Deities, Devils, and Dams: Elizabeth I, Dover Harbour and the Family of Love

DAVID WOOTTON
University of York

THE RALEIGH LECTURE IS NAMED in honour of Sir Walter Raleigh (1554–1618), courtier, poet, explorer, and, of course, historian. In this article I will be exploring a religious movement, the Family of Love, that had a clandestine existence within Raleigh's England, and that even appears to have won over Raleigh's Cynthia, Elizabeth I. Raleigh himself makes only the most fleeting of appearances in my text, but that is, as it were, an accident: he surely knew of The Family of Love, and we are bound to wonder whether he ever read the mysterious poem with which my lecture is primarily concerned, and, if he did, what he made of it; just as we may wonder if he ever read the discourse on Dover Harbour which was later spuriously attributed to him.[1] In the world of the court things are not always as they seem, but we must make the best sense we can of the evidence we have, knowing full well that Raleigh would have been better placed to interpret the evidence than we can ever hope to be.

* * *

It is easy for us to imagine that the English language in Raleigh's day was so flexible that it could be used to say and think anything we might want

Read at the Academy 16 April 2008.

[1] If he did read the poem, it may have been at the back of his mind when he wrote the famous poem 'Sir Walter Raleigh's Pilgrimage'. On the discourse, see below, n. 63.

Proceedings of the British Academy, **162**, 45–67. © The British Academy 2009.

to say and think; indeed it is particularly hard not to think that this was true of Shakespeare's English.[2] The Elizabethans did not have the word 'selfish', for example, but Shakespeare knew the 'sin of self-love', so he could surely recognise selfishness when he encountered it.[3] It comes as a surprise to discover that the word 'idea' was new in Elizabethan England—it is a word that Shakespeare used only three times, and that Raleigh never used.[4] But Shakespeare had, at any rate, the concept of an idea. What neither he nor Raleigh had available was the word 'ideal'. The adjective 'ideal' was almost unknown in Elizabethan England; the noun 'ideal' was completely unknown; and the words we derive from it—idealist, idealism, idealistic, idealisation—did not yet exist.[5] We might say that the Elizabethans were obliged when they spoke English to be Aristotelians, not Platonists. They did not have ideals, and were incapable of being idealistic; the best they could do was refer to Plato's Commonwealth and to More's Utopia as imaginary places where what we call the ideal was made real.[6] Yet the psychological process that we call idealisation was surely as familiar to them as it is to us, even if they had no word for

[2] This is the argument of A. D. Nuttall, *Shakespeare the Thinker* (New Haven, CT, 2007).

[3] Sonnet 62.

[4] *Love's Labours Lost* IV.ii.1213; *Richard III*, III.vii.2206; *Much Ado* IV.i.1862. I use the *Oxford English Dictionary* second edition (1989) on line—hereafter *OED*. When I add supplementary information it is from a full text keyword search of Early English Books On Line. This searches approximately 20% of all titles, and so is a non-random sample. It might be thought that the word 'idea' could be used in the sense of 'ideal' (see *OED* 'idea' I.2, I.3), and indeed I have found one context in which it was so used: the debate on the idea of a preaching ministry. See Richard Cosin, *An Answer to the Two First and Principall Treatises* (London, 1584) and Dudley Fenner, *A Counter-Poyson Modestly Written* (London, 1584). Throughout 'idaea' is used as a foreign word.

[5] The adjective was so rare in this period that its use has escaped the *OED*, and the only occurrences I can find are in translations.

[6] Thus of the ideal prince Baldassare Castiglione writes (in Thomas Hoby's translation): 'Therfore (I feare me) he is like the Commune weale of *Plato*, and we shall neuer see suche a one, onlesse it bee perhappes in heaven' (*The Courtyer*, London, 1561, sig. Rr4r). *OED* misses striking examples of 'Utopia' and 'Utopian' being used in a generalised sense: Hugh Broughton, *An Apologie* (London, 1592), sig. [K]4v; *idem*, *A Defence* (London, 1595), sig. [A]3r; John Lyly, *The Woman in the Moone*, sig. A2v (London, 1597); William Barlow, *A Defence* (London, 1601), p. 108: 'I am assured that we all professe there is a Catholike church of Christ, not a *Platonicall vtopia,* no where extant, but a company of Gods chosen every where scattered.' See also Walter Haddon, *Against Jerome Osorius* (London, 1581), p. 501: 'whyther will your integrity & absolute perfection addresse us to seeke out this superexcellent excellency that you boast upon so much? Peradventure to Platoes common weale, or to Moores Vtopia, or els to the goodly fieldes in hell, whereof the Poets make mention: for without question it can not possibly be found any where in this common course of uniuersall imbecillity of nature.' And (a rather later example) Sir Walter Raleigh, *A History of the World* (London, 1614), pt. I, bk. 1, p. 38, pt. I, bk. 3, p. 88.

it. Indeed they had a whole literary genre, which they already called 'pastoral', which practised idealisation without naming it.[7]

Let us now turn to the first stanza of Queen Elizabeth's poem 'On Monsieur's Departure':

> I grieve and dare not show my discontent;
> I love, and yet am forced to seem to hate;
> I do, yet dare not say I ever meant;
> I seem stark mute, but inwardly do prate.
> I am, and not; I freeze and yet am burned,
> Since from myself another self I turned.[8]

Elizabeth's poem is about someone caught between two worlds—a real world, in which she must abandon her lover, Monsieur, Alençon or the duke of Anjou, with whom she had exchanged rings, and an ideal, unattainable world, in which she can give herself over to love; and between two versions of herself, one realistic, the other idealistic. But this is my language, not Elizabeth's. Her language is the language of inward and outward, a language to which we will return.[9]

It is worth asking for a moment what it might be like to live without ideals, for in our society ideals that we know to be unrealisable and unattainable—equality and justice, for example—underpin our political life and all our state-run institutions. The state is there, we believe, to perform the impossible task of putting ideals into practice. And so are we. We regard someone without any ideals as someone who is disorientated, someone who has lost their way, even though we know there is no path that leads us to perfection, so that it is a little unclear quite how ideals help us find our way; it seems that they represent the magnetic north towards which our moral compasses point. We are similarly horrified by

[7] *OED* gives 1584 as the first use of the word to refer to a literary genre; Shakespeare uses it in *Hamlet*, II.ii.1477. Not surprisingly, the suggestion has been made that the most pastoral of Shakespeare's plays, *As You Like It*, is about the Family of Love: Robert Schwartz, 'Rosalynde among the Familists: As You Like It and an expanded view of its sources', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 20 (1989), 69–76. For this and other references I am grateful to Michael Questier.

[8] Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, Mary Beth Rose (Chicago, 2000), pp. 302–3. I accept the conventional dating for this poem, but see the cautionary comments of Leah S. Marcus, 'Queen Elizabeth I as public and private poet', in *Reading Monarch's Writing: The Poetry of Henry VIII, Mary Stuart, Elizabeth I, and James VI/I*, ed. Peter C. Herman (Tempe, AR, 2002), pp. 135–54, at pp. 146–8.

