Migration and Mimesis in the English Renaissance, 1492-1668

by

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Dedication

For my parents

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Abstract

This dissertation argues that migration constituted an essential problematic in Renaissance literature and history. Definitions of migration vary across disciplines with different levels of abstraction and sub-categorization. Rather than adopt a prescriptive notion of what migration is, which can only be provisional, this study approaches migration as a social process (or praxis) whose meaning is itself subject to ongoing interpretation, not least through literature and drama. As a social movement, migration is always already a site of interpretive conflict, a fact nowhere more evident than in how the mass movement of people, along with climate change, has come to be perceived as one of the most pressing and contested issues facing humanity today. This study traces the beginning(s) of this present-day crisis in the social and historical contradictions of early modernity (1492-1668), a pivotal moment in world history that witnessed voluntary and forced migrations on a global scale. It does so through the unique perspective afforded by literary history, conceived in the *longue durée* but with a particular focus on works produced in and around England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Specifically, it examines four major genres of Renaissance literature and drama (utopian fiction, tragedy, romance, and pastoral) that responded to the conditions that produced, and were produced by, migration in the early modern world.

Introduction The Fictional Lives of Migrants

1. Migration and Mimesis

This study contends that migration constituted an essential problematic in the development of English fiction in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: that the liminal situation of the migrant emerged in this period as a key figure through which the collective-aesthetic process we know as fiction (or fiction-making) was made possible. By this, I do not mean that imaginative works featuring migrants did not exist or were less significant in other places and times; nor do I mean to suggest that fictionality was the invention of (western) European modernity as has sometimes been claimed. Fiction, like migration, is understood as a wide-ranging and heterogeneous phenomenon, at once transhistorical and transcultural, which can hardly be confined to the boundaries of early modern England or Europe. My aim is less to deconstruct or provincialize the modernist narrative about the "rise of fictionality" (often, though not always, associated with the "rise of the novel") as a number of important studies have done, than it is to examine the historical and institutional determinants that allowed certain kinds of literature about migrants to become newly resonant and significant during the English Renaissance. In short, my aim is to

¹ For a comparative approach to the history of Eurasian fiction, see Walter Cohen, "Eurasian Fiction," *The Global South* 1.1 (2007): 100-119.

² On the rise of novelistic fictionality in early modern Europe, see Catherine Gallagher, "The Rise of Fictionality," in *The Novel: History, Geography, and Culture*, ed. Franco Moretti (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 336-363. Gallagher's account of the rise of fictionality has prompted a lively discussion about premodern fictionalities. See Monika Fludernik, "The Fiction of the Rise of Fictionality," *Poetics Today* 39.1 (2018): 67-92; Julie Orlemanski, "Who Has Fiction? Modernity, Fictionality, and the Middle Ages," *New Literary History* 50.2 (2019): 145-170; Michelle Karnes, "The Possibilities of Medieval Fiction," *New Literary History* 51.1 (2020): 209-228.

trace *a literary history of migration* that foregrounds the radical and cosmopolitical dimension of early modern fiction-making, one that would counter the national or civilizational paradigms typically assumed in accounts of Renaissance literary history.³ To this end, I emphasize the convergence of two separate but related processes that enabled migration-as-fiction to emerge as a locus of *popular participation*: 1) the mass production of landlessness during the early stages of European global expansion, and 2) the mass publication of literary and dramatic fictions that grappled with the existential situation of migrants.

Migrants seldom leave extensive records of their lives. Their experiences, like their movements, are transitory and resistant to representation, and it is only in rare instances that their histories come to be preserved and made available for the benefit of interested readers and audience. Yet this is, in some ways, what happened in early modern England, when literatures of and about migrants were made popular through new and emergent forms of publication. On the best-sellers list were Greek romances, such as Robert Greene's *Pandosto* (1588), or picaresque novels, such as Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), which catered to the desire of the public to read about, and to imagine themselves in, the precarious situation of migrants in farflung places. Strangers, conversos, and refugees populated the London stage, whether in Mediterranean plays, such as Shakespeare's *Othello* (1603) or Philip Massinger's *The Renegado* (1623), or city dramas, such as John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* (1604) or William Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money* (1598). Frequently featured in pamphlets and broadside ballads were peddlers, rogues, and vagabond, representing an emerging class of mobile, working

³ This study participates in a growing body of scholarship on migration literature. See Josephine McDonagh and Jonathan Sachs, "Introduction: Literature and Migration," *Modern Philology* 118.2 (2020): 204-212; McDonagh, *Literature in a Time of Migration: British Fiction and the Movement of People, 1815–1876* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021); Charlotte Sussman, *Peopling the World: Representing Human Mobility from Milton to Malthus* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020). See also, Dohra Ahmad, ed., *The Penguin Book of Migration Literature* (New York: Penguin Books, 2019).

poor. Then there were works published by migrants themselves, such as travel writings, spiritual autobiographies, captivity or conversion narratives, and poems of exile, all of which responded, in one way or another, to the emerging reality of human movement in England, Europe, and the world.

There was, we might say, a vibrant market for migration literature. In the growing body of print media as well as stage-plays performed daily at London's commercial theaters, the lives of migrants—real or imagined—were published and transformed into an object of collective engagement and participation. Consider the life of Al-Hassan Al-Wazzan (also known as Leo Africanus), whose wide-ranging journey across the Mediterranean world was, and continues to be, a subject of much imaginative investment.⁴ Following the Christian reconquest of Spain in 1492, the Granada-born Al-Wazzan migrated to Fez, where he became a merchant-diplomat and traveled to various parts of Africa and the Near East. He was later captured by Venetian pirates and transported to Italy, where he converted to Christianity and wrote a widely influential account of his travels, *Della descrittione dell'Africa* (1550), published in Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, and English.⁵ The English translation of Al-Wazzan's treatise was published by John Pory in 1600, along with a preface by Richard Hakluyt, who is said to have encouraged the publication of *The Description of Africa* for the comprehensive, first-hand knowledge it offered of the African continent, which remained largely unknown to Europeans.⁶ In his address to the

⁴ On the historical Leo Africanus and his afterlife, see Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006). See also, Bernadette Andrea, "The Ghost of Leo Africanus from the English to the Irish Renaissance," in *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval through Modern*, eds. Patricia Clare Ingham and Michell R. Warren (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 195-215.

⁵ For a survey of the life and work of Al-Wazzan, see Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa: And of the Notable Things Therein Contained*, Volume 1, ed. Robert Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), i-cxi.

⁶ Hakluyt writes: "I am well assured, that having once read this booke of Iohn Leo, and throughly considered the matters therein contained and declared, they will esteeme the relations of all others, in comparison of this, to be but briefe, vnperfect, and of little moment" (*Description of Africa*, 104).

readers, Pory emphasizes how Al-Wazzan's geographical history of Africa is distinguished from previous authorities on the subject (such as Pliny's *Natural History*) in that it was written by a contemporary African, who, by virtue of his extraordinarily capacious learning (he was well versed in Arabic, Spanish, Italian, and much else) as much as by his own extensive travels across Africa, Asia, and Europe, could speak with singular authority on how these worlds compared to one another. The personal history of Al-Wazzan as a migrant made what he had to say about the world true and compelling and therefore worth the attention of the European public—just as his fictional contemporary Othello would recommend himself to Venetian society and captivate the attention of Desdemona by fashioning himself as the author of his own migrant-history:

Her father loved me, oft invited me, Still questioned me the story of my life From year to year: the battles, sieges, fortunes That I have passed. I ran it through, even from my boyish days To th' very moment that he bade me tell it, Wherein I spoke of most disastrous chances; Of moving accidents by flood and fields; Of hairbreadth scapes i'th' imminent deadly breach; Of being taken by the insolent foe And sold to slavery; of my redemption thence, And portance in my traveler's history; ... My story being done, She gave me for my pains a world of kisses. She swore, "In faith, 'twas strange, 'twas passing strange. 'Twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful. (1.3.128-161)⁸

Othello's narrative bears an uncanny resemblance not only to the purportedly factual account of Al-Wazzan's own life (sold to slavery; and his redemption thence) but also to the wondrous stories of shipwreck, captivity, and adventure to be found in the period's popular romances, all of

⁷ See Pory's advertisement in "His Address to the Readers," *Description of Africa*, 4-11.

⁸ Unless otherwise stated, all citations of Shakespeare refer to *The Norton Shakespeare*, edited by Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, Katherine Eisaman Maus, Gordon McMullan, and Suzanne Gossett (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2015).

which published for the pleasures of attentive readers and audience evidently inclined to be moved by such moving tales—like Desdemona who, Othello tells us, would "come again, and with a greedy ear / Devour up my discourse"; 1.3.149-150).

The life of a migrant, it seems, lends itself well to fictionalization. The history of Al-Wazzan is the subject of a fictional memoire, Leo Africanus (1986), written by Amin Maalouf, whose own identity as a French author of Lebanese heritage mirrors that of the Renaissance traveler. Othello, of course, has been the subject of many adaptations, including Tayeb Salih's post-colonial novel, Season of Migration to the North (1966), whose Sudanese protagonist, Mustafa Sa'eed, utters the memorable line, "I am no Othello, Othello was a lie." In such imaginative renderings of migrant-lives, the boundaries separating life from fiction are not so much blurred as they are problematized. The life of a migrant, because it is so far-fetched, might resemble a work of fiction, while a fictional work might acquire a sense of vitality by maintaining an active relationship with the life-story of an actual migrant. But in order for such dialectical transactions between reality and illusion to occur, there must first exist an implicit contract between the author and the reader who both agree to consider the imagined figure of the migrant as if they were a real person: a liminal figure that stands in the gaps (or inter-mediates) between the illusory world of literature and the real world inhabited by the reader. The figure of the migrant, in this sense, enacts a metaphorical transfer (the Greek *metaphero* means "to carry between") between two incommensurable planes of perception, such that a new, heightened sense of reality may be brought into being through the work of figuration. It is through this threeway transaction between the author, the character, and the reader that the aesthetic process known as *fiction* may be said to occur: a phenomenon whose historical origin has sometimes

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⁹ Tayeb Salih, *Season of Migration to the North*, trans. Denys Johnson-Davis (New York: New York Review Books, 2009), 79.

been traced back to the rise of the (English) novel in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, along with the emergence of a public sphere made up of private individuals actively participating (as readers of novels as well as newspapers) in the affairs of the *res publica*.

For Jürgen Habermas, the experience of reading novels—taken as an instance of fiction par excellence—is illustrative of the ways in which the relationship between private and public lives are continually reconfigured in civil society. Fiction allows ordinary individuals to collectively participate in a mediated reality, at once virtual and actual, which is shared, contested, and negotiated by the heterogeneous members of the public capable of critical self-reflection:

The reality as illusion that the new genre [the novel] created received its proper name in English, "fiction": it shed the character of the *merely* fictitious. The psychological novel fashioned for the first time of the kind of realism that allowed anyone to enter into the literary action as a substitute for his own, to use the relationship between the figures, between the author, the characters, and the reader as substitute relationships for reality.¹¹

While Habermas's focus is on a particular kind of realism (novelistic, psychological), the insight that fictions—as figures of reality—enables a participatory attitude in the public has a particular resonance in relation to what historians and literary scholars have come to describe, with some qualifications, as the early modern (or post-Reformation) public sphere. ¹² In the wake of the Reformation, England and Europe witnessed a proliferation of publics and counterpublics—made possible by the advent of print publications as well as other official and unofficial forms of

¹⁰ On the place of fiction in Habermas's conception of the public sphere, see Steven Mullaney, "What's Hamlet for Habermas?: Theatrical Publication and the Early Modern Stage," in *The Reformation of Emotions in the Age of Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 144-174. See especially, 151-159.

¹¹ Jürgen Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), 50. Qtd. in Mullaney, *The Reformation of Emotions*, 154, 157.

¹² See Peter Lake and Steve Pincus, "Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England," *Journal of British Studies* 45 (April 2006): 270-292. On the politics of "popularity" afforded by this emerging public sphere, see Jeffrey S. Doty, *Shakespeare, Popularity, and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

"public-making"—with the potential to transcend the circumscriptions of traditional bonds (e.g., family, rank, or vocation) and identities imposed by centralized, authoritative institutions (e.g., state or church).¹³ Together, these overlapping and at times conflicting forms of association constituted a public sphere at once more heterogeneous, haphazard, and decentered than the idealized model of rational debate associated with the Habermasian (bourgeois) public sphere. In a sustained critique of Habermas, Steven Mullaney has suggested that we understand early modern public culture as comprising of distinct yet overlapping spheres of publications including oral, scribal, print, and theatrical media—through which private individuals could come together to form voluntary associations. 14 By adopting a more expansive notion of publication than Habermas allows (one that includes but ultimately goes beyond print), Mullaney emphasizes the distinct role of fiction in the constitution of early modern publics: it is through the publication of fiction that thoughts, feelings, and beliefs, which might otherwise remain unconscious, are made available for inspection and enactment. In this, fiction is reconceived as an inherently theatrical phenomenon: a meta-critical activity that members of the public engage in as they participate in the ongoing production of a collective imaginary.¹⁵

What does it mean to participate in the fictional lives of migrants? What substitute relationship for reality did migration-as-fiction offer the early modern public? What is remarkable about fictional migrants in this period is that they are never what they seem. Lear, banished from his daughters' houses, is and isn't a king. The fugitives squatting in the Forest of Arden are and aren't shepherds. Othello is and isn't a Moor. They stand at a distance from what

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¹³ For a post-Habermasian approach to early modern publics and public-making, see Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin, eds., *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

¹⁴ Mullaney, *Reformation of Emotions*, 168-169.

¹⁵ "Reading imaginative fiction is a complex, empathetic, and intersubjective process. It is also a performative and theatrical one, albeit in a more abstracted and figurative sense than we experience when seeing and hearing a play" (Mullaney, *Reformation of Emotions*, 159).

they are or were. They are ironical, the way Hamlet is ironical. Caught between places and selves, they are figures in movement, undergoing a fashioning of sort. As a condition of liminality, migrancy may be understood as a form of theatricality in that it affords its participants a certain estranged perspective—of having one foot out of everyday reality and in another, of being here and elsewhere, at once. To participate in the lives of migrants through fiction, in this sense, is to participate in the theatrical process that is the function of fiction itself. Here, I do not mean stories of migration that are perceived to be *merely* fictitious because they have little or no bearings on actual, lived experiences. Such stories, if they exist, would not strictly qualify as fiction in the sense defined earlier. Rather, I am referring to instances where imaginative or aesthetic engagements with migration—as a liminal phenomenon—resonate with, and draw attention to, the inherently theatrical aspect of fiction-making: an activity in which the audience as social-performative beings participate everyday as they navigate the dramas of their own lives. One does not have to be a migrant to participate in the fiction of migration—although, as we will see, migration was increasingly becoming the norm in early modern society—just as one does not have to be a prince to participate in *Hamlet* or a Moor to participate in *Othello*. This is because what is at stake is precisely the human or humanistic capacity to relate to the imagined situation of others in one's own way (Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto): to recognize in the figure of the migrant, one's own condition of being in the world.

By emphasizing the perceptual possibilities afforded by the process of mimetic-identification over that of mimetic-differentiation, this study differs from past and current scholarship that focuses on the representation of migrants as the stranger-alien in relation to which cultural, racial, ethnic identities are constructed. Notable examples include Scott A. Oldenberg's *Alien Albion: Literature and Immigration in Early Modern England* (2014) and

Marjorie Rubright's Doppelgänger Dilemmas: Anglo-Dutch Relations in Early Modern English Literature and Culture (2014), which approach representation primarily as a function of mastering or negotiating difference (or otherness) in the context of early modern subjectformation. 16 In this, they participate in a larger body of scholarship that focuses on European representations of cultural others, such as Barbara Fuchs's Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities (2001), which examines how representations of Islam and the New World, through a complex play of likeness and difference, contributed to the formation of European identities. ¹⁷ As indispensable as such studies are, however, they take for granted the national-identitarian paradigm that they purport to deconstruct, such that the meaning of migration in literature is always already subsumed under the history of nations and empires. In so doing, they fail to take into account the popular participatory dimension of early modern fictionmaking—enabled by new and emergent forms of publication—with the potential to dissolve (rather than merely consolidate) existing bonds and form new allegiances and associations: in short, the capacity of literature to create "imagined communities" out of anonymous strangers. 18 If, as I have suggested, early modern England witnessed a proliferation of literature about migrants, along with an expanded public ready to critically engage with them, the question then becomes: What alternative forms of sociality, knowledge, and perception were made possible by such mimetic engagements? What did it mean to read or watch fictions of migration in the early modern world?

¹⁶ Scott A. Oldenberg, *Alien Albion: Literature and Immigration in Early Modern England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014). Marjorie Rubright, *Doppelgänger Dilemmas: Anglo-Dutch Relations in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

¹⁷ Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

Migration and Mimesis in the English Renaissance explores these questions by turning to some of the major genres of the period, including romance, tragedy, utopian fiction, and pastoral. As a form of mediation, genre functions as a conceptual-aesthetic frame through which the perplexing and at times bewildering phenomenon of human movement can be transformed into something intelligible, meaningful, and compelling. At the same time, the awareness of the conventionality and limitation of genre can produce a sense of estrangement. This was especially true of Renaissance/Reformation culture where multiple and disparate representational strategies (old and new, written and oral, learned and popular) competed with each other, often within a single work, resulting in a state of hermeneutic uncertainty and contestation that could potentially challenge—or unsettle—the period's dominant ideas and ideologies. My argument is that migration in literature instantiated such an "interpretive conflict" in early modern public culture: 19 that it functioned as a vehicle of critical-dialectical consciousness by enjoining the public to grapple with the conflicts and contradictions brought about by the movement of people.

