zachary Jones (London: [R. Field] for W. Ponsonby, 1596)
- A very profitable booke to lerne the maner of redyng, writing, & speaking english & Spanish. Libro muy pronechoso para saber la manera de leer, y screuir, y hablar Angleis, y Espanol* (London: H. Sutton and J. Kingston for J. Wyght, 1554)
- Virgil, *The Aeneid of Virgil*, ed. R. D. Williams, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1972-73)
- , *Virgil*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. G. P. Goold, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard UP, 1999-2000)
- , *Aeneid: Book XII*, ed. R. J. Tarrant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)
- The Visitation of Cheshire in the Year 1580*, ed. J. P. Rylands (London: Harleian Society, 1882)
- The Visitation of Kent, Taken in the Years 1619-1621*, ed. Robert Hovenden (London: Harleian Society, 1898)
- Vives, Juan Luis, *The Education of a Christian Woman*, trans. Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000)

Secondary

Contemporary studies

- Lipsius, Justus, *Animadversiones in Tragoedias quae L. Annæo Senecæ tribuuntur* (Leiden: F. Raphelengius, 1588)
- Meres, Francis, *Palladis tamia. Wits treasury being the Second part of Wits Common*

wealth (London: P. Short for C. Burbie, 1598)

Later studies

- Adams, J. N., 'Female Speech in Roman Comedy', *Antichthon*, 18 (1984), 43-77
- Adams, Simon, 'Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester (1532/3-1588)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8160>> (accessed 10 June 2016)
- Alcock, Susan, 'The Peculiar Book IV and the Problem of the Messenian Past', in *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece*, ed. Susan E. Alcock, John E. Cherry, and Jaś Elsner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 142-53
- Alexander, Gavin, *Writing After Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney, 1586-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)
- Allen, Don Cameron, *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970)
- Alpers, Paul, *The Poetry of 'The Faerie Queene'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967)
- Ambrose, James, 'The Reception of Seneca the Tragedian in Early Modern France: Editions, Translations, Commentaries' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2008)
- Anglo, Sydney, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969)
- Aptekar, Jane, *Icons of Justice: Iconography and Thematic Imagery in Book V of 'The Faerie Queene'* (New York; London: Columbia University Press, 1969)
- Ashbee, Andrew, 'Hunnis, William (d. 1597)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14187>> (accessed 23 June 2016)
- Austen, Gillian, *George Gascoigne* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2008)
- Baines, Barbara J., 'Effacing Rape in Early Modern Representation', *English Literary History*, 65 (1998), 69-98
- Balbo, Andrea, Lano, Italo, and Ermanno Malaspina, *Bibliografia senecana del XX secolo* (Bologna: Pàtron, 2005)
- Barchiesi, Alessandro, *La traccia del modello: effetti omerici nella narrazione virgiliana* (Pisa: Giardini, 1984)
- , *Homeric Effects in Vergil's Narrative*, trans. Ilaria Marchiesi and Matt Fox, introd. Philip Hardie (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015)
- Barker, William, 'Mulcaster, Richard (1531/2-1611)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19509>> (accessed 30 November 2015)
- Barron, Caroline M., 'Pageantry on London Bridge in the Early Fifteenth Century', in *'Bring furth the pagants': Essays in Early English Drama Presented to Alexandra F. Johnston*, ed. David N. Klausner and Karen S. Marsalek (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 91-104

