



From the Romans to the Normans on the English Renaissance Stage

Lisa Hopkins



EARLY DRAMA, ART, AND MUSIC

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Chapter 5

Dido in Denmark: Danes and Saxons on the Early Modern English Stage

IN JACOBEAN ENGLAND, THE most visible foreign woman was the queen herself, Anna of Denmark. In this chapter, I want to explore the image of her countrywomen on the early modern English stage, and to pair that with consideration of the representation of Saxon and east German women, because they are closely associated with Danes both through their role in England's past and through the fact that Anna of Denmark's mother was Anna Catherine of Brandenburg, while Anna's sister Hedvig married the Elector of Saxony in 1602. A number of plays of the period featured characters who fall into one of these categories. Cay Dollerup observes that "An old play in the October and November repertory of the Admiral's Men in 1597 must have had Danes among the dramatis personae, and the theme itself could also have been from Danish history. This is *hardwute* or *knewtvs* (i.e. *Hardicanute*)." Dollerup adds that

It has been suggested that Pembroke's Men had brought *Hardicanute* to The Admiral's, and provided this assumption is correct, Shakespeare may have known the play well, if it is true that he was connected with, and wrote for, Pembroke's Men around 1592–93. This conjecture is particularly interesting as it appears from the ... outline of *Hardicanute*'s life that the play must have been one of the most truly Danish dramas performed on the Elizabethan stage before *Hamlet*.¹

I will return to the implications of Shakespeare's probable familiarity with at least one Danish history play, but it is important to note first that *Hardicanute* is in fact only one of a number of lost actual or possible plays on the Danes and on Dane-related topics. Leah Scragg observes that:

A cluster of plays on Anglo-Saxon subjects was commissioned (or acquired) ... by the theatrical impresario, Philip Henslowe, towards the close of the sixteenth century for performance by the Admiral's Men, including items on Vortigern, Guthlac, *Hardicanute*, and Earl Godwine and his sons.²

There are also, of course, several plays about Danes and Saxons which survive, and of these, I will focus particularly on Anthony Brewer's *The Lovesick King*, Chettle's *Hoffman*, Middleton's *Hengist, King of Kent*, Henry Burnell's *Landgartha*, and *Hamlet*.

The Danes are difficult for Renaissance drama to deal with in a number of ways. In the first place, they pose a religious threat. In Geoffrey, when Vortigern asks the Saxons what their religion is, Hengist replies, "We worship the gods of our own country ... Saturn, Jove and the others who rule over the world, and more especially Mercury, whom in our language we called Woden."³ The idea that the Danes are religiously promiscuous is found in a number of texts. In *The Tragical History, Admirable Achievements and various events of Guy Earl of Warwick*, Swanus, King of Denmark, invades Athelstane's England; here the Danes appear, curiously enough, to be Muslim, since they invoke Mahound, while in Henry Burnell's 1641 play *Landgartha*, first performed in Dublin, the Norwegian heroine Landgartha (who would have been strongly associated with Denmark since Christian IV ruled both countries, and the marriage of James and Anna actually took place in Oslo) has a cousin called Fatyma. Most notably, as Robert W. Dent points out, the story of Anthony Brewer's *The Lovesick King* is "an Anglicized version of a frequently dramatized story, that of Mahomet and the fair Irene at the fall of Constantinople";⁴ Canutus, the lovesick king in question, certainly sounds oriental enough when he says to the beautiful Saxon Cartesmunda "vail thy face my love, we must not have thee seen too much by slaves,"⁵ and again when he echoes Tamburlaine by vowing to the dead body of Cartesmunda: "Canutus arms, a while shall be thy Tomb: / Then gold inclose thee till the day of Doom" (sig. F4r). Finally, Alured refers to "the usurped Temples of Canutus" (sig. G1v), confirming the connection with non-Christian worship.

Similar religious uncertainty surrounds the Danes in Lodowick Carlell's two-part play *Arviragus and Philicia*, which was acted at the Blackfriars by the King's Men ca. 1635–36 and printed in 1639. The second part contains Cartandes, Queen of the Danes, who has vowed to sacrifice the first prisoner she takes to Mars, hoping that his blood "shall prove as fatall to this cursed Ile, as the Palladiums losse was to unhappy Troy" (sig. E8r). However, instead she falls in love with him (it is the heroic Pictish prince Arviragus, though she is eventually induced to accept his cousin Guiderius instead); she pretends to spare him from divine inspiration, but the audience are left in no doubt that she is really moved by passion. In the process she also manages to look briefly Catholic when she rebukes any

potentially skeptical onlookers who may “make reason the sole foundation of their Faith, as scorning all superiour or misterious working of the Gods” (E12v), though she rows back from this potential identification when she accuses Guiderius of equivocation (sig. E7v). Thereafter she is like Dido in the trust she places in him, with the jealous Oswald as her Iarbas, and also echoes *The Jew of Malta* when she tells Guiderius, “you professe to have no Mistris, so yours and consequently his must needs be counterfeit, nay so is all mankind in their professions” (sig. E8r). It was perhaps for this reason that, when Elizabeth visited Kenilworth in 1575, the inhabitants of Coventry had to ask her to reinstate the locally popular play *The Conquest of the Danes*, which, although devoid of “ill exampl of manerz, papistry, or ony superstition,” “had recently been suppressed by ‘the zeal of certain theyr Preacherz’”:⁶ even if no specific charge could quite be made to stick, the preachers in question clearly regarded the whole topic of Danes as religiously suspect.

An even more marked feature of plays about Danes and their descendants the Normans is women’s potential to distract kings from the business of ruling. Despite their status as ancestors, the Danes were often treated as suspect, in ways which may perhaps have been influenced by Swedish historiographical tradition: Kurt Johannesson notes that in Johannes Magnus’s account of Swedish history “Two brave kings ... died through the false and evil nature of Danish women” and “The three royal saints of the north, Olav, Knud, and Erik, ... all suffered a martyr’s death through the evil of the Danes,” and this may have permeated to England since “In 1559 a Danish professor, Hans Münster, sounded an alarm from London, where the works of the brothers Magnus were being sold in bookshops, blackening the Danish name in the eyes of foreigners.”⁷ One of Elizabeth I’s favorite ladies-in-waiting, Helena Snakenborg, marchioness of Northampton, was Swedish, which may have encouraged the London establishment to adopt the Swedish perspective, and the Swedes had also made a considerable impression during the period when King Erik was courting Elizabeth. It is true that the marriage was much feared in some quarters, with an early viewer of *Gorboduc* reading the play’s second dumb-show as a specific warning against a marriage with Erik: “Then came in a king to whom was given a clear glass, and a golden cup of gold covered, full of poison, the glass he caste under his foot and brake it, the poison he drank of, after came in mourners ... whereby was meant that it was better for the Queen to marry with the L[ord] R[obert] known then with the K[ing] of Sweden.”⁸ However, the Swedes were also good business: the

king's ships brought with them "thousands of pounds worth of gold bullion, along with twenty pied horses which were displayed at the Crosskeys In on Gracechurch Street" and "the King's brother, Duke John of Finland, had set an extravagant standard of spending during his English visit in 1561."⁹ The Swedes were, therefore, held in general favor, and Olaus's anti-Danish sentiments thus fell on fertile ground.