The effort of the early modern public to make sense of the phenomenon of movement, through fiction or otherwise, bears a close resemblance to our present-day situation where migration has come to be perceived as an urgent and contested problem in need of a collective solution: a problem to which literature and literary studies, in conjunction with other discursive practices, have sought to respond in their own way. This is evident in the growing body of poems and fictions published in recent decades that address, and make visible, the experience of migrants and refugees. It is also apparent in the proliferation of critical discourse and scholarship on the subject of human mobility in the humanities and the social sciences. Migration has instantiated an interpretive conflict in the public sphere, including official and unofficial forms of

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¹⁹ I borrow the phrase "interpretive conflict" from John Frow, *On Interpretive Conflict* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).

mass media, where the movement of people, in its sheer scale and the brutal conditions that necessitate it, can sometimes be interpreted as part of a general or systemic crisis: a symptom of a fundamental social ill, which, if taken seriously, would necessitate a radical rethinking of the foundational ideas and categories governing society as a whole. For instance, responding to present-day crises, a number of scholars have emphasized the primacy of migration in human history in order to critique—and imagine an alternative to—the dominant political paradigms of modernity founded on notions of settlement, state, and citizenship. Thomas Nail has argued that "migration is the primary condition by which something like societies and states is established in the first place"; while Claire Colebrook has gone so far as to suggest that we see "the ongoing creation of city-states, industry and empires" as the "halting of migration," stating that "migration is not a chance occurrence within history, but *is* history." By understanding migration as an always present reality underlying the histories written from the point of view of settlement, such studies gesture toward a counter-history of human movement that might have been obscured by normative representations of society in apparent stasis and stability.

Such a dynamic or dialectical conception of society and history—one usually associated with materialist thinkers, old and new—had its roots in Renaissance literature's response to the reality of migration and mobility in its own time: a reality which, like today, would present itself as a set of irresolvable contradictions in need of an imaginary resolution. While Lucretius is sometimes credited as the philosopher of movement *par excellence*, given that his *De Rerum Natura* had at best a limited currency even after its Renaissance discovery, a more pertinent example might be Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), whose status as the inaugural text of the

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²⁰ Thomas Nail, *The Figure of the Migrant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 236. Claire Colebrook, "Transcendental Migration," in *Life Adrift: Climate Change, Migration, Critique* (London: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2017), 6.

utopian-humanist tradition is inseparably linked to its critical response to the mass movement of people that accompanied the processes of European capital-imperial formation. In a poignant passage, More-as-Hythloday puts forth a cogent analysis of an emerging regime of mobility brought about by the enclosure of the commons, which would result in the creation of a new class of landless people:

> Thus one greedy, insatiable glutton, a frightful plague to his native country, may enclose many thousand acres of land within a single hedge. The tenants are dismissed; some are stripped of their belongings by trickery or brute force, or, wearied by constant harassment, are driven to sell them. By hook and by crook these miserable people—men, women, husbands, wives, orphans, widows, parents with little children, whole families . . . are forced to move out. They leave the only homes familiar to them, and they can find no place to go. $(19)^{21}$

The enduring power of More's *Utopia* derives from the way it expands a critique of a particular social ill (i.e., enclosure) into a general critique of European society and its foundational institution, private property. What enables this estranged perspective, in part, is the image of migrants cast out of their home ("the poor wretches"), whose alienated condition becomes for More, as it will for Marx, an emblem of the fundamental injustice that undergirds European society as a whole. As I discuss in Chapter 1, it is no coincidence that More would choose Hythloday as the voice of his radicalism, a member of the Portuguese diaspora, who, having travelled far and wide, is said to have acquired a certain worldly perspective that allows him to question the legitimacy of European society governed by princely powers ("[M]ost princes apply themselves to the arts of war . . . instead of to the good arts of peace. They are generally more set on acquiring new kingdoms by hook and by crook than on governing well those that they already have"; 15). Such is the perspective we glimpse (albeit in more subdued and indirect style) in the work of another cosmopolitan, the aforementioned Al-Wazzan, whose treatise contains the

²¹ Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. George M. Logan (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2011).

following parable about "a most wily bird" called Amphibia that emigrates to the sea to avoid paying tribute to the bird king:²²

There was vpon a time a most wily bird, so indued by nature, that she could liue as well with the fishes of the sea, as with the fowles of the aire; wherefore she was rightly called Amphibia. This bird being summoned before the king of birds to pay her yeerely tribute, determined foorthwith to change her element, and to delude the king; and so flying out of the aire, she drencht herselfe in the Ocean sea. Which strange accident the fishes woondring at, came flocking about Amphibia, saluting her, and asking her the cause of her comming. Good fishes (quoth the bird) know you not, that all things are turned so vpside downe, that we wot not how to liue securely in the aire? Our tyrannicall king (what furie haunts him, I know not) commanded me to be cruelly put to death, whereas no silly bird respected euer his commoditie as I haue done. Which most vniust edict I no sooner heard of, but presently (gentle fishes) I came to you for refuge. (189)

Amphibia is not being entirely honest when she says that no bird ever respected the interest ("commoditie") of her king as she has. Her speech is intended to portray herself in a sympathetic light so she may be accepted by the fishes as a deserving refugee. But her apparent proficiency in the use of guiles does not preclude what she says from being true. The narrator tells us that Amphibia's flight was motivated by the demand to pay her yearly tribute to the bird king, which, if she were to refuse, would presumably mean that she would be "put to death." To the extent that the reader perceives such a tributary relation to be a form of tyranny, as Hythloday undoubtedly would have, Amphibia, in taking flight to avoid taxation, is indeed seeking refuge from a "most unjust edict." In other words, Amphibia's refugee status is suspect only insofar as the dominion of kingly powers is accepted as the natural state of things rather than as a state of unfreedom brought about by the perversion of the social order as Amphibia claims it to be ("all things are turned so vpside downe, that we wot not how to liue securely in the aire"). In this way, the parable instantiates a familiar interpretive conflict that would inform all public perception of migrants: Is Amphibia a refugee or a tax-dodger? Does she deserve our sympathy or scorn? Is

²² Africanus, Description of Africa, 189-190.

migration an abnormal and in some ways shameful condition of existence? Or is it a legitimate form of resistance against the territorial-sovereign imposition of kingly powers?

The parable of Amphibia is no simple morality tale. Rather, it allows itself to be read as a series of conflicting morality tales, whose meaning is contingent upon the expectations and perspectives that the reader brings with them. What remains constant throughout, however, is the emerging reality (taken for granted by the author, characters, and readers alike) of early modern subjecthood: that to be a person of any kind is to be a tax-paying subject of some monarch. Having successfully persuaded the fishes to let her stay with them for a year, during which time she would enjoy a tax-exempt status ("not paying one penie or halfe-penie"), Amphibia once again changes her elements and moves back to the sky when it is demanded that she start paying tribute as a "loyall subject" to the king of the fishes. By her second flight, Amphibia does not so much resist the rule of a particular king as she repudiates the idea of monarchical government itself. By virtue of its extra-juridical dimension, the act of migration effectively exposes the arbitrariness of the claims that monarchs have over their territorial subjects: an arbitrariness with which, Al-Wazzan, an inter-imperial subject and a Muslim convert to Christianity, would have been all too familiar. For Al-Wazzan, the figure of Amphibia represents the existential situation of early modern migrants who must negotiate between conflicting and overlapping allegiances in order to survive:

Out of this fable I will inferre no other morall, but that all men doe most affect that place, where they finde least damage and inconvenience. For mine owne part, when I heare the Africans euill spoken of, I wil affirme my selfe to be one of Granada: and when I perceive the nation of Granada to be discommended, then will I professe my selfe to be an African. (189-190)

Amphibia represents the ironic position of Al-Wazzan as a "cultural amphibian" enjoined to adopt a double consciousness. ²³ But this attitude of estrangement, he says, is not unique to the situation of migrants but applies to "all men" who "doe most affect that place, where they finde least damage and inconvenience." The figure of Amphibia—as a fugitive of the state—acquires a universal-metaphoric resonance and becomes a figure of Everyman. It constitutes a *fiction* in the Habermasian sense, a device which Al-Wazzan himself refers to as "resemblance" or "similitude" ("may it please you for this purpose to heare another resemblance or similitude"; 189). George Puttenham places "similitude" under the general category of "resemblance" (or *Omiosis*), whose function is to strengthen and magnify the meaning of the literal or the denotative referent by likening it with another thing:

As well to a good maker and poet as to an excellent persuader in prose, the Figure of Similitude is very necessary, by which we not only beautify our tale but also very much enforce and enlarge it. I say enforce because no one thing prevaileth with all ordinary judgments than persuasion by similitude. (326)²⁴

By likening his own situation as a migrant to the figure of Amphibia, Al-Wazzan transforms the historical-existential situation of migrants like him into an aesthetic object; and, in so doing, he enjoins the readers, including those with no experience being a migrant, to newly perceive (or recognize) their own socio-political condition through the estranged perspective of a migrant. To the extent that the readers mimetically identify with Amphibia and recognize her predicament as their own, they are made to perceive their own condition of subjecthood as one of unjust subjection, thus making possible a radical critique of monarchical-sovereignty and the emerging paradigm of the nation-state. This is not to suggest that it is the perspective of the "wily bird"

²³ On the use of Edward W. Said's concept of "cultural amphibian" in relation to Al-Wazzan, see Andrea,

[&]quot;Assimilation or Dissimulation?: Leo Africanus's 'Geographical Historie of Africa' and the Parable of Amphibia," *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature* 32.3 (2001), 10.

²⁴ George Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy: A Critical Edition*, eds. Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

that the parable endorses. Like Amphibia, the readers are meant to adopt a double perspective and read the parable from a position of irony, not taking it literally as if it were real but understanding it as an allegory gesturing toward something other than itself. There is, then, a double irony at play. As a fiction of migration, Al-Wazzan's Amphibia represents a figure of irony that enables an ironic attitude in the readers. To participate in such a fiction is to engage in a metacritical activity: it is to critically engage with a representation of migration, and, through that engagement, arrive at a different kind of *here* than where one usually tends to be.²⁵

To emphasize the fundamentally figural or ironic dimension of migration literature (i.e., its capacity to signify beyond what it purports to represent) over its capacity to faithfully render the truth of migrant-experiences is not to suggest that Renaissance literature was incapable of realism or verisimilitude in its engagement with migration or that the real meaning of migration in literature necessarily lies beyond the horizon of representation. Rather, it is to acknowledge the ontological status of migration and literature as worldly forces with the capacity not only to reflect (or inertly reproduce) reality but to actively shape and transform the existing state of things in the world: it is to recognize the sense in which literature—like migration—is a constitutive factor in the formation and reformation of world in that it is always gesturing toward some other world that is in the process of emerging. Migration and literature, we might say, are analogous forms of world-making or active processes in the making of world.

Phenomenologically speaking, the *world* is not an object of representation in itself. Instead, it refers to the totality of relations in which one is embedded, and which constitutes the overarching

²⁵ The phrase "a different kind of here" comes from Bert O. States, *Great Reckonings in Little Rooms: On the Phenomenology of Theater* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 4.

²⁶ On the distinction between a "world-reflecting" and a "world-creating" model of representation that informs the long history of mimesis, see Stephen Halliwell, *The Aesthetics of Mimesis: Ancient Texts and Modern Problems* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 23.

frame (or *Gestalt*) within which the perception of inner-worldly objects is made possible in the first place. Insofar as migration literature instantiates an encounter with this ultimately inappropriable world, I suggest, it functions as a perceptual vehicle with the potential to deconstruct the center-periphery paradigm of official imperialism, by necessitating a continual shift in the loci of perception between here/elsewhere, inside/outside, or self/other: a dialectical mode of knowing which may properly be called *border thinking*.

To the extent that the history of migration is irreducible to the history of particular settlements (such as nations, cities, and empire), the literature of migration must necessarily be a literature of the world: a dynamic and open-ended world always in the process of emerging through the movement of people. Such a revolutionary pronouncement must be grounded in historical-empirical scholarship if it is to be more than a rhetorical gesture. Accordingly, the following section works to establish the centrality of migration in European society prior to the Industrial Revolution. It shows how migration in this earlier period was not an external phenomenon happening at the margins of an otherwise sedentary society but a constitutive factor in the formation of society itself. My immediate engagement is with the critical histories of empire in that I focus on the major patterns of mass migration that accompanied the processes of early modern imperial formation, such as urbanization, colonization, and globalization. But my emphasis differs from previous scholarship in that I approach migration not as a secondary byproduct in the history of empire but as the primary condition by which something like nations, states, and cities are founded: I underscore the ways in which the history of human migration both precedes and supersedes the histories written from the perspective of settlement. Such a dynamic conception of society and history, I suggest, allows for more radical questions about the different forms of sociality made possible through human movement. I explore these possibilities in the following chapters by turning to some of the major developments in literature and drama during the English Renaissance.

2. Migration and Society in an Age of Expansion, c. 1492-1668

The crucial role of migration in the making of the modern world has long been recognized. But it is only in recent decades that concerted efforts have been made to establish a global comparative framework necessary to assess the scale and structure of human mobility in the periods leading up to, and following, the Industrial Revolution.²⁷ One such model has been proposed by Jan and Leo Lucassens, who use a modified version of Patrick Manning's concept of "cross-community migration" to create a transhistorical typology of human migration, which in turn allows them to estimate the migration rate (i.e., the probability of a person living in a given geographical unit migrating in a lifetime) in Europe from 1500 to 2000.²⁸ Contrary to the assumption that premodern societies in Europe were predominantly immobile, the Lucassens find substantive rates of migration in the periods prior to 1800 (e.g., 12.9% for 1501-1550 and 19.9% for 1601-1650; see Table 1), which would significantly qualify if not refute conventionally accepted

²⁷ For world-historical approaches to human migration, see Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Jan Lucassen, Leo Lucassen, and Manning, eds., *Migration History in World History: Multidisciplinary Approaches* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder, *What is Migration History?* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2009); Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); Michael H. Fisher, *Migration: A World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Robin Cohen, ed., *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). The history of human migration precedes the advent of recorded history, and hence, literature. On pre-historical migration, see Peter Bellwood, *First Migrants: Ancient Migration in Global Perspective* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

²⁸ Lucassen and Lucassen, "Measuring and Quantifying Cross-Cultural Migrations: An Introduction," in *Globalising Migration History: The Eurasian Experience* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1-54; "Quantifying and Qualifying Cross-Cultural Migrations in Europe Since 1500: A Plea for a Broader View," in *The History of Migration in Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 33-58; "The Mobility Transition Revisited, 1500-1900: What the Case of Europe Can Offer to Global History," *Journal of Global History* 4.3 (2009): 347-377. See also, Josef Ehmer, "Quantifying Mobility in Early Modern Europe: The Challenge of Concepts and Data," *Journal of Global History* 6.2 (2011): 327-338. On the concept of "cross-community migration," see Manning, *Migration in World History*, 7-10.

historiographies that view the intensification of migration in industrial Europe as constituting a "mobility transition" brought about by modernization.²⁹ While migration rates did increase significantly after 1850, they are shown to be continuous with, rather than breaking from, the patterns of mobility that had been established in the preceding centuries.³⁰ Such quantitative studies, while preliminary, lend empirical support to the argument that migration was an integral part of the structure of social life in early modern Europe—one that intersected with the broader historical processes of urbanization, colonization, and globalization.³¹

Table 1. Total migration rates in Europe (including Russia), 1501-1900

	Total population (millions)	Total migrations (millions)	Migration rate (%)
1501-1550	76	9.8	12.9
1551-1600	89	13.2	14.8
1601-1650	95	18.9	19.9
1651-1700	101	18.7	18.5

²⁹ On the mobility transition thesis, see Wilbur Zelinsky, "The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition," *Geographical Review* 61.2 (1971): 219-249. See also, Ronald Skeldon, "A Classic Re-Examined: Zelinsky's Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition," *Migration Studies* 7.3 (2019): 394-403.

³⁰ Lucassen and Lucassen., "Quantifying and Qualifying," 26.

³¹ Migration has been an essential part of early modern scholarship that addresses demographic and geographical movements (e.g., slavery, diaspora, proletarianization, urbanization, colonial expansion, immigration/emigration), but the different forms of human mobility have not always been brought under the broader rubric of migration. For a seminal work, see Charles Tilly, "Migration in Modern European History," in Human Migration: Patterns and Policies, eds. William H. McNeill and Ruth S. Adams. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 48-72. Notable works include, Leslie Page Moch, Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992; 2003); Klaus J. Bade, Migration in European History, trans. Allison Brown (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003); Nicholas Canny, Europeans on the Move: Studies in European Migration, 1500-1800 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); P. C. Emmer and E. van den Boogaart, eds., Colonialism and Migration; Indentured Labour Before and After Slavery (Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1986); Peter Clark and David Souden, eds., Migration and Society in Early Modern England (London: Hutchinson, 1987); Emmer and M. Morner, eds., European Expansion and Migration: Essays on the Intercontinental Migration from Africa, Asia and Europe (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1992); Alison Games, Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999); Wim Klooster, ed., Migration, Trade, and Slavery in an Expanding World: Essays in Honor of Pieter Emmer (Leiden: Brill, 2009). For a critique of the scattered state of historical migration studies, see Lucassen and Lucassen, "Introduction," in Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives (New York: Peter Lang, 1997; 2005).

1701-1750	116	20.6	17.7
1751-1800	151	26.8	17.7
1801-1850	214	51	23.8
1851-1900	326	102.5	31.4

Source: Lucassen & Lucassen, "Measuring and Quantifying Cross-Cultural Migrations" (2014), 18-19.

Migration was embedded in the evolving patterns of production and reproduction in early modern Europe.³² Because marriage was late and fertility rates were low, there was a large population of young and unmarried people who were free to move around in response to the ebb and flow of opportunities in the marriage and labor markets. Children were routinely sent to other households to be trained as domestic or farm servants. Those who could afford the cost of apprenticeship moved to towns to become journeymen or masters in crafts or trades. Landowning families sought to preserve their property through systems of impartible inheritance, such as primogeniture, so that non-inheriting siblings who wished to marry had to move out of their parental home to set up independent households elsewhere. In the absence of patrimony, members of proletarian families (e.g., cottagers or landless laborers) were even more likely to stay mobile while engaging in various forms of contingent labor: migrant workers were routinely recruited to meet the demands of seasonal or project-based work, such as harvest, construction, draining, mining, sailing, and war. While men tended to travel longer distances, women may have been just as mobile if not more, given that most worked as servants in other people's households at some point in their lives and/or joined their husbands' households upon marriage. While local or circular migrations between nearby villages (within 20 miles or less) were by far the most common, long distance or chain migrations took place in urban areas (e.g., market

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³² See Moch, Moving Europeans, 1-21 and 31-40. See also, Clark and Souden, Migration and Society, 13-14.

towns, provincial cities, capital cities), which attracted a diverse group of people engaged in a range of licit or illicit work—from laborers, artisans, craftsmen, merchants, professionals, and gentry, to players, prostitutes, peddlers, hawkers, and beggars.