- Bate, Jonathan, *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)
- Batty, Roger, 'Mela's Phoenician Geography', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 90 (2000), 70-94
- Bennett, H. S., *English Books and Readers: 1558-1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965)
- Blayney, Peter, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501-1557*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- Boas, Frederick, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914)
- Boase, C. W., and Andrew Clark, eds., *Register of the University of Oxford*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press for the Oxford Historical Society, 1885-89)
- Bolgar, R. R., *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954)
- Boyle, A. J., *An Introduction to Roman Tragedy* (London: Routledge, 2006)
- Braden, Gordon, 'riverrun: An Epic Catalogue in *The Faerie Queene*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 5 (1975), 25-48
- , *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition: Anger's Privilege* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985)
- Braunmuller, A. R., 'Thomas Marsh, Henry Marsh, and the Roman Emperors', *The Library*, 6th ser., 6 (1984), 25-38
- Brigden, Susan, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989)
- Brommer, Frank, *Heracles: The Twelve Labors of the Hero in Ancient Art and Literature*, trans. and rev. Shirley J. Schwarz (New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas)
- Brooks, Cleanth, *Modern Poetry and the Tradition* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1939)
- Brooks-Davies, Douglas, *Spenser's Faerie Queene: A Critical Commentary on Books I and II* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977)
- Brown, Virginia, F. Edward Crantz, and Paul Oskar Kristeller, eds. *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries: Annotated Lists and Guides*, 9 vols (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1960-)
- Bull, Malcolm, *The Mirror of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art* (London: Allen Lane, 2005)
- Burkert, Walter, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1979)
- , *Greek Religion*, trans. John Raffan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985)
- Burlinson, Christopher, *Allegory, Space and the Material World in the Writings of Edmund Spenser* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2006)
- Burrow, Colin, *Epic Romance: Homer to Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993)
- , 'Spenser's Genres', in *The Oxford Handbook of Edmund Spenser*, ed. Richard A. McCabe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 403-29
- , *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

- Bursian, Conrad, 'Zur Kritik des Pomponius Mela', *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 39 (1869), 629-55
- Bushnell, Rebecca, *Tragedies of Tyrants: Political Thought and Theater in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990)
- Buxton, Richard, *Imaginary Greece: The Contexts of Mythology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
- Cameron, Alan, *Greek Mythography and the Roman World*, American Classical Studies, 48 (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
- Carley, James P., 'The Manuscript Remains of John Leland, "The King's Antiquary"', *Text*, 2 (1985), 111-20
- , 'John Leland in Paris: The Evidence of his Poetry', *Studies in Philology*, 83 (1986), 1-50
- Carroll, William C., *The Great Feast of Language in 'Love's Labour's Lost'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976)
- Carver, Robert H. F., "'Valiant Aristomenes': A Messenian Hero in Sidney's *Old Arcadia*", *Notes & Queries*, 41 (1994), 26-28
- , "'Transformed in Show": The Rhetoric of Transvestism in Sidney's *Arcadia*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 28 (1998), 323-52
- Chance, Jane, *Medieval Mythography*, 3 vols (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994-2015)
- Clarke, Katherine, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999)
- Collinson, Patrick, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Methuen, 1967)
- Cook, Patrick J., *Milton, Spenser and the Epic Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999)
- Costa, C. D. N., 'The Tragedies', in *Seneca*, ed. C. D. N. Costa (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), 91-110
- Cousin, Geraldine, *King John* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994)
- Crossley, Alan, 'City and University', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Astor, 8 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), IV: *Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 105-34
- Cunliffe, John W., *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy* (London; New York: Macmillan, 1893, repr. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1965)
- Curran, Leo C., 'Rape and Rape Victims in the *Metamorphoses*', *Arethusa*, 11 (1978), 213-41
- Curtius, E. R., *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard W. Trask, introd. Colin Burrow, Bollingen Series, 36 (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013)
- Dawson, Jane, 'The early career of Christopher Goodman and his place in the development of English Protestant thought' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 1979)
- Dent, R. W., *Shakespeare's Proverbial Language: An Index* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981)