Shakespeare very probably read at least some of Olaus Magnus,¹⁰ and Renaissance drama in general is fond of presenting Danish men as sexually susceptible as well as prone to drunkenness, a reputation which the notorious visit of James's brother-in-law Christian IV in 1606 would have done nothing to dispel; indeed Sir John Harington acerbically commented on the occasion that "I do often say (but not aloud) that the Danes have again conquered the Britains, for I see no man, or woman either, that can now command himself or herself."¹¹

In both *Fair Em* and *The Lovesick King*, a ruler of Danish descent allows himself to be distracted by a woman. Chettle's *Danish Tragedy* is apparently lost, but *Hoffman* may be its second part; it is therefore not surprising that Chettle's Hoffman is almost distracted from his revenge by his sudden passion for the Duchess Martha, whose son he is impersonating, and Sharon McDonnell argues that he is also presented as feminized: "Effeminacy is shown not only in Hoffman's weeping but also in his ability to prepare food."¹² In Henry Burnell's 1641 play *Landgartha*, the Danish king Reyner languishes for love of first one lady and then another. The most famous Danish play of all (and one which specifically evokes Aeneas' tale to Dido) is of course *Hamlet*, as *The Lovesick King* reminds us since the subplot concerning the hasty remarriage of Thornton's sister seems to glance at *Hamlet*, as does the name Osric, and *Arviragus and Philicia* too invites us to make the connection when Eugenius says of the new king Guimantes, "his smile I ever must suspect as dangerous, unlesse I could forget who was his Father" (sig. E5r) and Cartandes offers Philicia a cup of poison.

I have already noted that when Elizabeth visited Kenilworth in 1575, the inhabitants of Coventry had to ask her to reinstate the locally popular play *The Conquest of the Danes*. It has often been speculated that the eleven-year-old Shakespeare might have made the short journey from Stratford to Kenilworth at the time of Elizabeth's visit, and that the reference to a mermaid on a dolphin's back in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* encodes a memory of this. Shakespeare would also have had other reasons to be interested in Scandinavian history. Charles Nicholl observes

in his exhaustive study of Shakespeare's years in Silver Street that the church of St. Olave's was very much on Shakespeare's doorstep and that "The dedication, sometimes miswritten 'Olive's,' is to the Norwegian king Olaf II, or Olaf Haraldsson, who fought in England against the Danes in the early eleventh century, and was canonized for converting Norway to Christianity."¹³ René Weis suggests that "It was around this time in 1602, when he was writing *Hamlet*, that Shakespeare shifted his London base to the Mountjoys' house,"¹⁴ with the clear implication that *Hamlet* was started in Silver Street, and the intriguing coincidence of the church's dedication might well inspire speculation on a possible link. Olaf Haraldsson (the "St. Olave" of the church) was famous not only for converting Norway to Christianity; he was also rumored to have torn down London Bridge while occupying Southwark, where there was (and is) another church dedicated to him.¹⁵ Olaf is also named in Saxo Grammaticus's list of kings, and David Hohnen notes that Shakespeare might also have encountered Olaf in another, rather more exotic location, to which he may well have traveled: "Elsinore had had a parish church ever since the early thirteenth century, said to have been consecrated from the outset to St Olav."¹⁶ Finally, Shakespeare might also have heard of St. Olaf because of the saint's fame in the Isle of Man, of which the Stanley earls of Derby, who took a notable interest in the theater, were technically kings: a cup said to have been owned by St. Olaf had supposedly been brought to Man by King Magnus of Norway and it was said that while it remained unbroken it would keep its owner in peace and plenty. It is not impossible that attending St. Olave's may have helped focus Shakespeare's mind on the popularity and potential of plays about Scandinavia and the part played by the Norse and Danes in English history and the formation of English national identities. Moreover, Matthew Steggle observes that there seem to have been a number of similarities between *Hamlet* and the now lost play *Cutlack*, acted at the Rose in 1594, which he argues was about a mythical king of Denmark named Guthlagh: "Both feature a pseudo-historical Danish king who steals another king's wife ... Both are killed by a relative of the queen's original husband: son (*Hamlet*) or nephew (the Guthlagh-story), an interconnection made more complex still by the fact that Hamlet is also Claudius's nephew."¹⁷

It is therefore suggestive that not only is Claudius, too, derailed by his passion for a woman, but that Laertes is also envisaged as likely to fall prey to women. By contrast, the ruling family of neighboring Norway is apparently entirely male: we hear of Fortinbras, his uncle, and his late

father, but not of any queen or princess. It is therefore worth remembering that Saxo recounts how as a test of Hamlet's madness, he was presented with a fair maiden, on the grounds that if he were not insane he would seduce her.¹⁸ This casts a new complexion on the scene in which Claudius and Polonius eavesdrop on Hamlet and Ophelia: with England poised to acquire a Danish queen, Hamlet's encounter with Ophelia becomes readable as an enquiry into whether a Danish identity is synonymous with sexual susceptibility, and the play's references to Wittenberg and its obvious interest in the debate on the existence of Purgatory might also look like a hint that Danish religious politics and confessional identities might be more complex than their apparently monolithic Lutheranism might suggest (not least since it was already clear that Anna of Denmark was a Catholic convert). Ophelia would thus become unmistakably a honeytrap, with Hamlet being tempted to imitate the same sexual susceptibility that has enslaved his uncle to his mother.

