



# From the Romans to the Normans on the English Renaissance Stage

Lisa Hopkins



EARLY DRAMA, ART, AND MUSIC

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WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

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MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS  
Western Michigan University  
*Kalamazoo*

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**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data  
are available from the Library of Congress.**

ISBN: 9781580442794

eISBN: 9781580442800

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## Chapter 6

# Valiant Welshwomen: When Britain Came Back

IN THE MYTH OF the essential continuity of the island's inhabitants, no nation loomed larger than the Welsh, to the extent that they might be referred to simply as "the British," as in R. A.'s *The Valiant Welshman* where Clown utters the Welsh word "diggon" (enough) and Morgan says "he speakes Brittish ... as good Brittish, as any is in Troy-walles" (sig. G1r). In similar vein, the preface "To the Ingenvous Reader" speaks of how "Amongst so many valiant Princes of our English Nation, vvwhose liues haue already euen cloyed the Stage, I searched the Chronicles of elder ages, vvwherein I found amongst diuers renovvned persons, one Brittish Prince, who of his enemies, receiued the title of Valiant Brittainne" (sig. A3r). The Welsh remembered even when no one else did that they were part of a people that had once spread across England and Scotland too; their national epic *The Gododdin* told of a battle that had taken place at Catterick in Yorkshire, and their national hero King Arthur, if he had ever existed at all, might have fought his last battle anywhere from Cornwall to the Border (and possibly beyond). In Geoffrey, Wales is the only place where Britishness survives during a devastating plague that drives out all other inhabitants: "For eleven years Britain remained deserted by all its inhabitants, except for a few whom death had spared in certain parts of Wales."<sup>1</sup> The unique status of the Welsh is explored in a number of plays including *The Valiant Welshman*, *Cymbeline*, *A Shoo-maker a Gentleman*, and *Henry VIII*, usually in ways which draw on Wales's association not only with the British of old but more recently and specifically with the Tudors: Robert Persons in *A conference about the next succession to the crowne of England* says of England:

first of al, after the Brittaines, it had Romans for their gouernours for many yeares, and then of them & their roman blood they had kings agayne of their owne, as appereth by that valiant king Aurelius Ambrosius ... last of al, it semeth to haue returned to the Brittaines agayne, in king Henry the 7. for that his father came of that race.<sup>2</sup>

For Persons, the accession of Henry VII was Britain, in the shape of a Welshman, coming back.

For other writers, Wales could suggest not just the past in general but one very specific aspect of it. William Rowley's *A Shoemaker a Gentleman* was not published until 1638, but was written a couple of decades before: the prefatory material says that "as Plaies were then, some twenty yeares agoe, it was in the fashion."<sup>3</sup> It features the Welsh saint St. Winifred, who although not an ancestress (she died a virgin) is an authorizing figure, and also speaks of Catholic continuity. The shoemaker who takes in the two disguised princes Eldred and Offa says "we must drink strong drinke, as we shew our Religion, privately. 'Tis dangerous to be good Christians now a daies" (sig. B4v), but the play itself has no hesitation in showing its religion, because it contains an actual miracle when an angel comes out of the well, and Maximinus ends the play by promising:

Build what Religious Monuments you please,  
Be true to Rome, none shall disturbe your peace.  
Set forward Princes, Fortunes Wheele turnes round;  
We Kingdomes lose, you the same hour sit Crownd.  
And thus about the World she spreads her wings,  
To ruine, or raise up the Thrones of Kings. (sig. L2r)

Rowley's play thus openly connects Wales to Catholicism, and I shall be arguing that some other authors do so too, and that they use Wales to suggest both literally and metaphorically the place where the bodies are buried.

In this chapter, I argue that, though the Welsh are certainly important in drama, they are so in ways one might not necessarily expect, because for all the stereotypical figure of "the valiant Welshman," the bulk of the cultural work is in fact done not by Welshmen but by Welshwomen, who prove able to authorize discourses of nationhood and identity with a freedom and power denied to female ancestors of other groups and nations. Geoffrey even suggested that the Welsh might take their name from a woman: "As the foreign element around them became more and more powerful, they were given the name of Welsh instead of Britons: this word deriving either from their leader Gualo, or from their Queen Galaes, or else from their being so barbarous."<sup>4</sup> The connection of Wales to women is most fully explored in *Cymbeline* and also in two plays with which *Cymbeline* is, I suggest, in dialog: R. A.'s *The Valiant Welshman* and Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Henry VIII*, which though not set in the pre-Conquest period does allow us to see how connecting discourses of

Welshness to images of iconic women could allow the idea of indigenous Britishness to be recuperated.

*Cymbeline*, the first of the sole-authored last plays, marks a clear stylistic disjunction from Shakespeare's earlier work, which it seems best to attribute to the sudden emergence of the Beaumont and Fletcher partnership, whose sensational drama, which valorized surprise above all things, was conditioning a shift in audience tastes; it is perhaps not too fanciful to see *The Tempest*, whose word-driven second scene so comprehensively rejects the logic of its image-driven first one, as staging a defense of language and narrative in the face of the growing competition from the new favorites, which extended to Fletcher's daring rewriting of one of Shakespeare's own plays, *The Taming of the Shrew*, as *The Tamer Tamed*. *Cymbeline*'s relationship with *Philaster* in particular is obviously a close one,<sup>5</sup> and helps to show the extent to which it both is and is not about Wales. Jean E. Feerick observes of *Cymbeline*:

the play's use of geographically based notions of identity, which emphasized the degenerative and regenerative powers of environment, connects it with a set of texts more explicitly concerned with England's colonial activities ... Virginia was the focus of this propaganda, and overcoming worries about this land's harmful effect was its aim.<sup>6</sup>

Feerick's mention of Virginia reminds us that Wales even less than England was not an island entire unto itself but connected to the wider world. This was especially true of Milford Haven, which one might almost term the Channel Tunnel of its day, with similar connotations of penetrability and of potential for contamination. In Geoffrey there are repeated landings at Totnes, but in the early modern period it is always Milford Haven.<sup>7</sup> As Garrett Sullivan notes, "Milford Haven, in which there were "many places where [an enemy] may easily land," signified not only as the celebrated point of entry for Henry Tudor, but also as a locus of national vulnerability" as a point at which Britain might find itself unexpectedly and undesirably accessible to foreign powers; it was for that reason that in 1595 the earl of Pembroke urgently requested a map of Milford Haven from George Owen, and that Guy Fawkes tried to persuade Philip II to land an invasionary force there.<sup>8</sup> Stewart Mottram proposes that the play is also heavily invested in the idea of the ruin:

*Cymbeline* contains several references to wrecks and ruins, and these are references, I suggest, that can be read in light of the play's broader

concerns to champion—but also question—the heroic rhetoric of British union. Where ruins feature elsewhere in early Stuart literature supportive of Anglo-Scottish union they tend, as we will see, to celebrate union by offering a meditation on the derelictions of a previous (pre-Jacobean) age. Not so in *Cymbeline*. Its rhetorical ruins are expressive rather of anxieties about Stuart Britain’s “strength of empire.”<sup>9</sup>

*Cymbeline*, then, shows Wales as bespeaking both marginality and connectedness, as highlighting England’s links to past and future empires but also implying that those links might be fragile.