[9] On inwardness see Katharine Eisaman Maus, *Inwardness and Theater in the English Renaissance* (Chicago, 1995), esp. pp. 22–3 on the Family of Love. For a representation of 'the inward man', see Hendrik Niclaes, *A Figure of the True and Spiritual Tabernacle* (London, 1655), p. 85—a reprint of a lost sixteenth-century original.

the suggestion that someone might have no principles: but if principles are moral values that you might have difficulty putting into practice, that you might have to compromise, then the Elizabethans had no principles. Oliver Cromwell was the first to want to have around him men with principles: this may have something to do with the fact that he was very good at compromising his own.[10] Instead of principles, the Elizabethans had virtues—again the contrast is between our ideals, that cannot be fully realised, and their practices, that could be made perfect. Our commitment to a world of principle and ideals is, I would suggest, inseparable from our belief in the possibility of progress.

The Elizabethans were familiar with patterns of perfection, but they were all realisable, attainable, practical (or at least they *once* had been attainable). The courtly ideal, for example, had been realised in Roland; the rhetorical ideal in Cicero. Elizabeth may well have been idealising both love and her lover; but the idea that there was something inherently unattainable about perfection would not have been obvious to her, as it is to us. The one important exception, of course, is the perfection of human nature, which had certainly once been real, before the Fall, but was no longer attainable; although as we shall see this was not a question on which there was the universal agreement that we might expect.

My subject is idealisation in Elizabethan England.[11] This subject is a real one, but at the same time it is elusive and difficult, at least for us, because ideals in Elizabethan England are never, as they always are in our world, detached from reality. I will be tracing the living-out of the ideal in two distinct contexts, the psychological and the social, the perfect person and the perfect society. From an Elizabethan point of view my subject is perfection; indeed my subject is the attainment of perfection in the soul and in society. But all my readers know that perfection is an ideal which is of necessity unrealisable. So I feel obliged to add that my subject is an idea or ideal or dream of perfection; I feel obliged to acknowledge from the outset that I am talking about something that can only exist in the world of ideas. And in doing so, I immediately part company with the people I am discussing.

[10] Since the word ‘principle’ is very common I rely here on *OED*.

[11] At the court of Elizabeth, Plato’s views on women encouraged Platonism, and Platonism encouraged idealism. Moreover Platonism fostered a belief in the union of the soul with the divine, a belief that may have made some of the views discussed here seem less unfamiliar than they otherwise would have: see the last book of Castiglione’s *Courtyer*, which discusses the union of the soul with God, or how ‘we severed from oure selues, may be chaunged like right lovers into the beloved’ (sig. Xx4v). (I am grateful to Jinty Nelson for pressing me on this point.)

* * *

I started with Elizabeth's poem on Monsieur's departure, because I believe it was a few months before she wrote this poem (assuming that she wrote it soon after Alençon departed on 1 February 1582), while she was still struggling to bring about the political circumstances in which the marriage would become possible, that Elizabeth wrote another very different poem, a poem which is about the realisation of perfection in the soul. This is a poem, now known as Twenty-Seven Stanzas in French, to which no attention was paid until 1991.[12] We know it is Elizabeth's because it is in her handwriting, and we can be sure it was her own work as she was making revisions as she went along.

This poem is a peculiar sort of spiritual autobiography. It is the story of a soul that is blind, but learns to see; that is divided against itself, but ceases to be a stranger to itself; of a soul that escapes from blindness and sets out on a journey during which it is totally dependent on the help of others; of a soul that is tortured by remorse, and finally finds itself within the gates of paradise, a kingdom governed by reason and not by degree. This is the autobiography of the inward man—this gendered language is the language of the poem—on his journey not just to salvation, but to perfection. It is the story of an inward man that becomes God, just as God becomes that inward man. It is the story of the realisation of what we would take to be an unattainable ideal—Elizabethan ideals, as we have seen, are not normally unattainable, with the sole exception of this one, the perfection of the human soul.

[12] Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 147, fols. 207r–212r. Steven W. May first drew scholarly attention to the poem (whose existence had been first reported in 1923) in *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets* (Columbia, MO, 1991). See Steven W. May and Anne Lake Prescott, 'The French verses of Elizabeth I', *English Literary Renaissance*, 24 (1994), 9–43, which provides transcription and translation. Transcription also in Elizabeth I, *Autograph Compositions and Foreign Language Originals*, ed. Janel Mueller and Leah S. Marcus (Chicago, 2003), pp. 85–94, and translation in Elizabeth I, *Complete Works*, pp. 413–21. With May and Prescott, I read 'me' not 'ne' in line 65; at line 128 I read 'fourma' not 'fourna'; with Mueller and Marcus (but not their earlier translation), I read 'mires' in line 148. The dating given in the *Complete Works*; in May and Prescott, 'The French verses', 14; and in Constance Jordan, 'States of blindness: doubt, justice, and constancy in Elizabeth I's "Avec l'aveugler si estrange"', in *Reading Monarch's Writing*, pp. 109–33, does not convince me. The poem needs to date from a period when Elizabeth had occasion to think in French: see May, *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, p. 202. On the basis of its content I conclude that it cannot be earlier than 15 February 1581 (see Christopher Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550–1630* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 131–2), and since it is in French I think that it is unlikely to be later than 1 February 1582 (the date of Monsieur's departure). However Janel Mueller, who has kindly discussed these matters with me, disagrees with me on this question of dating, and again below, when I argue that the poem is a translation: I look forward to seeing her arguments in print.

I do not think there can be any doubt about what this poem is. It is loosely based on a book called *Terra Pacis*, by Hendrik Niclaes, translated from Dutch into English and printed in Cologne in 1575 (or perhaps 1574).[13] The copy in the Huntington Library was given in the eighteenth century by the Shakespeare scholar and hoaxer George Steevens to the Shakespeare actor, and brother of Mrs Siddons, John Philip Kemble, but it bears an inscription (Fig. 1) evidently contemporary with its first publication.

> In wildrness wild, lo now I do walke
> clothed about in wilde beastes skinnes
> Thowgh now I find wt whom I may talke
> Yet loue (of hir self) this songe forth brings[14]

Like the Twenty-Seven Stanzas, *Terra Pacis* tells a story in three parts: first a land of darkness and blindness, then a journey in which the soul depends on others, then arrival within the gates of the Heavenly City, where everyone is a king, and the soul becomes self-sufficient. As in the Twenty-Seven Stanzas, the soul reaches the Heavenly City without having to die. Niclaes was the founder of a religious movement called the Family of Love. His basic teaching is summed up in a second inscription on the Huntington Library copy of *Terra Pacis*—an inscription which, although in a different hand, may also be sixteenth-century: *Amor transformat amantem in amatum*.[15] Love transforms the lover into the beloved; or the believer becomes God; and God, through his love for us, becomes man. Man, Niclaes taught, was not only deified in God; God was hominified in man.[16] Thus each believer became Christ himself.

