

Notes

Introduction

1. *Ulysses* by James Joyce (London: Penguin, 1992), 272.
2. This myth depends upon a number of dubious assumptions about Shakespeare's life and the dating of his works. It is not clear that Shakespeare ever retired from London to Stratford and the last play he wrote, also his last banishment play, was probably *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Stephen's version, still popular with some biographers and critics, remains a narrative compelling for its sense of closure.
3. See respectively Lodovico in *The White Devil* (1612), the Duchess in Middleton's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1606), Brishio in *A Knack to Know an Honest Man* (Anon., 1594) and D'Aumale and De Laffin in Chapman's *The Conspiracy of Charles, Duke of Byron* (1608).
4. The nearest critical works are Leslie A. Fiedler's *The Stranger in Shakespeare* (London: Croom Helm, 1973) and Janette Dillon's *Shakespeare and the Solitary Man* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave Macmillan, 1981). Neither critic distinguishes banishment from the other forms of alienation considered.
5. Nicholas Rowe, 'Some Account of the Life, etc., of Mr William Shakespear', (1709), repr. in *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare* ed. D. Nichol Smith (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1903), 1–23, 3.
6. This metaphor recurs in a number of Elizabethan and Jacobean plays: in Shakespeare's *2 Henry VI*, *1 Henry IV* and *Henry VIII*, Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (to be examined later) and John Ford's *Love's Sacrifice* (see Chapter 6). It probably originates from the legal procedure for marital separation which described the couple's alienation 'from bed and board'. See Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 146.
7. More recently, Julia Kristeva has argued that 'Writing is impossible without some kind of exile' in 'A New Type of Intellectual: The Dissident' (1977), repr. in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. Toril Moi (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 292–300, 298.
8. *The Story that the Sonnets Tell* (London: Adam Hart, 1994), 11, 184–98.
9. The three main biographical sources upon which Joyce seems to have relied, namely Frank Harris, *The Man Shakespeare* (1909), George Brandes, *William Shakespeare: A Critical Study* (1899) and Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (1898), all refer to the legend of Shakespeare as exile and quote the relevant passage from Rowe. On these debts, see William M. Schutte, *Joyce and Shakespeare: A Study in the Meaning of Ulysses* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957), 54–5, 153–77.
10. The other biographical subject here is of course Joyce himself. Not only did he choose exile but he consistently identified himself with other exiled writers such as Dante, Giordano Bruno, Ibsen and Mangan and partly based his conception of the artist upon dispossession. See Hélène Cixous, *The Exile of James Joyce*, trans. Sally A. J. Purcell (London: John Calder, 1976).
11. *The Place of the Stage: License, Play and Power in Renaissance England* (1988; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), and Leeds Barroll, *Politics, Plague*

- and *Shakespeare's Theater: The Stuart Years* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), 13.
12. See, for example, Richard Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates: Jonson, Spenser, Milton and the Literary System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Jeffrey Masten, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 12–27; Emma Smith, 'Author v. Character in Early Modern Dramatic Authorship: The Example of Thomas Kyd and *The Spanish Tragedy*', in *Medieval and Renaissance Drama*, 11 (1999), 129–42; and David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
 13. E. A. J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: The 'Lost Years'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985; rev. 1998), 130.
 14. Eric Sams, *The Real Shakespeare, Retrieving the Early Years 1564–1594* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 45.
 15. Jordan suggests that '[Lucy's] power was too great for poor Shakespere to contend with, and he now saw, perhaps with horror, that his youthful levity obliged him to quit his father, his fond wife, his prattling babes, and his native place'. See *Original Memoirs and Historical Accounts of the Families of Shakespeare and Hart*, ed. H. P. (1865), repr. in E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), 2 vols, vol. 2, 293.
 16. Vincent J. Cheng, *Joyce, Race and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 7.
 17. *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, eds James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 2 vols, vol. 1, 14–16, 14–15.
 18. *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, eds Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1969), 3 vols, vol. 1, no. 311.
 19. *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, vol. 1, 15, fn. 1. See also John Manwood's *A Treatise and Discourse of the Lawes of the Forrest* (London, 1598; rev. 1615), 7–8.
 20. See the argument put forward by W. H. Dixon in *Royal Windsor* (London, 1880), 4 vols, vol. 4, 9.
 21. *Student's Blackstone: Selections from the Commentaries on the Laws of England by Sir William Blackstone*, ed. R. M. Kerr (London: John Murray, 1858), 18.
 22. J. H. Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History* (London: Butterworths, 1990), 3rd edn, 77. On the representation of the outlaw in Shakespeare, contrasted with the historical reality, see Chapter 4.
 23. See Sir William Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (London: Methuen, 1973) first pub. 1903, 5th edn, 16 vols, vol. 3, 303.
 24. See Statutes 22 Hen 8 c. 14, 28 Hen 8 c. 2, 32 Hen 8 c. 12, 1 Jac 1 c. 25 & 7 and 21 Jac 1 c. 28 & 7.
 25. *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England* (New York and London: Garland, 1979), 115, cap. 51. The only exception he cites is Elizabeth's Act of 1592/93 which insisted that recusants shall 'abjure this Realme of Englande and all other the Quenes Majesties Domynions for ever; And therupon shall departe out of this Realme at suche Haven and Porte, and within suche tyme as shall in that behalfe be assigned and appointed, by the saide Justices of Peace or Coroner before whom suche Abjuracion shalbe made ...' This act seems to have kept the form of abjuration – the oath to depart, the details of journey and destination – but since it was no longer dependent upon an initial place of sanctuary it did not fall foul of the 1624 Act.
 26. *Shakespeare's Legal Language: A Dictionary* (London and New Brunswick, NJ: Athlone Press, 2000), 247. A much more accurate representation of the subject is

- given by Leah Scragg who begins with the assertion that 'exile was not a condition remote from the everyday lives of a Renaissance audience', *Shakespeare's Mouldy Tales: Recurrent Plot Motifs in Shakespearian Drama* (London: Longman, 1992), 123–55, 123–4.
27. *An Introduction to English Legal History*, 237.
 28. See G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 150–2.
 29. *The First Part of the Institutes* (1628) (New York and London: Garland, 1979), 132–3, cap. 11, lib. 2.
 30. See 5 Eliz. c. 20 (1562), 27 Eliz c. 2 (1585), 34 Eliz c. 1 (1592), 3 Jac 1 c. 5 (1605) and 39 Eliz c. 4 (1597). The identification of both player and playwright as exiles is explored in more detail on pp. 19–24.
 31. In 1603, James I's Parliament recognized the difficulty in enforcing the 1597 Act banishing dangerous rogues and vagabonds. The statute describes how banished men might move to other parts of the kingdom or return from abroad without it being clear that they had been banished. The statute recommends that such men be branded on the left shoulder with an 'R' and also replaces banishment with prosecution for felony, 1 Jac. 1 c. 7 (1603).
 32. See *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, nos 470, 762, 804.5, 542 and 646.
 33. *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, nos 132 and 168.
 34. *Ibid.*, no. 213.
 35. *Remembrancia 1574–1664*, vol. 1, 40–1, letter dated 17 June 1580.
 36. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, nos 74–6.
 37. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, no. 159, letter dated 8 July 1614.
 38. *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 211, no. 804.5.
 39. *Ibid.*, 135, no. 762.
 40. *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, 378, no. 168.
 41. This is perhaps the key difficulty faced by any historian of exile. Paul Tabori offers as his initial definition: 'An exile is a person compelled to leave or remain outside his country of origin on account of well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, or political opinion'. However, this definition meets with so many objections from the 'several hundred exiles and international experts' to whom it is submitted that Tabori is compelled to add: 'It does not make an essential difference whether he is expelled by physical force or whether he makes the decision to leave without such an immediate pressure', *The Anatomy of Exile: A Semantic and Historical Study* (London: Harrap, 1972), 27, 37. In a study of banishment closer to our own, Randolph Starn notes a similar problem of definition: 'There were exiles of various sorts in medieval and Renaissance Italy, and it was not easy for contemporaries to distinguish between the émigré, the outlaw, the bandit, and the stranger'. Rather than try to differentiate them himself, Starn includes those 'driven away by force or unable to make a living among enemies', *Contrary Commonwealth: The Theme of Exile in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), xvi–xvii.
 42. See in particular 'A Proclamation for the due execution of all former Lawes against Recusants' (2 June 1610) which goes into some detail about the mercy James has shown in encouraging recusants to leave his kingdom, *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, 248, no. 111.
 43. See *Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to 1900* eds Sir Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (London: Oxford University Press, 1921–22), vol. 13, 63–8: Matthew, Sir Tobie, p. 64.

44. See 'A Declaration of the Lyfe and Death of John Story' (1571) printed in *Somer's Tracts* (London, 1809) (New York: AMS Press, 1965), 10 vols, vol. 1, 477–87, 485.
45. The *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, eds Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 3rd edn, 580.
46. *The Dictionary of English Law*, ed. Earl Jowitt (London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1959), 200.
47. *Athenae Oxonienses* (London: R. Knaplock, D. Midwinter & J. Tonson, 1721), 2 vols, vol. 1, 101, 170.
48. A letter from Essex to Bacon c.24 August 1593, repr. in *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding (London: Longmans, 1868–90), 7 vols, vol. 1, 254–5.
49. See Mario Digangi, *The Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 100–3.
50. *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938 repr. 1966), 7. A. G. Dickens argues that Garrett's reappraisal is too sweeping and opts for a truth lying 'somewhere between the excessive optimism of the modern picture, and the old legend of hapless fugitives, weeping by the waters of Babylon', *The English Reformation* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1964), 284.
51. *The Marian Exiles*, 15.
52. *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, ed. Rev. Josiah Pratt (London: Religious Tract Society, 1877), 4th edn, 8 vols, vol. 8, 624.
53. *The Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, trans. and ed. David Lewis (London: Burns & Oates, 1877), bk 4, ch. 3, 261.
54. See 27 Eliz c. 2. The Act called for those mentioned to quit the realm of England within forty days or face a charge of high treason. For further provisions of the Act see the above statute or Rishton's summary in *The Rise and Growth*, bk 4, ch. 11, 332–3.
55. *Acts and Monuments*, vol. 1, 18–19. The letter has neither date nor direction.
56. Reprinted in *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 1, 170.
57. *Ibid.* Parsons makes a similar point about an employee of Jewel's, called Dr Stevens, who also queried certain allegations in Jewel's book. When the latter refused to amend them, Stevens sought the 'truth' in Catholicism, 'where only it was to be found' and went voluntarily into banishment (170).
58. Cecil's letter to Copley is reprinted in *The Other Face: Catholic Life under Elizabeth I* collected and edited by Philip Caraman (London: Longmans, Green, 1960), 141. This book includes a chapter of exile writing (140–6).
59. See *The Execution of Justice in England by William Cecil and A True, Sincere, and Modest Defense of English Catholics by William Allen*, ed. Robert M. Kingdon (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965), 4.
60. *Ibid.*, 5–6.
61. *Ibid.*, 6.
62. *A True, Sincere and Modest Defense*, 106.
63. *Ibid.*, 106–7.
64. *Harrison's Description of England in Shakespere's Youth: 2nd and 3rd Books of his Description of Britaine* (1577), repr. by E. K. Chambers in *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923; repr. 1961), 4 vols, vol. 1, 281. On the expulsion of the theatre due to plague see Barroll, *Politics, Plague and Shakespeare's Theater*.
65. *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 1, 297–8.

66. This extract is taken from an anonymous letter thought to have been written in 1584. See the transcript of Lansdowne MS 20, no. II, reproduced in Virginia Gildersleeve, *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1961), 172–3.
67. *Government Regulation*, 175.
68. *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 1, 284, *Government Regulation*, 158.
69. An exception would be the case of Thomas Nashe who went into exile to avoid imprisonment for his part in *The Isle of Dogs* (1597). Francis Meres consoles the dramatist with the thought that ‘thy banishment’ is not ‘like Ovid’s, eternally to converse with the barbarous *Getae*’, *Palladis Tamia* (1598), in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith (London: Oxford University Press, 1904), 2 vols, vol. 2, 308–24, 324. Nashe himself defined this plight as exile in *Nashe’s Lenten Stuff* (1599). Both references incline towards a tragic rather than a heroic definition of exile.
70. For many English Protestants, exile and publication were associated on a purely practical level. According to John Foxe’s son, ‘the most part’ of the English Protestant community at Basle ‘gained their livelihood by reviewing and correcting the press’, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. 1, 16. Yet, such activity also recalled the origins of Protestantism, namely the dissemination of Luther’s works across Europe by means of the newly invented press. Indeed, the elder Foxe suggested that ‘either the pope must abolish knowledge and printing, or printing at length will root him out’, vol. 3, 720.
71. *The Image of Both Churches*, in *The Select Works of John Bale*, ed. Rev. Henry Christmas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1849), 249–640, 254. The subheading of the book reads: ‘Compiled by John Bale an exile also in this life for the faythfull testimonie of Jesu.’
72. See ‘In Io. Foxum theologum celeberrimum cum Christo exultantem’, reprinted by G. A. Williamson in *John Foxe’s Book of Martyrs* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1965), xli.
73. Alison Shell argues that ‘more than any other theme in English Catholic discourse, exile prompted a self-conscious addressing of the authorial role’. See her extensive work on the metaphor of exile in Catholic writings in *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 169–223.
74. On the source of the legend that Wyatt was banished and a refutation of this argument see Kenneth Muir, *The Life and Letters of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1963), 22–3; Katherine Duncan-Jones and J. Van Dorsten similarly argue that Sidney’s absence from court in 1580, described as ‘banishment’ in his letter of 2 August, was voluntary rather than enforced in *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 34–5. On Spenser’s self-dramatization as the exile, Colin Clout, see my chapter on *Richard II*. In the introduction to his translation of *Orlando*, Harington himself asserted that he had been commanded to write it by the Queen during his exile from the court.
75. See Bacon’s letter of 6 June 1621 translated from the Latin in *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, vol. 7, 285. In a letter to Lancelot Andrewes the following year, Bacon compared his fate and the literary endeavours it would produce with those of Cicero, Seneca and Demosthenes. These banished men apparently confirmed Bacon in his resolution ‘to spend my time wholly in writing’ (371–2).
76. *The Place of the Stage*, 30. Throughout his book, Mullaney is not quite consistent as to the nature of the banishment he describes. He insists upon the enforced exile of the stage, reminiscent of Plato’s banishment of the arts from