One area of British culture which *Cymbeline* presents as particularly unstable is its understanding of how to dispose of the bodies of the dead. All the last plays show some interest in disturbed or disrupted burial: *Pericles* opens with Gower apparently returning from a grave and shows both Thaisa and Marina failing to be contained by one, as too is Hermione in *The Winter’s Tale*, and the plot of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is set in motion by three queens lamenting the fact that their husbands have not been buried. In *Cymbeline* the motif reaches nightmare proportions. Guiderius treats the corpse of Cloten with complete disrespect:

I have sent Cloten’s clotpoll down the stream,  
In embassy to his mother. His body’s hostage  
For his return. (4.2.183–85)

This is of course a plot requirement—Innogen could hardly mistake the body of Cloten for that of Postumus if the head were on—but it also supplies a pointed contrast with Arviragus’ attitude to the apparently dead Fidele:

With fairest flowers  
Whilst summer lasts and I live here, Fidele,  
I’ll sweeten thy sad grave. (4.2.217–19)

Belarius’s view is that this differential treatment is wrong:

Though mean and mighty rotting  
Together have one dust, yet reverence,  
That angel of the world, doth make distinction  
Of place ’tween high and low. Our foe was princely,  
And though you took his life as being our foe,  
Yet bury him as a prince. (4.2.245–49)

But Belarius absents himself from the actual rites, leaving Arviragus apparently puzzled about what to do until Guiderius says “Nay, Cadwal, we must lay his head to th’east. / My father hath a reason for’t” (4.2.254–55). Both which way the head should lie, and whether it mattered which way the head should lie, were topics of hot debate. Margaret Jones-Davies notes that “Roman Catholics would usually insist on being buried with their heads to the west so that they would face the east at the Judgement Day” but that “the direction of the bodies was dismissed as superstition by the reformers,”<sup>10</sup> and Eamon Duffy confirms that “The Admonition to Parliament of 1572 complained of the superstitions used ‘bothe in COUNTRYE and Citie, for the place of buriall, which way they muste lie.’”<sup>11</sup> Paul Hyland observes that:

When Sir Walter Raleigh laid his head on the executioner’s block in Palace Yard in 1618 he knelt facing the wrong way. He looked west towards Devon, where he was born sixty-five years earlier, and in the direction of a New World which had seduced and undone him. The Dean of Westminster pointed out his error. A man about to cross the threshold of eternity must lie with his face towards the east, the promised land and the resurrected Christ.<sup>12</sup>

Guiderius apparently concurs with the Dean of Westminster, but seems not to know the reason for it, suggesting a society clinging to practices it has inherited from its elders but no longer understands. On the edge of the Roman Empire, people are no longer sure how to negotiate the edge between this world and the next. In fact, the bodies of Innogen and Cloten are not actually buried at all: if they were, Innogen could not simply get up and walk away with Caius Lucius, let alone be spotted by him. There is no indication that Belarius, Polydore, and Cadwal regard the funeral as something unfinished to which they will have to return later. Belarius does say:

Here’s a few flowers, but ’bout midnight more:  
The herbs that have on them cold dew o’th’night  
Are strewings fitt’st for graves: upon their faces. (4.2.283–85)

However, he also adds “The ground that gave them first has them again” (4.2.289). It seems therefore as if Shakespeare is imagining an ancient British funeral rite which did not include actual inhumation—perhaps something like the placing of bodies on an uncovered dolmen, or conceivably on a burial platform to await excarnation, which is what archaeologists now believe did occur.

Innogen, however, does bury. She tells Caius Lucius:

I'll follow, sir. But first, an't please the gods,  
 I'll hide my master from the flies, as deep  
 As these poor pickaxes can dig: and when  
 With wild wood-leaves and weeds I ha' strewed his grave  
 And on it said a century of prayers  
 (Such as I can) twice o'er, I'll weep and sigh. (4.2.387–92)

Lucius accepts the rightness of this:

The boy hath taught us manly duties: let us  
 Find out the prettiest daisied plot we can,  
 And make him with our pikes and partisans  
 A grave. (4.2.396–400)

Finally he concludes “Some falls are means the happier to arise” (4.2.403), a sentiment wholly in tune with Christianity. Though I do not want to be too schematic about this, one could suggest that the ways in which Cymbeline’s Britain is both Roman and non-Roman map onto the ways in which Shakespeare’s Britain retained residual elements of Roman Catholicism, which tended to accrue particularly to burial practices, and that Roman practice is both recognizable and connected to the sense of authentic British inheritance embodied in Innogen, while the fragmentary and residual practices of Arviragus and Guiderius seem alien. It is this symbolic lack that Innogen addresses. Innogen is not an ancestress except in the generic sense of sharing a name with the wife of Brutus. She may be part of those genealogies of Camber whom no one can tell, but she is not presented as such. Instead she becomes a figure of resurrection, of the numinous, and of salvific funerary rites.

For all its rather marginal position in the Shakespearean canon today, *Cymbeline* in its day was very influential. William Drury’s *Alvredus, sive Alvredus* (1619), for instance, has Crabula say “I cant endure the heat of this sun” and also has a character come to grief in another character’s clothes,<sup>13</sup> and both Shirley’s *St Patrick for Ireland* and Rowley’s *A Shoemaker, A Gentleman* are clearly also in dialog with the play,<sup>14</sup> as too is *Fuimus Troes*. The names Arviragus and Guiderius are also to be found in the two parts of Lodowick Carlell’s *Arviragus and Philicia* (1639), and the king’s son Guimantes is something of a Cloten figure, though this Arviragus and Guiderius are fighting the Danes and Guiderius is Arviragus’ cousin (the son of his uncle Eugenius), not his brother, and