Of course it is not necessarily the case that either Gertrude or Ophelia is Danish. Gertrude's "O, this is counter, you false Danish dogs" might seem surprising if Gertrude shared the nationality of those she excoriates,¹⁹ while both Polonius' name and his interest in "Danskens" (2.1.7) might suggest a Polish origin for his daughter. In some ways, though, this very suggestion of foreignness would make both Gertrude and Ophelia all the more typically Danish, for Danishness is fundamentally represented on the early modern stage as a radically hybridized and in effect a temporary identity. Danes were ancestors as well as destroyers, and one way of negotiating that fact was to connect them to another woman who was both an outsider but also a central part of the British History, and to focus on the ways in which sexual contact between members of different nations crystallizes the moment when the act of hybridization occurs. If Anna of Denmark was the most visible actual foreign woman, the archetypal foreign woman was Dido, to whom Anna was connected by the fact that when James married her he visited Elsinore, "where after a second Lutheran wedding he was edified with playes in Danish and Latin about Dido and Aeneas."²⁰ Dido was brought to the English stage most memorably in Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, a play by which Shakespeare in particular found his imagination haunted throughout his career, and thereafter foreign female characters of a surprising number of nationalities and ethnicities were fashioned in her image. In *The Lovesick King*, the anglicization of the Danes of which Elgina speaks extends to their borrowing the language and iconography of the *translatio imperii*.

Initially, Canutus orders his followers “Who bears the name of English strike him dead” (sig. A3r) and tells them to “Whip out this English Race, with iron rods” (sig. A3v). In a surprisingly short time, though, Canutus starts sounding like a king of England, priding himself on his descent from Troy, when he says “Were Hellen now alive, this Maid alone would stain her beauty and new Troy should burn, Paris would dye again to live to see her” (sig. B1r), while Elgina echoes her brother’s casual deployment of classical myth when she says “Venus defend me” (sig. B2v), a theme developed by Harrold who declares in disgust that “This is not now Canutus, nor his Palace, but rather seems a Roman Theatre, and this young Nero acting Comedies, with some light Strumpet in bold scenes of Lust” (sig. D1r). Danes may not be Christian, but to associate them with the classical pantheon can work to locate them as part of a past to which early modern audiences felt connected.

One ethnic group distinct from but often associated with Scandinavia was of particular interest to Renaissance writers, and here too questions of sexuality and religion are in play. Although there was, as we have seen in the first chapter, a growing trend to connect the Goths to Germany, traditionally they were Swedes. As George North explains in his *The description of Swedland, Gotland, and Finland ... chieflie out of Sebastian Mounster*, “Gothland boundeth wyth his Northe limites to the South of Swecia, & lyeth from the West to the mountaynes of Norway”,²¹ here was to be found “Vestrogothia a Dukedom, whose cities be Scaris and Varnem, where are the Sepulchres & graues of theyr auncient kyngs” (sig. A5r). Kurt Johannesson notes of Johannes Magnus that “The basis for Johannes’s work is the idea that the Swedes are descended from the Goths of antiquity and have inherited their virtues and historical mission,”²² and Arbella Stuart’s letters to King Christian IV of Denmark were invariably addressed “To the most august prince Christian, by the grace of God King of Denmark, Norway, the Wends and Goths”²³ *Titus Andronicus* both stresses the foreignness of its Goths and simultaneously connects them to the Dido story. The name of Lavinia takes us back to the origins of Rome, for it was also the name of the wife of Aeneas, and it is only one among many nods in the play to the *Aeneid* and the story it tells, as when Tamora speaks to Aaron of:

conflict such as was supposed
The wandering prince and Dido once enjoyed,
When with a happy storm they were surprised
And curtained with a counsel-keeping cave (2.2.21–24)

Bassianus' sarcastic question about whether the figure before him is really Tamora, "Or is it Dian, habited like her" (2.2.57), also glances at the *Aeneid*, this time with obvious ironic intent. When Aeneas makes landfall in Africa he meets, though fails to recognize, his mother Venus, disguised as a Carthaginian maiden, and the power of Venus will subsequently animate much of the action of the play; Bassianus here is pretending that he *does* recognize a woman who is *not* his mother as the goddess not of love but of chastity, with the apparent intention of presenting Tamora as no Dido but also thereby running the risk of acknowledging that he himself is no Aeneas, since the dynastic potential he might have represented is just about to be snuffed out by his murder while still childless.

The same borrowing of the *translatio* is found in Chettle's *Hoffman*, which may well be the second part of his apparently lost *Danish Tragedy*. Hoffman's base, named as Burtholme, is generally taken to be the Danish island of Bornholm, famous since the fourteenth century as a haven for pirates such as Hoffman's father had been,²⁴ and Jerome says he will "retire to my castle at Helsen,"²⁵ which seems to suggest Helsingor; Anthony Brewer's *The love-sick king* certainly seems to think that there is a connection between Hoffman and Denmark, since among the characters in the dramatis personae are "Osrick, Hoffman, & Huldrick, Danes." Nevertheless Austria grandly declares:

Saxons proud wanton sonns
Were entertaind like Priam's Firebrand
At Sparta: all our State gladly appear'd
Like chierfull Lacedemons, to receaue
Those Daemons that with magicke of their tongues,
Bewitch't my Lucibells my Helen's eares. (sig. C5v)

Austria thus recasts the entire plot strand in which he figures in terms lifted wholesale from the Trojan War, with himself and his daughter as Greeks and the Saxons as Trojans. Later, Martha when she is leading Hoffman on by pretending to consent to his lust entices him:

let vs walke
Into some couert, there are pretty caues,
Lucky to louers suites, for Virgil sings;
That Dido being driuen by a sharpe storme
Into a Lybian caue, was there intic'd
By siluer-tongu'd Aeneas to affect. (sig. L1v)

Martha, like Shakespeare's Tamora Queen of the Goths, becomes Dido, an alien in the sense that she was a Phoenician-born African queen, but also a key player in a story that was understood as fundamental to and foundational of British identity.

Perhaps most suggestively, the Dido story is found in Henry Burnell's 1641 play *Landgartha*, which was acted at the Werburgh Street theater in Dublin not long before it closed, and might be seen as a last attempt to promote the Stuart cause. Burnell's play is very aware of dramatic precedents: there is an obvious allusion to *Troilus and Cressida* in the fact that the "Prologue delivered by an Amazon with a Battle-Axe in her hand" recalls how "The best of English Poets for the Stage ... was faine / An armed Prologue to produce,"²⁶ while the king of Sweland, Frolo, declares that "Religion is but a toy, and first invented / By politicke states, to keepe fooles in awe" (sig. B4v), an equally obvious allusion to Marlowe, who had of course written a play about Dido. Landgartha herself is a martial heroine whose valor is presented as entirely praiseworthy. The play implicitly remembers Elizabeth when Cowsell says "The Lady Elsinora in my opinion, / Is th'rich Pearle amongst 'em; Landgartha to her / Is but a meere milkemayde" (sig. C4r), recalling Elizabeth's famous comparison of herself to a milkmaid, but it is another royal who provides much of its ideological impetus: Landgartha is initially sworn to virginity but relents in favor of the Danish king Reyner and becomes the ancestress of the royal house of Scandinavia, and hence by implication of Anna of Denmark and ultimately of Charles I. She could also be connected to Henrietta Maria since as Hero Chalmers notes, "Sophie Tomlinson draws our attention to the role played by Henrietta Maria in [Margaret] Cavendish's absorption of ideals of feminine heroism. The Queen had adopted a martial persona at the outset of the civil war, styling herself 'her she-majesty Generalissima.'"²⁷ It is in negotiating this connection to the Stuarts that the Dido story proves helpful. Dido is first evoked when Phoebus prophesies that