- the *Republic* or of Rosalind's exile in *As You Like It*, while also arguing for the theatre's deliberate and voluntary withdrawal from the city (56 and 23). The confusion of voluntary/enforced exile is paradigmatic of banishment in the period, but Mullaney makes no reference to this debate nor does he include any contemporary testimony to the stage as 'banished'.
77. *Plato's Republic*, trans. Desmond Lee (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), 2nd edn, 135.
 78. *Ibid.*, 153.
 79. On the polemicists' debt to Plato see Russell Fraser, *The War Against Poetry* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), 102–12. William Prynne's *Histriomastix* (1633), a vast compendium of anti-theatrical material, recurs again and again to Plato as its authority for banishment. See *Histriomastix* (New York: Garland, 1974), 368, 448, 480 and 517.
 80. *Markets of Bawdrie: The Dramatic Criticism of Stephen Gosson*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1974), 69–120, 77.
 81. *A Defence of Poetry* (1579), in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, vol. 1, 61–86, 67.
 82. *The Defence of Poesy*, in *Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 239.
 83. *Ibid.*, and note, 384.
 84. *Ibid.*, 239.
 85. *The Anatomie of Absurditie* in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), 5 vols, vol. 1, 1–50, 25. In *The Golden Grove* (1600), William Vaughan makes the same distinction between poetry and its abuse, concluding that 'many of our English rimers and ballet-makers deserve for their bawdy sonnets & amorous allurements, to be banished ...' (London, 1608), 2nd edn, bk 3, ch. 43, n.p.
 86. *Defense of Poetry*, 76.
 87. This point is argued by Tom Cain in his introduction to *Poetaster* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 23.
 88. *Histriomastix*, in *The Plays of John Marston*, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd, 1939), 3 vols, vol. 3, 299.
 89. See also Tuca in *Poetaster* who says of the players: 'They are grown licentious, the rogues; libertines, flat libertines. They forget they are i'the statute' (1.2.52–4).
 90. See Philip J. Finkelpearl, *John Marston of the Middle Temple* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 119–24.
 91. On the question of Jonson's objections, see James P. Bednarz, 'Representing Jonson: *Histriomastix* and the Origin of the Poets' War', *HLQ*, 54 (Winter 1991), 1–30.
 92. Katherine Duncan-Jones has recently argued for a strong personal and professional relationship between the two men, to the extent that *Hamlet* and *Antonio's Revenge*, *Twelfth Night* and *What You Will* were written in 'close collusion'. See *Ungentle Shakespeare: Scenes from his Life* (London: Thomson Learning, 2001), 136, 145–9, 153–6.
 93. *Antonio's Revenge*, ed. W. Reavley Gair (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978). Marston's Stoicism is discussed by Gilles D. Monsarrat in *Light from the Porch: Stoicism and English Renaissance Literature* (Paris: Didier Erudition, 1984), 151–87.
 94. *Antonio and Mellida*, ed. W. Reavley Gair (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991). See also 4.1.1–4 in which Antonio, disguised as a mariner, shouts out to himself and then adds in his own voice: 'Vain breath, vain breath,

- Antonio's lost. / He cannot find himself, not seize himself. / Alas, this that you see is not Antonio.'
95. *Antonio and Mellida*, 4.1.250–1, *John Marston of the Middle Temple*, 268–71.
 96. The quotation is taken from a series of didactic tracts, B.M. MS Harley 45, f. 1.
 97. *The Malcontent*, ed. George K. Hunter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975).
 98. Lucifer is not the only exile mentioned in the play. He is joined by allusions to Diogenes, Seneca, Ulysses and Dante. The emphasis on man's exile from heaven is echoed when Pietro responds to news of his wife's infidelity with the comment 'Good God, that men should desire / To search out that which being found kills all / Their joy of life; to taste the tree of knowledge / And then be driven from out paradise!' (3.1.15–18).
 99. David Farley-Hills argues for a connection between *A Woman Killed With Kindness* and *Othello* as domestic tragedy in *Shakespeare and the Rival Playwrights* (London: Routledge, 1990), 104–35.
 100. *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, ed. Brian Scobie (London: A & C Black, 1985, repr. 1998). The play may reflect contemporary practice in cases of adultery, as in the case of Henry Wriothesley's mother, Mary, Countess of Southampton, who was 'by my Lord forbydden his companye', and removed to one of his Hampshire residences where she was kept under close surveillance. See her letter dated 21 March 1580, cited by G. P. V. Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1968), 13.
 101. For an excellent analysis of the interrelation of the two plots, with particular emphasis on the theme of exile, see Diana E. Henderson, 'Many Mansions: Reconstructing *A Woman Killed with Kindness*', *SEL*, 26 (1986), 277–94.
 102. *Ibid.*, 279–81.
 103. Useful discussions of the status and, in particular, the dating of these revisions can be found in Richard Dutton's *Mastering the Revels* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave Macmillan, 1991), 81–6, and *Shakespeare and Sir Thomas More: Essays on the Play and its Shakespearean Interest*, ed. T. H. Howard-Hill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). Although Shakespeare's revision would still appear to infringe Tilney's injunctions by harping on the words 'English' and 'stranger' and by its reference to France, the overall sense of the passage, which is to blur these distinctions, might have allowed Tilney to accept it. It was not only Shakespeare as a writer of the Jack Cade rebellion which qualified him for this sensitive task, but, I would suggest, his sympathy for the exile.
 104. Although, as has been argued, there is no absolute distinction between enforced and voluntary exile, the plays chosen all feature a proclamation of banishment. If we were to include characters who exile themselves, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Macbeth* and *Pericles* would all fall within the confines of this work. If we were to treat exile more figuratively, the brothers in *The Comedy of Errors*, Lysander and Hermia in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Antony in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Cressida in *Troilus and Cressida*, and Camillo and Perdita in *The Winter's Tale* might also fall within the scope of this study.

Chapter 1 'That One Word "Banishèd"': Linguistic Crisis in *Romeo and Juliet*

1. Not surprisingly, these lines have fared worst in film adaptations, with Franco Zeffirelli's film (1968) cutting all of Juliet's 'banishèd' speech in 3.2 and allowing

- Romeo only 13 lines from 3.3. It is notable that in Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*, although Juliet's banishment speech is reduced from 15 to seven lines, Romeo's remains largely untouched. If we accept the theory that Q1 is based on a memorial reconstruction, it seems that Shakespeare did intend his audience to hear the word 'banishèd' over and over again. See *The First Quarto Edition of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet* (1597) ed. Frank G. Hubbard (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1924).
2. All quotations and translations are taken from Robert M. Durling's edition of *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The Rime Sparse and Other Lyrics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976).
 3. See Jonathan Dollimore's 'Desire is Death', in *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*, eds Margreta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan and Peter Stallybrass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 369–86. On the association of death and Petrarchanism in *Romeo and Juliet*, see Gayle Whittier's 'The Sonnet's Body and the Body Sonnetized in *Romeo and Juliet*', *Sh. Q.*, 40 (1989), 27–41, and Lloyd Davis, "'Death-marked Love": Desire and Presence in *Romeo and Juliet*', *Sh. S.*, 49 (1996), 57–67.
 4. Sir Thomas Wyatt adapts this sonnet in 'How oft have I, my dear and cruel foe', where he makes the connection between the heart's exile and death more strongly:

If I then it chase, nor it in you can find,
 In this exile no manner of comfort,
 Nor live alone, nor where he is called resort,
 He may wander from his natural kind.
 So shall it be great hurt unto us twain,
 And yours the loss, and mine the deadly pain.

(9–14)

- Sir Thomas Wyatt: Collected Poems*, ed. Joost Daalder (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 28.
5. *Epistulae metricae*, 3.19.15–16, as translated by Gordon Braden in *Petrarchan Love and the Continental Renaissance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 4.
 6. See the letters to 'Severo Apenninicola' and to Philippe de Vitry in *Rerum familiarium libri I–VIII*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo (New York: State University of New York Press, 1975), II, 3–4, pp. 70–86, and *Rerum familiarium libri IX–XVI* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), XI, 12, pp. 35–44. Critics who have commented on the centrality of exile to Petrarch's thought include Giuseppe Mazzotta, *The Worlds of Petrarch* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 1993) and A. Bartlett Giamatti, *Exile and Change in Renaissance Literature* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1984).
 7. *The Life of Solitude*, trans. Jacob Zeitlin (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1924), bk 1, tr. 4, ch. 1, 131.
 8. *Poems and A Defence of Ryme*, ed. Arthur Colby Sprague (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930; repr. 1965), 141.
 9. See *The Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington together with the Prayse of Private Life*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), 2 vols, vol. 1, 44–5.
 10. *The Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer*, ed. Ralph M. Sargent (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935; repr. 1968).

11. Coincidentally, Woodstock had been the location of Elizabeth's own exile from court under Mary Tudor.
12. Alison Shell discusses these points in *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination*, 108. As we saw in the Introduction, it is impossible to rediscover the exact terms of such an exile though a document authorizing Constable's licence to travel abroad remains extant. See *The Poems of Henry Constable*, ed. Joan Grundy (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1960), 49.
13. In the introduction to her edition of Constable's poems, Grundy writes: 'The materials that he handles in these sonnets are the fixities and definites of the fancy, counters [...] already in circulation, and simply moulded by him to a slightly different shape [...] There is no indication of anything in Constable's experience, real or imaginary, to which we can relate them; they exist in a vacuum, and are, in a literal sense, pseudo-statements, lacking even emotional validity' (ibid., 71).
14. *Poems and A Defence of Ryme*, 21.
15. M. C. Bradbrook, *Shakespeare: The Poet in his World* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1978), 100–1.
16. All references to Brooke's poem are taken from Geoffrey Bullough's *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 1, 284–363.
17. *The Phonetic Writings of Robert Robinson*, ed. E. J. Dobson (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 1–28, 4.
18. See Jane Donawerth's *Shakespeare and the Sixteenth-Century Study of Language* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 16–17.
19. Neil Rhodes examines the 'magical' efficacy of rhetoric to move and possess, and of satire to wound the body in *The Power of Eloquence and English Renaissance Literature* (Worcester: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), 8, 19–22, 45. On contemporary attitudes towards cursing, see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), 502–34.
20. James L. Calderwood, *Shakespearean Metadrama* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), 98. On the cliché of Petrarchanism in the play see also 'Romeo and Juliet and the Elizabethan Sonnets' by A. J. Earl, *English*, 27 (1978), 99–119, and Harry Levin, 'Form and Formality in *Romeo and Juliet*', *Sh. Q.*, 11 (1960), 3–11.
21. Romeo uses the arguments of Shakespeare's early sonnets: 'O, she is rich in beauty, only poor / That when she dies, with beauty dies her store' (1.1.212–13). See in particular Sonnet 6 'Then let not winter's ragged hand deface ...' in which the poet urges 'Be not self-willed, for thou art much too fair / To be death's conquest and make worms thine heir' (ll. 13–14).
22. *John Donne: The Complete English Poems*, ed. A. J. Smith (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971).
23. Catherine Belsey, 'The Name of the Rose in *Romeo and Juliet*', *YES*, 23 (1993), 126–42, 131.
24. 'The Definition of Love: Shakespeare's Phrasing in *Romeo and Juliet*', *Sh. St.*, 15 (1982), 21–36, 26.
25. Juliet's words also remind us of Brooke's moralizing prologue to his poem in which the lovers are accused of 'neglecting the authority and advise of parents and frendes' and of 'hastyng to most unhappye deathē'.
26. See Susan Snyder, *The Comic Matrix of Shakespeare's Tragedies* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 57, and Nicholas Brooke, *Shakespeare's Early Tragedies* (London: Methuen, 1968), 83.

27. See M. M. Mahood, *Shakespeare's Wordplay* (London: Methuen, 1957), 69–70 on Mercutio's dying curse.
28. *Shakespearean Metadrama*, 96.
29. See G. Blakemore Evans' discussion of the sources in his introduction to *Romeo and Juliet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 6–13.
30. *Ibid.*, 3.3.10n. 136. This usage is anticipated in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* where Lance substitutes the word 'vanished' for 'banished' (3.1.215).
31. A similar point is made about banishment in *Richard II*. The King describes the sentence as verbal and vocal: 'The hopeless word of "never to return" / Breathe I against thee, upon pain of life' (1.3.146–7). Bolingbroke, like Juliet, wonders that any expression composed of human breath should be so lasting. When Richard grants him a reprieve of six years, Bolingbroke responds:

How long a time lies in one little word!
 Four lagging winters and four wanton springs
 End in a word: such is the breath of kings.