they come from Pictland, not from Wales. It is also, however, possible to look not forward but backward and to see *Cymbeline* as a response to or at least as in dialog with *The Valiant Welshman*, whose full title is *The Valiant Welshman, or the true chronicle history of the life and valiant deedes of Caradoc the Great, King of Cambria, now called Wales, as it hath bene sundry times acted by the Prince of Wales his seruants. The Valiant Welshman* focuses on Caradoc, but it also features Cadallan and his daughter Voada, and in Voada's husband Gederus, King of Britain, it shares a character with *Cymbeline*.<sup>15</sup> Marisa R. Cull sees *Cymbeline* and *The Valiant Welshman* as going head to head on different sides of the river: "While Shakespeare, writing for the King's Men, casts his prince of Wales as the impetuous, violent, and uncivilized Guiderius of *Cymbeline*, R.A., writing his *The Valiant Welshman* for the Prince of Wales's Men, generates a near mirror-image of Henry Frederick in the bold and forthright Caradoc." She points out that "the first monologue" of *The Valiant Welshman* is spoken by Fortune and argues that this draws audience attention to the fact that the play was performed at the Fortune; even more suggestively, the Bard addresses Fortune as "Arch-gouernesse of this terrestriall Globe" (sig. A4v), and later describes her as "mighty Fortune, Regent of this Globe" (sig. C41), underlining the sense that the Fortune's play and the Globe's are in direct competition and playfully prophesying the victory of the Fortune's offering.

For Cull, the question facing both plays was "How could courtly celebrations accommodate the interests of a military-minded prince while still honoring a pacifist-minded monarch?"<sup>16</sup> *Cymbeline* almost programmatically features the young prince being blooded and the old king settling a peace, while *The Valiant Welshman* solves the problem by killing off Caradoc's father. *The Valiant Welshman* is also at odds with *Cymbeline* when Octavian says:

Great Iulius Cesar, fortunate in armes,  
Suffred three base repulses from the Cliffes  
Of chalky Douer. (sig. C3r)

Most suggestively, Gederus in *The Valiant Welshman* is separate from the King of Wales, as we are reminded when he says "braue Peeres of Wales, welcome to Bryttayne" (sig. D1r), thus implicitly dissociating Guiderius from Wales whereas *Cymbeline* has him growing up there. *The Valiant Welshman* opens with the Bard referring to Caradoc as "a King of Cambria," a formula also used on the title page, but *Cymbeline* presents

no king in Wales. In *The Valiant Welshman* Octavian is poisoned by a cup, suggesting an anti-Eucharist iconography, while I have already suggested that *Cymbeline* may be less hostile to Catholicism. What is clear in both plays, though, is that both call into question the extent to which Wales is able to authorize a real connection between modern and ancient Britain.

*The Valiant Welshman* begins with an ancient bard emerging from his tomb (to which he returns at the end of the play), and it, like *Cymbeline*, is obsessed with the idea of graves. Octavian defends his claim to the throne by declaring:

Graues to the dead,  
Balsam to greene wounds, or a soule to man  
Is not more proper, then Octauian  
To the vsurped Title Monmouth holds. (sig. B2v)

Monmouth himself assures his soldiers:

Did Cesar come, this welcome he should haue,  
Strong armes, bigge hearts, and to conclude, a graue. (sig. B2v)

He goes on to ask rhetorically of March:

Is there not roome enough within Churchyards,  
To earth his aged bodie, with his sonnes,  
But hee must hither come to make their graues? (sigs. B2v–B3r)

Revening March's death, Caradoc warns Monmouth "Although thou fear'st not hell, Ile dig thy graue" (sig. B4r), and Codigune says he will not give Caradoc either land or his wife and sister back, "But if thou long'st for any, aske a graue" (sig. E2v). Gald says to Voada:

when I shall forget to offer vp  
A sacrifice of my immaculate loue,  
Vnto thy beautious altar, let me haue  
A base deformed obiect to my graue. (sig. FD3v)

The Clown says "it may be, as simple as we are here, if we say, he shall be buried, he shall, and if we say not, it may not be neyther" (sigs. G2r–v); later he adds "alwayes he that is aliue must die, and he that is dead must be buried" (sig. G3r). Finally, Marcus Gallicus, advancing on Voada in the dead of night and planning to rape her, says "How husht is all things! and the world appears / Like to a Churchyard full of dead" (sig. H4r), bringing the grave motif to its climax.

The author of *The Valiant Welshman*, who is identified only by the initials “R. A.,” may or may not have been Shakespeare’s fool Robert Armin,<sup>17</sup> and in many ways the play reads as though the author is pastiching as many Shakespeare plays as possible. In particular we hear of how “Gederus” (the Guiderius of *Cymbeline*) fights like the “Nemean Lyon” and “Hurl’d Ossa vpon Peleon,” in an obvious evocation of *Hamlet*; shortly afterwards there is mention of “Cornewall, Gloster, twinnes of some Incubus.”<sup>18</sup> In this slightly feverish atmosphere in which allusions to *Hamlet* rub shoulders with allusions to *Lear*, past and future are collapsed in a number of pointedly topical moments, in something of the same way as the obvious anachronism of *Cymbeline* making Iachimo both a Roman and the brother of the marquis of Siena. Most suggestively, Venusius, leader of the Brigantes, is described in the dramatis personae as “Duke of Yorke,” the title usually given to the monarch’s second son, and given that the play’s full title informs us that “*it hath beene sundry times acted by the Prince of Wales his seruants*,” meaning James’s elder son Henry, the Duke of York would to its original audience have been clearly identifiable as James’s second son Charles, impying a direct link between Roman past and Stuart present.

What is much less clear, however, is to what extent this sense of a seamless continuity between past and present can really be justified, for it is not clear how much of a link there is between Caradoc, the valiant king of Wales, and the modern day Prince of Wales. The Caradoc of the play is given a wife, Guiniuer, and a daughter, Helena. Both names would sound a discordant note for a contemporary audience, for both were strongly associated with very different contexts. Guiniuer, as everyone knew, was the name not of the wife of Caradoc but of the wife of Arthur; in Geoffrey, Guinevere is not only named but given a pedigree, in that she is “descended from a noble Roman family.”<sup>19</sup> Helena was the mother of the Emperor Constantine and supposed finder of the True Cross; her story was very well known in Britain—where, according to many versions of her story, she was born—and people may well have been fairly regularly reminded of it since Camden refers to “Hellens mony many oftentimes found under the walles” of London.<sup>20</sup> (In his *The life of the glorious bishop S. Patricke*, Joscelyn had identified Helena as having “builded the walles of the City of London.”)<sup>21</sup> In Jacobus de Voragine’s hugely popular *The Golden Legend*, she was said to be the daughter of King Coel (the old King Cole of the rhyme). To wrest these two women from their familiar contexts and foist them on Caradoc destabilizes our sense of the authenticity

of the narrative and works to unsettle any image of him as dynastic figure: since we know that *this* cannot have been his family, we may be left wondering whether he actually *had* a family—and if he did not, then he cannot have been an ancestor of the present royal family, and his glory, titles, and power cannot be any precedent or warrant for theirs. At the time of the play's first production James's elder son Henry Prince of Wales was still alive, embodying hope for the future, but when it was published in 1615 Henry was three years dead and the younger brother who had replaced him, the future Charles I, was a very different and much less charismatic figure. In that context, the publication of *The Valiant Welshman* might well be seen as a lament for a past that had vanished beyond recall, with the idea of descent from a prince of Wales no more than a lost dream and no possibility of the resurrection of a credible British identity.