A Prince from Troy hereafter shall depart,
 When Troy takes end (as all dominion
 Of mortals must:) whose chance will fetch him on
 The Lybian shores, and upon Latium next. (sig. F1v)

A specifically Marlovian version of Dido also seems to inform Hubba's lament to Reyner:

Wo'd all the Cables and Sayles were burnt:
 You brought us hither with the hazard of our lives,

To gaine this kingdome for you; and now you have it,
 You'll wisely gi't away. (sig. F4r)

When Landgartha weeps at Reyner's departure she definitively becomes a new Dido, especially when he then takes a second wife as Aeneas did. On the level of plot, foregrounding Aeneas' sojourn with Dido and subsequent desertion of her dissociates Reyner from a role as king or ruler and connects him instead to narratives of destiny and descent. On the level of genre, it prises apart the link between Scandinavian ancestors and the potentially radical genre of the Danish history play and forges a new one with voyaging plays,²⁸ thus throwing the focus onto the *translatio imperii* and the long sweep of history rather than onto the problematic politics of an England on the verge of civil war. Finally it also draws on an idea of Dido as an ancestral figure associated with what Stuart Piggott terms "an optimistic picture of the peopling of Europe and Britain in which the Phoenicians, first introduced by Twyne ... in 1590, played an increasingly important part."²⁹

We have already seen that, for Austria in Chettle's *Hoffman*, early modern Saxons could be mapped onto the Trojans. They could also be connected to the Dido story. Tacitus states that ancient Germans, alone among barbarians, were monogamous, and the idea of the chaste and closely connected German became particularly compelling when James's daughter Elizabeth married Frederick, the Elector Palatine, in 1613; Jasper Fisher, author of *Fuimus Troes*, wrote an epithalamium for the couple which included the lines "Let the masculine Rhine embrace the feminine Thames (like trained vines); / Thus a great ocean will be given to the Anglo-Saxons, descended from the German Saxons,"³⁰ and Samantha Frenée-Hutchins suggests that Verstegan positions James "as an 'honorary German'" and notes that Camden argues that their language proved that Scots too had Germanic ancestry.³¹ Although Anna of Denmark might lament that her daughter would henceforth have to answer to "Goody Palsgrave," at least two plays of the period seem to make it their business to spell out exactly who and what Frederick was, why his wife might be one day something rather grander than "Goody Palsgrave," and why a German alliance was generally worth having. One of these, *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, makes no mention of Dido, but the other, William Smith's *The Hector of Germany. Or The Palsgrave, prime Elector*, openly references the Trojan War in its title. Though neither is set in pre-Conquest England, they do help explain the ways in which representations of the Saxons changed after the Palatinate marriage.

The first, *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, may possibly have been written by George Chapman, and Roy Strong observes that “out of all the poets with connections to St James’s court, Chapman by 1612 was beginning to emerge as the most important,”³² although Fredson Bowers does not entertain Chapman as a possible author.³³ Bowers also argues for a date in the 1590s,³⁴ which would of course significantly predate the Palatinate marriage; however, the play may very possibly have been revised and certainly took on new urgency in the context of the marriage and the build-up to it. (It also had an unusually long afterlife if, as Marshall thinks, “*The Tragedy of Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany* was performed on 3 October 1630 at court and on 5 May 1636 at Blackfriars before the Queen and the Prince Elector,”³⁵ though again Bowers argues the opposite view.)

The second play, which definitely postdates the marriage, is William Smith’s *The Hector of Germany. Or The Palsgrave, prime Elector*. The prologue to this explicitly disavows any connection between the Palsgrave who is its subject and the Palsgrave who had just married Princess Elizabeth:

Our Authour for himself, this bad me say,
 Although the Palsgrave be the name of th’ Play,
 Tis not that Prince, which in this Kingdome late,
 Married the Mayden-glory of our state:
 What Pen dares be so bold in this strict age,
 To bring him while he lives upon the Stage?³⁶

This is, however, clearly disingenuous; Jaroslav Miller suggests that the play had been censored, prompting the sardonic tone of those last two lines, and that:

the author obviously counted on the ability of the audience to grasp the historical theme in the context of the current political and religious situation in England and on the Continent ... The plot ... works with an allegorical identification of Palsgrave with the Black Prince, Henry Stuart and Frederick of the Palatinate ... The chief message of the play is to present Frederick as the legitimate heir to the still living political and religious legacy of Henry Stuart.³⁷

Marshall concurs, arguing that “Throughout *The Hector of Germany* the character of the Palsgrave is moulded less by the real-life Frederick, though it is in him that Protestant hopes lie, but rather by a romantic image of what glory Britain’s prince might have found in Europe had he lived,”³⁸ while Hans Werner sees the play as clearly and uncompromisingly “encoding the equation ... Frederick V = Prince Henry.”³⁹ Indeed if by nothing

else, the game would be given away when the hero, Palsgrave Robert, is explicitly said to be at odds with “the bold Bastard, late expuls’d from Spayne,” (sig. A3r) who aims at the empire. The reference to Spain maps the play directly onto the contemporary political landscape as seen by the Protestant party and also creates an exact parallel with *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, where almost the first thing Alphonsus does is to reveal the fundamentally Spanish identity which lurks hidden beneath his official title as he muses that “The Spanish Sun hath purifi’d my wit.”⁴⁰ Thereafter he is repeatedly referred to as the king of Castile and the point is reinforced by the introduction of the other half of the polarity by which the Spain of this period was so often characterized, the Netherlands, when one of the seven Electors is addressed as “Brave Duke of Saxon, Dutchlands greatest hope” (sig. B4r), which seems a pointed variation from the more usual and certainly available terms “Germany” or “Almain.”