To account for the complexity of migrant agency within structural constraints, a number of social and economic historians have adopted a systems approach to migration.³³ First used by Jan Lucassen in his study of labor migration in the North Sea system from the eighteenth century, the concept of "migration systems" has been extended to include earlier periods in western Europe by Leslie Page Moch, who approaches migration as "a socially constructed, selfperpetuating system that includes home and destination—a responsive system that expands, contracts, and changes according to circumstance."34 On the micro level, the individual's decision to move or not to move is informed by a multiplicity of factors, such as age, gender, class, familial ties, access to information, regional or ethnic solidarity; whereas large-scale migration patterns can be usefully explained on the meso or macro levels via a combination of push and pull factors that make particular groups more likely to move to certain places and not others.³⁵ A simple but salient model of early modern mobility pattern is adopted by Peter Clark and David Souden, who posit a set of overlapping migration "fields," each consisting of different sizes of towns (T_1, T_2, \dots, T_n) with their own constellation of surrounding villages (V_1, V_2, \dots, V_n) , at the center of which is a large city (M) exercising the strongest pull over the trajectories of migrants as a whole. ³⁶ The hierarchical system of cities and their surrounding rural areas—with its

³³ Recent studies have sought to account for the complexity of migrant agency by taking into account the multiple rationalities that inform migrant decision beyond the purely economic, see Harzig and Hoerder, "A Systems Approach to Migrant Trajectories," in *What is Migration History?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 87-114.

Moch, *Moving Europeans*, 16.
 Moch, *Moving Europeans*, 6-7.

³⁶ Within this spatial-geographical framework, multiple and overlapping types of migration are accommodated (e.g., local, circular, chain, career migrations) depending on the direction and duration of movement between points of departure and destination (e.g., rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-urban). See Clark and Souden, *Migration and Society*, 13-15.

concomitant divisions of labor—corresponds with the basic organizing logic of European society and economy prior to large-scale industrialization, where the majority of population were engaged in agricultural production in small rural communities in the hinterlands and countryside, while towns and cities of varying sizes and functions formed privileged nodes of economic development within extended networks of trade, manufacture, and industry.³⁷

Migration was crucial to the growth of city-centered economies in early modern Europe. In *The Perspective of the World* (1992), Fernand Braudel emphasizes the hegemony of metropolitan cities (e.g., Venice, Genoa, Lisbon, Seville, Paris, Antwerp, Amsterdam, London) that acted as epicenters for the concentration of capital, access to credit, sources of news, and stable laws governing mercantile transactions.³⁸ The growth of urban centers accelerated in the sixteenth century as European population recovered from the onslaught of the bubonic plague, while serfdom gradually declined (with the exception of central Europe and Russia, which witnessed a "second serfdom") and created a population of mobile, landless laborers. Because death rates usually exceeded birth rates in densely populated urban areas (a phenomenon known as "urban graveyard effect"), early modern cities depended on the continual influx of migrants to sustain their populations let alone undergo rapid demographic growths as many did. This was true of northern commercial hubs, such as London and Amsterdam, which, in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, would effectively replace Venice and Genoa as the center of

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³⁷ While pre-modern Europe was predominantly rural, towns and cities constituted the centers of economic development. For an overview, see Bruno Blondé and Ilja Van Damme, "Early Modern Europe: 1500–1800," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, ed. Peter Clark (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 240-257. See also, Christopher R. Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City, 1450–1750* (London: Longman, 1995); Peter Clark and Bernard Lepetit, *Capital Cities and Their Hinterlands in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996); Alexander Cowan, *Urban Europe, 1500–1700* (London: Hodder Arnold, 1998); David Nicholas, *Urban Europe, 1100–1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Paul M. Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000–1950* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985); Stephan R. Epstein, ed., *Town and Country in Europe, 1300–1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

³⁸ Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, *15th-18th Century*, *Vol III: The Perspective of the World*, trans. Siân Reynolds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

the European world-economy: London's population more than quadrupled from 75,000 in 1550 to 200,000 in 1600 and 400,000 in 1650; the population of Amsterdam grew from 30,000 in 1550 to 60,000 in 1600 and 175,000 in 1650, eventually surpassing the Spanish-controlled city of Antwerp, whose status as the premier northern entrepôt declined as a substantial portion of its economically significant population relocated during the prolonged Dutch rebellion (1566-1648).³⁹ Given the tendency toward natural decrease, a net increase in the urban population of northern Europe would have required twice as many people moving to the cities from the countryside; and because movements to the cities were often temporary, a still greater number of people would have been involved in urban migration at some point in their lives.⁴⁰ Some such migrants became permanent residents of the city; others returned to the country or took their chances in newly colonized settlements abroad.

People left home under various circumstances, but the decision to move to large cities was commonly motivated by the prospect of socio-economic opportunities. Clark usefully distinguishes between the "betterment migration" of middling and professional people who were drawn to the city in pursuit of better wages or career advancement, and the "subsistence migration" of lower-class laborers and the indigent poor who, propelled by necessity, tended to travel longer distances following non-linear trajectories. In reality, the distinction may have been less than clear-cut. The majority of urban migrants were young, single people in their late teens or early twenties, who came from the surrounding countryside or neighboring towns in search of employment as servants, apprentices, or day-laborers. This group was joined by, and

³⁹ See Jeremy Boulton, "London, 1540-1700," *Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. Peter Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 316.

⁴⁰ On migration and urban growth in early modern Europe, see Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization*, *1500-1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 175-252.

⁴¹ Clark and Souden, *Migration and Society*, 11-48. See especially, 28-38.

overlapped with, a growing population of landless people, who came in conflict with official policies, such as vagrancy laws, that aimed to control and discipline a range of mobile subjects.

A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay estimate that vagrancy rates increased twelvefold in London between 1560-1625 as the working poor flooded the city and its suburbs. 42 The fact that about half of those arrested in London for vagrancy were listed as servants and apprentices illustrates the extent to which movement was increasingly becoming the norm in England—resulting in what Patricia Fumerton has described as a "culture of mobility." 43 The perceived increase in mobile population was partly registered in contemporary representations of itinerant figures (e.g., rogues, vagabonds, peddlers, Bedlam-beggars) that circulated in cheap prints and stage performances. 44 Many young migrant workers found themselves without gainful employment, contributing to the contemporary fear of "masterless men" who were perceived by the authorities as a serious threat to public order. 45 At the same time, the newly mobile population base in need of employment provided the reserve labor force necessary for economic expansion at home and abroad.

While migration was a normal part of life and work cycles in European society, the expansion and intensification of commerce in sectors traditionally immune to its forces contributed to making people and property movable in new and different ways.⁴⁶ At the center of

⁴² A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay, eds., *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London: Longman, 1986), 2, 9, 15, 18.

⁴³ Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 12. Fumerton cites Beier, "Social Problems in Elizabethan London," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 9.2 (1978), 214.

⁴⁴ On literary and cultural representations of vagrancy, see Linda Woodbridge, *Vagrancy, Homelessness, and English Renaissance Literature* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001). See also, William C. Carroll, *Fat King, Lean Beggar: Representations of Poverty in the Age of Shakespeare* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

⁴⁵ See Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560-1640* (London: Methuen, 1985); "Vagrants and the Social Order in Elizabethan England," *Past and Present* 64 (1974): 3-29. See also, Paul A. Slack, "Vagrants and Vagrancy in England, 1598-1664," *Economic History Review* 27 (1974): 360-379.

⁴⁶ On the expansion of commerce in England and the Low Countries, see Martha C. Howell, *Commerce Before Capitalism in Europe*, *1300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). On the expansion of intra-European and inter-continental trade during the early stages of globalization, see Robert S. Duplessis, "Goods and

England's economic development (in London and the eastern counties along the seaboard) was the textile trade with Dutch port cities, such as Antwerp, Brussels, and Amsterdam, which provided the impetus for market-oriented agriculture. The development of agrarian capitalism in England was accompanied by the enclosure of the commons, which arguably led to the depopulation of the countryside in the long-term and resulted in greater social polarization by creating a class of landless laborers, some of whom became squatters in forests and pastoral areas, while others migrated to large towns seeking work.⁴⁷ The increase in agricultural productivity contributed to urban growth and the accumulation of capital necessary for the expansion of domestic and foreign trades.⁴⁸ At the same time, the mobilization of a labor force increasingly dependent on wage (especially soldiers and sailors) provided the manpower needed for overseas expansions—led initially by sporadic private ventures and subsequently by statesponsored merchant companies with monopoly rights.⁴⁹ From the mid-sixteenth century onward,

People on the Move," in *Transitions to Capitalism in Early Modern Europe: Economies in the Era of Early Globalization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 53-90.

⁴⁷ On the development of agrarian capitalism in western Europe, see Robert Brenner, "Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe," *Past & Present* 70 (1976): 30-75. See also, Brenner, "The Agrarian Roots of European Capitalism," *Past & Present* 97 (1982): 16-113. For an overview of ongoing historiographical debates, including critiques of Brenner's thesis, see Maarten Prak, ed., *Early Modern Capitalism: Economic and Social Change in Europe* 1400-1800 (New York: Routledge, 2001).

⁴⁸ On agricultural development and unban growth, see E. A. Wrigley, "Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 15.4 (1985): 683-728. See also, Wrigley, "A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy, 1650-1750," in *People, Cities and Wealth: The Transformation of Traditional Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 133-156. On the relationship between urbanization and overseas trade, see Brian Dietz, "Overseas Trade and Metropolitan Growth," *London* 1500-1700, 115-140.

⁴⁹ On the political economy of English overseas expansion, see Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1500-1650* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). On the Dutch maritime economy, see de Vries and Ad Van der Woude, eds., *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). On labor migration in the North Sea system, see Jan Lucassen, *Migrant Labour in Europe, 1500-1900: The Drift to the North Sea*, trans. Donald A. Bloch (London: Croom Helm, 1987). On the recruitment of soldiers and sailors by Dutch and English joint-stock companies, see Lucassen, "A Multinational and Its Labor force: The Dutch East India Company, 1595–1795," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 66 (2004): 12-39. For a comparison of Dutch and English labor migration, see Jelle Van Lottum, *Across the North Sea: The Impact of the Dutch Republic on International Labour Migration, c. 1550-1850* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 96-125.

English mercantile interests extended to Russia, North Africa, and the Levant; and by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, English and Dutch traders were competing with the Portuguese for trade privileges in Southeast Asia and began establishing colonial settlements in North America and the West Indies. ⁵⁰ By the 1630s, major port cities in England, such as London and Bristol, functioned as vital hubs for the burgeoning colonial trade (linking English provinces to Ireland, New England, the Chesapeake, and the Caribbean), as well as recruiting grounds for new and seasoned migrants traveling to and across the British Isles. ⁵¹ As a world-city, London became a locus of official and unofficial cosmopolitanisms founded on an extensive network of mobile subjects, including a diverse group of mariners, merchants, artisans, priests, ambassadors, servants, and laborers. ⁵²

The emerging regime of mobility centered around metropolitan cities intersected with the development of an increasingly global network of trade. The economic ascendency of London (and later, Amsterdam) was linked to its status as a commercial entrepôt with competitive access to a system of world-economies that stretched across Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas. The initial impetus came in the early fifteenth century with the expansion of Portuguese trade to the Atlantic Islands, West Africa, and South-East Asia, along with the Spanish exploration and conquest of the New World from the late fifteenth century onward.⁵³ By the sixteenth and

⁵⁰ On the different stages of English commercial-geographical expansion, see Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprises and the Genesis of the English Empire, 1480-1630* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

⁵¹ For an overview of English migration during the early stages of colonial expansion, see Canny, "English Migration into and across the Atlantic during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Europeans on the Move*, 38-75.

⁵² See Crystal Bartolovich, "Baseless Fabric': London as a 'World City," in *The Tempest and Its Travels*, eds. Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), 13–26. On English cosmopolitanism, see Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁵³ The outward trajectory of Iberian empires diverged from the isolationist policies pursued by Ming China following the Indian Ocean journeys of Zheng He. The discovery of the eastern route to India gave Portugal a competitive edge in relation to the Ottoman empire, which controlled North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean along with the much-coveted trade route to India via the Red Sea. On Iberian overseas expansion, see G. V.

seventeenth centuries, the cities of northwestern Europe were beginning to emerge as a core region in a nascent capitalist world-system that increasingly drew resources from the Americas to enable development at home and engage in the lucrative spice trades with the eastern economies.⁵⁴ Such intercontinental networks of trade were necessarily sustained by a continual flow of voluntary and enforced migrants.⁵⁵ This included the free migration of state functionaries, administrators, gentry, and leading merchants that formed the colonial elites, as well as smaller merchants, petty retailers, artisans, and independent settlers that made up the middling and lower ranks. The vast majority, however, consisted of the unfree migration of servants, soldiers, sailors, and slaves (i.e., bounded laborers contracted to service for extended periods of time) who were recruited or captured to meet the demands of imperial and commercial expansion. The mobilization of a large labor force was needed for the production and marketing of high-value crops (e.g., tobacco, sugar, cotton), the mining of precious metals (e.g., gold and silver), the manning of large armed vessels and military regiments, as well as varying degrees of skilled work in manufacture and industry (e.g., clothing, victualing, woodwork, metalwork). Because survival rates were low due to disease, shipwrecks, and other hazards, a constant supply of cheap labor was essential to maintain profitability in the expanding economy of trade, plunder, and settlement.

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Scammell, *The World Encompassed: The First European Maritime Empires, c. 800-1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 225-300; 301-372. See also, Scammell, *The First Imperial Age: European Overseas Expansion c. 1400-1715* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History* (London: Longman, 1993).

⁵⁴ The ongoing debate about the sixteenth-century origin of the modern capitalist world-system has complicated Immanuel Wallerstein's distinction between core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral regions by emphasizing the prominence of eastern world-economies (especially China) up to 1800, even as the concept of the world-system has been extended further back to the pre-Columbian era before European hegemony. See Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* (Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁵⁵ On voluntary and enforced migrations from 1500 onward, see David Eltis, ed., *Coerced and Free Migration: Global Perspectives* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).

What has been described as the modern/colonial world system, in this respect, may be usefully distinguished from what came before (i.e., long-distance trade networks linking medieval towns) by the extent to which its underlying logic of accumulation resulted in, and depended on, the mass production of certain types of landless population: including the emerging class of free wage laborers as well as the varying degrees of unfree labor (e.g., indentured servants, redemptioners, enslaved Africans, indigenous laborers under the *encomienda* system) that paved the way for the Atlantic commercial circuit. The percentage of landless people without control of their means of production—and thus, enjoined to sell their services in one form or another—increased dramatically during the centuries of capitalist/colonial expansion: Charles Tilly estimates the proletarian population of rural and urban Europe combined to be about 30 percent by 1500, a figure that will rise to 66.7 percent by 1800 and 70 percent by 1900.⁵⁶ These included not only migrant workers drawn to urban centers but also a range seasonal, rural workers required for the development of commercial agriculture and protoindustry in the countries.⁵⁷ Closely related to these patterns of internal mobility were the external migration of workers to developing areas across and beyond Europe. Some European countries, such as Venice and the Dutch Republic, relied on mass recruitments of foreign labor, both free and unfree, while others, such as England, for the most part relied on labor mobilization within

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⁵⁶ Tilly, "Demographic Origins of the European Proletariat," in *Proletarianization and Family History*, ed. David Levine (Orlando: Academic Press, 1984), 1-85, 47. For a reassessment of Tilly's work, see Marcel van der Linden and Lee Mitzman, "Charles Tilly's Historical Sociology," *International Review of Social History* 54.2 (2009): 237-274

⁵⁷ "[B]y 1500, huge swaths of the rural economy, isolated parts of which had long been affected by commerce, were being visibly transformed. In some places a free peasantry had already emerged; in others entrepreneurial landlords were making wage laborers of their dependent peasants; in still others peasants had themselves become market farmers. Industry was moving to the countryside, turning agricultural workers into industrial laborers" (Howell, *Commerce Before Capitalism*, 7). On rural industry, see Peter Kreidte, Hans Medick, and Jurgen Schlumbohm, *Industrialization before Industrialization: Rural Industry in the Genesis of Capitalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). Similarly, Tilly emphasizes the importance of rural laborers in the early history of European proletarianization: "[O]ver the whole history of capitalism . . . agriculture and rural industry have provided the main site of proletarianization." Tilly, *As Sociology Meets History* (New York: Academic Press, 1981), 164.

national boundaries for commercial and imperial expansion.⁵⁸ From the seventeenth century onward, an increasing number of English, Irish, and Scottish emigrants undertook the hazardous voyage across the Atlantic to work in the newly colonized British settlements where labor was in great demand.⁵⁹ A total of 530,000 English migrants took part in Atlantic/Westward migrations in the seventeenth century (190,000 to the West Indies, 180,000 to Ireland, 116,000 to the Chesapeake, 23,000 to the Middle Atlantic, and 21,000 to New England), surpassing Spain in the percentage of emigrants relative to total population.⁶⁰ Due to the high cost of long-distance maritime voyages, only those with capital could afford to fund their own journeys and have enough cash left to establish themselves independently as planters or traders in the colonies.

James Horn estimates that about 20 percent of those who moved to the Chesapeake constituted such free migrants—with more likely to settle in New England than in the harsher conditions of Virginia, Maryland, and the West Indies.⁶¹ The majority of transatlantic emigrants consisted of laborers and servants who were enjoined to defray the cost of board and passage through some

⁵⁸ For a typological survey of labor migrations in Europe, see Jan Lucassen, "Mobilization of Labour in Early Modern Europe," *Early Modern Capitalism*, 159-172. See especially, 163-165.