By implication, *Cymbeline* too is troubled. Geoffrey of Monmouth tells of how Arviragus, the younger son of the king, marries Genvissa, daughter of the Emperor Claudius, and becomes a key link in the supposed genealogical chain between Trojans and Tudors; however, the name adopted by the elder son, Polydore, points firmly in the direction of Polydore Vergil, the Italian historian in the employ of Henry VII who had been the first to cast doubt on the authenticity of the British story, so that dynastic continuity is implicitly called into question even as it is ostensibly affirmed. Here too the possibility of a surviving British identity is thus difficult to believe in, and the idea of descent from princes of Wales is seen as at best doubtful.

The idea of descent from *princesses* of Wales, though, was a different matter. Many Renaissance writers, including Holinshed, confirmed Caradoc of Llancarvan's story that when Fleance fled after the murder of Banquo, he went to Wales, where he seduced the daughter of Gruffyth ap Lhewelyn, who bore him a son called Walter who eventually became the ancestor of the Stuarts.<sup>22</sup> There was no similar story of descent from a Welsh princess for the Tudors, but as Richard Harvey asks in *Philadelphus, or a defence of Brutes*, "who can tell the genealogies of Camber?" (sig. L4r); there was certainly nothing to say that the Tudors did *not* descend royally through the female line as well as the male, and the fact that Jasper Tudor, uncle of Henry VII, chose the name Helen for one of his illegitimate daughters may suggest a glance at either St. Helena or Elen Luyddog, a legendary Welsh figure also known as "Elen of the Hosts" or "Elen of the Ways," whose importance I shall discuss shortly (indeed Jasper, like many others, may have thought the two were the same person). There was also of

course the all-important fact that both of the last two Tudor rulers were queens regnant.

In *Henry VIII*, Shakespeare and Fletcher take up all these concerns when they connect Wales, princesses, and Britishness through a renegotiation of a deep-rooted and pervasive trope very influential in early modern English culture, that of the equation of women with land. As Sir Walter Raleigh famously remarked, “Guiana is a Countrey that hath yet her Maidenhead,”<sup>23</sup> and Lynda Boose comments:

although the equation between land and the female body which makes rape and imperialism homologous is a metaphor of masculine ownership that is neither peculiarly English nor new to England’s enclosure period, the collocation of the two discursive fields clearly acquired new energy at precisely this historical moment of heightened land anxieties.<sup>24</sup>

Adrian Streete has suggested that Norfolk’s description of the French at the Field of Cloth of Gold is imbued with “the rhetoric of colonialism,”<sup>25</sup> and Second Gentleman certainly deploys such rhetoric when he says “Our King has all the Indies in his arms, / And more, and richer, when he strains that lady” (4.1.454–56); moreover, the equation between woman and land was arguably most often associated with Ireland, a country to which Andrew Hadfield notes two references in *Henry VIII*<sup>26</sup> and which was represented by Luke Gernon as “This Nymph of Ireland.”<sup>27</sup> *Henry VIII* offers a late negotiation of the relationship between women and land in which polarities are inverted as the Kent-born Anne Boleyn becomes the titular representative of Pembroke, and the familiar equation is put to work in this strange, belated play in new ways which explore the affective potential of valiant Welshwomen imbued with both dynastic and political significance.

Initially, it may seem to be business as usual when it comes to the representation of gender in the play. The Lord Chamberlain says “Two women placed together makes cold weather,” (1.4.22) and Norfolk says of Wolsey:

He counsels a divorce, a loss of her  
That like a jewel has hung twenty years  
About his neck, yet never lost her lustre. (2.2.29–31)

Both men’s speeches figure women as commodified, essentialized, and possessed of sinister power: “cold weather” connects women to nature in a way that we have come to understand as entailing a concomitant associa-

tion of men with culture. The jewel trope too is familiar; as Alison Findlay shows, when women in Renaissance plays are referred to by men as jewels it is generally as part of a process of commodification which rarely ends well for them,<sup>28</sup> and Valerie Traub observes that “the equation of female body parts with precious gems—the body metaphorically revealed, undressed and dismembered through the poet-lover’s voyeuristic gaze—is a crucial strategy in the attempt both to construct a modern masculine subjectivity and to exert control over a situation in which the poet-lover’s power is limited and secondary.”<sup>29</sup> Less conventional though is Buckingham’s remark of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, “O, many / Have broke their backs with laying manors on ’em / For this great journey” (1.1.83–85). As is usual with metaphor, Buckingham’s figure has both a tenor and a vehicle, but it could also be said to have an occluded tenor beneath the official and ostensible one. On the surface, Buckingham is making a remark about the amount of money laid out by various courtiers on Henry VIII’s meeting with François Ier at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, and it was indeed an occasion on which “Hundreds of pounds worth of velvet, satin, cloth of gold and other luxurious fabrics were shipped across for the courtiers’ liveries and for furnishings and hangings of all kinds.”<sup>30</sup> The accusation of converting land into clothing is found too in *2 Henry VI*, where the duchess of Gloucester “bears a duke’s revenues on her back,”<sup>31</sup> but at the Field of the Cloth of Gold it was not women who were responsible for the sale of land, but men: the painting of the event which hung (and hangs) at Hampton Court, which Shakespeare can be assumed to have seen on one or more of his known trips there, showcases above all the body of Henry VIII himself, resplendent in gold and mounted on a white horse, and although some women are visible in the picture, none is at all prominent. It is a man’s body which is displayed and commodified, and the general anti-French animus which underpins the scene also makes it clear that the elapse of nearly a century had brought the benefit of hindsight, which clearly showed the Field of the Cloth of Gold to have been less a celebration of a prototype *entente cordiale* than a prelude to hostilities. For us, the Field of the Cloth of Gold is now reduced to nothing more than a sign on the side of a motorway shortly after one emerges on the French side of the Channel Tunnel, but for Shakespeare’s and Fletcher’s original audience it was understood not as a site of production or growth but as a graveyard waiting to happen. This is not land understood as discursively and imaginatively associated with the realm of the feminine, but land put to distinctively masculine uses which ultimately led to ruin and death.