(1.3.206–8)

32. Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* adds a further casualty when Montague declares: 'Dread sovereign, my wife is dead tonight, / And young Benvolio is deceased too' (5.3.140–1), reprinted in *Romeo and Juliet*, ed. Jill L. Levenson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
33. Rosalie Colie coined the term 'unmetaphoring' with regard to *Romeo and Juliet*, defining it as the 'trick of making a verbal convention part of the scene, the action, or the psychology of the play itself', *Shakespeare's Living Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974), 145. See also Ann Pasternak Slater, 'Petrarchanism Come True in *Romeo and Juliet*', in *Images of Shakespeare*, ed. Werner Habicht et al. (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1988), 129–50.
34. Pasternak Slater describes Romeo 'wallowing hysterically at news of his banishment' in 'Petrarchanism Come True', 133, while James H. Seward condemns 'the unmanliness of Romeo's behaviour' in *Tragic Vision in Romeo and Juliet* (Washington, DC: Consortium Press, 1973), 136. One of the few critics who respond sympathetically to this banishment scene is Robert O. Evans. He suggests that Shakespeare 'made Romeo's reaction to banishment appear reasonable to the audience (an easier job with an Elizabethan audience than with a modern one) by leading them to understand that Romeo and Juliet were bound by grand passion', *The Osier Cage: Rhetorical Devices in Romeo and Juliet* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1966), 54. Unfortunately, Osier does not explain why an Elizabethan audience would have responded differently to banishment.
35. *The Diall of Princes compiled by ... Don Anthony of Guevara*, trans. Thomas North (London, 1557), bk 3, ch. 34, 207.
36. Brooke, *Shakespeare's Early Tragedies*, 81.
37. For a detailed consideration of the Folio's inconsistencies as to location see Clifford Leech's introduction to *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (London: Methuen, 1969), xv–xviii.
38. This is also true of *Mucedorus* (anon. 1590; rev. 1610). Here, the young prince travels disguised as a shepherd to a foreign court to meet his intended bride. His banishment only excludes him from a place to which he is a stranger and he may return to Valencia where his family, friends and his inheritance await. Nor

- is Mucedorus long separated from Amadine for, like Sylvia, she chooses exile in the forest with him.
39. See John Florio's dictionary, *A Worlde of Wordes* (London, 1598), 333. A. J. Earl has commented on the Petrarchan origins of the identification of lover and pilgrim, referring to sonnet 16 of the *Rime*, '*Romeo and Juliet* and the Elizabethan Sonnets', 115. The question of Romeo as pilgrim is considered further later on in this chapter.
 40. Romeus is also afraid that Capulet will follow the lovers to take revenge and that their reputations will suffer. His anxieties are partly based on the age difference between himself and Juliet, a detail Shakespeare appears to ignore.
 41. This may be a line taken from Brooke where Juliet promises 'Both me and mine I will all whole to you betake, / And following you whereso you go, my father's house forsake' (539–40).
 42. 'Ideology and the Feud in *Romeo and Juliet*', *Sh. S.*, 49 (1996), 87–96, 93.
 43. One text which insists upon this similarity between Italy and heaven is Thomas Coryat's *Crudities* (1611), likening Lombardy to 'the very Elysian fields, so much decanted and celebrated by the verses of Poets, or the Tempe or Paradise of the world', *Coryat's Crudities* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1905), 2 vols, vol. 1, 245. Ironically, Coryat also extends this comparison to Mantua (264).
 44. *Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary* ed. Charles Hughes (London: Sherratt & Hughes, 1903), bk 5, ch. 1, 401–2.
 45. 'Between Idolatry and Astrology: Modes of Temporal Repetition in *Romeo and Juliet*', in *A Feminist Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Dymphna Callaghan (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 358–72.
 46. *Inferno*, IX, 91–3 and XV, 79–81 in *The Portable Dante*, trans. Mark Musa (London: Penguin, 1995). For a useful introduction to this theme in Dante's work see Giuseppe Mazzotta, 'Dante and the Virtues of Exile', in *Exile in Literature*, ed. Maria-Ines Lagos-Pope (London: Associated University Presses, 1988), 49–71.
 47. Critics who find Romeo guilty of idolatry include Seward, *Tragic Vision in Romeo and Juliet*, 137, and Barbara L. Parker, *A Precious Seeing: Love and Reason in Shakespeare's Plays* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1987), 148.
 48. See Coppélia Kahn's seminal article, 'Coming of Age in Verona', in *The Woman's Part: Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare*, eds Carolyn Lenz, Gayle Greene and Carol Thomas Neely (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 171–93.
 49. Snyder makes a similar point when she argues that the play demonstrates the destructive power of ideology: 'That which is necessary to give us a stable identity and a consistent view of the world is by the same token what limits and distorts us,' 'Ideology and the Feud in *Romeo and Juliet*', 95.
 50. On this experience as the fulfilment of Romeo's death wish, see Marilyn L. Williamson, 'Romeo and Death', *Sh. St.*, 14 (1981), 129–37.
 51. The Nurse's comments may well reflect the most familiar form of divorce in England at this time which involved a separation without the right to remarry, often on the grounds that one of the parties had deserted the other. Such a 'divorce' must often have led to bigamous second marriages.
 52. While I am arguing for a marked difference between the language of *The Two Gentlemen* and *Romeo and Juliet* as a result of banishment, Peter J. Smith suggests that both plays feature a 'growing movement away from the harmless comedy of words to the increasing awareness of the potential dangers of language', *Social Shakespeare: Aspects of Renaissance Dramaturgy and Contemporary Society* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave Macmillan, 1995), 120–45, 133.

Chapter 2 'Still-Breeding Thoughts': *Richard II* and the Exile's Creative Failure

1. David Williams, 'The Exile as Uncreator', *Mosaic*, 8 (1975), 1–15, 8–9.
2. See Douglas M. Friedman's discussion of this speech in 'John of Gaunt and the Rhetoric of Frustration', *ELH*, 43 (1976), 279–99.
3. See Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), 7. Kantorowicz argues that, in *Richard II*, Shakespeare 'eternalized' the metaphor of the king's two bodies, making it 'the very substance and essence of one of his greatest plays' (26). His emphasis is upon the metaphor as a psychological truth about kingship rather than as an expression of competing political discourses.
4. *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), 13–14, 26–37, 12.
5. The dialectic within the play between divine right kingship and aristocratic ideology is discussed in detail by Graham Holderness, *Shakespeare Recycled: The Making of Historical Drama* (New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), 51–72.
6. *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. 3, 383.
7. *The Chronicle of Froissart translated out of French by Sir John Bourchier, Lord Berners*, ed. William Paton Ker (London: David Nutt, 1901–3), 6 vols, vol. 6, cap. CCXXXVIII, 355. Shakespeare does not refer to the banishments of Northumberland and Percy, perhaps because those of Bolingbroke and Mowbray loom so large.
8. Richard was born in France and was often called 'Richard of Bourdeaux' though, unlike *Woodstock*, Shakespeare's play makes little reference to this fact, preferring to hint at the king's symbolic foreignness.
9. Terence Hawkes is a notable exception: 'the banishment of the disaffected Bolingbroke not only precipitates the Wars of the Roses, it also initiates a social, moral, and economic disorder without parallel in the Elizabethan mind', *Shakespeare's Talking Animals: Language and Drama in Society* (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), 81.
10. See Hall's *Union* and Holinshed's *Chronicles* in *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. 3, 386 and 393 respectively.
11. See *A Mirror for Magistrates* (1559), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. 3, 418, ll. 141–2 and 424–5, and *The Chronicle of Froissart*, vol. 6, cap. CCXXXIII, 313–15. In *The Firste Foure Bookes of the Civile Wars* (1595), Samuel Daniel suggests that banishment was an expression of Richard's fear of the ambitious Bolingbroke. In this account, an innocent Mowbray is sacrificed for the sake of the realm, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, 438.
12. See, for example, 1.1.190–5 and 2.1.123–4. The question of censorship and self-censorship in the play is further explored by David Norbrook, "'A Liberal Tongue": Language and Rebellion in *Richard II*', in *Shakespeare's Universe: Renaissance Ideas and Conventions*, ed. John M. Muccio (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), 37–51, and by Paula Blank, 'Speaking Freely about Richard II', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 96 (1997), 327–48.
13. *The First and Second Parts of John Hayward's The Life and Raigne of King Henrie III*, ed. John J. Manning (London: Royal Historical Society, 1992), 103.
14. See 22 Hen 8 c. 14, 28 Hen 8 c. 1 and 32 Hen 8 c. 3. Under the laws of sanctuary, a criminal could take refuge on consecrated ground or in certain secular sanctuaries for a period of forty days. After that time, if he confessed before the coroner, he would be required to swear an oath to abjure the realm and would

- then be allowed to travel to a particular port to a particular destination. Any deviations on his journey would be punished by death. See Holdsworth's *A History of English Law*, vol. 3, 303–6.
15. See John Bellamy, *The Tudor Law of Treason: An Introduction* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 88–92.
 16. 'An Act to Retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their due Obedience' called on persistent recusants to 'abjure this Realm of England' until a licence was given for their return, 34 Eliz c. 1.
 17. See Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), S985, who traces it back to *Matthew 5: 45*, 'He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good'.
 18. See *Euphues* in *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. Warwick Bond (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902; repr. 1973), 2 vols, vol. 1, 314. Shakespeare returns to this consolation for exile in *Cymbeline* when Innogen asks herself, 'Hath Britain all the sun that shines?', 3.4.137.
 19. On the structure of Gaunt's speech as an imitation of the classical *consolatio* see Tison, 'Shakespeare's "Consolatio" for Exile', 153–4. On its sources, see Hilda H. Hulme, *Explorations in Shakespeare's Language: Some Problems of Lexical Meaning in the Dramatic Text* (London: Longman, 1962), 180–2, and T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), 2 vols, vol. 2, 427–8.
 20. Stanley Wells explores the imagination's power to console in 'The Lamentable Tale of Richard II', *Sh. St.* (Tokyo), 17 (1982), 1–23, 16–17.
 21. *The First Part of the Life and Raigne of Henrie IIII*, 105–6.
 22. See respectively Albert J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans: The English Exiles at the Court of Philip II* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1963), 18, 21 and Arthur Gould Lee's *The Son of Leicester: The Story of Sir Robert Dudley* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1964), 143 ff.
 23. See Hall's *Union*, *Holinshed's Chronicles* and *A Mirror for Magistrates in Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. 3, 387, 393 and 418, ll. 151–4.
 24. Compare with the more serious tone of Augustus' banishment of Ovid in *Poetaster*: 'we exile thy feet / From all approach to our imperial court / On pain of death', 4.6.52–6.
 25. The shame associated with 'vagabond', suggesting moral dissoluteness and antipathy towards society, as well as deracination and namelessness, is also resonant in *Coriolanus*, 3.3.93.
 26. This reference to bitter bread as one of exile's sufferings may recall Dante's *Paradiso*: 'And you will know how salty is the taste / of others' bread, how hard the road that takes / you down and up the stairs of others' homes', c. 17, 58–60.
 27. In 'Shakespeare's *Richard II* and the Essex Conspiracy', Evelyn May Albright argued that Shakespeare's *Richard II* was based on Hayward's history, suggesting that although the latter was not published until two years after the play it might have been available in manuscript, *PMLA*, 42.2 (1927), 686–720. For a thorough refutation of this argument see Ray Heffner, 'Shakespeare, Hayward, and Essex', *PMLA*, 45.2 (1930), 754–80.
 28. There remains some doubt as to whether this was Shakespeare's *Richard II* or a play deriving from Hayward's *First Part*, as argued by Heffner. I follow Andrew Gurr (ed.), *King Richard II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) and Leeds Barroll 'A New History for Shakespeare and His Time', *Sh. Q.*, 39 (1988), 441–64, among others, in assuming that this was Shakespeare's play.

29. Hayward described him as 'Magnus [...] & presenti iudicio, & futuri temporis expectatione' ('Great [...] both in present judgement and in expectation of future time'), *The First Part*, 61.
30. On comparisons between Elizabeth and Richard, Essex and Bolingbroke see Gurr, *King Richard II*, 6–9, as well as Albright and Heffner, op. cit. For a more detailed account of the publication and suppression of Hayward's work see Manning's introduction, *The First Part*, 17–34.
31. Quoted in 'Shakespeare, Hayward, and Essex', 778–9.
32. In this letter, Essex suggests that the command in Ireland has been orchestrated by his enemies to get him away from the court. It is a fate he intends to avoid. Albright is perhaps the first critic to make the connection between Bolingbroke and Essex as exiles. Unfortunately, she insists on this letter as a possible source for *Richard II* either by moving the date of the play or suggesting that the letter's sentiments were already known: 'it may well have been that the Devereux family held strong opinions on Irish service before that time, in view of the experiences of Essex's father,' 'Shakespeare's *Richard II* and the Essex Conspiracy', 697. I will argue, on the contrary, that an association between Ireland and exile may have been conventional.
33. Robert Lacey, *Robert, Earl of Essex* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), 218, 234.
34. See *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex, in the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I 1540–1646* by W. B. Devereux (London: John Murray, 1853), 2 vols, vol. 2, 68.
35. See Richard C. McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood: The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1989), 99.
36. S. Schoenbaum, 'Richard II and the Realities of Power' *Sh. S.*, 28 (1975), 1–13, 7. See also 'A New History for Shakespeare and His Time', 453–4.
37. Although Shakespeare's play was not printed between 1598 and 1608, and was described by a player as old and out of use in 1601, it may still have been popular. Gurr refers to the inclusion of six passages from it in the anthology, *England's Parnassus* (1600). Perhaps some of those who had seen or read the play the first time round considered it with new eyes after the Hayward/Essex farrago. The influence of Essex's fall has been detected in a number of early Jacobean tragedies, most notably Daniel's *Philotas* (1604).
38. Mowbray's son tries to suggest otherwise in *Henry IV Part Two*, 4.1.123–7.
39. This image of the stringless instrument recurs in the description of Gaunt's death: 'His tongue is now a stringless instrument. / Words, life and all, old Lancaster hath spent', 2.1.150–1.
40. See *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: The Life and Death of Richard II*, ed. Matthew W. Black (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott, 1955), 69, fn. 164.
41. See *A History of the English Language* by Albert C. Baugh (London: Routledge, 1951) 3rd edn, ch. 6.
42. Froissart describes how he enjoyed easy conversation in French with Richard and at least two of his nobles, Lord Thomas Percy and Sir William Lisle. He also describes one Henry Castyde who can speak Irish as well as he speaks English and French, *The Chronicle of Froissart*, vol. 6, caps CXCVI, 131–2 and CXCVII–VIII, 147–9.
43. In the dedication to *A Worlde of Wordes*, Florio praises the 'copie and varietie of our sweete-mother-toong, which under this most Excellent well-speaking Princesse or Ladie of the worlde in all languages is growne as farre beyond that of former times, as her most flourishing raigne for all happines is beyond the