- , *Proverbial Language in English Drama Exclusive of Shakespeare, 1495-1616: An Index* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984)
- Diller, Aubrey, 'The manuscripts of Pausanias', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 88 (1957), 169-88
- , *The Textual Tradition of Strabo's Geography* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1975)
- Diller, Aubrey, and Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'Strabo', in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries: Annotated Lists and Guides*, ed. Virginia Brown, F. Edward Crantz, and Paul Oskar Kristeller, 9 vols (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1960-), II (1971), ed. Paul Oskar Kristeller and F. Edward Crantz, 225-33
- Duff, E. Gordon, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (London: Blades, East & Blades for the Bibliographical Society, 1905)
- Dueck, Daniela, *Strabo of Amasia: A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000)
- , 'The Geographical Narrative of Strabo of Amasia', in *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*, ed. Kurt Raaflaub and Richard Talbert (Chichester, UK; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 236-51
- Dueck, Daniela, and Kai Brodersen, *Geography in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)
- Duncan-Jones, Katherine, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991)
- Dunseath, T. K., *Spenser's Allegory of Justice in Book V of 'The Faerie Queene'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968)
- Dusinberre, Juliet, 'King John and Embarrassing Women', *Shakespeare Survey*, 42 (1990), 37-52
- Dutsch, Dorota, *Feminine Discourses in Roman Comedy: On Echoes and Voices* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)
- Dyck, Ed, 'Topos and Enthymeme', *Rhetorica*, 20 (2002), 105-117
- Edlin, T. P. J., 'Studley, John (c. 1545-1590?)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26742>> (accessed 1 September 2016)
- Elliott Jr, John R., 'Queen Elizabeth at Oxford: New Light on the Royal Plays of 1566', *English Literary Renaissance*, 18 (1988), 218-29
- Erasmus, Desiderius, *Adages*, trans. Margaret M. Philips and others, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 31-36, 6 vols (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1982-)
- van Es, Bart, *Spenser's Forms of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)
- Fantham, Elaine, 'Sexual Comedy in Ovid's *Fasti*: Sources and Motivation', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 87 (1983), 185-216
- Fehrenbach, Robert J., and E. S. Leedham-Green, *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, 8 vols (Binghampton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992-)
- Ferguson, Arthur B., *Clio Unbound: Perception of the Social and Cultural Past in Renaissance England* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1979)

- , *Utter Antiquity: Perceptions of Prehistory in Renaissance England* (Durham, NC; London: Duke University Press, 1993)
- Ferri, Rolando, 'Transmission', in *Brill's Companion to Seneca: Philosopher and Dramatist*, ed. Gregor Damschen and Andreas Heil (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014), 45-49
- Findlay, Alison, *Illegitimate Power: Bastards in Renaissance Drama* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994)
- Fitch, John G., 'Sense-Pauses and Relative Dating in Seneca, Sophocles and Shakespeare', *The American Journal of Philology*, 102 (1981), 289-307
- , 'Textual Notes on *Hercules' Oetaeus* and on Seneca's *Agamemnon* and *Thyestes*', *Classical Quarterly*, 54 (2004), 240-54
- Flynn, Dennis, 'The English mission of Jasper Heywood, S. J.', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 54 (1985), 45-76
- , 'Heywood, Jasper (1535-98)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13182>> (accessed 26 August 2016)
- Foakes, R. A., 'The "Part" of Orlando in Robert Greene's play *Orlando Furioso*', in Digital Essays, in the Henslowe-Alleyn Digitisation Project <<http://www.henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/essays/orlando/html>> (accessed 1 August 2016)
- Foster, Joseph, *Alumni Oxonienses: The members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714: Their parentage, birthplace, and year of birth, with a record of their degrees*, 4 vols (Oxford: Parker & Co, 1891-92)
- Fowler, Elizabeth, 'The Failure of Moral Philosophy in the Work of Edmund Spenser', *Representations*, 51 (1995), 47-76
- Fowler, R. L., *Early Greek Mythography*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000-13)
- Frye, Northrop, 'The Archetypes of Literature', *The Kenyon Review*, 13 (1951), 91-110
- , *The Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957)
- , 'Myth, Fiction, and Displacement', *Daedalus*, 90 (1961), 587-605
- , 'The Structure of Imagery in *The Faerie Queene*', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 30 (1961), 109-27
- Frye, Susan, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)
- Galinsky, G. Karl, *The Herakles Theme* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1972)
- Gantz, Timothy, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*, 2 vols (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993)
- Garrett, Cynthia E., 'Sexual Consent and the Art of Love in the Early Modern English Lyric', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 44 (2004), 37-58
- Gautier Dalché, Patrick, *La géographie de Ptolémée en Occident (IVe-XVIe siècle)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009)
- Gilleland, Michael E., 'Linguistic differentiation of character type and sex in the comedies of Plautus and Terence' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Virginia, 1979)