In both these plays, the status of the Palatinate and its ruler is carefully and repeatedly boosted. As in William Fennor’s gratulatory poem “A description of the Palsgraves Countrey, as it was delivered in a speech before the King, the Prince, the Lady Elizabeth, at White-Hall,” where the territory of the Palsgrave is said to lie between rivers “like a Paradise,” this Palatinate is a land worth having, even for an English princess.⁴¹ In *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, in a scene which could be seen as functioning almost as a modern newspaper briefing piece on a royal’s prospective spouse might do, the Electors introduce themselves one by one, each giving his full name, title and responsibilities. The Palsgrave is third and explains that

The next place in election longs to me,
George Cassimirus Palsgrave of the Rhein,
His Highness Taster. (sig. B4r)

The Hector of Germany goes even further: its Palsgrave Robert declares that “I am chiefe Elector of the seven, / And a meere Caesar now the Chayre is voyde” (sig. A3r). The imperial ambitions hinted at here were indeed an important subtext of the Palatinate marriage. Jaroslav Miller notes that “in September 1620 James I acknowledged in Privy Council that as early as 1612 he had discussed with his future son-in-law the hypothetical chance of Frederick’s accession to the Bohemian throne,”⁴² but *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany* hints at glories greater even than that. The play opens on a situation in which Alphonsus must say to his chief adviser:

O, my Lorenzo, if thou help me not,
 Th'Imperial Crown is shaken from my head,
 And giv'n from me unto an English Earl. (sig. B2r)

Soon the earl in question, Richard earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III and younger son of King John, soliloquizes:

Here rest thee Richard, think upon a mean,
 To end thy life, or to repair thine honour,
 And vow never to see fair Englands bounds,
 Till thou in Aix be Crowned Emperour. (sig. E1r)

Here the play can be seen as reinventing *Henry V's* "No king of England if not king of France" to show the focus switching from Angevin empire to Holy Roman in line with the priorities that drove the Palatinate marriage.

By the end of the play, Richard's aim has been triumphantly achieved: the Duke of Saxon tells Richard that "The Royalties of the Coronation / Shall be, at Aix, shortly solemnized" (sig. K3v) and Richard's nephew, the future Edward I, declares:

Was never Englishman yet Emperour,
 Therefore to honour England and your self,
 Let private sorrow yield to publike Fame,
 That once an Englishman bare Caesar's name. (sig. K3v)

The play then closes with Richard himself confirming the importance of his new status:

Sweet Sister now let Caesar comfort you,
 And all the rest that yet are comfortles;
 Let them expect from English Caesar's hands
 Peace, and abundance of all earthly Joy. (sig. K4r)

Richard of Cornwall had been not just the first but the only Englishman to hold the title of Holy Roman Emperor, but the Palatinate marriage made it possible to think that perhaps an English head might once again wear an imperial crown, for Jaroslav Miller notes that "Some texts from these years indicate the existence of public conviction or faith that within a certain time the Palatine dynasty could be elevated to the status of Roman Emperors," and Jane Pettegree concurs: "The panegyrics that accompanied the marriage of Elizabeth Stuart to Prince Frederick of the Palatine suggested the dynastic alliance would create a new, Protestant Holy Empire."⁴³ Henry Peacham's *Prince Henrie Revived* (1615), for example, celebrates the

birth of Frederick and Elizabeth's first son and wishes that "*Caesar Henrie thou maist one day raigne, as good, as great, as ever Charlemagne.*"⁴⁴ It was for this, presumably, that the anonymous pamphlet *The marriage of Prince Fredericke, and the Kings daughter, the Lady Elizabeth* notes that the bride wore "upon her head a crowne of refined golde, made Imperiall (by the Pearles and Dyamonds thereon placed)"⁴⁵—that is, a crown closed with a hoop, which signified imperial status, rather than an open one, which was merely regal. In *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany* an unusually careful stage direction is used to introduce a key character: "*Enter the Empress Isabella King John's Daughter*" (sig. B4v s.d). Since John's defiance of the pope had made him a Protestant icon, this would already have evoked easily recognized connotations at the time of the play's composition, but the Palatinate marriage brought it an important new association to compound its original meaning, for now it was again possible to fantasize about the daughter of an English king becoming an Empress.

Two aspects of the language and iconography attending on this imperial theme prove particularly resonant in the context of English dynastic politics and national and confessional allegiances: these are the name of Caesar and the idea of Rome, and the possibility of a *Protestant* Holy Roman Emperor obviously brings them into direct collision. In *Heauens blessing, and earths ioy* John Taylor draws on the standing Renaissance pun about the word room and the contemporary pronunciation of Rome when he declares that "Since first the framing of this worlds vast Roome, / A fitter, better match was not combinde,"⁴⁶ and in *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany* Alexander may say "Now is my Lord sole Emperour of Rome" (sig. H2v). Although it had been a long time since there had been anything particularly Roman about the Holy Roman Empire, a similar association can be seen at work in these plays. In the classic style of Renaissance empire-building as identified by J. H. Elliott,⁴⁷ classical mythology is extensively evoked, with the story of Troy in general and of the *ur*-colonizer Aeneas in particular deployed in the service of presenting Germany as both the home of people fundamentally kin and also as territory amenable to imperial ambitions. In *The Hector of Germany*, the King of Bohemia reveals the logic of the play's title by saying of the ailing Palsgrave:

The strength of Germanie is sicke in him,
And should hee die now in his prime of life,
Like Troy we loose the Hector of our Age. (sig. A3v)

In Fennor's "Description," we are told that:

Poets leave writing of the Grecian Queene,
 And of Aeneas, Lady Venus sonne:
 Two rarer beauties shortly shall be seene
 in Almany, when Englands pride is wonne. (sig. C3r)

In *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, the Duke of Saxon initially casts around for a suitable classical precedent:

Me thinks I now present Mark Antony,
 Folding dead Iulius Caesar in mine arms.
 No, no, I rather will present Achilles,
 And on Patroclus Tomb do sacrifice. (sig. K1v)

However, later Alexander settles definitively on a Trojan model when he explains how he watched the battle from the tower and

posted from the turrets top,
 More furiously than ere Laocoon ran,
 When Trojan hands drew in Troy's overthrow. (sig. K3r)

All the good characters are thus presented as sharing with the English, who claimed descent from Aeneas' great-grandson Brutus, a fundamentally Trojan identity which helpfully brings with it the motif of the *translatio imperii*.