- raigne of former Princes', sig. 85r. I am grateful to Jason Lawrence for drawing this to my attention.
44. See *The Triumph of the English Language: A Survey of Opinions Concerning the Vernacular from the Introduction of Printing to the Restoration* by Richard Foster Jones (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), ch. 1, and Janette Dillon, *Language and State in Medieval and Renaissance England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 141–144.
 45. *An Apology for Actors* (London, 1612), bk 3, f3.
 46. *A table alphabeticall, contayning and teaching the true writing, and understanding of hard usuall English words ...* (London, 1604), 'To the Reader'.
 47. See Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983; repr. 1997) and Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
 48. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 12.
 49. *Ibid.*, 58. Claire McEachern places the same emphasis on the vernacular Bible as a 'cause' of the English nation in *The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590–1612* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 32.
 50. On the definition of Englishness in opposition to Ireland and the Irish tongue, see Michael Neill's highly informative article, 'Broken English and Broken Irish: Nation, Language, and the Optic of Power in Shakespeare's Histories', *Sh. Q.*, 45 (1994), 1–32, 14.
 51. On the absent presence of Ireland see Andrew Hadfield, "'Hitherto she ne'er could fancy him": Shakespeare's "British" Plays and the Exclusion of Ireland' in *Shakespeare and Ireland: History, Politics, Culture*, eds Mark Thornton Burnett and Ramona Wray (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), 47–63.
 52. Nicholas Potter argues that Mowbray laments the loss of an England defined by common speech, and by a community that includes oyster-wenches and draymen. Although this might explain why Shakespeare's Mowbray only speaks English, it does not account for his courtly assumptions about language nor his horror at being thrust into the 'common air', 1.3.150–1. See "'Like to a tenement or pelting farm": *Richard II* and the Idea of the Nation', in *Shakespeare in the New Europe*, eds Michael Hattaway, Boika Sokolova and Derek Roper (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 130–47, 136, 139, 144.
 53. *The Posies* (1575), ed. John W. Cunliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), 2.1, p. 266.
 54. *The Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Lily B. Campbell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), 107, ll. 170–1.
 55. Shakespeare could have read at least the first three books of the *Tristia* in the translation of Thomas Churchyard (London, 1572), STC 18977a and b and 18978. Further editions by the same translator appeared in 1578 and 1580. It has been argued that he must have read at least the *Metamorphoses* in the Latin original also, *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 7–9.
 56. *Ibid.*, 167. The purgatorial descriptions of Tomis in the *Tristia* are perhaps echoed in *Richard II*'s 'To dwell in solemn shades of endless night' (1.3.171). The 'six frozen winters' (204), 'frosty Caucasus' (258) and 'December snow' (261) are conditions frequently lamented by Ovid.
 57. *Tristia and Ex Ponto*, trans. Arthur Leslie Wheeler (London: Heinemann, 1924), 239, 249. In *A Mirror for Magistrates*, Mowbray is despised as a traitor when the

- Germans somehow discover that he made a 'false complaynt agaynst my trusty frende', 108, l. 181.
58. *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. 3, 387, 394 and 418, l. 203.
 59. Joseph Porter traces a connection between Mowbray's monolingualism and Richard's linguistic limitations in *The Drama of Speech Acts: Shakespeare's Lancastrian Tetralogy* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1979), 43–6. Although I disagree with his reading of Mowbray's lament, particularly his assumption that Mowbray fears having to learn French, the relationship between Mowbray's and Richard's speechlessness is central to my argument in this chapter.
 60. Jerome Cardan asks: 'And where were the bookes of wise men made more often then in banishmente? *Ovidius Naso* being in exile wrot his bookes *De tristibus*, *De ponto*, in *Ibin*, *Triumphus Caesaris* and *De piscibus*. So as it seemeth that in eight yeares exile, he performed more then in those fifty and foure, which before hee had lived in *Rome*', *Cardanus Comforte*, trans. the Earl of Essex (London, 1576) (Amsterdam: De Capo Press, 1969), 85.
 61. *Tristia*, 3, 5, 7. Compare this with Essex's letter dated 9 September 1600, 'Haste paper to that happy presence, whence only unhappy I am banished', *Lives and Letters*, vol. 2, 120.
 62. *Tristia*, 223.
 63. *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition*, eds Edwin Greenlaw et al. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1943), 9 vols, vol. 1, 153.
 64. *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Crisis in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 13–39, 39. For other considerations of Spenserian exile see Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Politics, and National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), ch. 6: "'Who knows not Colin Clout?" The Permanent Exile of Edmund Spenser', and Richard McCabe, 'Edmund Spenser, Poet of Exile', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 80 (1993), 73–103.
 65. This reference to the Antipodes is also significant because it was commonly described as the social and moral antithesis to England, an allusion which became the basis of Richard Brome's play *The Antipodes* (c.1638) but which also occurs in Shakespeare, for example in *3 Henry VI* where York insists that Margaret is 'as opposite to every good, / As the antipodes are unto us', 1.4.134–6.
 66. See Hadfield, 'Shakespeare's "British" Plays', 60–1, and Neill, 'Broken English', 9–10.
 67. The reversal of fortune also works the other way. In Greene's *Alphonsus, King of Aragon* (1587), Carinus and his son, Alphonsus, were both banished from their country and from their royal inheritance. When Alphonsus successfully wins through battle what he should have inherited and more, Carinus apostrophizes, 'Oh friendly *Fortune*, now thou shewest thy power, / In raising up my sonne from banisht state, / Unto the top of thy most mightie wheele' (1913–15), *The Comicall Historie of Alphonsus, King of Aragon* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926).
 68. Moody E. Prior considers the influence of medieval tragedy upon *A Mirror for Magistrates* and *Richard II* in *The Drama of Power: Studies in Shakespeare's History Plays* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1973), 156–82, 164–5.
 69. *A Shorte Treatise of Politicke Power and of the True Obedience which Subjects owe to Kings and other Civill Governours* (London, 1556), STC 20179, 47. See also Holinshed's *Chronicles, Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. 3, 397.
 70. 'Richard II and Edward II: The Structure of Deposition', *Sh. Y.*, 1 (1990), 1–13, 2–3.
 71. *Ibid.*, 5.

72. This is also argued by S. K. Heninger, 'The Sun-King Analogy in *Richard II*', *Sh. Q.*, 11 (1960), 319–27.
73. *A Discoverie of the True Causes* (London, 1612), 182.
74. *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, ed. W. L. Renwick (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 56. See also *Shakespeare, Spenser and the Crisis in Ireland*, 27.
75. *The First Part*, 124–5.
76. The weight that Richard attaches to the repeal of Bolingbroke's banishment reinforces the connection we considered earlier between exile and deposition. The idea of undoing exile clearly anticipates Richard's divesting himself of kingship. In his note to an earlier reference to Bolingbroke's repeal at 3.3.40, Gurr suggests that 'from this point it is Richard who moves into banishment and nameless exile'. I find this an odd moment to make the point (there are clearer examples) but obviously I applaud the sentiment.
77. See Dorothy C. Hockey, 'A World of Rhetoric in *Richard II*', *Sh. Q.*, 15 (1964), 179–91, 183–4.
78. See, for example, James L. Calderwood, 'Richard II: Metadrama and the Fall of Speech', in *Shakespeare's History Plays: Richard II to Henry V*, ed. Graham Holderness (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave Macmillan, 1992), 121–35 and Anne Barton, 'Shakespeare and the Limits of Language', *Sh. S.*, 24 (1971), 19–30, 22.
79. Ronald R. Macdonald, 'Uneasy Lies: Language and History in Shakespeare's Lancastrian Tetralogy', *Sh. Q.*, 35 (1984), 22–39, 23–4.
80. Men who are more successful in imagining a life beyond kingship include Shakespeare's Henry VI and Ford's Perkin Warbeck. The former insists that he carries the crown within him: 'My crown is called content – / A crown it is that seldom kings enjoy', 3.1.64–5, and gives himself up to Christian and Stoic consolation. Perkin finally reconciles himself to his loss by redefining kingship as the possession of Katherine's heart: 'Even when I fell, I stood enthroned a monarch / Of one chaste wife's troth pure and uncorrupted', *The Chronicle Historie of Perkin Warbeck* (c.1633), ed. Peter Ure (London: Methuen, 1968), 5.3.126–7.
81. 'The Lamentable Tale of *Richard II*', 22.
82. This soliloquy strongly suggests the influence of Marlowe's *Edward II* (c. 1592) on Shakespeare's play. In Marlowe's work the soon-to-be-deposed King reflects on his 'strange despairing thoughts, / Which thoughts are martyred with endless torments; / And in this torment, comfort find I none', *Edward the Second*, eds Martin Wiggins and Robert Lindsey (London: A. & C. Black, 1997), 20.79–81.
83. *The Metaphysical Poets* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), xxv–xxvi.
84. 'Richard II: Metadrama and the Fall of Speech', 124.

Chapter 3 Historical-Pastoral Exile in *Henry IV* Parts One and Two

1. All quotations are taken from the *Oxford Complete Works* so that in Part One the name Oldcastle is used. Outside quotations I have referred to the knight as Falstaff for the sake of simplicity.
2. Naomi Conn Liebler similarly attests to the difficulty of distinguishing the two kings in *Shakespeare's Festive Tragedy: The Ritual Foundations of Genre* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 85.
3. See also Catherine M. Shaw's argument that Henry's guilt is displaced onto Hotspur and Falstaff through the play's 'subliminal substructure', thus effecting 'the necessary purgation, national and dramatic, before Henry V's reign of

- unexampled triumph can proceed' in 'The Tragic Substructure of the *Henry IV* plays', *Sh. S.*, 38 (1985), 61–7, 62.
4. Alice-Lyle Scoufos discusses these points in detail in *Shakespeare's Typological Satire: A Study of the Falstaff-Oldcastle Problem* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1979), 44–69.
 5. See, for example, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. 3, 323, 348.
 6. Quoted from *The Oldcastle Controversy: Sir John Oldcastle Part 1 and The Famous Victories of Henry V*, eds Peter Corbin and Douglas Sedge (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991), 223–53. Note the Petrarchan oxymoron of 'living death' in relation to banishment here, as discussed in Chapter 1.
 7. The epistle and 'The Legend and Defence of the Noble Knight and Martyr, Sir John Oldcastel' are reprinted in *On the Character of Sir John Falstaff* by J. O. Halliwell (1841) (New York: AMS Press, 1966), 19.
 8. Opinion is still divided as to the proper spelling of this name in *1 Henry VI* considering that Shakespeare's chronicle sources refer to the knight as 'Fastolf', 'Fastolfe' or 'Fastolffe'. George Walton Williams argues that the name was revised to capitalize on the success of the *Henry IV* plays, 'Fastolf or Falstaff', *ELR* 5 (1975), 308–12. For a defence of the Folio spelling, see *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion*, eds Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor with John Jowett and William Montgomery (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 219.
 9. See the discussion of this point by Rudolf Fiebler, 'How Oldcastle Became Falstaff', *MLQ*, 16 (March 1955), 16–28, and Robert F. Willson, 'Falstaff in *Henry IV*: What's in a Name?', *Sh. Q.*, 27 (1976), 199–200.
 10. Further examples of this preoccupation include Part One, 2.2.16–20 and Part Two, 2.4.43–5 and 82–93.
 11. Bernard Spivack defines this subgenre as the battle of vice and virtue for the soul of a man, characterized by its method of personification, and its intention to morally instruct. See *Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil: The History of a Metaphor in Relation to his Major Villains* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), 60–95.
 12. St Paul's warning to the Ephesians, *Tyndale's New Testament* (1534), ed. David Daniell (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1989), ch. 5, 286. References to this text appeared in *Lusty Juventus* (c. 1550) as well as in Shakespeare's *Henry IV* plays. See 'Casting off the Old Man: History and St. Paul in *Henry IV*' by D. J. Palmer, *Crit. Q.*, 12 (1970), 267–83.
 13. *Lusty Juventus in Four Tudor Interludes*, ed. J. A. B. Somerset (London: Athlone Press, 1974), 97–127, 99.
 14. *The Longer Thou Livest and Enough is as Good as a Feast* by W. Wager, ed. R. Mark Benbow (London: Edward Arnold, 1963).
 15. Other banished vices include Gluttony and Riot in the remaining fragment of *Good Order* (1515), Orion and Backwinter in Thomas Nashe's *Summer's Last Will and Testament* (1592) and Flattery in *The Three Estates* (1540; rev. 1552).
 16. Spivack suggests that Falstaff's banishment reinforces his identification with the Vice: 'For the banishment of Falstaff and his imprisonment in the Fleet, we have to reckon with the fact that exile, imprisonment, or hanging is the standard disposition of the vices (and the Vice) in moralities from about 1530 onward,' *Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil*, 462, n. 69.
 17. On the question of the plays' morality structure, see Alan C. Dessen, 'The Intemperate Knight and the Politic Prince: Late Morality Structure in *1 Henry IV*', *Sh. St.*, 7 (1974), 147–71 and J. A. B. Somerset, 'Falstaff, the Prince, and the Pattern of *2 Henry IV*', *Sh. S.*, 30 (1977), 35–45.