- Goldberg, Sander M., 'Reading Roman Tragedy', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 13 (2007), 571-84
- Goldring, Elizabeth, "'A mercer ye wot az we be": The Authorship of the Kenilworth Letter Reconsidered', *English Literary Renaissance*, 38 (2008), 245-69
- , 'Gascoigne and Kenilworth: The Production, Reception, and Afterlife of *The Princely Pleasures*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 44 (2014), 363-87
- Gormley, C. M., M. A. Rouse, and R. H. Rouse, 'The Medieval Circulation of the "De Chorographia" of Pomponius Mela', *Mediaeval Studies*, 46 (1984), 266-320
- Gottfried, Rudolf B., 'Our New Poet: Archetypal Criticism and "The Faerie Queene"', *PMLA*, 83 (1968), 1352-77
- Graf, Fritz, *Greek Mythology: An Introduction*, trans. Thomas Marier (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993)
- Grafton, Anthony, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in the Age of Science, 1540-1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991)
- Greenblatt, Stephen, 'Sidney's *Arcadia* and the Mixed Mode', *Studies in Philology*, 70 (1973), 269-78
- , 'Murdering Peasants: Status, Genre, and the Representation of Rebellion', *Representations*, 1 (1983), 1-29
- Greg, W. W., 'Notes on Early Plays: Seneca's *Troas* Translated by Jasper Heywood, 1559', *The Library*, 4th ser., 11 (1930), 162-72
- Gunn, S. J., 'Dudley, Edmund (c. 1462-1510)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8147>> (accessed 15 November 2015)
- Gurr, Andrew, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642*, 4th rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Habicht, Christian, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998)
- Hackett, M. B., 'The University as a Corporate Body', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Astor, 8 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), I: *The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. J. I. Catto, 37-95
- Hadfield, Andrew, *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)
- Hamilton, A. C., *The Structure of Allegory in 'The Faerie Queene'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961)
- , *Northrop Frye: Anatomy of his Criticism* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1990)
- Hamilton, A. C., ed., *The Spenser Encyclopedia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990)
- Harley, J. B., and David Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography*, 3 vols (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1987-), I: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (1987)
- Harper, Carrie Anna, *The Sources of the British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene* (Philadelphia: Winston, 1910)

- Hartmann, Anna-Maria, 'Reading the Ancient Fable: Early Modern English Mythographers 1590-1650' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2012)
- Heal, Felicity, Ian W. Archer, and Paulina Kewes, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)
- Heffner, Ray, 'Spenser's Acquisition of Kilcolman', *Modern Language Notes*, 46 (1931), 493-98
- Herington, C. J., 'Senecan Tragedy', *Arion*, 5 (1966), 422-71
- Hill, Tracey, *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor's Show, 1585-1639* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010)
- Hinds, Stephen, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- Hornblower, Simon, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* 4th edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)
- Hunter, G. K., 'Seneca and the Elizabethans: A Case-Study in "Influence"', *Shakespeare Survey*, 20 (1967), 19-26
- Hutson, Lorna, *Circumstantial Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)
- Hutton, William, *Describing Greece: Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Huxley, G. H., *Greek Epic Poetry: From Eumelos to Panyassis* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969)
- Iredale, Roger O., 'Giants and Tyrants in Book Five of *The Faerie Queene*', *Review of English Studies*, 17 (1966), 373-81
- Jortin, John, *Remarks on Spenser's Poems* (London: [W. Bowyer] for J. Whiston, 1734)
- Kendrick, T. D., *British Antiquity* (London: Methuen, 1950)
- Ker, N. R., 'The Provision of Books', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Astor, 8 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), III: *The Collegiate University*, ed. James McConica, 441-77
- , 'Appendix II: Merton College Inventory 1566', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Astor, 8 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), III: *The Collegiate University*, ed. James McConica, 486-97
- Kim, Lawrence, 'The Portrait of Homer in Strabo's *Geography*', *Classical Philology*, 102 (2007), 363-88
- King, Andrew, *'The Faerie Queene' and Middle English Romance: The Matter of Just Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
- King, John N., 'Bale, John (1495-1563)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1175>> (accessed 1 November 2016)
- Kühr, Angela, 'Invading Boeotia: "Polis" and "Ethnos" in the Mirror of Theban Foundation Myths', *Hermes*, 134 (2006), 367-72
- Leedham-Green, Elizabeth, ed., *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)
- Lentricchia, Frank, *After the New Criticism* (London: Athlone Press, 1980)