Most suggestive in terms of the woman-land equation is the treatment of Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn, whose character had at various times been so extensively vilified that Shakespeare and Fletcher must surely have been aware that presenting her on stage, even ten years after her daughter's death, would require very careful handling. When Anne is first introduced, she is having a conversation with an unnamed old lady:

*Anne* I swear again, I would not be a queen  
For all the world.

*Old Lady* In faith, for little England  
You'd venture an emballing. I myself  
Would for Caernarvonshire, although there 'longed  
No more to th'crown but that. (2.3.45–49)

The Old Lady refers to two discrete territories here, which she names as “little England” and “Caernarvonshire” respectively. One of them, more properly Caernarfonshire, is immediately identifiable: it is a county in North Wales whose county town is Caernarfon, and though that might at first glance seem to label it as a remote and marginal place, it had in fact an extremely significant history as the legendary home of the important Welsh figure Elen Luyddog, wife of the emperor Magnus Maximus (the Maccsen Wledig of Welsh folklore). Elen mattered to the Welsh in her own right, but because her name sounded like Helen and she had a son named Constantine she was also frequently taken to be the same as St. Helena, supposed finder of the True Cross and mother of the emperor Constantine, who ordered the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity and with whom Henry increasingly associated himself from the time of his marriage with Anne.<sup>32</sup> It was the presumed identity of Elen with St. Helena which seems to have prompted Edward I's decision to rebuild the walls of Caernarfon Castle on the model of those of Constantinople, and which also led him to choose the castle as the birthplace of his infant son, whom he famously presented to the Welsh in fulfillment of his promise to give them a prince who spoke no English and was of unblemished life, under whose aegis they could pass peaceably under the rule of the English crown. Caernarfonshire, then, is central to the Tudor myth, and the Old Lady's allusion to it (not prompted by any actual historical association between Anne and Caernarfonshire but imported into the narrative in much the same way as the equally resonant Milford Haven is in *Cymbeline*) thus reminds us of Anne's enormous dynastic importance as the destined mother of a unity-bringing heir.

The identity of the other territory mentioned by the Old Lady, “little England,” is less immediately obvious to modern readers, but would have presented no difficulties to Shakespeare’s audience. Rory Loughnane observes that

Noting the Old Lady’s proclivity towards allusive wordplay, “little England” could equally stand for Henry’s penis, but its comparison to Caernarvonshire also suggests an alternate meaning. “Little England” or “Little England beyond Wales” is an area in south Pembrokeshire in the southwest of Wales, noted for its high density of English settlers, and where the English-Welsh demarcation was especially prominent.<sup>33</sup>

Henry VII, founder of the Tudor dynasty, was born in Pembroke Castle; Thomas Phaer, sixteenth-century translator of the *Aeneid*, lived in Pembrokeshire, and according to George Owen of Henllys saw some of the local customs there as embodying living proof of the story of the *translatio imperii* from Troy to Britain.<sup>34</sup> Pembrokeshire was also famously divided in linguistic terms, with communities on one side of what was known as the Landscar or Landsker having English as a first language and those on the other speaking Welsh, and as the name Landsker suggests, there was also a prominent community of Flemish-speaking immigrants (of whom it is sometimes suggested that the playwright Thomas Dekker might have been one, since he combines a Dutch-sounding name with some apparent knowledge of Welsh). The diverse character and history of Pembrokeshire thus meant that it could function as something of a microcosm of Wales as a whole but also gave it particular resonance as an emblem of both what Britain had once been and what it had since become.

Pembrokeshire too was historically less marginal than might be supposed: indeed Ronald J. Boling points out that both Rhys ap Gruffudd and the Earl of Essex hoped to make Pembrokeshire the seat of government of a more independent Wales.<sup>35</sup> In part this was because the county had a particular association with prophecy, as in *Cymbeline* where, as Boling observes, “The tablet given by Jupiter to the sleeping Posthumus functions like a Welsh prophecy treating the matter of Britain” (p. 65), and as Drayton remembers in *Poly-Olbion*:

Musician, Herauld, Bard, thrice maist thou be renown’d,  
And with three seuerall wreathes immortallie be crown’d;  
Who, when to Penbrooke call’d before the English King.  
And to thy powerfull Harpe commaunded there to sing,

Of famous Arthur told'st, and where hee was interr'd

...

when King Henry sent th'reported place to view,  
He found that man of men: and what thou said'st was true.<sup>36</sup>

The supposed burial place of King Arthur, an important authorizing figure of the Tudor dynasty, was Glastonbury Abbey, but Drayton manages to associate him with Pembroke by staging a scene in which the discovery of the burial place is prophesied there, and he also manages to connect this to the Tudors by dint of referring to a judiciously unnumbered "King Henry." (It was in fact Henry II who was assured by Giraldus Cambrensis that Arthur would be found buried at Glastonbury.)

It was a potentially risky step to bring anything into *Henry VIII* which might remind the audience of Arthur. At intervals in the sixteenth century the name of Anne had been evoked in conjunction with the Arthur story, and always to damaging effect. According to one version of the legend, Arthur had an incestuous relationship with his sister Anne which produced Mordred, the traitor knight who eventually slew his father/uncle; this was, as we have seen, the story which had underpinned Thomas Hughes' *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, which had slyly worked at establishing an equation between Arthur and Elizabeth herself. Although *Henry VIII* connects its Anne to Wales, it is careful to avoid any such associations for her. Shakespeare and Fletcher glance at the dangerous territory occupied by *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, but keep safely on the right side of its border as the Lord Chamberlain says aside:

who knows yet  
But from this lady may proceed a gem  
To lighten all this isle? (2.3.77-79)

Elizabeth's grandfather Henry VII was famously "the son of prophecy";<sup>37</sup> here, Elizabeth herself becomes its daughter, with any potential association with Arthur recuperated by the fact that it is her life not her death or burial that is foretold, a glorious future rather than a questionable past. Moreover, though she may be a jewel, she is one who is not commodified but one who has agency, and she is figured not as mapped passively onto the land but as directly affecting it.

The Old Lady's mention of Pembrokeshire proves prophetic when the Lord Chamberlain tells Anne that the king "Does purpose honour to you no less flowing / Than Marchioness of Pembroke" (2.3.63-64). Historically, Anne was in fact created marquess rather than Marchioness,

but the root of both is the same and was, as Michael Drayton explains, the marker of a peculiarly liminal title: “By the March vnderstand those limits betweene England and Wales,” “hence is supposed the originall of that honorary title of Marquesse, which is as much as a Lord of the Frontiers.”<sup>38</sup> I have argued elsewhere that Wales was understood in early modern English drama as both liminal and feminized,<sup>39</sup> and it was particularly notorious for the insubordination and incivility of its women: in *The true chronicle history of King Leir*, for instance, Mumford when they land in Wales says “where I was wont to meet with armed men, / I was now incountred with naked women.”<sup>40</sup> Considerable critical attention has been paid to the most notorious example of this incivility, the description in *Henry IV, Part One* of the “bestly shameless transformation” done by Welshwomen on the corpses of English soldiers, but rather less to the passage which precedes it, which informs the audience that the army in question was that of Mortimer,<sup>41</sup> who is specifically identified as Earl of March at 1.3.85, and is thus marked as a symbolic embodiment of the border between England and Wales.