Of course, Rome connoted Roman Catholicism as well as the Roman Empire. Inevitably, the villains of these texts are Catholic. In *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, Alphonsus himself declares at the outset that he is an apprentice Machiavel—"To be an outward Saint, an inward Devill; / These are the lectures that my Master reads" (sig. B1v)—and after Alexander's murder of the Bishop of Mainz plots cynically:

I will procure so much by Gold or friends,
 That my sweet Mentz shall be Canonized.
 And numbred in the Bed-role of the Saints,
 I hope the Pope will not deny it me. (sig. H2r)

The Palsgrave, meanwhile, is firmly Protestant, as is made clear in Fennor's "Description":

Pals, Brandenburgh, and Saxony in one hand,
 unite their strength which makes their powers last:
 The Popish Prelates at these Princes frowne,
 yet these three Protestants uphold the Crowne. (sig. B4r)

In *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, Isabella says,

Alas I know my Brother Richard's heart
Affects not Empire, he would rather choose
To make return again to Palestine,
And be a scourge unto the Infidels. (sig. B4v)

Richard is presumably named after Richard the Lionheart, who was his uncle and who had acquired his sobriquet from his valiance while on crusade, and this stresses the extent to which the pursuit of empire on earth is habitually set in opposition to crusade and the pursuit of a crown in heaven.

Real rulers might also be moved by the same considerations as these fictional ones. In *A continuation of the historie of France*, Danett speaks of how

Charles the Emperour who was so ambitious a Prince that hee thought to haue swallowed vp both France and Germanie, was chaced out of both those countries with great ignominie, and was neuer able to hould no not [*sic*] one pore towne in either of both those realmes, & in the end through moodinesse of his euell successe, gaue a defiance to all the world, and dyed in an Abby among a companie of Monkes.⁴⁸

In a letter to the people of Artois and Hainault, Henri IV was careful to declare that he too had been motivated by spiritual as well as political considerations:

albeit that euer since we haue had both courage, and the same right and abilitie that we now haue, to reuenge our selues vpon ye countries and subiects of the King of Spaine (the principall author and enterpriser of this war) yet being holden backe by many considerations of great importance to al Christendom, we haue chose rather to beare much, defending our selues but simply, than to set vpon those forcibly, to whome we could peradventure, haue procured and done as much hurt as we haue receiued at their hands.⁴⁹

He argues that ultimately, though, his hand has been forced because of “the present danger that threatneth all christendome (which euerie man knoweth to haue risen through the discords, and iust gelousie that the king of Spaine his ambition hath bred euery where).” However, the effect of the wars had been so severe that Thomas Danett in his preface to *A continuation* is inclined to wonder whether this part of France actually was still in Christendom:

passing out of Spaine through France in the yeare 77 ... we found such a wildernes in all the country between Bayonne and Bourdeaux, that whole forrests and woods were turned vp and consumed, the townes vtterly desolated, the people despersed, the churches quite subuerted, and the children (a lamentable thing to bee recorded) remaining vnchristened by the space of ten yeares, which bred in mee such a commiseration, to see so noble a member of Christendome so miserably torne in peeces with hir owne teeth.⁵⁰

At best, the status of this part of France as Christian territory must be considered imperiled; at worst, any and all of Christendom can be threatened by disunity within it. A sense of national identity, with the differences it implies, must give place to one of shared religious allegiance and fundamental commonality.

It is, though, unusually easy in these plays to imagine Christendom as being capable of unification. In *Heauens blessing, and earths ioy* John Taylor speaks of how

The Royall blood of Emperours and Kings,
Of Potent Conquerors, and famous Knights
Successiue from these two Princes springs:
Who well may claime, these titles as their rights:
The Patrons Christendome to Vnion brings.⁵¹

Indeed perhaps the most surprising result of this ideological slippage between Germany and ancient Troy and its descendant Rome, in a landscape where a city may be called either Aachen or Aix and speak of a heritage which is simultaneously French, German, and neither, is the unexpected cosmopolitanism and linguistic proficiency of so many of the Englishmen in these plays. In them, an island nation is briefly and improbably glimpsed in a rare moment of pro-European sentiment and attitudes. In *The Hector of Germany*, the ailing Palsgrave greets the disguised king of Spain with “Before this dangerous sicknesse was my Foe, / No Christian King that came to me for ayde / But hee should speed” (sig. B1v), and this sense of a fundamentally united entity called simply “Christendom” pervades both this play and *Alphonsus, Emperour of Germany*, where Alphonsus declares (albeit insincerely) that “This is a joyful day to Christendome, / When Christian Princes joyn in amity” (sig. E3v). Its most striking manifestation comes when young Fitzwaters in *The Hector of Germany*, finding himself shipwrecked on a rock (here represented by the upper acting area), looks down at the stage below, which is temporarily representing an ocean, and laments:

Since I was cast vpon this fatall Rocke,
 And saw my Loue disseuered by the waues,
 And my kinde Steward in the Ocean drown'd,
 Here I haue liu'd, fed onely with raw Fish,
 Such as the Sea yeelds: and each Shippe I see,
 (As dayly there are some furrow this way)
 I call vnto for ayde, but nere the neere.
 On[e] ask't me, What I was? I answer'd him,
 An Englishman. Quoth he, Stay there and starue.
 To the next that past, I sayd I was a French-borne.
 Ile ayde no French quoth he. Vnto a third,
 That I a Spaniard was. He bad me hang:
 So that I know not what I ought to say,
 Nor whom to speake to. (sigs. F4v-r)

Beneath the familiar narrative of dissension between nations lurks a much stranger one, that of an Englishman who can convincingly pass for Spanish or French. Similarly in *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany* the King of Bohemia may scornfully ask “what have we to do with Englishmen? / They are divided from our Continent” (sig. C1r), and Prince Edward is certainly not well equipped for life abroad, being slow on the uptake, resolutely monoglot, openly scornful of local customs, and easily given the slip by his bride on their wedding night. Richard, however, copes noticeably better; if we were to transpose the play onto the politics of pre-Brexit England he would be a Eurocrat or Member of the European Parliament, equally at home in London, Brussels, and Strasbourg, and even trailing a whiff of an expenses scandal when the Bishop of Cologne attempts to buy him off with the promise that “his charges what so e're they are / Shalbe repaid with treble vantages” (sig. C2v). He even speaks German, which the audience seem also to be expected either to understand or to put up with, since there is a fairly substantial amount of untranslated German spoken on stage, though its foreignness is acknowledged in the quarto by the fact that it is printed in black letter.