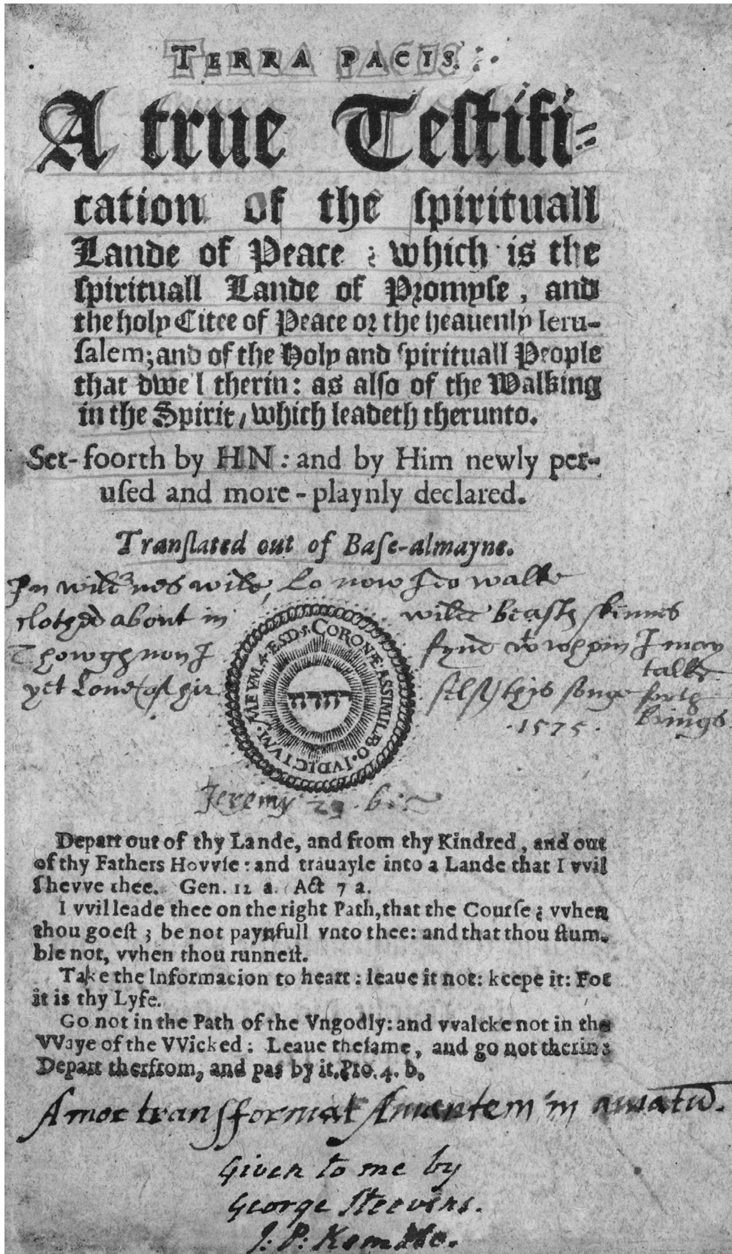
Familist teaching is summarised in the illustrations that accompanied Niclaes' books, illustrations which, for reasons of economy, were often repeated from one title to another (becoming increasingly worn in the process). In one of these we have the inward man, or the soul, who

[13] On Niclaes see Alastair Hamilton, *Cronica; Ordo Sacerdotis; Acta HN: three texts on the family of love* (Leiden, 1988) and the works cited there; on *Terra Pacis*, Nigel Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 169–70; Alastair Hamilton, *The Family of Love* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 36–8. (I am grateful to Alastair Hamilton for his comments on this text.)

[14] I am grateful to Henry Woudhuysen for help in deciphering this text.

[15] I am grateful to N. A. M. Rodger for advice on the date of this hand. For one occurrence of this well-known phrase, see above, n. 11. As far as I know the phrase is never used by Familists, and its use indicates that this reader was a Platonist rather than a Familist (but see below, n. 26).

[16] It is not clear that Familists actually used the word 'hominified': it first occurs in *The Confession and Declaration of Robert Sharpe Clerke, and other of that Secte, tearmed the Familie of Love, at Pawles Crosse in London the. xij. of Iune. An. 1575*, and is then regularly used by critics of Familism.



TERRA PACIS.

A true Testification of the spirituall Lande of Peace: which is the spirituall Lande of Promyse, and the holy Citee of Peace or the heauenly Ierusalem; and of the Holy and spirituall People that dwell therin: as also of the Walking in the Spirit, which leadeth therunto.

Set-foorth by HN: and by Him newly perused and more-playnly declared.

Translated out of Base-almayne.

Depart out of thy Lande, and from thy Kindred, and out of thy Fathers Hovvse: and trauayle into a Lande that I vvil shevve thee. Gen. 12 a. Act 7 a.

I vvil leade thee on the right Path, that the Course; vvhen thou goest; be not paynfull vnto thee: and that thou stumble not, vvhen thou runnest.

Take the Informacion to heart: leaue it not: keepe it: For it is thy Lyfe.

Go not in the Path of the Vngodly: and vvalcke not in the VVaye of the VVicked: Leaue the same, and go not therin: Depart therfrom, and pas by it. Pro. 4. b.

Given to me by George Steevens. J.P. Kemble.

Figure 1. Title page of *Terra Pacis*. (Reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.)

appears in Elizabeth's poem, choosing between sin and salvation—for the Familists the outward man was the old Adam who had to die that the soul might live.[17] Again and again, including in *Terra Pacis* (Fig. 2), we have the image of the handfast, the lily, and the heart: the handfast standing for community, the lily for purity, and the heart for the transformation of the believer's inner being through love into God himself:

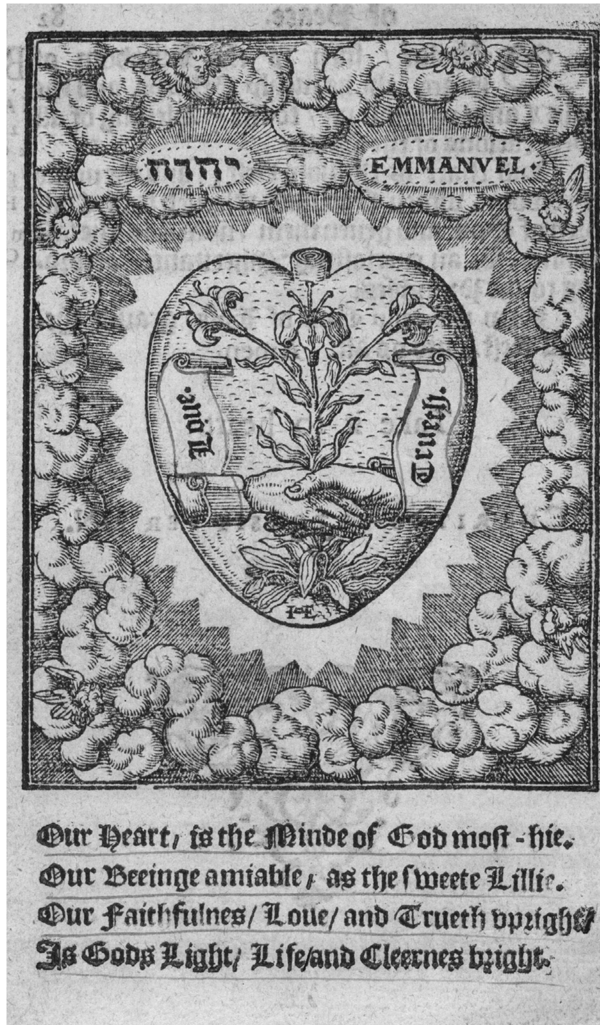


Figure 2. Illustration from *Terra Pacis*. (Reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.)

[17] The Biblical source is Ephesians, 4:22–4.

Our heart is the mind of God most high
Our being amiable as the sweet lilly
Our faithfulness, love and truth upright
Is God's light, life, and clearness bright.[18]

By love, Niclaes claimed, the believer became perfect: he became one with God, consubstantiated with God, co-deified with God, or Godded with God.[19] This perfection involved the conquest of sin. And so again and again, including in *Terra Pacis* (Fig. 3), we have the image of the conquest of sin at the last judgement. This conquest, Niclaes maintained, happened here and now in the heart of the believer: '*Now* goeth the judgement over the world. *Now* becometh the prince of this world cast out.'[20] Indeed the Fall, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Last Judgement, and life in Paradise: all of these occurred here and now within the believer.

A follower of Niclaes, Christopher Vittel, brought his teachings to England, where Niclaes soon had many followers.[21] The Familist movement was strictly hierarchical, but the Familist hierarchy did not reflect

[18] H.N., *Terra Pacis* (1575), 82v.

[19] e.g. incorporated, co-deified and consubstantiated: Hendrik Niclaes, *A Figure of the True & Spiritual Tabernacle* (London, 1655), pp. 139, 151, sig. K3v, O4v, O6r.

[20] H.N., *Terra Pacis*, 1v (my italics).

[21] On the Family of Love in England, the indispensable study is Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society*. Amongst more recent work there is Peter Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge: 'Orthodoxy', 'Heterodoxy' and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London* (Manchester, 2001); David R. Como, *Blown by the Spirit* (Stanford, 2004); David Wootton, 'John Donne's Religion of Love', in *Heterodoxy in Early Modern Science and Religion*, ed. J. Brooke and I. Maclean (Oxford, 2005), pp. 31–58; Christopher Marsh, '"Godlie Matrons" and "Loose-Bodied Dames": heresy and gender in the Family of Love', in *Heresy, Literature and Politics in Early Modern English Culture*, ed. David Loewenstein and John Marshall (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 59–81; Peter Lake, 'Puritanism, Familism, and heresy in early Stuart England: the case of John Etherington revisited', in *Heresy, Literature and Politics*, pp. 82–107. Unfortunately Lake's account of Etherington's supposed Familism (*Boxmaker's Revenge*, p. 110) is based on a misrepresentation of the key passage in Etherington's *Description* (1610), pp. 115–18. Lake quotes passages out of order, making Etherington say what he never said. Thus Etherington does not answer his own question by telling the reader to put away scripture learnedness; he does not tell the reader to take H.N.'s book and keep it close; and he does not say that the truth contained in H.N.'s book had begun to show her face already (rather he says that the true Church had begun to show her face). One cannot therefore conclude that Etherington's book was 'in effect . . . a full-blown Familist manifesto' (p. 110), or describe it as 'his Familist tract of 1610' (p. 377), or regret that, looking back, Etherington refused to acknowledge his 'own earlier Familist phase' (p. 366), or maintain that 'Denison's accusations may actually have been, in some rather important senses, "true"' (p. 99). (The same interpretation is offered in abbreviated form in 'Puritanism, Familism' p. 84.) Had Etherington actually written what Lake describes him as writing, Denison would, of course, have quoted him as having done so. This is not to say that Etherington was not significantly influenced by Familism, nor to say that there is not a great deal to be learnt from Lake's book. But it does mean that the book's argument needs to be approached with caution.

Figure 3. Illustration from *Terra Pacis*. (Reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.)

the hierarchy of society: there were elders (Niclaes himself was the 'oldest of the elders'), young ones, the goodwilling or sympathisers, and, on the outside, strangers—there is a reference in Elizabeth's poem to 'ceasing to be a stranger'.[22] Each recruit was assigned an elder to instruct them in their new faith. Vittel translated a large number of Niclaes' books (copies of eighteen titles survive, and others have been lost), printed them in Cologne between 1574 and 1575, and smuggled them into England. Some of these books were directed at strangers; others at the goodwilling and the young; and still others at the elders.[23] Those directed at strangers insisted that the Familists were orthodox in their faith; but the others told a very different story. English Protestants and Catholics alike were soon attacking this new heresy. On 3 October 1580 the Family of Love was banned by a royal proclamation. A few months later, as legislation against them was about to pass through Parliament, persecution suddenly and inexplicably ceased. By then Familists had been discovered in the Queen's immediate circle, amongst the Yeomen of the Guard.[24] These men continued to serve her throughout the rest of her life. 'What certainty can there be that Elizabeth was not herself a secret Familist, or at least a sympathizer?' Patrick Collinson has recently asked.[25]

My answer to this question is that the Twenty-Seven Stanzas are a Familist text; so it seems certain that Elizabeth was, at the very least, one of the goodwilling. In early 1581 she will have been shown a work called *An Apology for the Service of Love*, which (like all the literature directed at strangers) argued that Familists were obedient Christians and faithful subjects.[26] At that moment she was in desperate need of allies as she sought to achieve political support for her proposed marriage to Monsieur,

[22] Line 121. Hendrik Niclaes, *Proverbia HN* (Cologne, 1575), ff. 3–5.

[23] *A Supplication of the Family of Love* (Cambridge, 1606), p. 63: 'It is observed concerning H N. that, for the propagating of his *Love Service*, hee hath bookes of sundry natures, and sorts; some for *Novices*, and wel-willing ones; and some for the elder sort, grown into the manly understanding of the *Familie* mysteries.'

[24] Marsh, *Family of Love in English Society*, pp. 103–39.

[25] 'Elizabeth I' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *ODNB*). There is, of course, an extensive literature on Elizabeth's religion. See, for example, Susan Doran, 'Elizabeth I's religion: the evidence of her letters', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 51 (2000), 699–720.