⁵⁹ Recent studies in British Atlantic history have gone beyond the traditional focus on New England emigration to highlight the mixture of English, Irish, and Scottish emigrants bound to northern, southern, and middle colonies in mainland America and the Caribbean Islands of the British West Indies. See Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British America: An Introduction* (New York: Knopf, 1986); Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: Emigration from Britain to America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1986). See also, Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560-1800* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); James Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth Century Cheasapeake* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); M. Merceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I* (London: Humanities Press, 1973); Joyce Lorimer, ed., *English and Irish Settlement on the River Amazon, 1550-1642* (London: Haklyut Society, 1989). On emigration to New England, see John Anderson, *New England's Generation: The Great Migration and the Formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁶⁰ Canny, "English Migration," *Europeans on the Move*, 64. On demographic estimates, see Henry A. Gemery, "Emigration from the British Isles to the New World, 1630-1700: Inferences from Colonial Population," *Research in Economic History* 5 (1980): 179-231.

⁶¹ Horn, "'To Parts Beyond the Seas': Free Emigration to the Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century," in "To make America": European Emigration in the Early Modern Period, eds. Ida Altman, James Horn, and James Horn (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 85-130.

form of contract labor, such as indenture, using their future services as assurance and means of repaying debt.

In their initial dependence on indentured servitude, the British American colonies differed from the Spanish and Portuguese settlements in Mexico, Peru, and Brazil, where colonists were able to rely on the existing social and economic systems of indigenous civilizations to procure their labor force natively. ⁶² To meet the growing demand for colonial labor, a transatlantic system of servant trades developed, where merchants and sea captains contracted with prospective emigrants and transported them to American ports along with cargoes, whose services were then sold upon arrival for significant profit to planters in need of servants. ⁶³ While English emigrants came from diverse social, political, and religious backgrounds, the majority of indentured servants were young, single men of low or modest levels of skill, who could not find gainful employment at home and were therefore in debt or fleeing from creditors. ⁶⁴ The same social and economic forces that encouraged people to migrate

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⁶² "[T]he Spanish case was distinctive in that emigration was not conditioned by the need to recruit large amounts of European labor for the development of American enterprises. Spain alone among the colonizing nations of the early modern period controlled and settled regions of the New World that were densely populated by indigenous peoples who practiced intensive agriculture and had highly organized political, social, and economic systems. In taking over such civilizations, the Spanish were able to take advantage, both directly and indirectly, of the productivity of Indian labor despite the catastrophic loss of Indian populations owning to the ravages of epidemic disease following contact (Ida Altman and James Horn, "Introduction," "To Make America," 14).

⁶³ See Abbot Emerson Smith, Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947); David Galenson, White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); David Souden, "Rogues, whores and vagabonds'? Indentured Servant Emigration to North America and the Case of Mid-Seventeenth Century Bristol," Migration and Society in Early Modern England, 150-171; Souden, "English Indentured Servants and the Transatlantic Colonial Economy," in International Labour Migration: Historical Perspectives, eds. Shula Marks and Peter Richardson (Hounslow, Middlesex: Published for the Institute of Commonwealth Studies by M. Temple Smith, 1984), 19-33; John Waring, "Migration to London and Transatlantic Emigration of Indentured Servants, 1683-1775," Journal of Historical Geography 7 (1981): 356-378; Wareing, Indentured Migration and the Servant Trade from London to America, 1618-1817: 'There is great want of servants' (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁶⁴ The majority of emigrants that populated British America were either of humble origins driven by necessity or middling sorts responding to diminishing opportunities at home. On the debate about the social composition of English emigrants, see Mildred Campbell, "Social Origins of Some Early Americans," in *Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial* History, ed. James M. Smith (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959),

at home influenced their decision to relocate to the colonies ("Poverty . . . was a major contributor to long-distance mobility").⁶⁵ The peak decades of English emigration to America (1630-1660) corresponded with a period of subsistence crises in England and Ireland, marked by harvest failures, dearth, plagues, famines, wide-spread unemployment, and political unrest. During this time, the population of British American colonies saw by far the most rapid growth rate, which, given the high mortality rates there, must be attributed to an even greater influx of newcomers.⁶⁶ The pace of emigration slackened after 1660 as English economy gradually recovered and information regarding the harsh conditions in the colonies became more readily available. This has led historians to postulate a shift in the migrant-labor market from the "poverty-driven/high-demand" migration characterizing the early years of colonial settlement to the "betterment-driven/selective-demand" migration of the decades following the Restoration.⁶⁷ The slowing down of English servant emigration corresponded with a broader trend in the diminishing proportion of European labor migration to the Americas in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As white servitude declined, the demand for colonial labor was increasingly

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^{63-89;} Galenson, "'Middling People' or 'Common Sort'? The Social Origins of Some Early Americans Reexamined," *WMO* 35 (1978): 499-524.

⁶⁵ Altman and Horn, "To Make America," 15. The economic imperative was by far the most dominant factor motivating the majority of migrants searching for a better life—whether in pursuit of profit or propelled by necessity. Instances of state driven emigration were rare (with the exception of emigration to some parts of French Canada). The recruitment of convicts and orphans or the kidnapping or spiriting of hapless individuals did occur but were limited. For the most part, the early systems of transatlantic migration were mediated by merchants and market forces. "Apart from sanctioning colonization and regulating the trade in servants, the British government took little interest in emigration during the colonial period. Settlement was left entirely to private interest: trading companies, merchants, and planters" (Altman and Horn, "To Make America," 19). See also, Ruth Wallis Herndon and Joyhn E. Murray, Children Bound to Labor: The Pauper Apprenticeship System in Early America (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

⁶⁶ "In 1630 colonial population was an estimated 9,500. Ten years later, the population had grown more than five times, to 53,700. No other decade in the century came close to matching that rate of growth: the next largest leap transpired between 1640 and 1650, when the population grew by 55 percent. . . . What we see in the single decade of the 1630s . . . is an originative moment: this westward migration, primarily composed of young male laborers, secured England's Atlantic world" (Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World*, 4).

⁶⁷ Gemery, "Markets for Migrants: English Indentured Servitude and Emigration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour Before and After Slavery*, ed. P. C. Emmer (Dordrecht, 1986), 33-54.

met by enslaved Africans, who, by the late seventeenth century, replaced indentured servants as the primary form of bound labor. The overall percentage of African slaves transported to the Americas relative to the total population of transatlantic migrants would increase from 24.2 before 1580, to 62.4 in 1580-1640 and 75.7 in 1700-1760.⁶⁸

The system of transatlantic slave trade first came to be established during the Portuguese expansion to the Atlantic Islands and the African coast in the early and mid-fifteenth century. ⁶⁹ Backed by royal sponsors, Portuguese merchants built fortified trading posts along the coast of West Africa to trade in gold, spice, and slaves. From the mid-sixteenth century, the Portuguese increasingly supplied African slaves to the New World through the purchase of *asientos* issued by the Spanish government. ⁷⁰ The mass death of indigenous population by European diseases led to labor shortages, which, together with outcries against the inhuman treatment of Indians by the *conquistadores*, made the importation of deracinated African slaves a more favorable option. High mortality rates and sexual imbalance prevented the natural growth of slave population, which necessitated a continual supply of captives from Africa to parts of Spanish America (e.g., Mexico, Florida, and the Caribbean) and Portuguese Brazil. According to recent estimates, about half a million African slaves (60 percent more than the previous estimate of a third of a million) were transported to Spanish America by 1640, eventually surpassing the number of Spanish and Portuguese free migrants, despite continued Iberian emigrations. ⁷¹ By the seventeenth century,

⁶⁸ Eltis, The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 11.

⁶⁹ See Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (London: Verso, 1998), 95-126. See also, John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁷⁰ For a recent assessment, see Alex Borucki, David Eltis, and David Wheat, "Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America," *The American Historical Review* 120.2 (2015): 433-461.

⁷¹ "Before 1580, 138,000 Spaniards and 58,000 Portuguese free migrants far outnumbered the 58,000 enslaved Africans. Thereafter, however, the proportions were sharply reversed. Though substantial Iberian migration continued—between 1581 and 1760, 539,000 Spaniards and 460,000 Portuguese crossed the Atlantic—1,875,000 Africans were landed in their colonies" (Duplessis, *Transitions to Capitalism in Early Modern Europe*, 66).

England, France, and the Netherlands increasingly participated in the transatlantic slave trade—previously monopolized by the Portuguese—to supply the low-skilled agricultural laborers needed for intensive, export-driven plantation productions. The number of African slaves transported by British ships, approximately 2,000 between 1501-1600, greatly increased to 428,000 during 1601-1700 and reached 2,545,000 between 1701-1800.⁷² From the midseventeenth century onward, the sugar islands of the English Caribbean, especially Barbados, for the most part relied on African slave labor as more indentured servants chose the northern and southern colonies as their destinations, while the Chesapeake tobacco plantations employed relatively less but increasingly significant population of slaves since the arrival of African captives in Virginia, 1619.⁷³

The enforced migration of slaves and the voluntary migration of indentured servants were integral to the development of a transatlantic economy of trade and settlement. Together, they illustrate how the mass mobilization of commodified labor—whereby working bodies became movable and fungible like cargos—undergirded the history of European overseas expansion and its nascent logic of boundless accumulation. At the same time, slavery as a form of enforced migration was conceptually and practically distinguished from the migration of European laborers by the status of African slaves as chattel, which bound the latter to perpetual servitude

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⁷² Klas Rönnbäck, "Atlantic Early Modern Migrations and Economic Globalization," in *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration*, ed. Immanuel Ness (Blackwell Publishing, 2013), 2.

⁷³ For demographic estimates, see Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas*, 9, 11. On slavery in the British Atlantic, see Russell R. Menard, *Sweet Negotiations: Sugar, Slavery, and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006); Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery, Atlantic Trade and the British Economy*, 1660-1800 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Simon P. Newman, *A New World of Labor: The Development of Plantation Slavery in the British Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Michael Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen: Human Bondage in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Paul Musselwhite, Peter C. Mancall, and James Horn, eds., *Virginia 1619: Slavery and Freedom in the Making of English America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019).

and imposed drastic restrictions on mobility through legal and extra-legal means.⁷⁴ While some contemporaries criticized indentured servitude as a form of slavery, there was no confusion about the respective status of European servants and African slaves, which came to be defined and differentiated under a modern/colonial regime of labor control based on racial-ethnic difference (thus Africans were explicitly sought after as a source of slave labor, but a system of enslaved European laborers was by then inconceivable and never an option). This was particularly true of the nascent British empire, whose native subjects inherited a tradition of nationalism that valorized their own freeborn status, even as many of them were directly involved in, and benefiting from, overseas slave trading, which led to glaring contradictions in the emergent ideology of civic and individual freedom—what David Eltis describes as the "slavery/freedom paradox."⁷⁵ According to Eltis, the liberal conception of freedom (of movement, speech, right, ownership) as it came to develop in parts of western Europe shared its historical origin with the institution of slavery to the extent that they were both founded on the notion of private property: if you can own yourself, you can own others. ⁷⁶ In the history of European expansion, the individual's freedom to move in search of a better life came to be inseparably linked to a regime of unfreedom governing the enforced mobility (and immobility) of those who found themselves variously disenfranchised and displaced within and without their homeland.

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⁷⁴ While indentured servants were for the most part able to choose the timing and destination of their intended movement, slavery afforded little or no agency to the enforced migrants at the time of departure—although it was possible to acquire some degree of freedom upon arrival by working toward redemption or manumission.

⁷⁵ Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas*, 1-27.

⁷⁶ "Slave regimes existed not just because of European economic growth but also on account of the related phenomenon of European freedom. . . . Europeans conceived freedom as an individual owning his or her own person without obligation to others, and such freedom seemed equally compatible with waged and slave labor in the seventeenth century in the sense that if one owned oneself, one could presumably sell oneself. The movement within Europe and its overseas settlement toward a modern labor force where employers no longer held property rights in the employed began to evolve just as Europeans revived chattel slavery for others" (Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas*, 55).

Migrants were driven not only by the push and pull of economic forces but also by the religious and political conflicts that accompanied the processes of European nation- and stateformation. The emergent nationalism of monarchical states (newly asserted under the principle of "one law, one king, one faith") led to intra-Christian divisions over the course of the Long Reformation. The process of confessionalization produced mass migrations of religious-political refugees.⁷⁷ England in particular saw an influx of Dutch refugees from the southern and maritime provinces of the Habsburg-controlled Netherlands. French Protestants constituted another significant population of migrants, especially following the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572) and continuing after the Edict of Nantes (1598) and its subsequent revocation (1685). The diaspora of the French Huguenots would come to be known as "Refuge" from which the modern term "refugee" derives. 78 Such mass expulsions led to the formation of diasporic communities bound by a shared sense of identity and history. The diaspora of Iberian Jews (i.e., sephardim) formed transnational networks of merchants and artisans stretching across Europe (e.g., Portugal, the Dutch Republic, France, Poland, Venice, and later, London), North Africa, the Ottoman Empire, Asia, and the Americas.⁷⁹ The French Huguenots constituted a similar diasporic network

⁷⁷ See Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees and the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). See also, Yosef Kaplan, ed., *Early Modern Ethnic and Religious Communities in Exile* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017); Timothy Fehler, Greta Grace Kroeker, Charles H. Parker, and Jonathan Ray, eds., *Religious Diaspora in Early Modern Europe: Strategies of Exile* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014); H. A. Oberman, *John Calvin and the Reformation of the Refugees* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2009).

⁷⁸ See Bertrand van Ruymbeke, "From France to *le Refuge*: The Huguenots' Multiple Identities," in *Diaspora Identities: Exile, Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in Past and Present*, eds. Susanne Lachenicht and Kirsten Heinsohn (New York: Campus Verlag, 2009), 55-57.

⁷⁹ On the role of Jewish diasporas in European mercantile expansion, see Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion: 1492 and the Making of Sephardic Jewry* (New York: New York University Press, 2013); Richard L. Kagan and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism, 1500-1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2009); Jonathan Israel, *Diasporas within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews and the World of Maritime Empires (1540-1740)* (Boston: Brill, 2002); Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1570* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

across major European cities (e.g., London, Amsterdam, Geneva, Frankfurt), where they formed a privilege minority, as well as in the American colonies (e.g., Brazil and Florida), where some sought to establish a Calvinist refuge. The situation of refugees and diasporas could allow for practical and strategic forms cosmopolitanism and toleration, especially in large commercial cities, such as Amsterdam, that depended on the traffic and expertise of immigrants. Toleration, however, was never the norm; nor was it necessarily upheld as an ethical ideal. Violence against outsiders, perceived as threats to the internal cohesion of the community (e.g., strangers, aliens, heretics), occurred repeatedly and ritualistically, enough to prompt historians to trace the formation of a "persecuting society" in pre- and post-Reformation Europe. The experience of flight, persecution, and estrangement often led to the further consolidation of social boundaries and exclusionary membership regimes (such as those of the English Puritans) that were effectively anti-cosmopolitan.

3. Migration as Expulsion: A Theory of Alienation

The disparate and overlapping forms of human movement discussed so far may be usefully analyzed as interrelated phenomena to the extent that they constitute a function of capitalist-imperialist development in the early modern world. A salient model of such a world can be

⁸⁰ Geert H. Janssen, "The Republic of the Refugees: Early Modern Migrations and the Dutch Experience," *The Historical Journal* 60.1 (2017): 233-252. On early modern cosmopolitanism, see Margaret C. Jacob, *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

⁸¹ On the possibility and limit of coexistence, see Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, 99-126. On the ambivalent attitude toward tolerance, see Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

⁸² See Terpstra, *Religious Refugees and the Early Modern World*, 11-20. Terpstra draws on this "persecution paradigm" to understand the phenomenon of religious refugees in the early modern period as a form of expulsion from the social body (or *Corpus Christianum*). For a seminal work on this subject, see R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (Malden: Blackwell, 2006).

found in the last two chapters of Raymond Williams's *The Country and the City* (1973) ("The New Metropolis" and "Cities and Countries"), which extend the urban-rural dynamic that undergirded the transition of England's domestic economy into agrarian capitalism to the centerperiphery dynamic that would inform the relationship between the British empire and its overseas colonies:

The 'metropolitan' states, through a system of trade, but also through a complex and economic and political controls, draw food and, more critically, raw materials from these areas of supply, this effective hinterland, that is also the greater part of the earth's surface and that contains the great majority of its peoples. Thus a model of city and country, in economic and political relationships, and gone beyond the boundaries of the nation-state, and is seen but also challenged as a model of the world. 83

Williams understands the organizing logic of capitalist-imperialist expansion in geographical terms: specifically, as a process that entails a radical transformation of socio-ecological relations under an unequal and exploitative regime of spatial difference (e.g., city/country, center/periphery, inside/outside, self/other). From the sixteenth century onward, this process of uneven development would produce dispossession and displacement on a global scale, which included not only the despoiling of the English peasantry through enclosures but also the much more violent forms of conquest and plunder that occurred in the colonial peripheries. Migration was, and continues to be, a necessary byproduct and agent of this spatial-geographical transformation. According to David Harvey, the accumulation of land, labor, and capital entails a dialectic of concentration and dispersal, which results in an uneven geography characterized by the production of fixed spatial structures, on the one hand, and increased mobility of capital and

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⁸³ Raymond Williams, The Country and the City (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 279.

⁸⁴ On the historical-geographical concept of uneven development, see Neil Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space* (New York: Blackwell, 1984); on its relation to geographical mobility, see David Harvey, *Spaces of Hope* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000). See also, David Harvey, *Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publisher, 1996).

labor, on the other. ⁸⁵ The paradigmatic formulation of this "spatial fix" is found in volume I of *Capital* where Marx traces the violent origin of capital formation back to the early periods of European expansion, which leads to his view of colonialism not as a solution to the internal contradiction of civil society as Hegel suggested but as a process of primitive accumulation that would ultimately lead to a general crisis. ⁸⁶ What appears as free geographical mobility of working bodies, in this sense, is revealed to be a function of capital accumulation (its "accumulating strategy") which operates not only through the usual, legitimate means of surplus extraction, but also the illegitimate and coercive means of "accumulation by dispossession."