- Levine, George, *Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987)
- Levy, Fritz, 'The Making of Camden's *Britannia*', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 26 (1964), 70-97
- Ligota, Christopher R., 'Annius of Viterbo and Historical Method', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 50 (1987), 44-56
- Littlewood, C. A. J., '*Hercules Oetaeus*', in *Brill's Companion to Seneca*, ed. Gregor Damschen and Andreas Heil (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014)
- Loach, Jennifer, 'Reformation Controversies', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Astor, 8 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), III: *The Collegiate University*, ed. James McConica, 364-96
- Lotspeich, Henry, *Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser*, Princeton Studies in English, 9 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932)
- Lyne, Raphael, *Ovid's Changing Worlds: English 'Metamorphoses' 1567-1632* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)
- Lyons, Tara, 'English Printed Drama in Collection before Jonson and Shakespeare' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011)
- McCoy, Richard C., *Sir Philip Sidney: Rebellion in Arcadia* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1979)
- McMillin, Scott, 'Sussex's Men in 1594: The Evidence of *Titus Andronicus* and *The Jew of Malta*', *Theatre Survey*, 32 (1991), 214-23
- McMillin, Scott, and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen's Men and their Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- McMullen, Norma, 'The Education of English Gentlewomen, 1540-1640', *History of Education*, 6 (1977), 87-101
- Maley, Willy, *A Spenser Chronology* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994)
- Marcotte, Didier, 'La redécouverte de Pausanias à la Renaissance', in *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 3rd ser., 10 (1992), 872-77
- Mayer, R. G., 'Doctus Seneca', *Mnemosyne*, 43 (1990), 395-407
- Mayer, Roland, 'Personata Stoa: Neostoicism and Senecan Tragedy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994), 151-74
- Mendyk, Stanley G., '*Speculum Britanniae*: Regional Study, Antiquarianism, and Science in Britain to 1700' (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1989)
- Metzger, Marcia Lee, 'Controversy and "Correctness": English Chronicles and the Chroniclers, 1553-1568', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 27 (1996), 437-51
- Milham, Mary Ellen, 'Pomponius Mela', in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries: Annotated Lists and Guides*, ed. Virginia Brown, F. Edward Crantz, and Paul Oskar Kristeller, 9 vols (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1960-), V (1984), ed. F. Edward Crantz and Paul Oskar Kristeller, 257-85
- Miola, Robert, *Shakespeare and Classical Tragedy: The Influence of Seneca* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992)

Mioni, Elpidio, 'Bonaccioli, Alfonso', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 86 vols, ed. Alberto Maria Ghisalberti (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960-), XI (1969), in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, in *Treccani.it* <<http://www.treccani.it/biografico/>> (accessed 25 January 2015)

Momigliano, Arnaldo, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 13 (1950), 285-315

---, *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography*, Sather Classical Lectures, 54 (Berkeley; Oxford: University of California, 1990)

Moore, Andrew, 'An Herculean Precedent for Spenser's "Telamond"', *Notes & Queries*, 53 (2006), 461-63

Morales, Helen, *Classical Mythology: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Morris, Richard K., "'I was never more in love with an olde howse nor never newe worke coulede be better bestowed": The Earl of Leicester's Remodelling of Kenilworth Castle for Queen Elizabeth I', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 89 (2009), 241-305

Murrin, Michael, 'The Varieties of Criticism', *Modern Philology*, 70 (1973), 342-56

Nisbet, Robin, 'The Oak and the Axe: Symbolism in Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus* 1618ff.', in *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble*, ed. Philip Hardie, Mary Whitby, and Michael Whitby (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1987), 243-51

Nohrberg, James, *The Analogy of 'The Faerie Queene'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976)

O'Connell, Michael, 'The Giant with the Scales', in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 867-69

Oram, William, 'Spenserian Paralysis', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 41 (2001), 49-70

Orme, Nicholas, 'Worcester [Botoner], William (1415-1480x85)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29967>> (accessed 1 October 2016)

Oruch, Jack B., 'Topography in the Prose and Poetry of the English Renaissance, 1540-1640' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1964)

Parish, H. L., 'Joye, George (1490x95-1553)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15153>> (accessed 9 November 2016)

Parker, Patricia, *Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property* (London: Methuen, 1987)

Parks, George B., 'Pausanias', in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries: Annotated Lists and Guides*, ed. Virginia Brown, F. Edward Crantz, and Paul Oskar Kristeller, 9 vols (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1960-), II (1971), ed. Paul Oskar Kristeller and F. Edward Crantz, 215-20