[26] Marsh, *Family of Love*, pp. 133–6. Michael Srigley (in 'The influence of continental Familism in England after 1570', in *Cultural Exchange Between European Nations During the Renaissance*, ed. Gunnar Sorelius and Michael Srigley: *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis*, 86 (1994), 97–110, at p. 101) describes a previously unrecorded edition of *An Apology*, also dated 1656, with a variant title, a device on the title page showing a haloed female figure, and bearing the motto 'Amor transformat amantem in Amatum'. Unfortunately I have been unable to locate a copy of this edition.

whom she called her frog (which was not yet a term for a Frenchman), and with whom she spoke French.[27] This was a moment of personal and political crisis for Elizabeth, and for both personal and political reasons she may have found Familism attractive. At a personal level Familism offered an end to all internal conflict; at a political level it promised unquestioning obedience.

This too was a moment when Elizabeth would have been keen to practise her French. We do not practise an unfamiliar foreign language by composing poetry in it; rather we learn by translating. Although the French of the Twenty-Seven Stanzas was clearly composed by Elizabeth, the poem is not her own original work, but a translation.[28] We know this, because the opening lines pun on the author's name, and that name is not Elizabeth.[29]

> Avec l'aveugler si estrange
> Si au rebours de mon Nom.
> [With the blinding so strange
> So contrary to my name.]

The original author thus had a name that is the opposite of 'blind'—Seymour is a possibility.[30] But it so happens that there was at the court of Elizabeth a yeoman of the guard called Robert Seale, who is believed to have been the author of *An Apology for the Service of Love*.[31] See-All is an obvious pun on Seale;[32] Robert Seale wrote poetry;[33] the last lines of the poem contain a reference to a *cachet* or seal.[34] The Twenty-Seven Stanzas are, I submit, a translation from a lost English original by Robert Seale. And Seale, we might conclude, was the elder assigned to instruct Elizabeth in the faith.

[27] On the crisis provoked by the marriage negotiations, see T. M. McCoog, 'The English Jesuit Mission and the French Match, 1579–1581', *Catholic Historical Review*, 87 (2001), 185–213.
[28] I am grateful to Noel Malcolm for first persuading me to think of the poem as a translation.
[29] With Marcus, Mueller and Rose, I take the poem as we have it to be complete. This is confirmed by the fact that it begins and ends with references to blindness—and so, I would argue, with references to the author's name.
[30] A suggestion first made to me by Raphael Lyne when I gave an earlier version of this lecture in Cambridge.
[31] Marsh, *Family of Love*, p. 40.
[32] Several members of the audience, including Jan Hartman, pointed this out when I mentioned Raphael Lyne's suggestion when giving an earlier version of this lecture at Erasmus University in Rotterdam.
[33] See *An Apology for the Service of Love* (London, 1656), sig. A3rv.
[34] Line 253.

That Elizabeth was translating from English is hard to prove, for a certain amount of confusion with English might occur naturally when she was writing in French. Still, we may note that she writes *principles*, and then crosses out the *l*, turning it into *principes*; she crosses out *suffra* and replaces it with *permis*—she is translating the English word *suffered*; four lines from the end she writes *temperamentz*, which is not a French word but an English one; and so on.[35]

The idea of Elizabeth translating a heretical poem by one of her Yeomen of the Guard is profoundly surprising. But when *An Apology for the Service of Love* was first printed in 1656 its author was described on the title page as 'one of her majesty's menial servants, who was in no small esteem with her for his known wisdom and godliness'. Much earlier, in 1606, an opponent of the Family of Love had expressed his suspicion that 'she had always about her some *Familistes* or favourers of that Sect', and his conviction that some of the leaders of the Familist movement were amongst her household servants.[36]

This is my case study in psychological idealisation. It is the story of a virgin Queen, preoccupied with true love, with images of hearts and of the handfast that represents betrothal in marriage. It is the story of an astute politician, who was at odds with her Privy Council and with the Puritan preachers, and turned to the only people in her realm who thought there was nothing problematic about a Protestant marrying a Catholic. It is the story of a gifted linguist, practising her French.[37] It is the story of Elizabeth as a convert to Familism, or at least a secret sympathiser, and consequently convinced that she could become perfect, could make Christ a reality within herself. But we must remember that she was translating not writing. Every Familist elder was supposed to be Godded with God; whether Elizabeth herself ever thought she had attained perfection we cannot tell.

This is a story whose beginning we can guess, but whose ending we do not know. The courtship with Alençon ended with Monsieur's departure,

[35] See lines 48, 143, 266; we may even think that when she crosses out *ombres* and replaces it with *hommes* (13) she is translating English poetic diction—shades, meaning spirits, had momentarily confused her with its alternate meaning of shadows; and we may think that she uses *habit* (269) in the English sense of garment.

[36] *A Supplication of the Family of Love*, pp. 20, 46.

[37] On Elizabeth's linguistic abilities, see Jan van der Noot, *A Theatre Wherein be Represented as Wel the Miseries & Calamities that Follow the Voluptuous Worldlings as also the Greate Joyes and Plesures which the Faithfull do Enioy* (London, 1569), sig. A4r. Van der Noot was a Dutch refugee in England who appears to have been associated with the Family of Love: Hamilton, *Family of Love*, p. 62.

accompanied by promises of money, promises that were never kept. We do not know how the courtship with the Family of Love ended. We know only that in 1593 Elizabeth translated Boethius. On four occasions her original described virtuous men as gods; each time Elizabeth's translation toned down her source, and made men no more than *like* God.[38] Either she was no longer prepared to use the language of deification, which she deliberately uses in the Twenty-Seven Stanzas (God 'made himself me | Just I as I would make myself Him', she writes), or she had become much more careful about how she expressed herself.[39] In any event the Family of Love continued to live unmolested in her kingdom, and Robert Seale continued to serve her.

* * *

I want now to turn from the perfection of the soul to the perfection of society, from Elizabeth's French poem to a text which is to be found in the third volume of Holinshed's *Chronicle*, published in January of 1587. Very near the end of that volume, under the year 1586, there is to be found a lengthy account of the engineering works carried out at Dover Harbour during the summer of 1583: probably this account was added at the last moment, as the volume went through the press.[40] It was written by Reginald Scot, who was himself an engineer (being surveyor of the sea-defences at Romney Marsh) and had played a key role in the carrying out of the works.[41] The problem at Dover was that the harbour had come to be blocked by a bank of shingle; the solution was to build a dam across the estuary of the river Dour behind which a reservoir of water would accumulate; this water could then be periodically released through a sluice at low tide, scouring the shingle out of the harbour and carrying it into deep water (Fig. 4).

The technical problem lay in building a large dam which must sustain a great weight of water on the landward side, and at the same time withstand at every high tide the assaults of the sea. Some advocated a dam

[38] I owe this information to the kindness of Janel Mueller, who is producing, with Joshua Scodel, an edition of Elizabeth's translations for the University of Chicago Press.