Migration, in this respect, constitutes an *expulsion* of the masses in relation to the core socio-economic order by means of the alienation of land and labor: a recurring and systemic feature in the political ecology of capital, where people are separated from land and the means to labor in it—through land grab, debt regime, privatization, environmental degradation, slavery, war, and other state-sanctioned violence—and are rendered voluntarily or involuntarily mobile.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Harvey, The Limits to Capital (New York: Verso, 2006), 373.

⁸⁶ "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the indigenous population of that continent, the beginnings of the conquest and plunder of India, and the conversion of Africa into a preserve for the commercial hunting of blackskins, are all things which characterize the dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief moments of primitive accumulation. Hard on their heels follows the commercial war of the European nations, which has the globe as its battlefield." Karl Marx, *Capital*, Volume I, trans. Ben Fowkes (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 915.

⁸⁷ On the body as "accumulating strategy," see Harvey, *Spaces of Hope*, 97-116. Harvey redubs Marx's concept of primitive accumulation as "accumulation by dispossession" to highlight its continuing relevance to later stages of capitalism: "These [processes of dispossession] include the commodification and privatization of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations; the conversion of various forms of property rights (common, collective, state, etc.) into exclusive private property rights; suppression of rights to the commons; commodification of labour power and the suppression of alternative (indigenous) forms of production and consumption; colonial, neocolonial, and imperial processes of appropriation of assets (including natural resources); monetization of exchange and taxation, particularly of land; the slave trade (which continues in the sex industry); and usury, the national debt and ultimately the credit system as radical means of primitive accumulation. The state, with its monopoly of violence and definitions of legality, plays a crucial role in both backing and promoting these processes." Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 139. See also, Jim Glassman, "Primitive Accumulation, Accumulation by Dispossession, Accumulation by 'Extra-Economic' Means," *Progress in Human Geography* 30.5 (2006): 608-625.

⁸⁸ Recent scholarship on contemporary migration crises have variously adopted the model of *expulsion-by-dispossession* to describe a range of mass migrations as systemic byproducts of global capitalist developments. A notable example is Saskia Sassen, who has argued that "massive expulsion" within the current world order signals a

As earlier noted, the mass production of a mobile population made to sell their labor was crucial for the purposes of geographical expansion and the intensification of capitalist relations in the early eras of globalization. At the same time, the labor power of mobile workers was variously harnessed through the implementation of disciplinary regimes in fixed spatial structures (e.g., prisons, workhouses, plantations, galleys, asylums), where working bodies were modeled, educated, and corrected in myriad ways to better meet the demands of capital. For Foucault, the process of subject formation and the process of capital formation were mutually constitutive of each other in the mobilization of bodily subjects:

If the economic take-off of the West began with the techniques that made possible the accumulation of capital, it might perhaps be said that the methods of administering the accumulation of men made possible a political take-off in relation to the traditional, ritual, costly, violent forms of power, which soon fell into disuse and were superseded by a subtle, calculated technology of subjection. In fact, the two processes—the accumulation of men and the accumulation of capital—cannot be separated Each makes the other possible and necessary; each provides a model for each other. 89

It is crucial to recognize that the "violent forms of power" which that Foucault describes as falling into "disuse" and being "superseded" by subtler technologies of subjection, persisted in the colonial peripheries, notably, in the form of chattel slavery, which became increasingly instrumental to the development of the Atlantic commercial economy. As earlier noted, the number of African slaves forcibly transported across the Atlantic greatly increased in the

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[&]quot;deeper systemic transformation, one documented in bits and pieces in multiple specialized studies but not quite narrated as an overarching dynamic that is taking us into a new phase of global capitalism." Sassen, "At the Systemic Edge: Expulsions," *European Review* 24.1 (2016), 89. See also, Sassen, *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014). Like Harvey, Sassen highlights the continuing salience of Marx's historical account of "primitive accumulation" in the early eras of globalization in understanding the instruments and institutions of expulsion that have led to a "massive loss of habitat" in the contemporary world. See Sassen, "A Massive Loss of Habitat: New Drivers for Migration," *Sociology of Development* 2.2 (2016): 204-233; "Expelled: Humans in Capitalism's Deepening Crisis," *American Sociological Association* 19.2 (2013): 198-201; "A Savage Sorting of Winners and Losers: Contemporary Versions of Primitive Accumulation," *Globalizations* 7.1-2 (2010): 23-50.

⁸⁹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 220-221.

seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, even as white indentured servitude declined and was replaced by a growing population of wage laborers who were 'free' to move in search of better prospects. Such a racialized division of free and unfree labor was, and continues to be, an essential feature of the capitalist world system. As Wallerstein observes:

Free labor is indeed a defining feature of capitalism, but not free labor throughout the productive enterprises. Free labor is the form of labor control used for skilled work in core countries whereas coerced labor is used for less skilled work in peripheral areas. The combination thereof is the essence of capitalism.⁹⁰

The categorical distinction between freedom and unfreedom functions to occlude the underlying reality of alienation shared by all workers who are made to sell their labor power, voluntarily or involuntarily. What exists under such a global regime is a differential matrix of freedom/unfreedom that reflects one's relative position *vis-a-vis* the dominant structure of power, but from which no one is free and in which all participate in one way or another. For Marx, the recognition of this totalizing reality leads to the conclusion that the alienated condition of labor constitutes the universal historical determinant undergirding the global expansion of capital, which leads to an internationalist vision of solidarity among workers of the world powerfully stated in *The Communist Manifesto* ("The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."). Marx's emphasis on the proletariats as the universal agent of history has been met with resistance by scholars who have sought to emphasize the real and qualitative distinctions that exist among oppressed groups mobilized under radically different labor regimes based on race, ethnicity, and gender—a notable example being Cedric Jacobson, who, along with others, has criticized Marx for paying insufficient attention to cultural differences which are

⁹⁰ Immanuel Wallerstein, *Modern World-System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 127. On the uses of world-system analysis in global labor history, see Van der Linden, "Global Labor history and 'the Modern World-System': Thoughts at the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Fernand Braudel Center," *International Review of Social History* 46.3 (2001): 423-459.

potentially "incommensurable" with class analysis. 91 But such a critique, while justified, does not go against the basic premise of critical theory, which seeks to understand society as a differentiated totality; nor does it refute the insight that the way to overcome difference is to uncover (and transform) the structural determinants that construct such differences in the first place. As Gregory Meyerson observes in his critique of Jacobson: "Oppression is multiple and intersecting but its causes are not."92

To the extent that early modern migration is viewed as a systematic byproduct of global capitalism, it becomes necessary to adopt a universal-class perspective that transcends the national-civilization divisions between the colonists and the colonized. Such an emphasis on universality should not lead to the elision or denial of the very real differences that characterize the experience and history of diverse social groups. As Eltis observes, the experience of coerced migrants, such as enslaved African laborers, was qualitatively different from the experience of those who were ostensibly free to move, such as indentured servants of European or Asian origins, who, while denied some of the basic freedoms for extended periods of times upon arrival, were nevertheless able to exercise some choice with regards to where and when to move. ⁹³ The extreme constraints on agency imposed upon victims of slavery may put into

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⁹¹ Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 1. "Driven by the need to achieve the scientific elegance and interpretive economy demanded by theory, Marx consigned race, gender, culture and history to the dustbin. Fully aware of the constant place women and children held in the workforce, Marx still deemed them so unimportant as a proportion of wage labor that he tossed them, with slave labor and peasants, into the imagined abyss signified by pre-capitalist, non-capitalist and primitive accumulation" (xlix).

⁹² Gregory Meyerson, "Rethinking Black Marxism: Reflection on Cedric Robinson and Others," *Cultural Logic: A Journal of Marxist Theory & Practice* 6 (2000): 2.

⁹³ See Eltis, "Free and Coerced Migrations: The Atlantic in Global Perspective," *European Review* 12.3 (2004): 313-328. For Eltis, the distinction between free and coerced migration hinges on whether or not the migrant has the choice to leave: "Some might argue that all migration has been the result of the application of force at some level. Social conditions at the point of origin might be such that individuals have no choice but to leave. There is nevertheless a qualitative difference between setting out on a long-distance journey against one's will, and setting out because one has chosen to go, even though the social and cultural circumstances are such that embarking on such a journey is the least unpleasant of a range of unpleasant options. Indentured servants from Europe and contract labourers from India and China were not usually forced on board ship, chained and kept behind temporary

question the very usefulness of the term "migration" in describing their collective experience. Nevertheless, the term retains its currency among historians of the African diaspora, such as Ira Berlin, whose *The Making of African America: The Four Great Migrations* (2010) highlights the heterogeneous and complexly interlocking movements of Africans in America (e.g., captivity, flight, immigration) from the seventeenth century onward. In the work of Berlin and others, the word "migration" is used to illustrate the constitutive role played by mass movements in the "making" of the transatlantic world.

To emphasize the collective-historical agency of migrants, in this way, is not to overlook the brutally unfree conditions under which slaves, servants, and laborers were made to move. Rather, it is to reconceive human freedom as the existential capacity to respond to unfree conditions with a degree of awareness and purpose, even or especially in relation to those dehumanizing and totalizing forces that constrain one's agency. The bodily subjects mobilized in the service of capitalist or imperial expansion can never entirely be reduced to inert instruments of accumulation but necessarily remain, as they are, human beings participating in the historical process of which they are a part. To the extent that this is true, migration must be seen not only as a function of an overarching, hegemonic process but also as a form of social movement or action in its own right (to be distinguished from mere "motion") with the capacity to transform the material conditions to which it is at the same time a reaction.⁹⁵

Like birth and death, migration is an immanent force in the making and unmaking of worlds. The movement of migrants has an immediate impact on their place of arrival as well as

barricades so that they could not see their homeland before setting sail. Slaves from Africa and convicts from Europe could expect all or most of these things. The distinction between free and coerced migration . . . hinges on who makes the decision to leave, the migrant or some other individual" (326).

⁹⁴ Ira Berlin, *The Making of African America: The Four Great Migrations* (New York: Viking, 2010).

⁹⁵ On Kenneth Burke's distinction between action and motion, see Debra Hawhee, *Moving Bodies: Kenneth Burke at the Edge of Language* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2009).

the place they leave behind (not to mention on the lives of the migrants themselves) by changing the social, economic, political, and demographic composition of society as a whole. In this, migration constitutes an agent of social change: it is a dynamic and overdetermined social process that is a constitutive factor in the ongoing formation and reformation of social relations. The ontological status of migration as a worldly force derives from the fact that it is first and foremost a bodily process: it pertains to the actual movement of bodies within a socio-ecological totality (or world) in relation to which the migrant has its being. The dialectical relationship between body and world is determined by the particular set of relations in which the human actor is embedded, and which creates the needs and desires for bodily movement within a given regime of spatial-geographical difference. In this respect, migration posits some form of alienation as its *a priori* condition: it is a response to some contradictions within the world of which one is a part and in relation to which one finds oneself estranged in one way or another.

This is true even of the limiting case of enforced migration where people are transported against their own volition as captives. Under such extreme circumstances, the agency of migrants may consist less in their capacity for self-directed movement than in their ability to endure externally imposed constraints. Such experiences of persistence are often poignantly recounted in captivity narratives, but they are a prevailing theme in most if not all representations of migrant-experiences to some degree, even those that are ostensibly free and self-motivated. This is because what is at issue is not only the objective conditions that necessitate movement but also the ways in which human beings *relate* to these conditions: how people perceive, interpret, and

⁹⁶ On the reciprocal relationship between body and world, see Harvey, *Spaces of Hope*, 97-116. "The body is internally contradictory by virtue of the multiple socio-ecological processes that converge upon it. For example, the metabolic processes that sustain a body entail exchanges with its environment. If the processes change, then the body either transforms and adapts or ceases to exist. Similarly the mix of performative activities available to the body in a given place and time are not independent of the technological, physical, social, and economic environment in which that body has its being" (98).

make sense of their own situation as one of alienation, and how this recognition allows them to respond to a given situation in a meaningful way, whether that response is to move by one's own volition or to simply persist—to exist—as one is forced to move by powers beyond control. What is at issue is the meaning of freedom in the existential sense, which pertains not only to what is factually given but also to how people perceive and relate to that which is given. Indeed, it is precisely in relation to situations of unfreedom that the question of human agency most acutely arises as an existential problem in need of a solution; and it is by critically responding to such alienated situations (whether real or imagined) that people come to perceive a contradiction in their social world: a contradiction to which migration—and literatures of migration—constitute an answer and a resolution.

4. Migration and Literature as Forms of World-Making

Migration, we might say, is a form of social-symbolic action that strategically responds to a state of alienation in which one is no longer in possession of oneself in relation to one's world.⁹⁷ On the one hand, migration is a form of cognition in that it presupposes the perception of a problematic situation whose meaning is socially determined (e.g., unemployment, captivity, war, famine). At the same time, it is a form of action in that it does not merely reflect the existing state of things but actively responds to, and brings into being, a new horizon of reality. As a worldly or historical process, migration is functionally analogous to literature as a form of world-making. As Pheng Cheah has argued, the worldliness of literature is not exhausted by its

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⁹⁷ For a recent discussion of alienation that seeks to counter charges of essentialism sometimes leveled against the concept, see Rahel Jaeggi, *Alienation*, trans. Frederick Neuhouser and Alan E. Smith (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014). Jaeggi defines alienation as a "relation of relationlessness," a failure to appropriate oneself in relation to one's world.

representation of the world as a spatial-geographical entity (i.e., the globe), that is to say, by its mimetic functions, but is grounded in its capacity to maintain an active relationship with the world as an ongoing process of temporalization that is the ontological ground of being and action:

The world's reality is neither objective nor subjective because it is a process grounded in the force of temporalization. Literature has a similarly curious ontological status: it is not something objective and so cannot be reduced to the subject's rational powers of determination and calculation. Its radical indeterminacy also means that it exceeds the subject's powers of interpretation. Hence, literature does not merely map the spatialized world and gives it value and meaning. Rather, its formal structures enact the opening of a world by the incalculable gift of time.⁹⁸

While Cheah tends to distinguish this phenomenological conception of literature from historical-materialist formulations of the worldliness of literature, a related and complementary conception of the worldly efficacy of literature as a socially symbolic act can be found in the following passage by Fredric Jameson:

The literary or aesthetic act . . . always entertains some active relationship with the Real; yet in order to do so, it cannot simply allow "reality" to persevere inertly in its own being, outside the text and at distance. It must rather draw the Real into its own texture . . . to carry the Real within itself at its own intrinsic or immanent subtext . . . The whole paradox of what we have here called the subtext maybe summed up in this, that the literary work or cultural object, as though for the first time, brings into being that very situation to which it is also, at one and the same time, a reaction. 99

For Jameson, the Real refers to the total historical process (or History) conceived as a drama of social struggle. Such a world-as-totality is understood as a dynamic and open-ended process which is irreducible to representation or thematization: "History is therefore the experience of

⁹⁹ Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981). 66-67.

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⁹⁸Pheng Cheah, "World against Globe: Toward a Normative Conception of World Literature," *New Literary History* 45.3 (2014), 323-4. See also, Cheah, "What is a World?: On World Literature as World-Making Activity," in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies*, ed. Gerard Delanty (New York: Routledge, 2012), 56-167. On the genealogy of the concept of world, see Cheah, *What is a World?: On Postcolonial Literature as World Literature* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).

Necessity, and it is this alone which can forestall its thematization or reification as a mere object of representation or one master code among others. . . . History is what hurts, it is what refuses desire and sets limits to individual as well as collective praxis." ¹⁰⁰ In this, Jameson's materialism is grounded in an existential-phenomenological perspective broadly shared by the Frankfurt School of social theorists, including George Lukács, who emphasizes the ontological status of world history as an active process in its own right: ¹⁰¹

The totality of history is itself a real historical power—even though one that has not hitherto become conscious and has therefore gone unrecognized—a power which is not to be separated from the reality (and hence the knowledge) of the individual facts without at the same time annulling their reality and their factual existence. It is the real, ultimate ground of their reality and their factual existence and hence also of their knowability even as individual facts. ¹⁰²

The ontological status of literature as a worldly force derives from its capacity to maintain an active relationship with this ultimately in-appropriable totality. It is not that literature reflects or represents a given reality as content, although it does that too, but that it plays with the perceptual frames (or forms) that determine our reality in the first place, and in so doing, makes possible the appearance of another world than what is given.¹⁰³ Insofar as literature is able to

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¹⁰⁰ Jameson, *Political Unconscious*, 102.

^{101 &}quot;If there is an ontology of Marxism it lies in that through praxis and its determinate failures, one confronts the very nature of Being itself (provided you grasp Being as a historical and changing, evolving process)" (Jameson, "On Contemporary Marxist Theory," Alif 10 [1990]: 128). On Jameson as an ontological thinker, see Alexander R. Galloway, "History is What Hurts: On Old Materialism," Social Text 34.2 (2016): 125-141. On the genealogy of the concept of totality in Western Marxism, see Martin Jay, Marxism and Totality: The Adventures of a Concept from Lukács to Habermas (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984). On the phenomenology of historical materialism, see Lucien Goldmann, Lukács and Heidegger: Toward a New Philosophy, trans. William Q. Boelhower (Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1977); Herbert Marcuse, Heideggerian Marxism, eds. Richard Wolin and John Abromeit (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).

¹⁰² Georg Lukács, *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972), 152.

¹⁰³ "As something that is structurally detached from its putative origin and that permits and even solicits an infinite number of interpretations, literature is an exemplary modality of the undecidability that opens a world. It is not merely a product of the human imagination or something that is derived from, or represents, or duplicates material reality. Literature is the force of a passage, an experience, through which we are given and receive any determinable reality" (Cheah, "What is a World?", 145).

renew our perception of the world as the ultimate horizon of reality, it constitutes an active process of the world, and hence, a form of world-making.