Anne too is a liminal figure. Not only is her new title of marquess directly associated with marches, but First Gentleman says:

They that bear  
The cloth of honour over her are four barons  
Of the Cinque Ports. (4.1.47–49)

The Cinque Ports of Hastings, New Romney, Hythe, Dover, and Sandwich lay on the most vulnerable edge of England, where it came closest to the Continent; the coastline of Pembrokeshire made it too a borderland, a potential zone of penetration, especially, as we have seen, at Milford Haven. Vulnerable, penetrable, but hugely important as a point of dynastic origins, Pembrokeshire is indeed a fitting reward for Anne’s sexual capitulation to the king.

At the time of Henry VIII’s composition, mention of Wales in general and of the Marches in particular does specific and important political work. In 1536, the year of Anne’s execution, the Act of Union had appeared to “formally incorporat[e] Wales into England”; it also significantly downgraded the status of the Marches, since there was no need for Marches if there was no separate state for them to march on. However, David Powel in his *Historie of Cambria* had effectively seen Elizabeth as Prince of Wales, and the 1610 recognition of James’s eldest son Henry as Prince of Wales implicitly acknowledged that Wales had not in fact been

incorporated into England but did continue to exist.<sup>42</sup> To insist on Anne's connection to Wales enables Shakespeare and Fletcher covertly to intervene in the debate about the principality's status and to imply the possibility of a royalty independent and separate from that of the king.

Loughnane argues that "through the Old Lady's prophetic equation of female sexual activity with the reward of Welsh regions, it is clear that English sovereignty over Wales is being implicitly compared to Anne's sovereignty over her own body."<sup>43</sup> In this respect there might be an instructive comparison to be drawn with the language-learning scene in *Henry V*, where Princess Catherine is inadvertently betrayed into uttering obscenities as she imitates Alice's comic mispronunciations of parts of the female body and its clothes, so that in performance "gown" typically becomes "con," the French for "cunt," and "foot" becomes "foutré," meaning "fuck." The comparison would be an apposite one because Catherine's second marriage, to Owen Tudor, would help bring the Tudor family to national prominence and ultimately to the throne, and because the whole language-learning scene has of course a subtext: Catherine is learning English not out of a sudden burst of intellectual curiosity but because she knows perfectly well that Henry V's army is getting closer and that she herself is his allotted prize, wanted not for her beauty but because her bloodline means that possession of her "cuntry" will authorize possession of her country. The trope is, however, less reductive to Anne than to Catherine, for the connection to Pembrokeshire gives Anne the power to trouble certainties and labels rather than supply any monolithic endorsement of them. Pembrokeshire was a place of blurring of certainties, being notoriously problematic to map: Boling notes that

George Owen argued that Pembrokeshire's tax burden was too high and attributes these unfair levies to Saxton's distorted map of the country in which "Pembrokeshire seems to be one of the biggest and largest shires of Wales, having the room and place of a whole sheet of paper allowed to itself." If Saxton's map enlarges Pembrokeshire as a bulwark against Ireland, Owen's map shrinks it to reduce the military levy for which he is responsible.<sup>44</sup>

In *Cymbeline*, written a few years before *Henry VIII*, bodies as well as land become confused as Innogen takes the headless corpse of her stepbrother for that of her husband. In *Henry VIII* too Pembrokeshire disturbs normal polarities, confusing men's titles with women's and position-

ing women as owners of land rather than as being in a symbolic equation with it, and Boling suggests that the fantasy Pembrokeshire of *Cymbeline* and the historical Pembrokeshire of *Henry VIII* may not be as far apart as one would suppose: he points to verbal echoes of the historical encounter at Bryn Glas in the account of the decapitation of Cloten, notes that George Owen's *Description of Pembrokeshire* "twice uses the phrase 'heat of the sun,'" and compares the reference to fairies in *Cymbeline* to Martin Marprelate's remarks on the Welsh belief in fairies.<sup>45</sup>

To associate a woman with *Welsh* territory does not therefore work in quite the same way as to associate her with any other territory does. Specifically it does not drain her of all sense of autonomy and power but leaves her marked as a place of origins and authorization with a symbolic resonance too great to be ignored. Connecting Anne to Milford Haven makes her a point of origin and confirms the alignment of Elizabeth with her grandfather Henry VIII in a way which marginalizes the association of femininity with weakness and gives prominence instead to its dynastic and symbolic potential.

It is also worth considering the difference between Princess Catherine's Alice and Anne's Old Lady. All we are told about Alice is that Catherine says to her "*Alice, tu as été en Angleterre*" (3.4.1). It is a safe bet that any woman at the French court who had spent time in England had done so as part of the retinue of Catherine's (much) older sister Isabel, second wife of Richard II, and since Shakespeare had already shown something of that marriage in *Richard II* he and his audience would have been well aware that it was childless. In contrast, there are two salient facts about the Old Lady: she is old, and she has knowledge (implicitly acquired through experience) of the mysteries of birth and reproduction. It is in some respects appropriate that we should know no more about her than this, because it is as if first Anne and then Elizabeth are ushered into the play by an abstract representation of female experience and female tradition. Her age, however, has now removed her from personal participation in sex and reproduction, and inevitably this would remind Shakespeare and Fletcher's audience of Elizabeth who had also aged and of whom Cranmer says:

Her own shall bless her;  
Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,  
And hang their heads with sorrow. Good grows with her;  
In her days every man shall eat in safety  
Under his own vine what he plants. (5.5.30–34)

Janet Clare argues that “*Henry VIII* is a late legitimization of chronicle history defined against Rowley’s distinctly Protestant and folkloric history, *When You See Me, You Know Me*, performed by a rival company,”<sup>46</sup> and *Henry VIII* is certainly at pains to achieve a greater degree of historical accuracy than *When You See Me, You Know Me*, which opens with Jane Seymour queen but Wolsey still alive and Mary Tudor not yet married to the king of France; there is also no mention of Catherine Howard and the king’s last marriage is to “the Ladie Caterine Parry.”<sup>47</sup> Shakespeare and Fletcher’s play also reverses Rowley’s emphases in other ways too. *When You See Me, You Know Me* stresses Henry’s son, Prince Edward; Clare argues that this is because the play is designed to celebrate Prince Henry,<sup>48</sup> and this would certainly seem to be what lies behind the otherwise perverse and confusing decision to foreground the idea that the young prince will be called Henry rather than Edward, when Henry VIII exhorts his queen:

Now Iane God bring me but a chopping boy,  
Be but the Mother to a Prince of Wales  
Ad a ninth Henrie to the English Crowne. (sig. B1r)

By the time Shakespeare and Fletcher wrote, Prince Henry was dead, and they needed other ways of showing the historic continuity of the English monarchy. Adrian Streete, noting that “Rowley’s play, along with the anonymous *Thomas, Lord Cromwell*, was reprinted in 1613. This year also saw the first performance of Shakespeare and Fletcher’s *Henry VIII*,” suggests this was prompted by “the ongoing Oath of Allegiance controversy” and also links it to the marriage of Princess Elizabeth that year.<sup>49</sup> The Elizabeth of *Henry VIII*, though, is a virgin. This too is a contrast to *When You See Me, you know me*, where Henry says of the pregnant Jane “this is a womans glorie, / Like good September Vines loden with fruite” (sig. A4r), but is in line with the play’s overall treatment of women in terms of a symbolic feminine which may replace the one lost with Catholicism, and this is, I suggest, the final and most suggestive way in which Shakespeare and Fletcher’s play differs from Rowley’s piously Protestant one, in ways which allow for further recuperation of the symbolic feminine and present royal women as emblems of timelessness and historical continuity rather than specifically as mothers.

In his prophecy of her greatness, Cranmer says of Elizabeth, “A most unspotted lily shall she pass / To th’ground, and all the world shall mourn her” (5.4.61–62); unlike Katherine, a lily whose time is past and who must “hang my head, and perish” (3.1.153), Elizabeth becomes an eternal lily in

ways surely inflected by the prominence of the lily in the iconography of the Virgin Mary. In *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, the dying Mordred contemplates becoming “a graue and tombe to all his Realme” (sig. C3r): England will disappear not only *with* him but *into* him. However, the fact that the Old Lady as well as Cranmer presides over the birth of Elizabeth enables Elizabeth’s death to mean more than loss and lack, for the Old Lady’s age aligns her with a number of powerful, resonant female figures in the last plays. In *The Winter’s Tale*, the sight of the wrinkled Hermione leads to the awakening of faith. Ruth Vanita observes of Hermione:

That her unqueening and trial resonates with that of Henry VIII’s wives has often been noticed. But another even more dramatic unqueening had occurred in England during that same time. Images of Mary, Queen of Heaven, had been removed or defaced in churches; her feasts and prayers to her were declared unlawful.<sup>50</sup>

The Hermione/Perdita story also has obvious overtones of the Demeter/Persephone myth, and highlights the quasi-magical force of the mother-daughter bond in the last plays; in *Henry VIII*, Elizabeth is really too young for this association, but the play’s resolute refusal to stage Henry’s other daughter Mary allows something of its power to accrue to the connection between Anne and Elizabeth. In this sense the Old Lady’s age may work to remind us of the overtones of iconicity and the mythological that will accrue to Elizabeth and position the dead queen as now herself a mother figure, a secular patron saint of England. I have argued elsewhere that there are saint associations in *The Tempest* and *Cymbeline* too, so that these are something of a generic feature of the last plays;<sup>51</sup> any such resonances obviously have to be kept at bay in the story of Henry VIII, but there is a sense in which the presence of the Old Lady smuggles them in, allowing us to notice that, as Jay Zysk observes, “Anne’s coronation, which occurs after the consistory, appropriates the very connection between *corpus mysticum* and *Corpus Christi* set forth therein,” creating what Zysk describes as “a play whose ostensible celebration of English Protestantism bristles against the ceremonies, ornaments, statues, and spectacles that iconoclasts smashed in church and bashed in print.”<sup>52</sup> Certainly Anne is associated with a world that is literally other: Third Gentleman says “she kneeled, and saint-like / Cast her fair eyes to heaven” (4.1.83–84), and this in a play in which Katherine (and we) see what may be a vision of heaven (5.2.83–84). As it gives a cheery wave to Elizabeth, Shakespeare’s and Fletcher’s play also offers its audience a glimpse of a renewed connection between earth and heaven even as it tells the story of the Reformation which broke the

connection, and the mediating force is gendered feminine. R. A. may call his play *The Valiant Welshman*, but it is arguably Welshwomen to whom we should pay more attention, as Innogen, the daughter of Gruffydd ap Llewelyn, and Anne Boleyn all emerge as authorizing ancestral figures.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> William Allen [Robert Persons], *A conference about the next succession to the crowne of England* (London: R. Doleman, 1595), p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> William Rowley, *A Shoo-maker a Gentleman* (London: J. Okes, 1638), sig. A4r.

<sup>4</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, p. 284.

<sup>5</sup> Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Philaster*, ed. Andrew Gurr (London: Methuen, 1969), introduction, pp. xlv–l.

<sup>6</sup> Jean E. Feerick, *Strangers in Blood: Relocating Race in the Renaissance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), p. 80.

<sup>7</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, p. 73, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., “Civilizing Wales: *Cymbeline*, Roads, and the Landscapes of Early Modern Britain,” *Early Modern Literary Studies* 4.2 (1998), <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/04-2/sullshak.htm>

<sup>9</sup> Stewart Mottram, “Warriors and Ruins: *Cymbeline*, Heroism and the Union of Crowns,” in *Celtic Shakespeare: The Bard and the Borderers*, ed. Willy Maley and Rory Loughnane (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 168–83, p. 174. Mottram notes that this had considerable resonance because John Davies of Hereford promised Henry that the Welsh would rebuild Caerleon for him, and he also observes the prominence of ruins in Jones’s designs for *Prince Henry’s Barriers* (1610) (pp. 175–77).

<sup>10</sup> Margaret Jones-Davies, “*Cymbeline* and the sleep of faith,” in *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, ed. Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay, and Richard Wilson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 197–217, p. 211.

<sup>11</sup> Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 578.

<sup>12</sup> Paul Hyland, *Ralegh’s Last Journey* (London: HarperCollins, 2003), p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> William Drury, *Aluredus, sive Alvredus* (1619), trans. Robert Knightley (as *Alfrede, or Right Reinthron’d*, 1659), ed. Dana F. Sutton for the Philological Museum, 2014, <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/aluredus/>, 5.11.2621.

<sup>14</sup> See Lisa Hopkins, *Renaissance Drama on the Edge* (Ashgate, 2014), chap. 8.