[39] Lines 209–10. I prefer the translation of May and Prescott here, and am tempted to read 'Ainsi que'.

[40] For discussion of this account see Annabel Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (Chicago, 1994), pp. 95–8, 210–11. Holinshed then fell foul of the censors, but these pages (unlike the account of Alençon's departure) did not interest them. See Cyndia S. Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 138–69.

[41] On Scot, see my article in *ODNB*. To place Scot's role as an hydraulic engineer in a wider context, see *Eau et développement dans l'Europe moderne*, ed. Salvatore Ciriacono (Paris, 2004).

Figure 4. A plan of Dover Harbour by William Burrough, showing the works carried out in 1583 (British Library Cotton Augustus I.i, f. 7).

made of stone, others one made of wood, yet others one made of shingle. After various and expensive failures, Scot and his co-workers were eventually employed, and they were successful thanks to techniques that had long been in use at Romney Marsh—they cased a dam made of chalk and earth with twigs and branches, which were pinned in place so that they broke the force of the waves.[42]

Reginald Scot was a member of the household of Sir Thomas Scot, and lived at Scot's Hall, 'twelve long Kentish miles from Dover'.[43] His world was the world of Romney Marsh and the creeks and ports between the marshland and the open sea.[44] Soon, in 1589, he would be elected MP for New Romney. In 1583 he was already the author of *A Perfite Platforme of a Hoppe Garden* (1574), a little book on the cultivation of hops, written for those who live on the frontiers of poverty and whose hope is in their hands, with illustrations intended for those unable to read: the title page bears the Biblical text 'Whoso laboureth after goodnesse findeth his desire.' He must have already written, or have nearly finished, a big book that appeared in 1584, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*: this must have been the occupation of his winter months, since in the summers he was busy building walls against the sea. *The Discoverie* is a great book: the only sixteenth-century publication in Europe which systematically attacks every aspect of belief in witchcraft.[45] Its account of how witchcraft accusations in England emerged from conflicts over charity, from the breakdown of community, has become the standard account in the modern literature.[46]

The *Discoverie of Witchcraft* ends with a *Discourse upon Divels and Spirits* which denies that these have any external reality—they are merely

[42] On the Dover harbour works see Eric H. Ash, 'Expert mediation and the rebuilding of Dover Harbor,' in his *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England* (Baltimore, MD, 2004), pp. 55–86 and Stephen Johnston, 'Making Mathematical Practice', Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1994.

[43] Raphael Holinshed, *The Third Volume of Chronicles* (London, 1586), p. 1544 col. a. For the location of Scot's Hall see the foldout map between pp. 16 and 17 in William Dugdale, *The History of Imbanking and Drayning* (London, 1662).

[44] For images of that world, see Sarah Bendall, 'Enquire "When the Same Platte was Made and by Wome and to What Intent": Sixteenth-Century maps of Romney Marsh', *Imago Mundi*, 47 (1995), 34–48.

[45] Scepticism towards witchcraft had already been advocated by David Joris, who had a considerable influence on Niclaes: see Gary Waite, '"Man is a devil to himself": David Joris and the rise of a sceptical tradition towards the devil in the early modern Netherlands, 1540–1600', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis / Dutch Review of Church History*, 75 (1995), 1–30.

[46] See, for example, Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London, 1971).

internal promptings to good and to evil.[47] Scot's disbelief in witchcraft is grounded in his conviction that there are no real devils. He denied being a Saducee, but James VI and I thought that he was; he denied being a *pneumatomachus*, or spirit killer, but John Deacon and John Walker thought that he was.[48] He denied being a Familist (in the very same breath as he pointed out the similarity between his arguments and those of the Familists) but that is what *I* think he was.[49] For at every point his views coincide with those of the Family of Love, who never openly declared their beliefs, and were always happy to take any test of orthodoxy administered to them.

Not only were the Familists the only other people in England who denied the reality of devils and angels, but for Niclaes, as for Scot, devils and angels are merely metaphors for interior processes. For Niclaes, as for Scot, the Bible is not history but metaphor, an account of the spiritual development of the individual soul. The resurrection of Lazarus, or the casting out of devils, were not events in the real world, performed by an historical Christ, but events that occurred within the believer's inner world, as he became transformed into Christ. Scot finds ridiculous the idea that Eve was tempted by an actual serpent: he is obliged to, because he also has no time for the idea that witches can have familiars (black cats, say) that are devils incarnate. The Familists, and Scot along with the Familists, denied not only witchcraft, but also miracles—the true miracle was the remaking of one's inner self. It was said that, since they insisted

[47] David Wootton, 'Reginald Scot / Abraham Fleming / the Family of Love', in *Languages of Witchcraft*, ed. Stuart Clark (Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 119–38, at pp. 120–4. I no longer think that the case for Fleming being a Familist is robust; and *Temporis filia veritas* is not a Familist tract: see Paul Valkema Blouw, 'Printed in Holland: the anonymous *Temporis filia Veritas*, [Leiden] 1589', *Quaerendo*, 28 (1998), 41–8. There is a conventional view (e.g. Benjamin Bertram, *The Time is Out of Joint: Skepticism in Shakespeare's England* (Newark, DE, 2004), pp. 28–57) that Scot's views on witchcraft can be explained in terms of his avowed anti-Catholicism; but there were many anti-Catholics in England and only one Scot. This is true *a fortiori* for his supposed patriarchalism. Scot's denial of magic meant that he held that all apparent magic was really legerdemain. On this aspect of his thought see Stephen James Forrester, *The Annotated Discovery of Witchcraft Booke XIII* (Calgary: privately printed, 2000) and Robert Iliffe, 'Lying Wonders and Juggling Tricks: nature and imposture in early modern England', in *Everything Connects: In Conference with Richard H. Popkin*, ed. J. Force and D. Katz (Leiden, 1998), pp 183–210.

[48] James VI, *Daemonologie in forme of a dialogue* (Edinburgh, 1597), f. 2v; John Deacon and John Walker, *Dialogicall Discourses of Spirits and Divels* (London, 1601), sig. A4r. The original pneumatomachi belong to the late fourth and early fifth centuries. A character called 'Pneumatomachus' appears in Deacon's and Walker's book: the views he expounds appear to be Scot's; the authors had certainly read Scot, who appears in their bibliography under 'R' for Reginald. Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London, 1584), pp. 557–9.