Such a dialectical conception of literature (i.e., a literature that is an active force of the world-as-totality) has its roots in part in the idea of *world literature* as it came to be articulated and popularized by the works of Enlightenment thinkers, notably Goethe, in response to the movement of people, capital, and knowledge that accompanied the processes of globalization in the nineteenth century. 104 Goethe famously published his views on the advent of world literature (*Weltliteratur*) made possible by the exchange and traffic of literature within and across national boundaries: "Everywhere one hears and reads about the progress of the human race, about the further prospects for world and human relationships. . . . l am convinced a universal world literature is in the process of being constituted, in which an honorable role is reserved for us Germans." Goethe's vision of cosmopolitan exchange will find its way into *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), now tempered with ambivalence and irony with regard to the global expansion of capital:

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. . . . In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature. 106

¹⁰⁴ On the genealogy of the idea of world literature as a critical concept and its use in present-day universities, see John Pizer, *The Idea of World Literature: History and Pedagogical Practice* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2006).

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in Pizer, *The Idea of World Literature*, 22-23. Goethe introduced the term *Weltliteratur* in 1827 in the journal *Über Kunst und Altertum* (On Art and Antiquity).

¹⁰⁶ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (London: Penguin Books, 2002), 223-224. See Aijaz Ahmad, "The Communist Manifesto and 'World Literature," *Social Scientist* 28.7/8 (2000): 3-30. See also, S. S. Prawer, *Karl Marx and World Literature* (London: Verso, 2011).

While Goethe and Marx differ in their assessment of what world literature could mean, a debate that very much continues to this day, they are in agreement that globalization necessitates a cosmopolitan vision of history and literature that transcends the boundaries of national-imperial formations: one that once again gives validity to the idea of humanity (Humanität) as a concrete and vital, rather than a merely abstracted, universal.¹⁰⁷ The underlying assumption is that the world's populations and cultures in all their heterogeneity have been brought into intercourse through globalization, for better or for worse, making it possible to speak of such a thing as world history or world literature as a coherent and viable subject of inquiry. What is implied (though not always acknowledged) in this narrative of humanity coming into consciousness of itself is the actual movement of people necessary to create and maintain relations between societies separated by distance and culture. Without the continual movement of people across national-linguistic boundaries, the idea of humanity as the collective subject of world history would lack a basis in material reality. As Erich Auerbach notes in agreement with Goethe, "Weltliteratur does not merely refer to what is generically common and human; rather it considers humanity to be the product of fruitful intercourse between its members." ¹⁰⁸ Migration, then, constitutes the condition of possibility of world literature. It is the process that enables the intercourse between the heterogeneous peoples that make up the world, and, in so doing, makes possible (and to some, necessary) the historical emergence of the idea of world literature.

For Auerbach, the essence of world literature—as a philological enterprise aimed at achieving an expression and consciousness of humanity's place in its own history—lies in the dialectical movement between the particulars and the whole, the past and the present:

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(1969), 2.

¹⁰⁷ On the theoretical-methodological debate surrounding the idea and practice of world literature, see David Damrosch, ed., *World Literature in Theory* (Chichester, England: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014).

¹⁰⁸ Erich Auerbach, "Philology and *Weltliteratur*," trans. Maire Said and Edward Said, *The Centennial Review* 13.1

The phenomena treated by the philologist whose intention is synthesis contain their own objectivity, and this objectivity must not disappear in the synthesis: it is most difficult to achieve this aim. Certainly one ought not to aim at a complacent exultation in the particular, but rather at being moved and stirred by the movement of a whole. Yet the movement can be discovered in its purity only when all the particulars that make it up are grasped as essences. 109

The philological-historical consciousness of difference—as movement—constitutes, for Auerbach, the ethical foundation of Goethean humanism and its cosmopolitan conception "of man unified in his multiplicity."¹¹⁰ What is posited is a certain worldly perspective that seeks to understand "many cultures" in their own terms as well as against the "background of a common fate": to "articulate the fateful coalescence of cultures for those people who are in the midst of the terminal phase of fruitful multiplicity" in the hopes that it might "make us accept our fate with more equanimity so that we will not hate whoever opposes us—even when we are forced into a posture of antagonism."111 To illustrate this humanist-cosmopolitan vision, whose potential he locates in the yet to be realized "philological synthesis of Weltliteratur," Auerbach invokes the figure of the migrant (or the philologist—as-migrant) whose home is nothing less than the world itself. "The philological home is the earth: it can no longer be the nation. . . . We must return, in admittedly altered circumstances to the knowledge that prenational medieval culture already possessed: the knowledge of the spirit [Geist] is not national."112 This concluding remark is followed by a passage from Hugo of St. Victor's Didascliocon III, where the condition of migrancy is presented as a pilgrimage away from worldliness ("for one whose aim is to free himself from a love of the world"), to which Auerbach offers his own humanistic interpretation as a figure for "one who wishes to earn a proper love for the world":

¹⁰⁹ Auerbach, "Philology and Weltliteratur," 16.

¹¹⁰ Auerbach, "Philology and Weltliteratur," 4.

¹¹¹ Auerbach, "Philology and Weltliteratur," 7.

¹¹² Auerbach, "Philology and Weltliteratur," 17.

The man who finds his homeland sweet is still a tender beginner; he to whom every soil is as his native one is already strong; but he is perfect to whom the entire world is as a foreign land. The tender soul has fixed his love on one spot in the world; the strong man has extended his love to all places; the perfect man has extinguished his.¹¹³

Auerbach's vision of world literature—as the literature of the world—is no doubt informed by his own experience of exile, one that other migrants and migrant-writers like him (from Al-Wazzan to Edward Said) would undergo and identify with. 114 We might say that Auerbach participates in the literary history of migration, in a moment when the competition among European nations and empires over the control of the world's resources was resulting in the mass mobilization of refugees and stateless people within and without Europe. Auerbach's call for a renewed vision of world literature responds to a certain "levelling" of world through the imposition of a European-hegemonic order on a global scale: "Today . . . human life is becoming standardized. The process of imposed uniformity, which originally derived from Europe, continues its work, and hence serves to undermine all individual traditions."115 It is against this backdrop of global standardization that alienates humanity from its own heterogeneous totality (a process he views as being externally imposed by European nation-states with imperial ambitions) that Auerbach calls for the renewal of a humanist vision of world literature which would redeem the world from the reifying processes of globalization. To take such a vision of world literature seriously, he concludes, is to adopt the perspective and disposition of the migrant. It is to recognize in the liminal condition of the migrant, the means of (re)discovering the world as one's home: "our philological home is the earth."

¹¹³ Auerbach, "Philology and Weltliteratur," 17.

¹¹⁴ On Said's discussion of Auerbach's *Mimesis* in relation to the latter's exile, see "Secular Criticism," in *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983). On other writings on exile, see Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

¹¹⁵ Auerbach, "Philology and Weltliteratur," 2.

5. Of Chameleons and Amphibians: Towards a Cosmopolitics of the Renaissance

By making a normative distinction between the world and the globe, Auerbach responds to the condition of alienation that defined his own time, one whose origin, as earlier discussed, can be traced back to the early eras of globalization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was during this period, or so it has been argued, that the world in the phenomenological sense (dynamic and open-ended) came to be eclipsed by a mere image of itself (what Heidegger would call "world picture"). 116 In an attempt to exercise control over, and orient themselves in relation to, a rapidly expanding and changing world, Europeans transformed the world, through the technologies of cartography and geography, into an abstracted, spatialized object of representation populated by so many images of lands, people, and things ready to be claimed and possessed. Mimesis, in this sense, becomes an act of possession (i.e., a way of transforming something radically other into signs in a hierarchical system of difference) that is, at the same time, a form of dispossession in that it imposes a particular order of meaning onto the world, which is, by definition, irreducible to representation and interpretation. It is a dispossession not only for the colonized, who are robbed of their own system of references and meanings, but also for the colonizer, who are deprived of access to forms of associations and epistemologies other than what is narrowly their own. What is lost, in this sense, is the totality of humanity as beingsin-the-world: the sense of the indeterminately human—never static but always emerging unified in all its multiplicity and potentiality.

¹¹⁶ See Martin Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," in *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, trans. William Lovitt (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), 115-136. See also, Ayesha Ramachandran, *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2015).

To trace this process, critical studies of early modern imperialism have tended to approach Renaissance humanism as an ideological instrument of empire, often at the expense of its more traditional association with human emancipation—an interpretation typically traced back to Jacob Burckhardt's *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860). A notable example includes Walter Mignolo, who emphasizes the convergence of the history of the Renaissance (a humanistic movement characterized by the renewal of classical learning) and the history of empire (linked to the emergence of a modern/colonial regime of knowledge-power) in order to bring to light what he aptly describes as the "darker side of the Renaissance":

While the concept of the Renaissance refers to the rebirth of classical legacies and the constitution of humanistic scholarship for human emancipation and *early modern period* empathizes the emergence of a genealogy that announces the modern and the postmodern, the darker side of the Renaissance underlines, instead, the rebirth of the classical tradition as a justification of colonial expansion and the emergence of a genealogy (the early colonial period) that announces the colonial and the postcolonial.¹¹⁷

Indispensable as such studies are, they overlook the fact that Renaissance humanism as a cultural movement (with its origin typically traced back to the fourteenth century, if not earlier) not only predates the accelerated expansion of the Iberian empires in the fifteenth century, but arguably had its roots in the socio-political situations of the Italian city-states with a long standing anti-imperial, republican tradition. With its emphasis on the practical use of learning, the humanist movement began as a reaction against the abstract, rationalistic sciences of Aristotelian logic and

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¹¹⁷ Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), viii.

¹¹⁸ See Angelo Mazzocco, ed., *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism* (Boston: Brill, 2006). For a lucid and authoritative account of the humanist movement, see Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources*, ed. Michael Mooney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979). The seminal work on civic humanism is Hans Baron's *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955). See also, Baron, *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism: Essays on the Transition from Medieval to Modern Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988). For a reassessment of Baron's thesis, see James Hankins, ed., *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). On Renaissance republicanism, see Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, Vol. 1: The Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 69-186.

natural philosophy in favor of an alternative educational curriculum consisting of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy. The principal aim of the humanist educational reform was to cultivate a certain type of civic-minded individuals who embodied the classical model of eloquence (especially that of Cicero) and hence trained to actively participate in public life. While humanism did not amount to a coherent system of philosophy, its followers variously subscribe to the notion of the dignity of humanity, a view famously expounded in Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's "Oration on the Dignity of Man" (1486) and the concomitant belief that the reformation of humanity can be achieved through human efforts, not least through the education in the studia humanitiatis. 119 Mirandola's highly syncretic essay resists being read as a celebration of a merely European conception of humanity; nor is it a manifesto of anthropocentrism as such, given that Pico departed from Marsilio Ficino, a fellow Florentine Platonist, in not assigning man a privileged position in the universal chain of Being. Instead, Mirandola's God places man outside of any predetermined order after the fact, as a creature gifted with the ability to fashion himself (like a "chameleon") into both lower or higher forms according to his free will, capable of inhabiting whatever place, shape, or role he desires:

Neither a fixed abode nor a form that is thine alone nor any function peculiar to thyself have we given thee, Adam, to the end that according to thy longing and according to thy judgement thou mayest have and possess what abode, what form, and what functions thou thyself shalt desire. The nature of all other beings is limited and constrained within the bounds of laws prescribed by Us. Thou, constrained by no limits, in accordance with thine own free will, in which hand We have placed thee, shalt ordain for thyself the limit of thy nature. 120

The project of Renaissance humanism, defined as such, appears diametrically opposed to the imperialist-identitarian project of differentiating—and reducing—human beings within a

Ellist Cussifer et al., The Remaissance I miosophy of Man, 225

¹¹⁹ On the Renaissance emphasis on man, see Kristeller, *Renaissance Concepts of Man and Other Essays* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972). See also, Ernst Cassirer, Kristeller, and John Herman Randall, Jr., eds., "Introduction," in *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956).

¹²⁰ Ernst Cassirer et al., *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, 225.

hierarchical-categorical scheme. Instead, it points toward a fundamentally utopian project concerned with radically reimagining what it means to be human (or what humans are capable of being) through the whole-hearted effort to recover the culture of ancient civilizations as a vital and relevant sources of knowledge—a project that may properly be called an "archaeology of the future." Underlying the historical-philological desire of humanism is the assumption that reality is not only more than what it appears to be, but that there is a final unity of truth in the universe such that nothing is ultimately lost. According to Paul Oskar Kristeller, the chief impact of classical humanism on Renaissance philosophy was the revival of ancient philosophical doctrines other than Aristotelianism, especially those of Plato, whose full dialogues were translated into Latin by Ficino, a leading member of the Platonic Academy in Florence. It is this Platonic strain of humanism—newly made relevant by the exodus of Byzantine intellectuals to Italy—that we see represented in Thomas More's *Utopia*, which describes as a model of the best commonwealth, a newly discovered island that has purged itself of the very desire for possession.

As I will discuss, More's *Utopia* constitutes a paradigmatic example of humanist utopian politics, which, as Walter Cohen points out, inaugurates "a tradition in which the sudden knowledge of previously unsuspected continents and their peoples gives rise to speculation on the ideal form of (European) society." Significantly, More makes a point of differentiating his own interest in the Utopian polity from the sensationalist accounts of exotic travels that fueled early colonial ventures:

¹²¹ The phrase "archaeology of the future" comes from Ursula K. Le Guin's *Always Coming Home* (New York: Bantam Books, 1986).

¹²² On the doctrine of the "unity of truth," see Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources*, 196-210.

¹²³ Kristeller, Renaissance Thought and Its Sources, 50-65.

¹²⁴ Cohen, "The Literature of Empire in the Renaissance," *Modern Philology* 102.1 (2004), 10.

We made no inquiries . . . about monsters, which are the routine of travelers' tales. Scyllas, ravenous Celaneos, man-eating Lestrygonians and that sort of monstrosity can hardly be avoided, but governments solidly established and sensibly ruled are not so common. While [Hythloday] told of many ill-considered usages in these new-found nations, he also described quite a few other customs from which our own cities, nations, races, and kingdoms might take example in order to correct their errors. ¹²⁵

Humans, not monsters, are the subject of inquiry. For More, humans are distinguished in that they are social beings capable of governing themselves through civic institutions ("governments solidly established and sensibly ruled") and of reforming these institutions through the examples of others. In *Utopia*, the capacity for self-reflection and renewal is stimulated by the possibility of meaningful intercourse with distant people, who are at once familiar and strange in relation to the people of Europe. The non-European societies are of interest to More for what they reveal about their shared capacity as social beings. The aim is less to fetishize cultural, racial, or ethnic difference through representation (to reify certain aspects of others as markers of some essential identity) than it is to achieve a social or dialectical knowledge of oneself through another's example "in order to correct [our own] errors." Mimesis, in this sense, becomes a function of an ironic or figural participation aimed at the cultivation of self-knowledge: the others are taken as possible versions of oneself (and vice versa). Crucially, *Utopia* does not offer a literal or factual account of non-European societies; it only pretends to the kind of genuine knowledge of cultural difference or alterity that ethnographic descriptions strive toward. What it offers is an illusion of another world which has the status of reality (a no-place), that is, a *fiction* of migration which, by virtue of its figural or ironic status, gestures toward something other—and potentially, more real—than what is known or appropriable as definitive knowledge.

¹²⁵ More, *Utopia*, 7.

What is at stake in Renaissance literature, I suggest, is the possibility of humanism as a vehicle of radical social thinking: its capacity of imagine a compelling alternative to the emerging reality of capitalist-imperialist expansion and consolidation. In the following chapters, I explore these possibilities by turning to some of the major genres of the period. Each chapter is intended to stand alone as an exploration of distinct literary-aesthetic responses to the contradictions of human movement. Taken together, they illustrate the centrality of migration as an essential problematic in Renaissance literary history.

Chapter 1 ("Utopian Fiction and the Phenomenology of Migration") examines the cosmopolitical dimension of More's *Utopia* (1516) by focusing on the situation and perspective of Hythloday as a figure of the Portuguese (Jewish) diaspora. It argues that the political meaning of *Utopia* is not exhausted by the (Christian) humanist aspiration to reform European society but included the utopian impulse to leave Europe altogether in search of a viable future elsewhere. To this end, I link *Utopia* to Jean de Léry's *Voyage to the Land of Brazil* (1578), a foundational document of ethnology that recounts the ultimately failed attempt to establish a Huguenot refuge in Brazil. Chapter 2 ("Sir Thomas More and the Tragedy of Citizenship") traces in the multiauthored Sir Thomas More (1593-4; 1600), a counter-tradition in Renaissance tragedy that foregrounds the problem of civility and citizenship over that of subjecthood and sovereignty. It argues that the demographic growth brought about by urban migration resulted in a politics of citizenship, which led to a "moment of tragedy" in early modern London, analogous, in historical determinants and theatrical innovations, to the "moment of tragedy" that Jean-Pierre Vernant and Pierre Vidal-Naquet locate in fifth-century Athens. Chapter 3 ("Romance and Realism in an Age of Migration") examines Renaissance translations and adaptations of Greek romances, including Heliodorus's Aethiopica, Cervantes's Don Quixote (1605; 1615) and Shakespeare's Pericles

(1607-8). It argues that the unique mimetic possibilities afforded by these Mediterranean romances lent themselves to the experience of migrants as inter-imperial subjects in a way that counters the martial heroics of chivalric romance as well as the home-bound realism of the bourgeois novel. Chapter 4 ("Migration and the Renewal of Pastoral") approaches Renaissance pastoral as a mode of socio-ecological thinking to trace what may be called an *ecology of the dispossessed*. It argues that migration as a form of displacement resulted in a collective-environmental consciousness with revolutionary potentials, by turning to Virgil's *Eclogue I*, Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590), Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (1603), and Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667).