The world of these plays is, however, not the usual xenophobic and isolationist England of so many early modern plays but an England unusually imbricated in European affairs, whose pan-nationalism is stressed when a character in *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany* introduces himself as “Frederick Arch-Bishop of Trier, / Duke of Lorraine, Chancelour of Italie” (sig. B4r). They refer to German as well as to English politics, and to questions of succession and rule in particular, as is stressed by the presence of two highly suggestive metaphors in *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*:

Alphonsus's declaration that "men rather honour the Sun rising than the Sun going down" (sig. B2r) and Saxon's "Why here's a tempest quickly overblown" (sig. C2r). The first of these, which has its origins in Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*, had been used by Elizabeth herself to figure her successor: in conversation with the Scottish ambassador, William Maitland of Lethington, she observed:

I know the inconstancy of the people of England, how they ever mislike the present government and has [*sic*] their eyes fixed upon that person that is next to succeed; and naturally men be so disposed: *Plures adorant solem orientem quam occidentem* [More people adore the rising sun than the setting one].⁵²

The word "tempest" could also be associated with succession: Leanda de Lisle notes that "The playwright Thomas Dekker's *Wonderful Year of 1603* recalls the harbingers of Elizabeth's decline as 'a hideous tempest, that shook cedars, terrified the tallest pines, and cleft asunder even the hardest hearts of oak,'"⁵³ while Mortimer Levine observes that John Hales wrote "a tract entitled *A Declaration of the Succession of the Crown Imperial of England*" and launched "a storm that Walter Haddon called the *Tempestas Halesiana*."⁵⁴ Rather than a world in which England is attempting to invade parts of Europe, then, this is a world in which England is attempting to position itself as part of Europe, and doing so through marriage rather than through war, as part of a policy which sought to decouple the notion of the Holy Roman Empire from the taint of Roman Catholicism and present instead a Protestant version built on a common foundation of *romanitas*.

It is therefore not surprising that the Saxons too can be assimilated into narratives of Britain's past by being connected to Dido. In Middleton's *Hengist, King of Kent* (ca. 1615–20),⁵⁵ we are told that "these saxons bring a fortune with em staines any Romane success" (ll. 674–75), suggesting a radical discontinuity between Saxon present and British past; however, Hengist looks oddly like a figure from that very past when, allotted as much land as can be covered by the hide of a deer, he copies Dido by cutting the hide into thin strips which enable him to mark out the outline of a substantial piece of ground. We know that Sir Robert Cotton possessed a copy of the document known as the Tribal Hidage,⁵⁶ which could have appeared to legitimate the idea that such a practice could have obtained in Anglo-Saxon England; what was actually meant by "hides" was not really clear, but could have borne such an interpretation.⁵⁷ Later we discover that

Simon, who sold Hengist the hide, subsequently made his fortune by marrying his master's widow; the combination of the widow motif with that of the hide confirms that the evocation of the "Widow Dido" is deliberate, and works to associate the Saxon incomers with a key figure in the story of Aeneas, the ancestral figure of the Britons. (Julia Briggs notes that there are also echoes of *Hamlet* in the play, which might further reinforce the idea of a connection with Dido).⁵⁸

The connection works, however, in complicated and suggestive ways. In some respects, its implications are such as might be expected: Roxena constitutes a sexual and dynastic threat to Vortigern in much the same way as Dido posed a sexual and dynastic threat to Aeneas' imperial destiny. Yet Hengist suggests that there may be something to be said for the importation of a bit of new blood when he says to Roxena "how many brothers Wantonly gott, through Ignorance of their / births may match with their owne sisters" (ll. 1069–71): an influx of Saxon sexual partners can thus be seen as preserving the Britons from the perils of inbreeding of the sort which, Middleton's audience would have been able to observe, were already visible in the Habsburgs.⁵⁹ In this sense, the marriage between Saxon and Briton is branded as peculiarly and particularly English, in that it *is* like the home life of our own dear queen (and king) and is *not* like the much less savory domestic arrangements of their foreign counterparts; indeed Philip Schwyzer notes that in Welsh prophecy "the English whose blood will be flowing so freely are often described as the children of Rowena,"⁶⁰ so that a relationship which initially epitomizes the alien becomes ultimately synecdochic of Englishness. In these plays, then, today's Saxons and Danes are tomorrow's English, and everyone is ultimately descended from Troy. The representation of Danish and Saxon women thus offers a way for Britain to understand itself as an island nation with a proud heritage, but also as a nation that is fundamentally and importantly connected to Europe.

NOTES

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² Leah Scragg, "Saxons versus Danes: the anonymous Edmund Ironside," in *Literary Appropriations of the Anglo-Saxons from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Donald Scragg and Carole Weinberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 93–106, p. 95.

³ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), p. 157.

⁴ Robert W. Dent, "The Love-sick King: Turk Turned Dane," *The Modern Language Review* 56.4 (1961), pp. 555–57, p. 556.

⁵ Anthony Brewer, *The love-sick king, an English tragical history with the life and death of Cartesmunda, the fair nun of Winchester* (London: Robert Pollard, 1655), sig. F3r.

⁶ Beatrice Groves, *Texts and Traditions: Religion in Shakespeare 1592–1604* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 39 and 55.

⁷ Kurt Johannesson, *The Renaissance of the Goths in Sixteenth-Century Sweden: Johannes and Olaus Magnus as Politicians and Historians*, trans. James Larson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 110, 113, and 216. On the differing views of the past of Danish and Swedish scholars see also Martin Arnold, "On the Origins of the Gothic Novel: From Old Norse to Otranto," in *Bram Stoker and the Gothic: Formations to Transformations*, ed. Catherine Wynne (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 14–29, p. 16.

⁸ Jaecheol Kim, "The North-South Divide in *Gorboduc*: Fratricide Remembered and Forgotten," *Studies in Philology* 111.4 (2014), pp. 691–719, p. 692, n. 2.

⁹ Norman Jones and Paul Whitfield White, "Gorboduc and Royal Marriage Politics: An Elizabethan Playgoer's Report of the Premiere Performance," *English Literary Renaissance* 26.1 (1996), pp. 3–16, p. 9.

¹⁰ See Julie Maxwell, "Counter-Reformation Versions of Saxo: A New Source for *Hamlet*?" *Renaissance Quarterly* 57.2 (2004), pp. 518–60.

¹¹ James Shapiro, *1606: William Shakespeare and the Year of Lear* (London: Faber and Faber, 2015), p. 305.

¹² Sharon McDonnell, "Male Poisoners in Renaissance Revenge Tragedies" (unpublished PhD thesis, Sheffield Hallam University, 2015).

¹³ Charles Nicholl, *The Lodger: Shakespeare on Silver Street* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), pp. 58–59.

¹⁴ René Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed* (London: John Murray, 2007), p. 283.

¹⁵ John Stow, *A suruay of London Contayning the originall, antiquity, increase, moderne estate, and description of that Citie, written in the yeare 1598* (London: John Windet for John Wolfe, 1598), p. 13.

¹⁶ David Hohnen, *Hamlet's Castle and Shakespeare's Elsinore* (Copenhagen: Christian Ejlertsen, 2000), p. 22.

¹⁷ Matthew Steggle, *Digital Humanities and the Lost Drama of Early Modern England: Ten Case Studies* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), p. 75.