[49] Scot, *Discoverie*, p. 539.

that the last judgement had already occurred, they were prepared to deny the resurrection of the body and life after death; Scot too casts doubt on the immortality of the soul. Their theology had a place for God and for Christ, but none for the Holy Spirit or for Trinitarianism; the same is true (or nearly true) of Scot's. This mystical and spiritual faith was thus at the same time supremely rational in its denial of any supernatural events in the external world—it was even claimed that Familists went so far as to deny the historical reality of Christ.[50] Familism was consequently, in the eyes of contemporaries, not so much a religion as a peculiar form of unbelief. As Henoch Clapham complained:

> The Family-of-Loue doe ouerthrow all the Genealogie and Crono-logie of Scripture, by turning really all the History into an Allegorie: entertaining (and good enough for that purpose) the Apocripha-writings also. By the which I cannot easily be otherwise perswaded; but as first: they shut up God and Diuell, Christ and Antichrist, Heauen and Hell, Wildernesse and *Canaan*, good and badde Angel, within mans soule, as being all of them but *Senses* or *Affections*: and as secondly, they hold an outward uniformitie with all other religions whatsoeuer (not to speake of their bawdy perfection in nakednesse) so cannot I easilie be otherwise perswaded, but that they be indeed Atheists, or at the best, but Saduces.[51]

But Familism, like modern-day liberation theology, was defined not simply by the metaphorical reinterpretation of established orthodoxies, but also by the dream of a remaking of human nature in the image of God: and this too is Scot's dream. For him '"The holie spirit is the virtue or power of God, quickening, nourishing, fostering and perfecting all things; by whose onlie breathing it commeth to passe that we both know and love GOD, and become at the length like unto him."'[52] 'At the length' is the crux: orthodox Protestantism insisted that we become like God only after death; but Scot makes no mention, here or elsewhere, of death in the context of this transformation, and it is symptomatic that his account of the Holy Spirit, such as it is, comes from a Catholic theologian, Lorenzo de Villavicencio.

[50] Marsh, *Family of Love in English Society*, p. 35. By the same logic, they were also held to deny the historical reality of HN: Henoch Clapham, *Errour on the Right Hand* (London, 1608), pp. 47–8.

[51] Henoch Clapham, *Three Partes of Salomon his Song of Songs* (London, 1603), sig. A6r. Scot's friend Nicholas Gyer evidently was aware of the charge of atheism directed at those who held Scot's views: *The English Phlebotomy* (London, 1592), sig. A7r.

[52] Scot, *Discoverie*, p. 545. This is, according to Scot, a quotation from Lorenzo de Villavicencio, *Phrases Scripturae Sacrae* (Antwerp, 1570; 2nd edn. 1571), p. 176. I have not been able to check this reference.

Thus there is a surprisingly neat fit between the three different aspects of Scot's life, which at first sight appear to have nothing to do with each other: the practical, the spiritual, and the sceptical. Neither the engineer nor the author of the *Discourse of Devils and Spirits* could make sense of the claims made by the demonologists. In the *Discoverie* Scot provides an elaborate ritual for summoning up demons so that one can put it to the test of practice and show that demons never come: the question of whether demons exist or not has been made the subject of empirical enquiry. Witchcraft simply is not a practical technology.

Scot's account of the works at Dover begins with praise for Elizabeth, and continues with praise for the privy councillors, such as Walsingham, who had commissioned the work, and for those, such as Sir Thomas Scot, who had overseen it. It was, he tells us, a 'perfect and absolute worke' and it would be nothing less than 'absurd' not to find a place for it within the nation's chronicle: his vehemence implies that he had encountered some opposition.[53] These preliminaries do not prepare us, however, for what happens when he warms to his subject. For suddenly we find that he is no longer writing in praise of the great and the good; instead he is writing about ordinary labourers who risked their lives working in dangerous conditions, men such as John Bowle:

> . . . for some at some times wrought in danger of life, and ofttimes in the waters up to the wast or shoulders. And among the rest (to whome I could rather wish a liberall recompense than a due praise) there was in these workes a poore man named John Bowle, borne and brought up in Romneie marsh, whose dexteritie of hand, fine and excellent inventions in executing difficult works, and whose willing mind and painfulnesse for his owne part, with futhering and incoraging of others, ought in some calling to have been honored, and in his poore estate should not be forgotten.[54]

He even takes time to tell us of the antics of the boys who drove the carts that carried earth and chalk to build the dam, many of whom would take a short-cut back through the rising tide, shrieking with laughter as they were ducked over head and ears.[55]

The high point of Scot's account is not, as one would expect, some feat of engineering, but an account of what happened twice a day, at

[53] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, p. 1491 col. a.

[54] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, p. 1544, col. a.

[55] 'For sometimes the boies would strip themselves naked, and ride in that case in their courts through the chanell, being so high, as they were ducked over head and eares: but they knew their horses would swim and carrie them through the streame, which ministred to some occasion of laughter and mirth.' Holinshed, *Chronicles*, p. 1546, col. a.

lunch and in the evening, when a flag was raised to tell the workers to down tools:

> But by the space of halfe an houre before the flag of libertie was hanged out, all the court drivers entered into a song, whereof although the dittie was barbarous, and the note rusticall, the matter of no moment, and all but a jest: yet is it not unworthie of some briefe note of remembrance; because the tune or rather the noise thereof was extraordinarie, and (being delivered with the continuall voice of such a multitude) was verie strange. In this and some other respect, I will set down their dittie, the words whereof were these:
>
> O Harrie hold up thy hat, t'is eleven a clocke,
> and a little, little, little, little past:
> My bow is broke, I would unyoke,
> My foot is sore, I can worke no more,
>
> This song was made and set in Romneie marsh, where their best making is making of wals and dikes, and their best setting is to set a needle or a stake in a hedge: howbeit this is a more civill call than the brutish call at the theatre for the comming awaie of the plaiers to the stage. I thinke there was never worke attempted with more desire, nor proceeded in with more contentment, nor executed with greater travell of workemen, or diligence of officers, nor provided for with more carefulnesse of commissioners, nor with truer accounts or duer paie, nor contrived with more circumspection of the devisers and undertakers of the work, nor ended with more commendation or comfort . . .[56]

Scot believed that, in the summer of 1583, he had caught a glimpse of how the world ought to be. He had seen, we would say, an ideal realised in practice. What exactly was this ideal? It was certainly an ideal of social harmony, of a world in which 'there was never any tumult, fraie, nor falling out'; of a world in which all worked together for the common good; of a world in which labourers could make their voices heard, and there could be a mutual affection between master and servant—when Sir Thomas Scot fell ill, the workers sang not of their broken backs and sore feet, but of their hopes for his recovery.[57] This world stands in stark opposition to the world he describes in *The Discoverie*, where old women begging for food are turned away by their neighbours, and rain curses upon them. It also, it would seem, stood in opposition in his mind to the world of the theatre. There all social classes met, but the cries of the groundlings were brutish. And on the stage, plenty of common soldiers and labourers appeared and spoke—but they always had about them

[56] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, p. 1546, col. b.
[57] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, p. 1546, col. a.

something of the 'rude mechanical'. By contrast there is nothing patronising or supercilious in Scot's praise of John Bowle.