Chapter 1 Utopian Fiction and the Phenomenology of Migration

1. The Perspective of the World

Scholarly efforts to assess the impact of the discovery and conquest of the New World on Renaissance literature have long grappled with the relationship between mimesis and empire, a problem discussed succinctly in J. H. Elliott's seminal book, *The Old World and the New: 1490-1650*: How do we account for the apparent failure or indifference of Europeans in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century in "assimilating" the New World into their consciousness, even as the latter was becoming increasingly crucial to their economy and politics? ¹²⁶ What were the conceptual strategies employed to depict the New World and its inhabitants, and what effects did they have on the trajectory of world history? In the influential work of Stephen Greenblatt and others, the problem has been posed as one of *representation*: specifically, how Europeans portrayed, understood, and produced as knowledge, a radically different world from their own. Mimesis, in this sense, is understood as a process of assimilation that is, at the same time, a form of appropriation, whereby the "wonders" of the New World were discursively produced and circulated as a kind of "mimetic capital." Such a process, it is argued, is not necessarily monolithic or merely hegemonic, but, like Shakespeare's Caliban, allows for strategies of

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¹²⁶ J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New: 1490-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970; repr., 1992).

¹²⁷ Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possession: The Wonders of the New World* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 6.

mirroring, resistance, and counter-assimilation.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, the underlying assumption is that the history of European imperialism and the history of Western epistemology—twin paradigms that undergird the narrative of Western modernity—run parallel to and complement each other; and that the European discovery and conquest of the New World constituted a decisive factor in this historical development.¹²⁹

For literary scholars seeking to explain Renaissance literature's distinguishing and enduring features, the relative absence of the New World in the period's major literary works poses a conundrum that gets to the heart of how we understand literature's relationship to the world, and hence, how literary history should be written. The problem is that Renaissance literature proves to be woefully inadequate, if not downright distorting, when it comes to depicting the reality of the New World as something independent of Europe. Literary allusions to the New World typically function as displacements of Europe's internal preoccupations, rather than an authentic engagement with a properly American one, thus giving weight to Edmundo O'Gorman's claim that the New World was a European "invention." Consequently, critics have variously reaffirmed Elliott's insight that "perhaps dreams were always more important than realities in the relationship of the Old World and the New," a notable example being Jeffrey Knapp, who has argued that in English literature the New World constituted "an empire nowhere." On the other hand, the apparent absence of American imperialism in literary representations has led Walter Cohen to criticize the tendency to look for traces of empire

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¹²⁸ See Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century," in *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 22-51.

¹²⁹ See Walter D. Mignolo, "The Geopolitics of Knowledge and the Colonial Difference," *The South Atlantic Ouarterly* 101.1 (2002): 57-96.

¹³⁰ Edmundo O'Gorman, *The Invention of America: An Inquiry into the Historical Nature of the New World and the Meaning of Its History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961). O'Gorman refers to both senses of the word "invention," from the Latin *invenire*, meaning to find out (or discover) as well as to devise (or contrive).

¹³¹ Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

exclusively in the depictions of empire. According to Cohen, the "crucial meaning of European imperialism" was registered in Renaissance literature in "nonrepresentational terms," not least in the "fateful sense of expansiveness . . . a sense that the world was Europe's oyster." The critical move to invert the perceptual hierarchy in favor of nonrepresentation over representation does not resolve the intractable problem of mimesis, where Europe assumes by default the position of the perceiving subject in relation to which the New World is always already the (mis)perceived object. Nevertheless, such a critique of mimesis leads to the insight that the impact of European expansion may have informed Renaissance literature not only on the level of representational content, but also on the level of form as the perceptual horizon that determines what is or is not represented. We are thus enjoined to ask a more fundamental question: What conditions representability in the first place?

To speak of the condition of representability in a given period, it becomes necessary to conceive of the world as a socio-historical totality in relation to which the literary or aesthetic act may be said to bring forth its own immanent subtext (or "situation") to which it is at the same time a response:

[I]n order for representability to be achieved, the social or historical moment must somehow offer itself as a situation, allow itself to be read in terms of effects and causes, or problems and solutions, questions and answers. It must have reached a level of shaped complexity that seems to foreground some fundamental ill, and that tempts the social theorists into producing an overview organized around a specific theme. The social totality is always unrepresentable . . . but it can sometimes be mapped and allow a small-scale model to be constructed on which the fundamental tendencies and the lines of flight can more clearly be read. 134

¹³² Cohen, "The Literature of Empire in the Renaissance," *Modern Philology* 102.1 (2004): 1-34. For a non-mimetic approach with a focus on lyric, see Roland Greene, *Unrequited Conquest: Love and Empire in Colonial America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

¹³³ Cohen, "Literature of Empire," 6.

¹³⁴ Jameson, Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions (New York: Verso, 2005), 13-14.

The defining problem of the Renaissance as a historical moment is that previously separate totalities (Afro-Eurasia and the Americas) came to be integrated into a single social totality for the first time. As Tzvetan Todorov somewhat exaggeratedly remarks on the significance of the year 1492: "men have discovered the totality of which they are a part, whereas hitherto they formed a part without a whole." 135 What is needed, therefore, is a critical approach to Renaissance literature that posits the totality of relations in the early modern world as its ultimate horizon of meaning. As Jameson points out, the world-as-totality is not an object of representation in its own right; it is the "overarching frame or Gestalt" within which perception is made possible in the first place. 136 From this perspective, the question is no longer how Europe "assimilated" the New World into its consciousness, but rather how Europe (along with the New World) was "assimilated into" a new totality in which all human beings suddenly found themselves embedded. What is suggested is a dialectical and nonreflective mode of knowing that has less to do with the apprehension of external objects per se than with the revelation (or disclosure) of what it means to be in the world: an ongoing encounter with an ultimately inappropriable world through which the boundaries between 'human' and 'world' are made and unmade as the ontological pre-condition of existence.

We may now better understand how the European perception of the new world order, and what was believed to be their unique place in it, may have contributed to a sense of their own manifest destiny. As Elliott observes, the discovery of the New World encouraged in the

¹³⁵ Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, trans. Richard Howard (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 5.

¹³⁶ Jameson, *Political Unconscious*, 111. The term *world* in used in the phenomenological sense as "the overall organizational category or ultimate perceptual horizon, within which empirical, inner-worldly objects and phenomena are perceived and inner-worldly experience takes place" (111).

Europeans a sense that "humanity—and specifically European humanity—held the future of the universe in its hands":

America had given Europe space, in the widest sense of the word—space to dominate, space in which to experiment, and space to transform according to wishes. This transformation of American space . . . left Europeans with a lasting sense of their own providential position in the historical design. . . . By transforming America as a prelude to its transformation of the world, Europe transformed its image of itself. 137

What has been less remarked upon is how this awareness of worldness (the quality of being in the world) was accompanied by a concomitant sense of estrangement and loss: how European imperialism was characterized by a paradoxical imperative to possession that was at the same time a form of dispossession. The year 1492 marked not only Columbus's discovery of America, but also the Christian reconquest of Spain, which led to the forced conversion and expulsion of its Jewish population. Following the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the repossession of Granada (Al-Andalus) effectively ended the era of *conviviencia* and further defined the European subcontinent as an exclusively Christian territory—the boundaries of European identity now irrevocably defined against Islam, which was increasingly seen as a thoroughly external entity, rather than as a vital source of a shared Eurasian heritage. ¹³⁸ Paradoxically, this same imperative to self-possession would manifest in the emergent nationalism of absolutist-states and the intra-Christian division that would forever put an end to the idea of Europe as a universal Catholic polity. The process of confessionalization would produce mass migrations of religious refugees, of Protestants and Catholics alike, who would be expelled (or choose to expel themselves) from the social body from which they found themselves intolerably estranged. What emerges is a

¹³⁷ Elliott, "Final Reflections: The Old World and the New Revisited," in *America in European Consciousness*, *1493-1750*, ed. Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 406. Quoted in Cohen, "Literature of Empire," 6.

¹³⁸ On the continuing cultural influence of Islam in Reconquista Spain, see Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

series of historical developments that point to a single, integrated process: the (re)possession of Europe that would be its own dispossession.

The crucial meaning of the New World in Renaissance literature, I suggest, must be sought not only in the "fateful sense of expansiveness" as Cohen suggested, but also in the profound and enduring sense of alienation that produced, and was produced by, migration. The history of European expansion was inseparable from the history of early modern diaspora which was its dialectical counterpart. On the one hand, migration could be a function of empirebuilding (e.g., an instance of "settler colonialism"); at the same time, it necessarily involved the participation of the victims of official imperialism who had been variously dispossessed within their own homeland (e.g., conversos, slaves, refugees, dissidents, laborers). 139 These included a range of dispersed peoples (e.g., Sephardic Jews, Portuguese merchants, Genoese sailors, African captives, English cosmopolitans, Huguenot refugees) that would form transnational and/or global networks of informally organized communities, whose interests were often in tension with those of state-sponsored expansionary endeavors. ¹⁴⁰ As a form of world-making in its own right, migration constitutes a mode of praxis whose aim has less to do with accumulation per se (although this is not excluded) than with survival in the broadly existential sense: one that would necessitate a radical reimagining of the material and spiritual conditions pertaining to the ways in which life is lived. The question then becomes: What kind of worldly perspective did the

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¹³⁹ On the concept of "settler colonialism," see Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

¹⁴⁰ The concept of diaspora has been extended beyond its original association with Jewish history to include different types of dispersal that characterized the experiences of various historical groups. For an overview of the field, see Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008). See also, Jonathan Israel, "Diasporas Jewish and Non-Jewish and the World Maritime Empires," in *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History*, eds. Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, Gelina Harlaftis, and Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou (New York: Berg, 2005), 3–26; Dagmar Freist and Susanne Lachenicht, eds., *Connecting Worlds and People: Early Modern Diasporas* (New York: Routledge, 2019).

experience of migrants make possible? In what way was Renaissance literature informed by the desire of the migrant in search of a better life?

This chapter traces this desire in the utopian impulse of the Renaissance as exemplified by Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) and the tradition of radical social thinking it would inaugurate. At the heart of *Utopia* is the premise, broadly shared by the humanists of More's time, that human nature can be changed by reforming the institutions and customs governing society as a whole. Such a totalizing and transformative mode of discourse, it has been argued, was integral to the formation of the early modern subject as it came to be defined in relation to the monarchical-imperial powers of Europe. Accordingly, humanist interpretations of More's *Utopia* have sought to locate the potential for political action in the humanist's role as advisors to the European princes—the assumption being that the principal interpretive question posed by *Utopia* pertains to More's response to his problematic situation as a public servant working for and under princely government. Migration as a cosmopolitical praxis, I suggest, constitutes an alternative and largely unexplored category of political action that corresponds neither to a formal participation in courtly-imperial politics nor to a contemplative withdrawal from public life, but to a form of radical dissent based on the possibility of participating in informal associations that are independent of, and potentially at odds with, the political-juridical structure of imperium. Rather than foreground the subject position of More as a courtier-bureaucrat, therefore, I would emphasize the historical-existential situation of Hythloday—a figure of the Portuguese diaspora— -as the proper subtext for the political meaning of *Utopia* in the early modern world.

2. The Desire of the Migrant

What distinguishes *Utopia* as a work of fiction (as opposed to a merely idle fantasy or a "holiday work" as C. S. Lewis called it) is the ambiguous ontological status of the island whose name (utopus) denotes a good place that is, at the same time, a no-place. More's text famously insists on the factual existence of the island not only through the voice of Hythloday, who claims to have stayed there for a period of five years, but also through a series of prefatory letters that vouch for the authenticity of More's text, while providing additional materials of their own (e.g., the Utopian alphabet, a poem, a map) that function as documentary 'proofs' of the island's eminent believability, and hence, its reality. The island of Utopia, we are told, is better than Plato's Republic because it has realized in the world what Plato only described in words ("I [Utopia] am a rival of Plato's republic, perhaps even a victor over it. The reason is that what he has delineated in words I alone have exhibited in men and resources and laws of surpassing excellence."). 141 In this, *Utopia* may be further distinguished from the Golden Age literature of the period, insofar as the latter merely harkens back to an ideal past which, freed from the demands of earthly necessities, has little bearings on the workings of the present-world. If More's *Utopia* inaugurates a new genre of ideal-society literature, it is because of the manner in which his imaginary island asks to be taken seriously as if it were an actually existing society, even as its status as a literary invention never entirely recedes from the reader's consciousness.

In his seminal book, Stephen Greenblatt offers an illuminating example of this doubleness in Holbein's use of *anamorphosis* in "The Ambassador" (1533), where the latter placed at the bottom of a painting replete with images of worldly splendors, a human skull that can only be discerned when viewed from a skewed angle. Like Holbein's anamorphic skull,

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¹⁴¹ Thomas More, "Utopia," in *The Essential Works of Thomas More*, eds. Gerard B. Wegemer and Stephen W. Smith (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 151.

¹⁴² "Like 'The Ambassador,' *Utopia* presents two distinct worlds that occupy the same textual space while insisting upon the impossibility of their doing so. We can neither separate them entirely nor bring them into accord, so that

Greenblatt suggests, More's *Utopia* represents two incompatible planes of reality that form a "paradoxical unity" within a single textual space. 143 The description of Utopia consists of two levels of discourse in such a way that Utopian social arrangements that seem practicable on one level are shortly revealed to be factually impossible on another. 144 Such mimetic inconsistency is understood not as a failure of realism to produce an effect of coherent and self-contained illusion, but as a fundamental strategy of a certain kind of fiction that seeks to affect a sense of estrangement in the reader. What happens is not a blurring of the boundaries between the real and the illusory as we find in narratives of exotic travel such as *The Book of John Mandeville*. On the contrary, the readers of *Utopia* are never allowed to forget that they are reading a work of fiction; only it is a fiction that has been rendered more compelling than the world they habitually inhabit in such a way that the latter becomes unmoored and appears arbitrary—as one possible version of reality among others. To encounter *Utopia* in this way is to participate in a double-vision where two incommensurable planes of perception (illusion and reality, here and elsewhere, the possible and the impossible) are held together in indeterminate suspension.

For Greenblatt, this double perspective becomes the key to understanding a distinctly Renaissance strategy of inhabiting the self, or "self-fashioning," where one simultaneously sees and unsees the constructedness of reality, all the while actively participating in the creation of its illusion. What distinguishes this theatrical mode of being, it is argued, is not its potential for autonomy, which is doubtful at best, but rather its relation to "the more general power to control

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the intellectual gratification of radical discontinuity is as impossible to achieve as the pleasure of wholly integrated form. We are constantly tantalized by the resemblances between England and Utopia . . . and as constantly frustrated by the abyss that divides them; and no sooner do we confidently take the measure of the abyss than we perceive a new element that seems to establish the unmistakable link between them." Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning:* From More to Shakespeare (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 22.

¹⁴³ Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning, 57.

¹⁴⁴ Louis Marin, *Utopiques: jeux d'espaces* (Paris: Minuit, 1973), 81; Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 23.

identity—that of others as least as often as one's own."¹⁴⁵ Such a mechanism of subjectivation came to be established in early modern Europe through the disciplinary apparatuses of authoritative institutions (e.g., the family, the state, the Church) and the presence of a threatening Other (e.g., heretic, savage, witch, adulteress, traitor, anti-Christ) perceived by the authority as alien and hostile:

We may say that self-fashioning occurs at the point of encounter between an authority and an alien, that what is produced in this encounter partakes of both the authority and the alien that is marked for attack, and hence that any achieved identity always contains within itself the sign of its subversion or loss.¹⁴⁶

Significantly, it is this identitarian formulation of being that leads Greenblatt to ultimately devalue the emancipatory potential of self-fashioning as is made evident in his reading of *Utopia*:

More felt himself... to be a supremely *constructed* self, and he devised his *libellus* as an exploration of the conditions of this construction, and the possibility of its undoing. But if he imagines the dismantling of the structure of his identity... he will not, indeed cannot, finally cancel his identity. For all its anamorphic strangeness, Utopia is not... absolutely other, and More's undoing of himself is not represented as a chaotic dissemination of the energies so rigidly structured in his life but rather as a more intense and monolithic structuring.¹⁴⁷

Here, the utopian discourse is understood as a function of a totalizing apparatus of power that exercises dominion over a *bounded* totality in which More's identity as a subject is forever caught up. Utopia is seen as a mirror-image of More's England, which, as an island, is conceived as a world onto itself. But England is not the world; and neither is Utopia. They are enclaves embedded in a larger, unbounded totality which, as of recently, has come to encompass the Old World and the New; and it is this early modern world that must constitute the ultimate horizon of meaning in *Utopia*. Critics fail to take seriously the emancipatory potential of *Utopia* when they

¹⁴⁶ Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning, 9.

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¹⁴⁵ Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning, 2.

¹⁴⁷ Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 57-58.

assume that the revolution must take place in England or Europe, the prospect of which might indeed appear doubtful in a period marked by the consolidation of monarchical power. But while More would go on to serve in the court of Henry VIII, it should be remembered that his alterego, Hythloday, having been thoroughly disenchanted by the European political system ruled by warring despots, reportedly sailed back to Utopia:

> For we hear various stories about him, some people asserting that he died on the way home, others that he got home but could not bear the ways of his countrymen, retained his old hankering for Utopia, and so made his way back. $(131)^{148}$

Hythloday's "hankering" for Utopia is nothing less than the utopian impulse itself. But Hythloday's desire differs significantly from the purported desire of the humanist-courtier whose aim is to reform European society, insofar as the former is prompted by the recognition that a meaningful reform in Europe has become impossible. Only this recognition does not lead to a withdrawal from politics as such. Instead, the utopian impulse is embodied in a migrant-figure whose mode of being is defined precisely by his capacity and willingness to exist in between nations and states: the possibility, in short, of being a citizen of the world.