18. *King Johan*, ed. by Barry B. Adams (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1969), ll. 105–14. See also Seditiōn's reference to the exile of true faith, ll. 1,686–9.
19. Some lines later Civil Order urges Nobility and the Clergy: 'Of the Christen faythe playe now the true defendar, / Exyle thys monster and ravenouse devourar', ll. 2,427–8.
20. Shakespeare seems not to have used the metaphor of banishment in any clear Reformation context. For example, it occurs only once in *King John*, but without specific allusion to the Pope, and not at all in *Henry VIII*.
21. *Acts and Monuments*, vol. 5, 21. For the terms of Pope Pius V's excommunication of Elizabeth see *The Reformation in England* by Philip Hughes (London: Hollis & Carter, 1952), 3 vols, vol. 3, 418–20.
22. *The Civile Wars Between the Two Houses of Lancaster and Yorke* (1601) in *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel*, ed. A. B. Grosart (London: Hazel, Watson & Viney, 1885), 4 vols, vol. 2, bk 6, v. 42, 2–4.
23. Jeffrey Knapp describes three central oppositional readings to the perceived weakening of England under Elizabeth: her accession has brought an end to Marian rule; the kingdom remains at peace while Europe is ravaged by war; Elizabeth's virginity defends the borders of the realm from foreign usurpation. *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Berkeley and Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), 4–5.
24. Sir John Davies salutes his queen: 'Exil'd Astraea is come againe', in *Hymnes of Astraea* (1599), *The Poems of Sir John Davies*, ed. Robert Krueger (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 69–86, Hymne XXIII, 84, 1. See also Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 29–87.
25. See 27 Eliz c. 2 (1585).
26. Holinshed describes how the King 'banished them all from his presence (but not unrewarded, or else unpreferred) inhibiting them upon a great paine, not once to approach, lodge, or sojourne within ten miles of his court or presence'. Hall concurs though he takes his measurement from Henry's 'courte or mansion', *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. 4, 280, 286. *The Famous Victories* is the nearest approximation to Shakespeare's terms where the King warns his followers 'not upon pain of death to approach my presence by ten mile's space', 9.46–7.
27. See *The First Part of King Henry IV*, ed. A. R. Humphreys (London and New York: Routledge, 1960; repr. 1994), 18, fn. 88.
28. *Shakespeare's Typological Satire*, 48.
29. Michael Manheim draws together the monarchs of *Woodstock*, *Edward II* and *Richard II* under the heading of 'Wanton Kings' who fall prey to courtly favourites, *The Weak King Dilemma in the Shakespearean History Play* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1973), 15–75.
30. Quotations are taken from *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Byron*, ed. John Margeson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988) and *The Scottish History of James the Fourth*, ed. Norman Sanders (London: Methuen, 1970).
31. *The Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama*, 100–33.
32. Bagot declares his intention to travel to Ireland to join Edward in 2.2, is presumed to be at Bristol Castle in 2.3 and finally re-emerges without explanation in 4.1.
33. On the ritual sacrifice of Falstaff as a king-substitute see C. L. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy*, 206–7, and J. I. M. Stewart, *Character and Motive in Shakespeare: Some Recent Appraisals Examined* (London: Longmans, Green & Co.,

- 1949), 138–9. Franklin B. Newman suggests that the banishment purges Hal and Elizabethan and modern audiences of their ‘inclination toward self-indulgence and surfeit’ in ‘The Rejection of Falstaff and the Rigorous Charity of the King’, *Sh. St.*, 2 (1966), 153–61, 157, while John Dover Wilson argues that ‘what is at stake in this morality play is the salvation of England itself’, *The Fortunes of Falstaff* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943), 80. On Carnival as a structuring device, see Michael D. Bristol, *Carnival and Theater: Plebeian Culture and the Structure of Authority in Renaissance England* (London and New York: Methuen, 1985). Richard Abrams’ study ‘Rumor’s Reign in *2 Henry IV*: The Scope of a Personification’, *ELR*, 16 (1986), 467–95, and David M. Bergeron’s ‘Shakespeare Makes History: *2 Henry IV*’, *SEL*, 31 (1991), 231–45, consider the implications of the banishment of Rumour signifying both rebelliousness and false history.
34. Falstaff’s expectations of gratitude and his threats against the prince reflect the attitudes of the ‘king-makers’ who rebel in Part One. Further parallels are discussed by Anita Helmbold in ‘King of the Revels or King of the Rebels?: Sir John Falstaff Revisited’, *Upstart Crow*, 16 (1996), 70–91. It is sometimes argued that Falstaff’s banishment is necessary to protect the King from his potential rebellion. This may be to read the play too much in the light of Oldcastle’s treason but persuasive cases are put forward by Gary Taylor, ‘The Fortunes of Oldcastle’, *Sh. S.*, 38 (1985), 85–100, 95–6, and Helmbold, 88.
 35. This separation Henry IV duly performs, without resorting to banishment, by sending Falstaff off to fight without Hal in Part Two, 1.2.203–4.
 36. See Dover Wilson, *The Fortunes of Falstaff*, 75.
 37. *A Comparative Discourse* (London, 1606), STC 11188, 32–3.
 38. On the spectator’s power, see David Scott Kastan, ‘“Proud Majesty Made a Subject”: Shakespeare and the Spectacle of Rule’, *Sh. Q.*, 37 (1986), 459–75, 466.
 39. One context in which we might consider Falstaff’s banishment is that of the player, remembering that it is in the context of play-acting that banishment is first mentioned and that this fate was frequently called for by contemporary anti-theatricalists. This point is discussed more fully in the Introduction but it may be worth recalling here the legislation of 1597 which called for the banishment of players lacking the patronage and protection of a nobleman, as later dramatized by Marston in *Histriomastix*.
 40. *Francis Bacon*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 304–13, 307.
 41. *The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh Based on Contemporary Documents [...] Together with his Letters*, ed. Edward Edwards (London: Macmillan, 1868), 2 vols, vol. 2, 51.
 42. Jonas A. Barish, ‘The Turning Away of Prince Hal’, *Sh. St.*, 1 (1965), 9–17, 15.
 43. The next figure to offer sustained commentary on the King is the Chorus of *Henry V* who acts as a kind of inverted double for Falstaff. Instead of the rebellious but devoted companion we have a wholly safe and impersonal eulogist who testifies to the King’s affectionate relationship with his men but cannot have experienced it himself.
 44. Quotations here are from the film; line references refer to the text from which they were adapted.
 45. The film interpolates the plea: ‘Do not, when thou art king, hang a thief’ and Hal’s response ‘No, thou shalt’ (Part One, 1.2.60–2) to the same effect. In the play, Falstaff speaks this line about hanging the thief and is followed by the Prince’s assurance that he will become the hangman rather than the hanged. In

- Branagh's film, Bardolph speaks this line in flashback and the film then cuts to the scene of his execution.
46. Hall and Holinshed, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. 4, 280 and 286.
 47. The influence of the morality tradition upon this double reformation is explored by H. Edward Cain in 'Further Light on the Relation of *1 Henry IV* and *2 Henry IV*', *Sh. Q.*, 3 (1952), 21–38, and Edgar T. Schell in 'Prince Hal's Second "Reformation"', *Sh. Q.*, 21 (1970), 11–16.
 48. Satyrane grows up 'Emongst wild beasts and woods, from lawes of men exile', I.VI.23.9. Similarly, when Justice decides to educate the child, Artegal: 'So thence him farre she brought / Into a cave from companie exile', V.I.6.6–7, *The Faerie Queene*, eds Thomas P. Roche and C. Patrick O'Donnell (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987).
 49. *Exile and Change in Renaissance Literature*, 95.
 50. *Ibid.*, 13. We find a variation of this argument at the core of Richard Helgerson's *Forms of Nationhood*: 'Self-estrangement was already the fundamental condition of national self-representation in Elizabeth's England', 16–17. Helgerson describes England as poised between two points of cultural origin: the classical and the medieval. To constitute itself as a nation required a form of self-rejection – condemning Englishness as barbarous and primitive in the Gothic vein – so as to reach for the nation's classical origins, origins from which it remained an exile but which might yet offer a pattern for self-reinvention.
 51. *What is Pastoral?* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 81.
 52. See also Calidore's speech on the life of the shepherd and its freedom from 'all the tempests of these worldly seas' in *The Faerie Queene*, VI.IX.19.1–5.
 53. William Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral* (New York: New Directions, 1935; repr. 1974), 27, 22, 43–6, 103–9.
 54. *Shakespeare's Pastoral Comedy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 179, 191–2.
 55. Joseph Wittlin, 'Sorrow and Grandeur of Exile', *Polish Review* (Spring–Summer, 1957), 99–111, 105.
 56. Louis A. Montrose associates the composition and reading of such pastoral fantasies with 'ambitious Elizabethan gentlemen who may be alienated or excluded from the courtly society' and argues that pastoral might even facilitate such ambitions. See 'Of Gentlemen and Shepherds: The Politics of Elizabethan Pastoral Form', *ELH*, 50 (1983), 415–59, 427.
 57. Thomas Lodge's *Rosalynde*, repr. in *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 2, 181.
 58. *Some Versions of Pastoral*, 11–12.
 59. *Idea and Act in Elizabethan Fiction* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 61.
 60. Barish also traces the conflict between history and comedy in the plays, though without the pastoral angle I have taken here. He too focuses on the lack of any 'synthesis' between Hal and his companions: 'We would expect the dream/moment of love to have left some precious residue in the prince's spirit', 'The Turning Away of Prince Hal', 10–11.
 61. This is particularly surprising given the legend, propagated by the Tudors, that Henry V first learned English in the taverns and brought it to the court on his succession. See Empson on Falstaff in *Essays on Shakespeare*, ed. David B. Pirie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 29–78, 58–61.
 62. For a more sustained discussion of this speech, see the previous chapter, pp. 66–71.

63. *Forms of Nationhood*, 193–246, 214. McEachern explores the shift from fellowship to estrangement in the second tetralogy in *The Poetics of English Nationhood*, 83–137.
64. *Henry V* contains 102 references to ‘England’, ‘English’ and variants as opposed to just 31 in *Henry IV* Parts One and Two. See the *Oxford Shakespeare Concordances* for these three plays (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

Chapter 4 ‘Hereafter, in a Better World than This’: the End of Exile in *As You Like It* and *King Lear*

1. I will be using the Quarto text of the play, as included in the *Oxford Complete Works*. In doing so, I assume that the Folio is a Shakespearean revision of the Quarto text and that the Quarto was performed before these revisions were made. On this question see Stanley Wells, ‘The Once and Future *King Lear*’, 1–22, 11, and Gary Taylor, ‘*King Lear*: The Date and Authorship of the Folio Version’, 351–468, in *The Division of the Kingdoms*, eds Gary Taylor and Michael Warren (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).
2. From *Acastos: Two Platonic Dialogues* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1986), 61.
3. ‘*King Lear*, Montaigne and Harsnett’, *Aligarh Journal of English Studies*, 8 (1983), 124–66, 125.
4. *Eclogues, Georgics and Aeneid I–VI* trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (London: Heinemann, 1935), 2 vols, vol. 1, 9.
5. Carol Gesner, *Shakespeare and the Greek Romance: A Study of Origins* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), 17. See also Margaret Anne Doody’s *The True Story of the Novel* (London: Fontana Press, 1998), 33–61.
6. See *Shakespeare and the Greek Romance*, 16.
7. Leo Salingar, *Shakespeare and the Traditions of Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 39.
8. See David Young’s argument on the influence of the chivalric romance in *The Heart’s Forest: A Study of Shakespeare’s Pastoral Plays* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1972), 19.
9. Peter Marinelli discusses the Judaeo-Christian associations of pastoral in *Pastoral* (London: Methuen, 1971), 10.
10. *A Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset*, ed. Kathleen M. Burton (London: Chatto & Windus, 1948), 27.
11. On Renaissance primitivism see E. W. Tayler, *Nature and Art in Renaissance Literature* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1964), Harry Levin, *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance* (London: Faber & Faber, 1970) and the useful discussion of these ideas in relation to Book VI of *The Faerie Queene* in *Spenser’s Courteous Pastoral* by Humphrey Tonkin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 192–8, 206–37.
12. *Mucedorus*, ed. Arvin H. Jupin (New York: Garland, 1987).
13. Northrop Frye identifies this pattern as a basic principle of Shakespearean comedy in *A Natural Perspective: The Development of Shakespearean Comedy and Romance* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1965), 73–8.
14. See David Underdown’s account in *Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603–1660* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 34. Underdown notes that the problem in Somerset led one vicar, Richard Eburne, in 1624 to suggest the transportation to Newfoundland of this ‘excessive multitude’.