Parry, G. J. R., 'William Harrison and *Holinshed's Chronicles*', *The Historical Journal*, 27 (1984), 789-810

---, *A Protestant Vision: William Harrison and the Reformation of Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)

- , 'Trinity College Dublin MS. 165: the Study of Time in the Sixteenth Century', *Historical Research*, 62 (1989), 15-33
- Partridge, Loren W., 'The Sala d'Ercole in the Villa Farnese at Caprarola, Part I', *The Art Bulletin*, 53 (1971), 467-86
- , 'The Sala d'Ercole in the Villa Farnese at Caprarola, Part II', *The Art Bulletin*, 54 (1972), 50-62
- , 'Divinity and Dynasty at Caprarola: Perfect History in the Room of Farnese Deeds', *The Art Bulletin*, 60 (1978), 494-530
- , 'The Room of Maps at Caprarola, 1573-75', *The Art Bulletin*, 77 (1995), 413-44
- Pettegree, Andrew, 'Lynne, Walter (d. in or before 1571)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17272>> (accessed 1 November 2016)
- Pollard, A. W., and others, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, 2nd rev. edn, rev. W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Panzer, 3 vols (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-91)
- Popper, Nicholas, 'An Ocean of Lies: The Problem of Historical Evidence in the Sixteenth Century', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 74 (2011), 375-400
- Pretzler, 'Comparing Strabo with Pausanias: Greece in Content', in *Strabo's Cultural Geography: The Making of a Kolossourgia*, ed. Daniela Dueck, Hugh Lindsay, and Sarah Pothecary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 144-60
- , *Pausanias: Travel Writing in Ancient Greece* (London: Duckworth, 2007)
- Quinlan-McGrath, Mary, 'Caprarola's Sala della Cosmografia', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50 (1997), 1045-1110
- Radcliffe, David H., *Edmund Spenser: A Reception History* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1996)
- Reader, Francis W., 'Tudor Mural Paintings in the Lesser Houses in Bucks', *Archaeological Journal*, 89 (1932), 116-73
- Reynolds, L. D., Peter K. Marshall, and R. A. B. Mynors, eds., *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983)
- Riley, Kathleen, *The Reception and Performance of Euripides' 'Herakles': Reasoning Madness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)
- Ringler, W. A., 'Arthur Kelton's Contributions to Early British History', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 40 (1977), 353-56
- Rivet, A. L. F., and John Drinkwater, 'Rhodanus', in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow, 4th edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)
- Rivet, A. L. F., and Colin Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (London: Batsford, 1979)
- Roberts, Julian, 'The Latin Trade', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain 1557-1695*, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 141-73

- Robertson, Clare, 'Annibal Caro as Iconographer: Sources and Method', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45 (1982), 160-81
- Roebuck, Thomas, 'Antiquarianism and Regionalism, 1580-1540' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2011)
- Rollinson, Philip B., 'Maleger', in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 1178-81.
- Rosenberg, Eleanor, *Leicester, Patron of Letters* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955)
- Russell, Ford, *Northrop Frye on Myth: An Introduction* (New York; London: Garland, 1998)
- Ryrie, Alec, 'Sampson, Thomas (c. 1517-1589)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24595>> (accessed 16 June 2016)
- Sawtelle, Alice, *The Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology* (Boston: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1896)
- Schultz, Celia E., 'Modern Prejudice and Ancient Praxis: Female Worship of Hercules at Rome', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 133 (2000), 291-97
- Schwyzler, Philip, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)
- , 'Kelton, Arthur (d. 1549/50)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15307>> (accessed 14 September 2016)
- Scott, Joan, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review*, 91 (1986), 1053-75
- Segal, Robert, 'In Defense of Mythology: The History of Modern Theories of Mythology', *Annals of Scholarship*, 1 (1980), 3-49
- , *Myth: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
- Seznec, Jean, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, trans. Barbara F. Sessions (New York: Pantheon, 1953)
- Shalev, Zur, and Charles Burnett, eds., *Ptolemy's Geography in the Renaissance* (London: Warburg Institute, 2011)
- Shell, James, '"A Mandala of the Ear": Northrop Frye and Music', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 76 (2007), 1055-71
- Simpson, James, *Reform and Cultural Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)
- Skeat, T. C., 'Two "Lost Works" by John Leland', *The English Historical Review*, 65 (1950), 505-08
- Skretkiewicz, Victor, 'Hercules in Sidney and Spenser', *Notes & Queries*, 111 (1980), 306-10
- , *European Erotic Romance: Philhellene Protestantism, Renaissance Translation and English Literary Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010)
- Slaney, Helen, *The Senecan Aesthetic: A Performance History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)