¹⁸ William F. Hansen, *Saxo Grammaticus and the Life of Hamlet* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), p. 1.

¹⁹ William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. Harold Jenkins (London: Methuen, 1982), 4.5.110. All further quotations from the play will be taken from this edition and reference will be given in the text.

²⁰ Richard Wilson, *Free Will: Art and Power on Shakespeare's Stage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 207.

²¹ George North, *The description of Swedland, Gotland, and Finland ... chieflie out of Sebastian Mounster* (London: John Awdely, 1561), sig. A5r.

²² Johannesson, *The Renaissance of the Goths in Sixteenth-Century Sweden*, p. 85.

²³ Sara Jayne Steen, ed., *The Letters of Lady Arbella Stuart* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 215.

²⁴ See Michael Pye, *The Edge of the World: How the North Sea Made Us Who We Are* (London: Penguin, 2015), p. 235.

²⁵ Henry Chettle, *The Tragedy of Hoffman* (London: J. N. for Hugh Perry, 1631), sig. C4v.

²⁶ Henry Burnell, *Landgartha* (Dublin, 1641), sig. A4v.

²⁷ Hero Chalmers, "Dismantling the Myth of 'Mad Madge': the cultural context of Margaret Cavendish's authorial self-presentation," *Women's Writing* 4.3 (1997), pp. 323–40, p. 332.

²⁸ On the potential political implications of Danish history plays see Curtis Perry, "'For They Are Englishmen': National Identities and the Early Modern Drama of Medieval Conquest," in *Shakespeare and the Middle Ages*, ed. Curtis Perry and John Watkins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 172–95, pp. 176–77.

²⁹ Stuart Piggott, *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), p. 53.

³⁰ Jasper Fisher, *Fuimus Troes*, ed. Chris Butler as part of the MA "Shakespeare and Renaissance," Sheffield Hallam University, 2007, <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/iemls/renplays/fuimustroes.htm>. Appendix, Epithalamium for Elizabeth and Frederick, editor's translation.

³¹ Samantha Frenée-Hutchins, "The Cultural and Ideological Significance and Representations of Boudica during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I" (unpublished PhD thesis, Exeter University and Université d'Orléans, 2009), p. 180.

³² Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), p. 180.

³³ Fredson Bowers, "The Date and Composition of *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* 15 (1933), pp. 165–89.

³⁴ Fredson Bowers argued that “the date of composition can be assigned to the years 1594–99 (and probably to 1597–99)” (“*Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany, and the Ur-Hamlet*,” *Modern Language Notes* 48.2 [1933], pp. 101–8, p. 102).

³⁵ Tristan Marshall, *Theatre and Empire: Great Britain on the London Stages under James VI and I* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 188.

³⁶ William Smith, *The Hector of Germany. Or The Palsgrave, prime Elector* (London: Thomas Creede for Josias Harrison, 1615), sig. A2v. Thanks to Dave Kathman for sharing his evidence for assigning this play to William rather than to Wentworth Smith.

³⁷ Jaroslav Miller, “The Henrician Legend Revived: The Palatine Couple and Its Public Image in Early Stuart England,” *European Review of History: Revue européenne d’histoire* 11.3 (2004), pp. 305–31, p. 324.

³⁸ Marshall, *Theatre and Empire*, p. 157.

³⁹ Hans Werner, “*The Hector of Germanie, or The Palsgrave, Prime Elector* and Anglo-German Relations of Early Stuart England: the View from the Popular Stage,” in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 113–32, p. 119.

⁴⁰ George Chapman, *The tragedy of Alphonsus, Emperour of Germany* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1654), sig. B1r.

⁴¹ William Fennor, “A description of the Palsgraves Countrey, as it was delivered in a speech before the King, the Prince, the Lady Elizabeth, at White-Hall,” in *Fennors descriptions, or a true relation of certaine and diuers speeches* (London: Edward Griffin for George Gibbs, 1616), sig. B3v.

⁴² Miller, “The Henrician Legend Revived,” p. 317.

⁴³ Jane Pettegree, *Foreign and Native on the English Stage 1588–1611* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), p. 146.

⁴⁴ Miller, “The Henrician legend revived,” p. 317.

⁴⁵ Anonymous, *The marriage of Prince Fredericke, and the Kings daughter, the Lady Elizabeth ...* (London: Thomas Creede for William Barley, 1613), sig. B1v.

⁴⁶ Taylor, *Heauens blessing, and earths ioy*, sig. D1r.

⁴⁷ J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New 1492–1650* [1970] (Cambridge: Canto, 1992).

⁴⁸ Danett, *A continuation of the historie of France*, p. 147.

⁴⁹ Henri IV, *The Copie of a Letter sent by the French king to the people of Artoys and Henault*, pp. 2–3 and 7.

⁵⁰ Danett, *A continuation of the historie of France*, sig. A3r.

⁵¹ Taylor, *Heauens blessing, and earths ioy*, sig. D1r.

⁵² *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 66.

⁵³ Leanda de Lisle, *After Elizabeth* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), p. 118.

⁵⁴ Mortimer Levine, *The Early Elizabethan Succession Question 1558–1568* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), pp. 63 and 76.

⁵⁵ Thomas Middleton, *Hengist, King of Kent, or The Mayor of Queenborough* (Oxford: The Malone Society, 2003).

⁵⁶ Stuart Laycock, *Britannia the Failed State: Tribal Conflicts and the End of Roman Britain* (Stroud: The History Press, 2008), p. 204.

⁵⁷ David Hill and Margaret Worthington, *Offa's Dyke* (Stroud: The History Press, 2003), p. 116.

⁵⁸ Julia Briggs, "Middleton's Forgotten Tragedy *Hengist, King of Kent*," *The Review of English Studies* 41.164 (November 1990), pp. 479–95, p. 480.

⁵⁹ As early as 1601 a commentator on one of the impostors who pretended to be Dom Sebastian of Portugal had "The lip of Austriche": see José Teixeira, *The strangest aduerture that euer happened: either in the ages passed or present Contain- ing a discourse concerning the successe of the King of Portugall Dom Sebastian, from the time of his voyage into Affricke, when he was lost in the battell against the infidels, in the year 1578. vnto the sixt of Ianuary this present 1601. In which discourse, is diuerse curious histories, some auncient prophesies, and other matters, whereby most euidently appeareth: that he whom the Seigneurie of Venice hath held as prisoner for the space of two yeres and twentie two dayes, is the right and true king of Portugall Dom Sebastian*, trans. Anthony Munday (London: Richard Field for Frances Henson, 1601), sig. K4r.

⁶⁰ Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 20.