15. Nancy R. Lindheim suggests that this scene 'unfolds within an extraordinarily civilized context' with its possible echoes of Aeneas' speech on entering the temple at Carthage, *Aeneid*, I, 446 ff., thus complicating the play's polarity between country and city, 'King Lear as Pastoral Tragedy', in *Some Facets of King Lear*, eds Rosalie Colie and F. T. Flahiff (London: Heinemann, 1974), 169–84, 172.
16. G. K. Hunter, 'Shakespeare's Last Tragic Heroes', in *Dramatic Identities and Cultural Tradition: Studies in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), 251–69, 252.
17. *Vagrancy, Homelessness and English Renaissance Literature* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 3, 28–9, 228. Woodbridge argues for a more sympathetic reading of these lines, 228.
18. See Jo-Marie Claassen's *Displaced Persons: The Literature of Exile from Cicero to Boethius* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1999), 64–7.
19. On the consolation tradition see *Displaced Persons*, 85–102, and Tison's 'Shakespeare's *Consolatio* for Exile'.
20. *Seneca's Minor Dialogues*, trans. A. Stewart (London: George Bell & Sons, 1889), 325, 324.
21. *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, in *De Oratore III*, trans. H. Rackman (London: Heinemann, 1942), 254–303, 267–71.
22. 'Of Exile or Banishment', in *Plutarch's Moralia*, trans. Philemon Holland (1603), ed. E. H. Blakeney (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1911), 389–410, 395.
23. Plutarch's argument was paraphrased by Lyly in *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit*, as discussed in Chapter 2.
24. *Ad Helviam*, 327.
25. Plutarch and Cicero both quote Socrates' declaration to the effect that 'he was neither Athenian nor Grecian, but a citizen of the world' in *De Exilio*, 393, and *Tusculan Disputations*, bk 5, ch. 37, 108 respectively. However, variations on this statement ('I am a citizen of the world', 'The world is my country') were also attributed to Diogenes and Theodorus (see Diogenes Laertius's *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, vol. 2, bk 6, 63 and vol. 1, bk 2, 99 respectively) and to Seneca (*Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*, vol. 1, 28, 5). The repetition of the phrase recurs in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature in such different contexts as Bacon's essay 'Of Goodness' and Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1607), 5.149–50.
26. I am using the term 'Epicurean' in quotation marks to signify a distinction between the rather ascetic philosophy of Epicurus and Lucretius which warned against love, ambition, etc. and the more modern sense of the word which was also familiar to Renaissance England, hence Jonson's Sir Epicure Mammon.
27. *Cardanus Comforte*, 85–6. Plutarch suggests the same consolations in his *De Exilio*, 403–4.
28. *De Constantia libri duo* trans. Sir John Stradling as *Two Bookes of Constance* (London, 1594), STC 15695, 7.
29. *Epistola de Peregrinatione italica* trans. Sir John Stradling as *A Direction for Travellers* (London, 1592), STC 15696, A4.
30. Cicero's *De Amicitia* in *De Senectute* trans. W. A. Falconer (London: Heinemann, 1923), 108–211, 159. In *The Taming of the Shrew*, Tranio tries to deflect Lucentio from his ascetic plans: 'Let's be no stoics nor no stocks, I pray, / Or so devote to Aristotle's checks / As Ovid be an outcast quite abjured' (1.1.31–3).
31. *Epistola*, A3.
32. *De Constantia*, 28.

33. *Rosalynde*, in *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 2, 189. See also Meliboe in VI.IX.19–25 of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. He too refers to the contented humility of shepherds and to their ease of slumber.
34. For example, in *The Rare Triumphes of Love and Fortune* (Anon., 1582), Venus and Fortune try to assert their pre-eminence in a contest to determine the fate of the lovers, a contest which includes the banishment of Hermione by Fortune. In *Rosalynde*, Aliena suggests that the experiences of the banished Saladyne represent the same conflict: 'Your selfe exiled from your wealth, friends & cuntry by *Torismond*, (sorowes enough to suppress affections) yet amidst the depth of these extremitities, Love will be Lord, and shew his power to bee more predominant than Fortune', *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. 2, 235.
35. Thus Sephestia testifies in *Menaphon* (1589). See *Menaphon by Robert Greene and A Margarite of America by Thomas Lodge*, ed. G. B. Harrison (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1927), 33.
36. Renato Poggioli, *The Oaten Flute: Essays on Pastoral Poetry and the Pastoral Ideal* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 8–9.
37. *Common Conditions in Five Anonymous Plays*, ed. John S. Farmer (London: Early English Drama Society, 1908), 187–8.
38. Notably, *Rosalynde* continues to be ashamed of her father when she meets him in the forest (247–8), in contrast with Ganimede's merriment on meeting the Duke in *Arden* (3.4.31–4).
39. *Ovid's Metamorphoses: The Arthur Golding Translation*, ed. John Frederick Nims (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1965), bk 1, 127–8.
40. *De Providentia in Moral Essays*, vol. 1, 2–47, 33.
41. *Ad Helviam*, 331. On reading Nature, see Seneca's *De Otio*, 191.
42. Geoffrey Miles remarks that the 'external, self-dramatizing strain in Roman Stoicism contrasts oddly with the "inwardness" of Stoic ethics, its theoretical stress on morality as "an affair of the inner life"' in his *Shakespeare and the Constant Romans* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 14. Alpers also refers to the difference between pastoral and tragic modes here. The Duke's speech is not 'wrenched from experience' like Gloucester's. It bears witness 'not to the individual's attempt to make sense of his own and others' suffering, but to a common condition acknowledged as obvious', *What is Pastoral?*, 73.
43. *The Maid's Metamorphosis*, ed. John S. Farmer (London: Tudor Reprinted and Parallel Texts, 1908), no page or line numbers given.
44. Similarly, in Lodge's *A Margarite of America* (1595), the courtly lover, Minecius, puts on a 'pastorall habite' to woo Philenia and carves a poem into a tree beginning, 'O desarts be you peopled by my plaints', *Menaphon by Robert Greene and A Margarite of America by Thomas Lodge*, 126. Where Orlando uses poetry to populate the forest, Minecius orders the native inhabitants to flee and leave him alone in his pose of despair.
45. In the section entitled 'Of Desart' in Stephen Batman's *Batman uppon Bartholome* (1582), he describes the 'desert' as 'a place of creeping wormes and venomous beasts, and of wilde beasts, and it is the lodges of banished men and of theeves' (London and Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1976), ch. 52, 210–11.
46. *Ibid.*, 308. On this strategy of metaphorical depopulation, see Greenblatt's *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 52–85, 60.
47. *The Foure Prentises of London*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, ed. Richard H. Shepherd (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), 6 vols, vol. 2, 183.

48. *The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon*, ed. John C. Meagher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964).
49. *Crime and Public Order in England in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1973), 76–7. See also Barbara A. Hanawalt, 'Ballads and Bandits: Fourteenth-Century Outlaws and the Robin Hood Poems', in *Robin Hood: An Anthology of Scholarship and Criticism*, ed. Stephen Knight (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), 263–84.
50. On this relationship see *As You Like It: A New Variorum Edition*, ed. Richard Knowles (New York: MLA, 1977), 483–7.
51. *The Tale of Gamelyn*, attr. Chaucer, ed. Walter W. Skeat (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1843), 2nd edn. Again, Bellamy notes that real-life outlaws often went on to hold local offices, even being elected to Parliament, following their reprieve, 86–7.
52. We might also compare this passage with Samuel Purchas' critique of those gentlemen travellers who attain experience only with 'the losse or lessening of their estate' in the preface to *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes, Contayning a History of the World, in Sea Voyages & Lande-Travells, by Englishmen & others* (London, 1625), 5 vols, vol. 1, no page numbers.
53. Maynard Mack, *King Lear in Our Time* (1965; London: Methuen, 1966), 65. Two important studies which address this issue are Colie's *Shakespeare's Living Art*, 302–16 and Lindheim's, 'King Lear as Pastoral Tragedy'.
54. See Colie's definition of pastoral in *Shakespeare's Living Art*, 310.
55. Banishment in 1.1 needs to be understood politically in terms of James' efforts to reunite the kingdoms of England and Scotland. For examples of Jacobean anti-division rhetoric see 'A Speech, as it was delivered in the upper house of the Parliament to the Lords spirituall and temporall, and to the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses there assembled', 19 March 1603, in *The Political Works of James I*, a reprint of the 1616 edition, ed. Charles McIlwain (New York: Russell & Russell, 1965), 269–80, 271–2; and Edward Forset's *A Comparative Discourse of the Bodies Natural and Politique*, 58. As the first British king to divide his realm, with disastrous results, Brutus was often offered as the antithesis to James' policy of reunification. See Anthony Munday's pageant 'The Triumphs of Reunited Britannia' (1605) in *Jacobean Civic Pageants*, ed. Richard Dutton (Keele: Ryburn, 1995), 119–36, 129. Leah Marcus explores the relationship between Lear's division of the kingdom and James I's struggle for reunification, with particular reference to the Scots who remained outside the protection of English law and alienated within the kingdom, in *Puzzling Shakespeare*, 154.
56. In *A Knack to Know a Knave* (Anon., 1592) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963). Philarcus' father condemns his son's ingratitude with a similar gesture: 'as thou hast dealt unnaturallie with me, / So I resolve to pull my heart from thee', ll. 459–60. Philarcus is eventually banished despite his father's insistence that he be put to death, ll. 491–4, 551–4.
57. Examples of the exile disguising himself as a servant to follow his friend or master may be found in *Timon* (1602) and *The Faire Maide of Bristow* (1604). In the former, Laches adopts the disguise of a soldier, commenting: 'My face I have disfigured, that unknowne / I may againe be plac'd in Timons howse', *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. 6, 297–339, 2.1–2.
58. Starvation in *The True Chronicle Historie* is partly the result of Leir's crime against Cordella. She is envisaged as a bountiful earth mother whose literal nursing Leir has forgone, turning honey to gall, grapes to sloes and sweet milk sour, 23. 2,054–62. Cordella's forgiveness of her father is signalled by the action of helping him to food and drink, 24.2, 179–80.

59. 'The Dispraise of the Country in *As You Like It*', *Sh. Q.*, 36 (1985), 300–14, 313–14.
60. Heather Dubrow, *Shakespeare and Domestic Loss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 80–141, 109. Although Dubrow refers to the legal policy of ejectment, she does not recognize banishment as a contemporary cause for homelessness.
61. The question of *Lear's* Stoicism in general remains a matter for debate. Monsarrat has argued that neither *King Lear* nor any other Shakespearean play offers a 'representative' Stoic as found in the work of Chapman, Marston, Massinger and Ford. He concludes that there is 'little to be said about Stoicism in Shakespeare', *Light from the Porch*, 146. It seems at least perverse to suggest that Shakespeare cannot be understood to have been influenced by the popular revival of neo-Stoicism unless he produces a stereotypical character. Critics who have recognized the Stoicism of *Lear* include Hiram Haydn in *The Counter-Renaissance* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1950), 642–51, and Arthur Kinney, 'Some Conjectures on the Composition of *King Lear*', *Sh. S.*, 33 (1980), 13–26.
62. Mack suggests other parallels in *King Lear in Our Time*, 64–5.
63. Cordella is cast out but wanders alone within the kingdom until discovered by the King of France who has come to Albion in the guise of a pilgrim (scene 7). Perillus is never estranged from Leir but voluntarily follows him into exile.
64. This identification is perhaps made by the 1608 Quarto title-page which juxtaposes the experiences of Lear with the 'unfortunate life of Edgar, sonne and heire to the Earle of Gloster, and his sullen and assumed humor of TOM of Bedlam'.
65. See *Jowitt's Law Dictionary*, vol. 2, 1,297.
66. After the statute of 1329 issued in the reign of Edward III, the outlaw could only be executed by the sheriff. See Maurice Keen's discussion of the outlaw's punishment in *The Outlaws of Medieval Legend* (London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 9.
67. A more likely candidate for outlawry, I would suggest, is Gloucester himself who, after having been specifically denied a trial, is blinded and then pursued for his life. Oswald assumes that he may kill Gloucester and thus reap the reward for his 'proclaimed prize', 20.218.
68. John Breen points out that Edgar cannot have been banished because Gloucester repeatedly describes the measures put in place to capture him. He attributes this 'factual error' not to the Gentleman who makes the report (and also gets Kent's location wrong) but to Shakespeare. Breen seems to me to be labouring under two serious misapprehensions: firstly, that references to proclamation imply declarations of banishment rather than outlawry, and secondly that Shakespeare had a duty to use the term 'banished' in the most accurate 'Renaissance' sense, as Breen defines it. See 'Gloucester's Proclamation', *N & Q*, 239 (1994), 493–4. In fact, even the most famous outlaws were often mistaken for banished men in the drama of the period, if only for lexical variety. In *The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon*, Robin Hood is described by Prince John as 'The banish'd, beggar'd, bankrupt Huntington', 2.1, p. 130.
69. It is also significant that, contrary to the pastoral tradition, Edgar's gentility does not shine through his disguise. On the liberties taken with rank in Edgar's case, see Patterson, *Shakespeare and the Popular Voice*, 110.
70. *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, ed. Maurice Evans (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), bk 2, ch. 10, 278.