<sup>15</sup> Boece in *Historia Gentis Scotorum* located Voada in Scotland, equated her with Boudica, and made her the wife of Arviragus, but Holinshed said Arviragus was an error.

<sup>16</sup> Marisa R. Cull, *Shakespeare’s Princes of Wales: English Identity and the Welsh Connection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 14, 120 and 123.

<sup>17</sup> The attribution to Armin is traditional, but Tristan Marshall has recently suggested that Robert Alleyn is more likely to be the author (Tristan Marshall, *Theatre and Empire: Great Britain on the London Stages under James VI and I* [Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000], p. 105).

<sup>18</sup> R. A., Gent., *The Valiant Welshman, or the true chronicle history of the life and valiant deedes of Caradoc the Great, King of Cambria, now called Wales, as it hath beene sundry times acted by the Prince of Wales his seruants* (London: George Purslowe for Robert Lownes, 1615), sig. C4v.

<sup>19</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, p. 221.

<sup>20</sup> Richard Hingley, *The Recovery of Roman Britain 1586–1906: A Colony so Fertile* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 34.

<sup>21</sup> Joscelin, *The life of the glorious bishop S. Patricke ...*, trans. Fr. B. B. (Saint-Omer: [G Seutin?] for John Heigham, 1625), p. 226.

<sup>22</sup> Caradoc of Llancarvan, *The historie of Cambria, now called Wales*, trans. Humphrey Llwyd (London: 1584), p. 97.

<sup>23</sup> Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Emppyre of Guiana*, ed. Neil L. Whitehead (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 196.

<sup>24</sup> Lynda E. Boose, “*The Taming of the Shrew*, Good Husbandry, and Enclosure,” in *Shakespeare Reread: The Texts in New Contexts*, ed. Russ McDonald (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 193–225, p. 203. On the woman-land metaphor see also Virginia Mason Vaughan, “Preface: The Mental Maps of English Renaissance Drama,” in *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama*, ed. John Gillies and Virginia Mason Vaughan (London: Associated University Presses, 1998), pp. 7–16, p. 12, and Louis Montrose, “The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery,” *Representations* 33 (1991), pp. 1–41.

<sup>25</sup> Adrian Streete, “Conciliarism and Liberty in Shakespeare and Fletcher’s *Henry VIII*,” in *Stages of Engagement: Drama and Religion in Post-Reformation England*, ed. James D. Mardock and Kathryn R. McPherson (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2014), pp. 83–105, p. 100.

<sup>26</sup> Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance 1545–1625* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 225.

<sup>27</sup> Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley, “Introduction: Irish representations and English alternatives” in *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534–1660*, ed. Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield, and Willy Maley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1–23, p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Alison Findlay, *Women in Shakespeare: A Dictionary* (London: Continuum, 2010), pp. 212–14.

<sup>29</sup> Valerie Traub, “Jewels, Statues, and Corpses: Containment of Female Erotic Power in Shakespeare’s Plays,” in *Shakespeare and Gender: A History*, ed. Deborah E. Barker and Ivo Kamps (London: Verso, 1995), pp. 120–41, p. 131.

<sup>30</sup> David Loades, *Chronicles of the Tudor Kings* (London: Garamond, 1990), p. 141.

<sup>31</sup> William Shakespeare, *Henry VI, Part Two*, ed. John Dover Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 1.3.83.

<sup>32</sup> Winifred Joy Mulligan declares simply that “in 1533 ... Henry VIII discarded King Arthur in favor of the British Constantine” (“The British Constantine: an English historical myth,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Drama* 8 [1978], pp. 257–79, p. 269).

<sup>33</sup> Rory Loughnane, “‘I myself would for Caernarfonshire’: The Old Lady in *King Henry VIII*,” in *Celtic Shakespeare: The Bard and the Borderers*, ed. Willy Maley and Rory Loughnane (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 185–202, p. 196.

<sup>34</sup> George Owen, *The Description of Pembrokeshire*, ed. Dillwyn Miles (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1994), p. 206.

<sup>35</sup> Ronald J. Boling, “Anglo-Welsh Relations in *Cymbeline*,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 51.1 (2000), pp. 33–66, p. 41.

<sup>36</sup> Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, p. 93.

<sup>37</sup> David Rees, *The Son of Prophecy: Henry Tudor’s Road to Bosworth* (London: Black Raven Press, 1985), pp. 98–99.

<sup>38</sup> Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion: A Chorographical description of tracts, riuers, mountains, forests, and other parts of this renowned isle of Great Britain* (London: 1622), pp. 108–9.

<sup>39</sup> Lisa Hopkins, “Welshness in Shakespeare’s English Histories,” in *Shakespeare’s History Plays: Performance, Translation and Adaptation in Britain and Abroad*, ed. Ton Hoenselaars (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 60–74.

<sup>40</sup> Anonymous, *The true chronicle history of King Leir and his three daughters* (London: Simon Stafford for John Wright, 1605), sig. I3r.

<sup>41</sup> William Shakespeare, *Henry IV, Part 1*, ed. David Bevington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 1.1.44 and 1.1.38–40.

<sup>42</sup> Cull, *Shakespeare’s Princes of Wales*, pp. 31, 38 and 49.

<sup>43</sup> Loughnane, “‘I myself would for Caernarfonshire,’” p. 186.

<sup>44</sup> Boling, “Anglo-Welsh Relations in *Cymbeline*,” pp. 40–41.

<sup>45</sup> Boling, “Anglo-Welsh Relations in *Cymbeline*,” pp. 50, 53, and 57.

<sup>46</sup> Janet Clare, *Shakespeare’s Stage Traffic: Imitation, Borrowing and Competition in Renaissance Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 15.

<sup>47</sup> Samuel Rowley, *When You See Me, You Know Me* (London: Nathaniel Butter, 1605), sig. E3r.

<sup>48</sup> Clare, *Shakespeare’s Stage Traffic*, p. 254.

<sup>49</sup> Streete, “Conciliarism and Liberty in Shakespeare and Fletcher’s *Henry VIII*,” pp. 95 and 98.

<sup>50</sup> Ruth Vanita, “Mariological Memory in *The Winter’s Tale* and *Henry VIII*,” *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 40.2 (2000), pp. 311–37, p. 315.

<sup>51</sup> Lisa Hopkins, *Renaissance Drama on the Edge* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 135–52.

<sup>52</sup> Jay Zysk, “Of Ceremonies and *Henry VIII*,” in *Stages of Engagement: Drama and Religion in Post-Reformation England*, ed. James D. Mardock and Kathryn R. McPherson (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2014), pp. 241–62, pp. 253–54 and 242.