- Smith-Laing, Tim, 'Variorum Vitae: Theseus and the Arts of Mythography in Medieval and Modern Europe' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2014)
- Stafford, Emma, *Herakles* (London: Routledge, 2012)
- Starnes, D. T., 'Thomas Cooper's "Thesaurus": A Chapter in Renaissance Lexicography', *The University of Texas Studies in English*, 28 (1949), 15-48
- , 'Thomas Cooper and the "Bibliotheca Eliotae"', *The University of Texas Studies in English*, 30 (1951), 40-60
- Stephens, Walter, 'When Pope Noah Ruled the Etruscans: Anniius of Viterbo and his Forged "Antiquities"', *Modern Language Notes*, 119 (2004), S201-23
- Strauss, Gerald, 'Topographical-Historical Method in Sixteenth-Century German Scholarship', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 5 (1958), 87-101
- , *Sixteenth-Century Germany: Its Topography and Topographers* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959)
- Summerson, Henry, 'Sources: 1577', in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles*, ed. Felicity Heal, Ian W. Archer, and Paulina Kewes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 61-76
- , 'Sources: 1587', in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles*, ed. Felicity Heal, Ian W. Archer, and Paulina Kewes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 77-92
- Tarrant, R. J., 'Introduction: The Manuscripts', in Seneca, *Agamemnon*, ed. R. J. Tarrant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 23-86
- 'Senecan Drama and its Antecedents', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 82 (1978), 213-63
- , 'Seneca the Younger', in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds, Peter K. Marshall, and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983)
- Tilley, M. P., *A Dictionary of all the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950)
- Usher, Brett, 'Calphill, James (1529/30-1570)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online Edition, ed. David Cannadine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4390>> (accessed 16 June 2016)
- Vine, Angus, 'Etymology, Names, and the Search for Origins: Deriving the Past in Early Modern England', *Seventeenth Century*, 21 (2006), 1-21
- Vondersmith, Bernard J., 'A History of the Criticism of "The Faerie Queene"' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Duquesne University, 1971)
- Waith, Eugene M., *The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1962)
- Walde, Christine, *Herculeus labor: Studien zum pseudosenecanischen Hercules Oetaeus*, Studien zur klassischen Philologie, 64 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1992)
- Walsh, Brian, *Shakespeare, the Queen's Men, and the Elizabethan Performance of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Walsham, Alexandra, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

- Wakelin, Daniel, 'Possibilities for Reading: Classical Translations in Parallel Texts ca. 1520-1558', *Studies in Philology*, 105 (2008), 463-86
- Watson, W. J., *The History of Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, introd. Simon Taylor (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2004)
- Whitford, David M., 'The Papal Antichrist: Martin Luther and the Underappreciated Influence of Lorenzo Valla', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 61 (2008), 26-52
- Whyte, Nicola, 'The Deviant Dead in the Norfolk Landscape', *Landscapes*, 4 (2003), 24-39
- Wiesner-Hanks, Merry E., *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- Williams, Kathleen, 'Some Uses of Myth in *The Faerie Queene*', *English Literary History*, 28 (1961), 101-20
- , *Spenser's 'Faerie Queene': The World of Glass* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966)
- Winston, Jessica, 'Seneca in Early Elizabethan England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 59 (2006), 29-59
- , *Lawyers at Play: Literature, Law, and Politics at the Early Modern Inns of Court, 1558-1581* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)
- Wolk, Anthony W., 'Hercules and *The Faerie Queene*' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 1966)
- , 'Hercules', in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 936-37
- Woodcock, Matthew, *Fairy in 'The Faerie Queene': Renaissance Elf-Fashioning and Elizabethan Myth-Making* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)
- Zimmerman, Heiner, 'Macbeth and Hercules', *Renaissance Studies*, 20 (2006), 356-78