71. William C. Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar: Representations of Poverty in the Age of Shakespeare* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1996), 180–207, 190.
72. See Peter J. Milward's *The Catholicism of Shakespeare's Plays* (Southampton: Saint Austen Press, 1997), 78–91. A more cautious allegorizing of the play along these lines is offered by Greenblatt in 'Shakespeare and the Exorcists', *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory*, eds Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman (New York: Methuen, 1985), 163–87, 178–9.
73. *The Catholicism of Shakespeare's Plays*, 87.
74. For details of those banished at these times, see Richard Challoner's *Memoirs of Missionary Priests [...] that have Suffered Death in England on Religious Accounts [...] 1577–1684*, rev. John Hungerford Pollen (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1924), 109, 248, 268, 274, 282, 359. This compilation gives a powerful sense of the extent of the banishment imposed upon Elizabethan and Jacobean Catholics, many of whom experienced it more than once. For a less emotive perspective on the 1585 statute, see Bellamy's *The Tudor Law of Treason*, 74–5.
75. See Introduction, 16.
76. Milward insists that the experiences of Edgar, Cordelia, Lear and Gloucester reflect 'precisely [...] the situation of English Catholics, whether in exile abroad or at home in disguise or in prison', 83–4. Yet there is nothing precise about an argument which fails to distinguish between these different kinds of exile and the various literary as well as contemporary social and political contexts which inform them. If we believe that Shakespeare encouraged his Catholic audience to identify themselves with Edgar, we might ask why he did not use the conjecture of the Gentleman at 21.88 that Edgar was 'banished' and had gone into exile abroad to extend the analogy. Rather than suggesting he was now in Protestant Germany, might not Edgar have been imagined in Catholic France or Italy – familiar destinations for the banished Catholic?
77. It may be that a potential conflation of Catholic fugitive and vagrant was suggested by Shakespeare's reading of Harsnett. In the *Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* (1603), he asks whether 'our vagrant devils [...] did take theyr fashion of new names from our wandring Jesuits, who [...] have alwaies three or foure odd conceited names in their budget'. See *Shakespeare, Harsnett and the Devils of Denham* by F. W. Brownlow (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1993), 119, 239.
78. *Fat King, Lean Beggar*, 193–5. See also Woodbridge's discussion of *King Lear* in *Vagrancy, Homelessness and English Renaissance Literature*, 205–37, and Raman Selden, 'King Lear and True Need', *Sh. St.*, 19 (1987), 143–68.
79. On Edgar's guilt and shame with regard to Gloucester see Stanley Cavell, 'The Avoidance of Love: A Reading of *King Lear*', in *Disowning Knowledge in Six Plays of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 39–124.
80. The *Oxford Complete Works* dates *Timon of Athens* c.1604 and places it immediately before *The History of King Lear*, a decision endorsed by James C. Bulman in his dating of the comedy, 'The Date and Production of *Timon* Reconsidered', *Sh. S.*, 27 (1974), 111–28.
81. *Sir Phillip Sidney*, 238.
82. 'The Thirteenth Discourse: In Athens, About his Banishment', *Dio Chrysostom* trans. J. W. Cohoon (London: William Heinemann, 1950), 5 vols, vol. 2, 91–121, 99.
83. 'Who Are King Lear's Philosophers? An Answer, With Some Help From Erasmus', *English Studies*, 67 (1986), 511–24. The reference to a 'learned Theban' is taken to refer to Crates, Diogenes' disciple, who might easily merge with his more famous teacher in Lear's mind.

84. Ibid., 512, 515–17. See also Jane Donawerth's 'Diogenes the Cynic and Lear's Definition of Man, *King Lear* III iv 101-109', *English Language Notes* 15 (1977), 10–14.
85. John Coates, "'Poor Tom" and the Spiritual Journey in *King Lear*', *Durham University Journal* (December 1986), 7–14, 10.
86. Roger Warren, 'The Folio Omission of the Mock Trial: Motives and Consequences', in *The Division of the Kingdoms*, 45–57.
87. *The Unnatural Scene*, 213.
88. On the Fool's exit in the Folio, see John Kerrigan's 'Revision, Adaptation, and the Fool in *King Lear*', 229. Curiously, King James I's fool, Archie Armstrong, was to be banished from the court of Charles I for slander. See the *DNB*, 562, and *Archy's Dream, Sometime Jester to his Maestie: but Exiled the Court by Canterburies Malice* (1641), in *The Old Book Collector's Miscellany* (London: Reeves & Turner, 1873), vol. 3, no. 16.
89. The Folio cuts this speech entirely, perhaps suggesting Shakespeare's desire to lessen the bathos of Kent's return.
90. When Lear asks 'Am I in France?', Kent responds 'In your own kingdom, sir' (73, 75). Lear's question reflects not only his association of Cordelia with that kingdom but perhaps an echo of *The True Chronicle Historie* where Leir was reconciled with his daughter in that country.
91. Translated by T. I. (London, 1598), 127.
92. Nicholas Grene, *Shakespeare's Tragic Imagination* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave Macmillan, 1992), 162.
93. *Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy* trans. George Colville (1556), ed. Ernest Belfort Bax (London: David Nutt, 1897), bk 1, 24–5.
94. Ibid., bk 4, 89.
95. *The Catholicism of Shakespeare's Plays*, 91.

Chapter 5 *Coriolanus*: the Banishment of Rome

1. *Sejanus His Fall*, ed. Philip J. Ayres (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990).
2. The one occasion when the plebeians alone represent Rome is in the anticipation of Coriolanus' invasion. Since the hero's banishment was their work, it is their city that will be destroyed (4.6.103). This positing of the city as somewhere and something else echoes Coriolanus's own alienated perspective.
3. *The Unnatural Scene*, 75–6.
4. Christopher Givan argues that Coriolanus defines himself against the plebeians with such vehemence, not merely to aggrandize himself, but because in them he recognizes what he may become, 'Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*: The Premature Epitaph and the Butterfly', *Sh. St.*, 12 (1979), 143–58. See also Janet Adelman, "'Anger's My Meat": Feeding, Dependency and Aggression in *Coriolanus*' in *Representing Shakespeare: New Psychoanalytic Essays*, eds Murray M. Schwartz and Coppélia Kahn (Baltimore, MD and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 129–49, 135.
5. See 1.1.197, 1.6.7, 3.2.8–9. The word 'slave' was a common pejorative term which did not necessarily refer to the literal status of the recipient. Coriolanus applies it to Aufidius as well as to the plebeians. However, the repeated and unemphatic appellation of a messenger in 4.6 as 'slave' and the practice of taking Volscians as prisoners may also suggest the presence of slaves in Coriolanus' Rome.

6. Plutarch describes Coriolanus as too angry and vengeful to speak, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes*, trans. Sir Thomas North (London, 1579), 237–59, 248. In Shakespeare's other main source, *The Romane Historie of T. Livy*, trans. Philemon Holland (1600), the protagonist does not appear at his trial but goes into exile 'menacing his own countrie as he went', *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. 5, 501. In the histories of Coriolanus available to the Jacobean, Shakespeare's counter-banishment is unique.
7. The bad breath Coriolanus complains of may well be another symptom of the plebeians' starvation.
8. See the Queens' appeal for their unburied husbands, left strewn on the battlefield of Thebes, in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, 1.1.39–54.
9. The extent of Shakespeare's knowledge of Cicero remains a matter for conjecture. There seems general agreement that he knew *De Officiis* and the *Tusculan Disputations* – the latter includes some references to banishment as cited in the previous chapter. See Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, vol. 2, 581–610.
10. *Paradoxa Stoicorum* in *De Oratore III*, 279–83, 281.
11. See, in particular, the meeting between the Roman and Volscian spies in 4.3. In Livy, when Veturia (Volumnia) goes to plead with Coriolanus at the Volscian camp she asks: 'Let me know [...] before I suffer thee to embrace me, whether I am come to an enemy or to a sonne, whether I be in thy campe as a captive prisoner, or as a naturall mother', *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. 5, 504.
12. 'Antike Roman': *Power Symbology and the Roman Play in Early Modern England, 1585–1635* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 81.
13. Contemporary consolations, often based on the work of banished Romans, frequently palliate the grief of exile with reference to the city's thanklessness. Erasmus' letter to a fictional Roman exile named Canidius reminds him that Scipio, Brutus, Cato and Cicero were all 'constrained to suffer the loss of the country they had saved at great personal peril'. Rather than resent the efforts 'lavished [...] in vain upon most ungrateful fellow-citizens', these men gloried in the undying fame their deeds had brought them. See *De Conscribendis Epistolis* in *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 25, trans. and ed. J. K. Sowards (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 148–55, 154.
14. *The Consent of Time*, STC 16619, 496–7. In *The Strategems of Jerusalem* (1602), STC 16630, Lloyd argues that Rome should have been grateful that Coriolanus changed his mind about invading the city, 312.
15. 'The Life of Aristides', *Lives*, 352–72, 356–7 and also 'The Life of Cimon', *Lives*, 528–43, 541.
16. See *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 762–3, and Tabori, *The Anatomy of Exile*, 45–8.
17. *The Governour* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1907; repr. 1937), bk 1, ch. 2, 7.
18. *The Treasure of Auncient and Modern Times* by Thomas Milles (London, 1613), STC 17936, bk. 8, ch. 32, 817. In his study of *Timon of Athens*, Robert S. Miola makes a similar point, arguing that according to such contemporary literature 'by a perverse but persistent logic, banishment from the corrupt Athenian city, voluntary or otherwise, was a sure sign of private rectitude', 'Timon in Shakespeare's Athens', *Sh. Q.*, 31 (1980), 21–30, 29. Although Coriolanus' banishment differs from ostracism in various ways, some association may be hinted at when he blames his exile on 'The cruelty and envy of the people', 4.5.75.
19. According to Willard Farnham, Coriolanus' pride renders him 'monstrously deficient as a human being', though this pride is also the source of his virtues,

- Shakespeare's Tragic Frontier* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950), 263. A similar approach is taken by Carol M. Sicherman in 'Coriolanus: The Failure of Words', *ELH*, 39 (1972), 189–207 in her thesis that Coriolanus is incapable of using language. It is notable how often critics associate Coriolanus with failure, either that of the protagonist or of Shakespeare himself.
20. *Shakespeare and the Solitary Man* (London: Macmillan, 1981), 145.
 21. "'There is a world elsewhere": Tragedy and History in *Coriolanus*', *SEL*, 16 (1976), 273–85, 275. Velz also suggests that Coriolanus' heroic code is anachronistic in the new city-state in 'Cracking Strong Curbs Asunder'.
 22. *Shakespeare and the Solitary Man*, 145.
 23. Adelman, "'Anger's My Meat'".
 24. Shannon Miller, 'Topicality and Subversion in William Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*', *SEL*, 32 (1992), 287–322, 292–3.
 25. See Zvi Jagendorf, 'Coriolanus: Body Politic and Private Parts', *Sh. Q.*, 41 (1990), 455–69, and Arthur Riss, 'The Belly Politic: *Coriolanus* and the Revolt of Language', *ELH*, 59 (1992), 53–75.
 26. *De Officiis* trans. Walter Miller (London: Heinemann, 1913), 113.
 27. I am indebted to Miles' *Shakespeare and the Constant Romans* here.
 28. *Ibid.*, 159–60.
 29. 'Tragic Superfluity in *Coriolanus*', *ELH* 50 (1983), 485–507, 500.
 30. J. L. Simmons identifies pragmatic concerns as the *raison d'être* of the myth in *Shakespeare's Pagan World: The Roman Tragedies* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1974), 19.
 31. 'The Comparison of Anniball with P. Scipio African', *Lives*, 1,173–5, 1,174. In this case, Scipio has not been officially banished but chooses exile for the sake of peace.
 32. *The Wounds of Civil War*, ed. Joseph W. Houppert (London: Edward Arnold, 1969).
 33. *Catiline*, eds W. F. Bolton and Jane F. Gardner (London: Edward Arnold, 1973).
 34. *Coriolanus in Context* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1971), 210–11.
 35. See, for example, *Timon of Athens* when Timon apostrophizes the city wall from the outside: 'Let me look back upon thee. O thou wall / That girdles in those wolves, dive in the earth, / And fence not Athens!', 4.1.1–3. Wolves have long been associated with what is savage and marginal, as Ronan notes in 'Antike Roman', 136–40.
 36. Hans-Jürgen Weckermann draws attention to the similarity between Lucius' and Coriolanus' plots in 'Coriolanus: The Failure of the Autonomous Individual' in *Shakespeare: Text, Language, Criticism: Essays in Honour of Marvin Spevack*, eds Bernhard Fabian and Kurt Tetzeli von Rosador (Zurich and New York: Olms-Weidmann, 1987), 334–50, 334.
 37. Shakespeare would have found the two avengers juxtaposed in Plutarch's *Lives*, 260–2 where Alcibiades' patriotic motives in attacking Athens are contrasted with Coriolanus' 'intent utterly to destroy and spoyle his countrie, and not as though he ment to recover it, or to returne thither againe', 261. It has also been argued that the plays were linked together in their conception. Bullough speculates: 'while drafting *Timon* Shakespeare came to realize the thinness of his subject, and that Coriolanus would give a richer opportunity for a tragedy of wrath and ingratitude. I suspect that Shakespeare abandoned *Timon* to write *Coriolanus*', *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. 6, 239.