Scot was an engineer; it is not surprising that he thought that feats of engineering should be recorded in Holinshed. What is surprising is that he wanted to memorialise John Bowle and the song of the Romney Marsh labourers. How are we to explain these extraordinary passages? These are, it is true, men that Scot worked alongside day by day. Scot's own social position, as a younger son of a gentleman, was precarious, and he might have felt that he had as much in common with them as with the beneficiaries of primogeniture. But those whose social status is precarious are often the keenest to assert their superiority.[58] Scot was soon to be elected as an MP; he could already describe himself to the Dean of Rochester and the Archdeacon of Canterbury as 'your loving friend'; John Bowle would be a labourer all his life.[59] We need a further explanation for Scot's extraordinary egalitarianism, for his belief in what he calls 'common humanitie'.[60]

This brings us back to the Family of Love. The Family of Love was, from one point of view, an intensely hierarchical organisation. Hendrik Niclaes, who called himself H. N., for Homo Novus, the new man who would replace the old Adam, was the leader of a cult, and he expected to be obeyed. Throughout the Family, the elders ruled over the youngsters, and men ruled over women. But since they believed that the Fall could be undone, and sin eradicated from the human heart, they were committed to the view that government, private property, and clothing—the consequences of the Fall—could be rendered unnecessary, and could be replaced by equality, communality, and nudity. (It is hard to tell, when Niclaes writes of nudity, whether he intends to be taken metaphorically or literally; contemporaries, such as Henoch Clapham, took him literally, where modern historians read him metaphorically.[61]) But we need to remember that the whole point of the Family of Love was that they aspired to make real an impossible ideal—to replace sin by perfection, and gov-

[58] We know that Scot had a strong sense of his identity as a gentleman: see Gyer, *English Phlebotomy*, sig. A5v–A6r.
[59] Scot, *Discoverie*, sig. B1v.
[60] Scot, *Perfite Platforme of a Hoppe Garden* (2nd edn., London, 1578), sig. B1v.
[61] Niclaes, *Prouerbia HN*, ff. 38v–39r: 'Forasmuch then as that yee to-gether are but one Bodie therfore yee shall not faine nor couer you before each-other, but walke alwayes openlie and vncoueredlie; in all naked Purenes; before each-other: and haue euenso a good-pleasure, in each-others Bewtie and Purenes'; *idem*, *Terra Pacis*, ch. 34 (ff. 52r–53v); Hennoch Clapham, *Errour on the Right Hand*, pp. 48, 54; *idem*, *Three Partes*, pp. 80–1; Hamilton, *Family of Love*, p. 37.

ernment by the society Niclaes describes in *Terra Pacis*, the new Jerusalem, in which all cooperate willingly, everyone is a King, and there is a universal prosperity.

Scot's description of the Dover Harbour works as 'perfect and absolute', his enthusiastic account of the ideal society realised briefly in Dover in the summer of 1583, can only be explained by reference to a philosophy which allowed him to believe that Utopia could be here and now, that even impossible ideals could be made real. In England in the 1580s there was only one philosophy that encouraged beliefs of this sort: it was the philosophy of the Family of Love, which announced that we are already living in the New Jerusalem. According to a critic, the Family of Love aspired to 'a paritie and commixtion of all [e]states', and it is precisely this that is enacted in Scot's narrative of the engineering works in Dover harbour.[62] That philosophy does not, of course, explain why Scot thought that a major civil engineering project might best serve as the representation of an ideal society: to do that we need to add to Scot's Familism his belief in technological and economic progress and his own marginal social status.[63] Other Familists were not Oxford educated; other Familists were not impoverished gentlemen; other Familists were not engineers; and so other Familists could not have written *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* or Scot's account of the Dover harbour works. But other Familists surely recognised in Scot someone who shared their principles: in 1609 an abbreviated *Discoverie of Witchcraft* was published in Dutch by Thomas Basson, an Englishman living in Leiden. Basson was a Familist who also published the works of H.N.[64]

* * *

In this lecture I have brought into close relationship three texts that appear at first sight to belong to three entirely separate worlds: the *Terra*

[62] *A Supplication of the Family of Love*, p. 20.

[63] For technological progress, see the account of John Young in Holinshed, *Chronicles*, pp. 1536 col. b–1537 col. a; for an economic analysis, see the discussion of the cost of horses, carts and drivers on p. 1542 col. b; for economic progress see Scot, *A Perfite Platforme of a Hoppe Garden* (2nd edn., London, 1578). There is a sophisticated account of economic development in Thomas Digges, 'A briefe discourse declaringe how honorable and profitable . . . the making of Dover Haven shalbe', ed. T. M. Wrighte, *Archaeologia*, 11 (1794), 212–54: Scot may well have been familiar with this text, which was later spuriously attributed to Raleigh: *A Discourse of Sea-Ports; Principally of the Port and Haven of Dover: Written by Sir Walter Rawleigh, and Address'd to Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1700); reprinted as *An essay on ways and means to maintain the honour and safety of England, to encrease trade, merchandize, navigation* (London, 1701).

[64] J. A. van Dorsten, *Thomas Basson, 1555–1613, English Printer at Leiden* (Leiden, 1961).

Pacis of Hendrik Niclaes; Queen Elizabeth's Twenty-Seven Stanzas in French; and Reginald Scot's description of the building of a dam in Dover harbour. My argument is that these three texts all belong to the same world, the world invented by Hendrik Niclaes, a world that now seems lost and gone for ever.

In the eyes of Niclaes and his followers, true perfection was realised in the elders of the Family of Love. It is hard for us to understand this belief. As surely as we know that devils cannot be summoned into our presence by an incantation, we also know that this idea of perfection is based on a profound misunderstanding. The very idea of a perfect person makes us impatient. The claim to have realised the ideal suggests to us a sort of madness. This is a view we share with the Calvinists of Elizabethan England. But we also believe that even the poor should have a voice, that there should be a parity and commixture of estates, that we can build a society on principles of liberty and equality, that we can govern ourselves, that there can be a universal prosperity. When we make these claims, as we do every day, we are as committed as the Familists were to the idea of building a heavenly city here and now. We believe that we are closer to that ideal than Reginald Scot was in the summer of 1583. But for the Familists, this ideal was not something that one could creep up on. They did not believe in progress but in eschatology. And so they tried to build the new society quietly and secretly within the old. To Queen Elizabeth, Robert Seale declared himself in his poem to be Christ incarnate. And, supervising the labourers of Romney Marsh as they worked in Dover in the summer of 1583, Reginald Scot was building the New Jerusalem.

Note. My thanks to the Huntington Library and the British Library for permission to reproduce the illustrations.

This lecture has been many years in preparation. It completes a line of enquiry I began as a visitor to the Shelby Cullom Davis Center, Princeton University in 1992–3, and for which I received funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Board in 1999–2000. More recently, earlier versions have been given in Oxford (twice: the paper was first delivered at a celebration for Blair Worden's sixtieth birthday), Cambridge, and Rotterdam, and as an inaugural lecture at York.