38. The editors of the *Oxford Complete Works* assert that a considerable part of the play, including 3.6, was written by Thomas Middleton in *The Textual Companion*, 501.
39. See also *Catiline* in which Cicero condemns the conspirators for lacking any cause but their own ambition, 3.2.101–2.
40. Various critics have condemned Coriolanus' volte-face as a betrayal of his own principles. For example, Givan considers that 'in attacking Rome he is violating his own constancy and oath-keeping', 'The Premature Epitaph and the Butterfly', 144. Those who have argued for Coriolanus' self-consistency include Eugene M. Waith in *The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1962), 131, and Charles and Michelle Martindale in *Shakespeare and the Uses of Antiquity: An Introductory Essay* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 179–81.
41. Hamlet's journey into exile brings him proof of Claudius' murderous intent such that he is no longer stricken by doubt on his return. However, one might also argue that the Hamlet who returns to Denmark is merely resigned to his fate, as if exile had had a spiritual effect upon him.
42. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 580.
43. Miola suggests that Coriolanus' arrival in Actium 'reenacts' Ulysses' return to Ithaca. Both men are in disguise, both meet insolent resistance to their ingress. Nevertheless, this comparison does not serve to alleviate the shame of Coriolanus' non-recognition by the servants or by Aufidius here. Ulysses has been a master of such deceptions so that disguise is in itself an expression of his identity. It can be no less than a betrayal of Coriolanus' sense of self. See *Shakespeare's Rome*, 193.
44. See also Cominius' testimony that, defying all titles, Coriolanus is now 'a kind of nothing', 5.1.14.
45. *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo*, trans. George Pettie and Bartholomew Young (London, 1586), bk 3, 144, quoted in an abbreviated form in *Suffocating Mothers*, 5.
46. Extended readings of the late plays in terms of maternity and the exile of both mother and child can be found in *Suffocating Mothers*, 193–238, Carol Thomas Neely's *Broken Nuptials in Shakespeare's Plays* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 171–7, 191–209 and Helen Hackett, "'Gracious be the Issue": Maternity and Narrative in Shakespeare's Late Plays', in *Shakespeare's Late Plays: New Readings*, eds Jennifer Richards and James Knowles (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 25–39.
47. Helen Wilcox argues that tragicomedy is an essentially maternal genre in 'Gender and Genre in Shakespeare's Tragicomedies', in *Reclamations of Shakespeare DQR Studies in Literature*, 15th edn A. J. Hoenselaars (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), 129–38.
48. Coppélia Kahn, *Roman Shakespeare: Warriors, Wounds, and Women* (London: Routledge, 1997), 150.
49. See Anna Lydia Motto and John R. Clark, 'The Development of the Classical Tradition of Exile to Seneca', *Mosaic*, 8 (1975), 109–17, 112.

Chapter 6 'A World Elsewhere': Magic, Colonialism and Exile in *The Tempest*

1. This chapter is based on my article, 'The Tempest's Forgotten Exile', *Shakespeare Survey*, 54 (2001). I am grateful for CUP's permission to reprint it here.

2. Shakespeare's connections with members of the Virginia Company and his possible acquaintance with William Strachey are discussed by Frank Kermode in *The Tempest* (London: Methuen, 1954; repr. 1961), xxvii–viii.
3. *The Two Noble Kinsmen* seems to have been Shakespeare's last play to feature banishment though it remains uncertain whether Shakespeare himself wrote the relevant scenes. This question is further discussed in n. 6.
4. *Love's Sacrifice*, ed. A. T. Moore (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).
5. The Shakespearean and Websterian influences upon *Love's Sacrifice* are considered by A. T. Moore in his introduction, 29–30, 35–6, 40–1.
6. Act 2, Scene 3 of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* begins with Arcite's cry of 'Banished the kingdom?' It is generally thought that this scene was Fletcher's work, though a counter-argument has been proposed by T. B. Horton in 'Distinguishing Shakespeare from Fletcher through Function Words', *Sh. St.*, 22 (1994), 314–35. Whether this scene was written by Shakespeare or Fletcher, the first twelve lines of Arcite's speech seem to me to recall Romeo's speech on exile at 3.3.29–51. Arcite begins with the possibility of exile as mercy, just as Romeo does in response to the Friar. However, both men reject this association, perceiving banishment from the beloved rather as a punishment for sins and as death. Arcite's imagery of his rival 'feed[ing] / Upon the sweetness' of Emilia's beauty might recall Romeo's image of carrion flies who 'seize' on Juliet's hand or lip. Finally, Arcite's suggestion that his rival will 'stay and see / Her bright eyes break each morning 'gainst thy window' (8–9) echoes the balcony scene.
7. See *Forms of Nationhood* and Mikalachki's *The Legend of Boadicea: Gender and Nation in Early Modern England* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 1–17.
8. *Legend of Boadicea*, 4.
9. *Eclogues, Georgics and Aeneid I–VI*, vol. 1, Eclogue 1, l.66. This analogy is also discussed by J. P. Brockbank in 'History and Histrionics in *Cymbeline*', *Sh. S.*, 11 (1958), 42–9, 48. Brockbank suggests that when reading Holinshed's account of Brutus' banishment and founding of Britain, Shakespeare may have noticed Posthumus as the name of one of Brutus' ancestors and taken the banishment plot from here, 43–4.
10. 'Britain among the Fortunate Isles', *Stud. in Phil.*, 53 (1956), 114–40.
11. *Aristotles Politiques, or Discourse of Government. Translated out of Greeke into French, with Exposition taken out of the best Authours ... By Loys Le Roy, called Regius. Translated out of French into English. At London printed by Adam Islip Anno Domo: 1598*, 15. In *Coriolanus*, the protagonist's banishment is partly incurred through his virtues; he is both the beast and God of Aristotle's dictum. See F. N. Lees, 'Coriolanus, Aristotle and Bacon', *RES*, 1 (1950), 114–25.
12. See, for example, John Pitcher's 'A Theatre of the Future: The *Aeneid* and *The Tempest*', *E. in C.*, 34 (1984), 193–211.
13. David Sundelson suggests that Prospero is aware of his inadequacies as Duke and longs to escape his own shame and weakness, 'So Rare a Wonder'd Father: Prospero's *Tempest*', in *Representing Shakespeare*, 33–53, 36.
14. 'Miraculous Harp: A Reading of *The Tempest*', *Sh. St.*, 5 (1969), 253–84, 258.
15. Jonathan Bate, 'The Humanist *Tempest*', in *Shakespeare: La Tempête: Etudes Critiques*, ed. Claude Peltraut (1993), 5–20, 12–3.
16. Prospero's need to prove his civility may also inform the pains he takes with Miranda's education. By making her eligible for marriage with Ferdinand, this education indirectly ensures that Prospero's credentials as an Italian prince and humanist scholar will never again be in doubt.

17. On Prospero's reconstruction of past events on the island, see 'Miraculous Harp', 271, and Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492–1797* (London and New York: Routledge, 1986), 89–136, 121.
18. William Strachey describes the terrible reputation of the Bermudas: 'such tempests, thunders, and other fearefull objects are seene and heard about them, that they be called commonly, *The Devils Ilands* and are feared and avoyded of all sea travellers alive, above any other place in the world', *A True Reportory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight* (1610) in *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 4, ch. 6, bk 9, p. 1,737. On the identification of the natives with devils see pp. 1,708 and 1,713.
19. 'Prospero's Empty Grasp', *Sh. St.*, 22 (1994), 277–313, 297.
20. This is the 1604 A-Text as reproduced in *Doctor Faustus and Other Plays*, eds David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).
21. Agrippa described this work as deliberately elusive: 'for we have delivered this Art in such a manner, that it may not be hid from the prudent and intelligent, and yet may not admit wicked and incredulous men to the mysteries of these secrets, but leave them destitute and astonished, in the shade of ignorance and desperation', *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* trans. J. F. (1651) (Hastings: Chthonios Books, 1986), 3 vols, vol. 3, ch. lxxv, p. 555. Nevertheless, it is suggested in *Dr Faustus* that whoever possesses the magic books will be similarly empowered.
22. In *Dr Faustus*, Mephistopheles repeatedly attests to the agony that is absence from God and from heaven (1.3.78–81, 2.1.121–6). See also the account of Lucifer's banishment from heaven in *The History of the Damnable Life and Deserved Death of Doctor John Faustus* (the English Faust-book) trans. P. F. (1592), reprinted in *Christopher Marlowe: The Plays and Their Sources*, eds Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 186–238, 199.
23. *Shakespeare's Cross-Cultural Encounters* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), 160.
24. *Ibid.*, 209–10, n. 2.
25. *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, ed. J. A. Lavin (London: Ernest Benn, 1969).
26. John Dee offers an example of a 'real-life' contemporary magician whose scientific and genealogical studies were dedicated to the realization of what he considered Elizabeth's imperial destiny. His conversations with angels, like Bacon's hopes for the brazen head, were directed to the discovery of some secret that might be to England's benefit. See William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 14–15, 148–200. Although accounts of Dee's banishment are probably exaggerated, Dee himself referred to his exiled state in a letter to the Queen's commissioners pleading for succour in *The Compendious Rehearsal* (1597), reproduced in *John Dee: Essential Readings*, ed. Gerald Suster (Wellingborough: Crucible, 1986), 110.
27. I am indebted for the discovery of the following passages to Andrew Hadfield's study, *Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), ch. 2.
28. Reprinted in *The First Three Bookes on America*, ed. Edward Arber (Edinburgh: Turnbull & Spears, 1885), Book 3, 117.
29. Martyr describes the prince's response to the contention among the Spaniards. He was seen 'commynge sume what wyth an angry countenance towarde hym whiche helde the balences, he strooke them wyth his fyste, and scatered all the golde that was therein, abowte the porche, sharpely rebukyng theym with

- woordes in this effecte ...' Perhaps Martyr is remembering the scene of Christ rebuking the moneylenders in the temple in *Matthew* 21:12–13.
30. Paul Brown also makes the connection between colonialism and the discourse of wandering or masterlessness. In "'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine": *The Tempest* and the Discourse of Colonialism', he examines the identification of the native with the European masterless man and savage, both associated with a 'directionless and indiscriminate desire', *Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural Materialism*, eds Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 48–71, 52.
 31. There were also plans for English Catholics to establish colonies in the New World. Two Catholic noblemen, Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerard, proposed such a migration in the early 1580s and found some supporters in Elizabeth's government, though their plans eventually came to nothing due to Spanish opposition. See David Beers Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America 1481–1620* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1974), 364–86.
 32. Cecil's letter is reprinted in *The Other Face*, 141.
 33. 'A Sermon Preached in London before the right honorable the Lord Lawarre, Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of Virginea', STC 6029.
 34. *The Overthrow of the Protestants Pulpit-Babels*, STC 11111, 321.
 35. See also Nicholas Canny, 'The Permissive Frontier: the Problem of Social Control in English Settlements in Ireland and Virginia 1550–1650', in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America 1480–1650*, eds K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny and P. E. H. Hair (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), 17–44.
 36. See *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia with a confutation of such scandalous reports ...* (London, 1610), STC 24833, 34.
 37. This observation is also made by Ben Ross Schneider who examines Prospero's anger within a Stoic context in 'Are We Being Historical Yet?: Colonialist Interpretations of Shakespeare's *Tempest*', *Sh. St.*, 23 (1995), 120–45, 123; and by Knapp who examines English colonialism within a context of national trifling in *An Empire Nowhere*, 221.
 38. L. T. Fitz notes that Prospero has progressed no further than a 'hunting and gathering economy' in 'The Vocabulary of the Environment in *The Tempest*', *Sh. Q.*, 26 (1975), 42–7, 43. Compare this with Fiedler's assumption, I think an erroneous one, that Prospero sets Caliban to the cutting down of trees because he wants to subdue and order the island rather than because he wants to survive, *The Stranger in Shakespeare*, 235–6.
 39. There is a clear disjunction between Prospero's ambitions and, for example, those of the Virginia company as defined in *A True and Sincere Declaration of the purpose and ends of the plantation begun in Virginia* (London, 1610), STC 24832. These aims include the conversion of natives to the Christian faith, the creation of a 'Bulwarke of defence' against the Spanish, and the appropriation of all kinds of goods which England had previously been forced to import at great expense, 3–4.
 40. Of the various challenges to this stereotypical colonialist, one of the most persuasive is that of Meredith Anne Skura who examines the multiple and dissonant expressions of 'colonialism' and their possible relationship to *The Tempest* in 'Discourse and the Individual: The Case of Colonialism in *The Tempest*', *Sh. Q.*, 40 (1989), 42–69.
 41. Aristotle's beast/God dichotomy was also a feature of much contemporary colonialist literature with the European identifying himself as a god and the native

- as beast, but again this opposition would not hold. See Karol Ordahl Kupperman's *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America 1580–1640* (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent, 1980), 119–40.
42. This situation also reflects the Alonso/Antonio usurpation plot. Caliban plays the Antonio role by offering to share the kingdom with Stefano/Alonso in return for his support in overthrowing the present ruler. At the same time, Caliban reminds us of Prospero when he is threatened with exile by the man he has empowered.
 43. There is obviously the potential for Caliban's submission here to be seen as a kind of colonialist wish-fulfilment wherein the master is finally kneeled to voluntarily. Yet this need not preclude the possibility that Caliban responds to something higher which Prospero does not embody but might lead him towards. On Caliban's suing for grace in the Christian sense see Bate, 'The Humanist *Tempest*', 18–19.
 44. We might compare the ending of *The Tempest* with that of *The Winter's Tale*. Both plays suggest the deferment of narrative with Prospero and Leontes promising that all will be explained off-stage. However, before the close of *The Tempest*, Prospero has acceded to a blatantly false narrative of events invented by Gonzalo which renders Prospero no more than a hostage to Fortune like everyone else. Prospero's identity as magus needs to be forgotten at the end if he is to be reintegrated into the human world. His narrative will be 'probable', not factually accurate, 1.252.
 45. "'This Tunis, sir, was Carthage": Contesting Colonialism in *The Tempest*', in *Post-Colonial Shakespeares*, eds Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 23–42, 30.

Conclusion

1. 'Reflections on Exile' (1984), repr. in *Reflections on Exile and Other Literary and Cultural Essays* (London: Granta Books, 2000), 173–86, 173.
2. *Ibid.*, 174.
3. On the Danvers' analogy, see Chapter 1. The Essex reading of *As You Like It* is discussed by Knowles in *As You Like It: New Variorum Edition*, 370, 537–8 and 630.
4. 'Memento', in *Minima Moralia: Reflections from Damaged Life*, trans. E. F. N. Jephcott (London: Verso, 1951; repr. 1974), 85–7, 87.

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