What does it mean to read *Utopia* as the romance of Hythloday? We first encounter Hythloday in Antwerp, a flourishing port city under the control of the Spanish crown, where More is staying during a recess in official business. One day after mass at Notre Dame, More sees his friend and Antwerp native Peter Giles talking with a "stranger," and correctly takes him to be a "ship's captain" based on his sunburned face, long beard, and a loose cloak hanging over his shoulders. Giles is eager to introduce the man to More, saying "there is no man alive today can tell you so much about unknown peoples and lands, and I know that you're always greedy for

¹⁴⁸ Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. George M. Logan (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010). All subsequent citations refer to this edition.

such information" (10). This man, whose name is Raphael Hythloday, is by all accounts no ordinary traveler in that he is motivated first and foremost by an uncommon desire for knowledge ("his sailing has not been like that of Palinurus, but more that of Ulysses, or rather of Plato"; 10-11). His main interest is philosophy and as such he prizes Greek over Latin, although he is learned in both. This devotion to truth and learning goes hand in hand with his apparent indifference to worldly possessions. Seized by the desire to see the world, the Portuguese native takes the unusual step of leaving his patrimony ("to which he was entitled at home"; 11) to his brothers in order to take part in Amerigo Vespucci's overseas ventures. It is on his way back from Vespucci's latest expedition to Cape Frio, north of Rio de Janeiro, that Hythloday is said to have come across the island of Utopia, somewhere between eastern Brazil and Ceylon, before returning home via the Portuguese trading post in Calicut:

After much persuasion and expostulation [Hythloday] got Amerigo's permission to be one of the twenty-four men who were left in a fort at the farthest point of the last voyage. Being marooned in this way was altogether agreeable to him, as he was more anxious to pursue his travels than afraid of death. He would often say, 'The man who has no grave is covered by the sky,' and 'The road to heaven is the same length from all places.' Ye this frame of mind would have cost him dear, if God had not been gracious to him. After Vespucci's departure, he traveled through many countries with five companions from the garrison. At last, by strange good fortune, he got, via Ceylon, to Calicut, where he opportunely found some Portuguese ships; and so, beyond anyone's expectation, he returned to his own country. (11)

Rather than returning home with the rest of Vespucci's crew, Hythloday, along with a few others, pursue their own agenda in regions hitherto uncharted by European powers, seemingly motivated only by a certain desire for travel, which becomes an end in itself ("he was more anxious to pursue his travels than afraid of death"). The radical notion of a journey without a destination (or rather, a journey that is its own destination) offers a phenomenological paradigm that runs counter to the telos of commercial-imperial expansion, allowing Hythloday to act less as a

colonial functionary than as an independent agent capable of negotiating his participation in Vespucci's state-sponsored venture ("After much persuasion and expostulation he got Amerigo's permission"). The discovery of Utopia occurs when Hythloday departs from the colonial mission and deviates from the itineraries established by European commercial interests, unmotivated by the desire to accumulate land or wealth through trade or conquest. Hythloday assumes an attitude closer to that of a cosmopolitan than a conquistador, one whole-heartedly committed to an unsettled existence which he views less as a deprivation or a deviation from the settled norm than as a positive and more authentic way of being in the world ("The man who has no grave is covered by the sky," and "The road to heaven is the same length from all places."). What is suggested is a certain radical ontology of movement that insists on recognizing the real condition of human existence in the rootless being of the migrant: a worldview best illustrated by the dictum, "I move, therefore I am."

To say that Hythloday is a cosmopolitan is not to suggest that he exists in some ideal realm transcending real world conflicts. On the contrary, the realistic description of More's encounter with Hythloday firmly places the narrative in the here-and-now, specifically, Antwerp in 1515. By the early sixteenth century, the port city was fast growing an epicenter of European commerce and a core region in an emerging world-system which would increasingly draw resources from the Americas and engage in trade with eastern economies. The Dutch entrepôt functioned as a juncture for a diverse population of mobile subjects, including sailors, servants, merchants, state officials, and refugees, that were bound to different parts of the world. We are enjoined to regard Hythloday as such a cosmopolitical subject situated in a complex and overlapping web of relations that made up this global network of trade and settlement (what

Alison Games aptly describes as the "web of empire"). ¹⁴⁹ It is no coincidence that More would imagine Hythloday as a member of the dispersed nation of Portugal, the de facto protagonist in the history of European expansion as far back as the early fifteenth century. ¹⁵⁰ According to A. J. R. Russell-Wood, the Portuguese experience was significantly different from that of the Spanish empire with its considerable military power and pretension to universal monarchy. ¹⁵¹ In contrast, Portugal's relatively small population meant that it was only able to maintain a world-wide trading empire by forging alliances with local authorities and adapting to native customs, more so than through the forceful possession of overseas territories. What makes Hythloday a Portuguese cosmopolitan rather than a Spanish conquistador is his reliance on his ability to make friends in strange places, including with the Brazilian natives who offer him and his crew the resources necessary to survive in an unfamiliar world:

[Hythloday] told us that when Vespucci sailed away, he and his companion who had stayed behind in the fort often met with the people in the countryside, and by ingratiating speeches gradually won their friendship. Before long they came to dwell with them safely and even affectionately. The prince (I have forgotten his name and that of his country) also gave them his favor, furnishing Raphael and his five companions not only with ample provisions but with means for traveling—rafts when they went by land. In addition, he sent with them a most trusty guide, who was to conduct them to other princes to whom he heartily recommended them. After many days' journey, he said, they came to towns and cities, and to commonwealths that were both very populous and not badly governed. (11-12)

As a social practice, early modern cosmopolitanism may be understood less as an expression of what would later become the Enlightenment ideal of toleration than as a pragmatic strategy born

¹⁴⁹ Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹⁵⁰ See J. R. Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415-1808* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).

¹⁵¹ For a useful survey, see Malyn Newitt, *Emigration and the Sea: An Alternative History of Portugal and the Portuguese* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

out of the necessity to interact with strangers. Based on the need to coexist, a cosmopolitan attitude is predicated on the awareness of one's dependence on others, the limitation of one's own perspective, and the relative validity of cultural systems other than one's own. To be a cosmopolitan, in this sense, is to cultivate a kind of tactical existence, to adapt to the norms and customs that constitute the *habitus* of a given culture, not quite accepting or rejecting it, but moving through them, while recognizing the contingent nature of social life as it is instantiated in particular places.

Such a cosmopolitan subjectivity informs Hythloday's critique of European society. In Part I of *Utopia*, Hythloday recounts a dinner conversation that took place at Cardinal Morton's house, where a debate about capital punishment led to the question of what constitutes true justice. Against the argument of one of the guests, a lawyer in favor of executing petty thieves, Hythloday points out the absurdity of the English juridical system that sentences to death those driven to stealing out of necessity, a necessity which, he argues, was created by the powerful few that monopolize resources at the expense of the general populace. When pressed to come up with a solution, Hythloday describes the custom of the Polyerites ("observed in my Persian travel") whose laws aim to "destroy vices and save men" by putting those convicted of crime to public work instead of killing them (23). The example of the Polyerites is used to illustrate the possibility of a social solution to the problem of crime and punishment in England, a problem that appears intractable when viewed from a purely legalistic standpoint ("I [Hythloday] saw no reason why this system could not be adopted even in England, and with much greater advantage than the 'justice' which my legal antagonist praised so highly"; 24-25). Such a critical

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¹⁵² On early modern cosmopolitanism, see Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (2008); Jacob, *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe* (2006).

perspective is a function of Hythloday's status as a stranger who has no vested interest in the English legal establishment and who is motivated only by his desire to understand the relative merits of different social systems with the aim of discovering the best commonwealth. The invitation to assess the current state of affairs in England in view of the full range of alternatives available in the wider world effectively unsettles the status quo and prompts a radical rethinking of the foundational institutions governing English society.

The kind of insight offered by Hythloday is not diminished by the awareness that there may not exist a real people called the Polyerites, because it is a certain critical habit of mind, and not the attainment of ethnographic knowledge per se, that is of interest here. What is being taught is a certain cosmopolitan subjectivity: an openness to the possibility of another world, an attitude associated with, but does not exclusively pertain to, the condition of being a migrant. It is important that Hythloday, while exceptional and extraordinary, is seen not as a peddler of exotic trivia but as an enlightened traveler who has a privileged access to universal truths pertaining to all human societies. For the rhetorical aim of Hythloday is less to instruct his European audience of cultural difference or to help them be more tolerant toward others, than it is to demonstrate what it means to think critically about the workings of any given society, including their own, by reducing the particularities of culture down to its underlying material reality, the recognition of which becomes the basis of a certain revolutionary consciousness: one that perceives justice to be contingent upon the particular ways of governing social relations, which must itself be transformed if true justice is to be achieved.

Hythloday's account of the Polyerites thus anticipates his later description of the Utopians, whose social arrangement is described as a singular alternative to that of England or any other class society founded on the exploitation of the laboring populace:

I'd like to see anyone try to compare this equity of the Utopians with the so-called justice that prevails among other peoples—among whom let me perish if I can discover the slightest scrap of justice or fairness. What kind of justice is it when a nobleman or a goldsmith or a moneylender, or someone else who makes his living by doing either nothing at all or something completely useless to the commonwealth, gets to live a life of luxury and grandeur, while in the meantime a laborer, a carter, a carpenter, or a farmer works so hard and so constantly that even a beast of burden could scarcely endure it? Although this work of theirs is so necessary that no commonwealth could survive a year without it, they earn so meager a living and lead such miserable lives that beasts of burden would really seem to be better off. (94)

What makes Hythloday's social vision compelling is not so much the idea of communism itself, which has a long history that includes Plato's *Republic*, Ovid's description of the Golden Age, the apostolic ideal of Christian community, and the myth of the land of Cockayne. Rather, it is that communism emerges as the only logical solution once the reader comes to accept Hythloday's premise that without the abolition of private property, the meaning of any subsequent efforts at reform is rendered fundamentally ambiguous:

Thus I am wholly convinced that unless private property is entirely done away with, there can be no fair or just distribution of goods, nor can the business of mortals be happily conducted. As long as private property remains, by far the largest and best part of the human race will be oppressed by a heavy and inescapable burden of care and anxieties. . . . The social evils I mentioned may be alleviated and their effects mitigated for a while, but so long as private property remains, there is no hope at all of effecting a cure and restoring society to good health. While you try to cure one part, you aggravate the disease in other parts. Suppressing one symptom causes another to break out, since you cannot give something to one person without taking it away from someone else. (36)

Hythloday directs his criticism at the underlying structure of domination that perpetuates injustice and inequality, rather than at any particular individuals, factions, or nations. Hence, the rhetorical power of passages like the one quoted above ultimately depends on the extent to which the reader recognizes in the world around them an all-encompassing *system* of power that

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¹⁵³ See Edward L. Surtz, "Humanism and Communism: The Background," in *The Praise of Pleasure: Philosophy, Education, and Communism in More's Utopia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 161-74.

constitutes their own condition of possibility. Any interpretation of *Utopia*, therefore, must posit its own theory of power by identifying an immanent historical subtext (some emergent reality of domination) to which *Utopia* may be said to respond. As earlier discussed, Greenblatt locates this power in the authoritative institutions that constitute the disciplinary apparatus of subject formation in Tudor England. Richard Halpern complicates this formulation in his discussion of the "political economy of the Renaissance" by bringing together the Marxist account of capitalist accumulation and the Foucauldian account of the modern corporeal-disciplinary regime. ¹⁵⁴ By foregrounding the imperative to accumulation (of men and capital) within a unifying framework, Halpern takes seriously the crucial insight of *Utopia* that *all* forms of domination derive from private property. Like Greenblatt, however, Halpern focuses primarily on the politics of subjecthood *in* Tudor England and does not consider the fundamentally transnational configurations of power that emerged in the early eras of European expansion: a system of domination founded on the *colonization of space* on a newly global scale.

By 1500, the commercial cities in the Netherlands (e.g., Antwerp, Brussels, and Amsterdam) were fast growing as the epicenters of European mercantile networks. At the center of England's economy was its textile trade with these Dutch cities, which provided the impetus for market-oriented agriculture. This process was accompanied by the practice of enclosing the commons, which produced a population of landless wage-laborers, many of whom would migrate to the towns seeking work. An enduring critique of this phenomenon is found in Book I of *Utopia*, where More (through the voice of Hythloday) offers a cogent analysis of a moral economy corrupted by market forces:

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¹⁵⁴ Richard Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*. Halpern focuses on institutions of humanist education as an ideological-disciplinary apparatus of the Tudor state, which consolidated power by means of large scale land reforms.

Your sheep . . . that used to be so meek and eat so little. Now they have become so greedy and fierce that they devour human beings themselves, as I hear. They devastate and depopulate fields, houses, and towns. For in whatever parts of the land the sheep yield the softest and most expensive wool, there the nobility and gentry, yes, even the abbots . . . are not content with the old rents that the land yield to their predecessors. . . . Thus one greedy, insatiable glutton, a frightful plague to his native country, may enclose many thousand acres of land within a single hedge. The tenants are dismissed; some are stripped of their belongings by trickery or brute force, or, wearied by constant harassment, are driven to sell them. By hook and by crook these miserable people—men, women, husbands, wives, orphans, widows, parents with little children, whole families . . . are forced to move out. They leave the only homes familiar to them, and they can find no place to go. (19)

Enclosure was not new or unique to More's time. What was relatively new was the extent to which this local phenomenon was implicated in a global process. The Anglo-Dutch commercial network was itself part of a nascent capitalist world-economy. From the late fifteenth-century, the once peripheral northern European states would gradually replace the Mediterranean as a core region in this world-economy, which drew resources from the Americas to enable development at home and commerce with the eastern economies. The expanding frontiers of Iberian empires emerged as a space where vast amounts of wealth could be accumulated and returned to Europe: an emblematic example being the influx of American gold, which may have contributed to the price inflation that accelerated commercialization in Europe, and the increased circulation of silver, which facilitated the lucrative spice trade.

The crucial insight of More's *Utopia* is that this emergent money economy was made possible through processes of dispossession which included not only the despoiling of the English peasantry through enclosures but also the much more violent forms of conquest and plunder that were happening in the peripheries of the Iberian empires.¹⁵⁵ What distinguished the

¹⁵⁵ So when Hythloday talks about the "miserable people," he is in fact describing a process that is at once local and global. He is identifying a logic of expulsion that was beginning to acquire a universal resonance: one that pertained to the subalterns in the periphery as well as those in the center. The enduring resonance of *Utopia* derives from its capacity to expand a critique of a local phenomenon, like enclosure, into a general critique of colonization.

modern/colonial world system was a ceaseless drive for accumulation that produced (even as it depended upon) a mass population of mobile, landless workers. The mobilization of working bodies as an instrument of empire-building was in turn made possible through a radical transformation of the spatiotemporal order on a global scale.¹⁵⁶ As Harvey observes:

The accumulation of capital has always been a profoundly geographical affair. Without the possibilities inherent in geographical expansion, spatial reorganization, and uneven geographical development, capitalism would long ago have ceased to function as a political-economic system.¹⁵⁷

Early modern migration, in this sense, was a function of an emergent capitalist mode of accumulation which operates by *making and unmaking boundaries*: the kind of boundaries that define an exclusive "center" against an "periphery," an "inside" against an "outside," a "self" against an "other." It is important to recognize, however, that early modern migrants, while reduced to "a mere appendage to the circulation of capital," are at the same time active agents participating in the process of capitalist world-making. ¹⁵⁸ In other words, the phenomenon of migration must be grasped as a social *movement* that actively brings into being the very historical condition to which it is, at the same time, a reaction. Insofar as migration is a response to the alienation brought about by capitalist accumulation, it constitutes a process of world-making whose dialectical logic is structurally analogous to that of utopian fiction as a literary or aesthetic act. Like migration, utopian fiction arises out of the necessity to imagine a future outside of one's homeland. They are analogous forms of revolutionary practice through which one continually (re)discovers one's grounding in the world, by radically reconfiguring the boundaries between what is vital and superfluous, real and illusory, possible and impossible.

¹⁵⁶ For a more detailed discussion, see Introduction of this dissertation, 44-45.

¹⁵⁷ Harvey, Spaces of Hope, 23.

¹⁵⁸ "Capital circulates . . . through the body of the laborer as variable capital and thereby turns the laborer into a mere appendage of the circulation of capital itself" (Harvey, *Limits to Capital*, 157).

More organizes *Utopia* in such a way that Hythloday's description of Utopia in Book 2 is read as an imaginary solution to, and an ironic comment on, the social ills of early sixteenth-century England and Europe, including enclosure and other forms of accumulating land (notably, war). In response to this contradiction of spatial (re)ordering, More imagines a fictional island, whose enclosed spatial order reflects (and ensures) the ideal of social stability and harmony. This order is said to have been established by an originary act of imperialism, namely, the conquest of the people of Abraxas by King Utopus, who mobilized the native population to dig a channel that effectively separates their land from the rest of the continent. This feat of geoengineering is said to have served a dual purpose. First, the project united the natives and the conquerors under a shared sense of destiny, turning both into more obedient subjects. Second, it created a natural border that 'protects' the island from external threats without completely isolating it from the rest of the world. The slender channel that separates Utopia from the continent is only fifteenth miles wide, so that Utopians are still connected to its neighboring nations with whom they engage in commerce, maintain diplomatic relations, and at times, go to war.

Herein lies the central paradox of all utopian fiction. *Utopia* responds to an emergent reality of spatial colonization (e.g., the enclosure of the commons; the conquest of America), recognizes it as an object of reflection and critique, and imagines an alternative social order founded on the abolition of private property. But it does so by creating an imaginative enclosure of its own that provisionally separates the fictional island from the real world. What results is a bounded spatial order of *apparent* stasis established by the exclusion of potentially destabilizing forces, such as money, private property, and wage labor. But these destabilizing forces are not so much eliminated as they are displaced onto other areas of social life. For example, Utopians adopt a different set of rules when dealing with non-Utopians (or those who have purportedly

forfeited the right to be citizens of Utopia, such as convicts), as is evident in their institution of slavery as a form of punishment or their practice of buying mercenaries when conducting wars, Utopians export their surplus production to other countries, which generates enough profit to allows them to buy the slaves and mercenaries, some of whom are also prisoners or captives of war. In short, Utopia appears stable and harmonious only insofar as it is perceived as an enclosed social order, but this apparent stasis is revealed to be an illusion the moment it is viewed as part of a more general economy.

In the famous map of Utopia by Ambrosius Holbein (first appeared in the 1518 edition), the island's connection to this wider world is suggested not only by the ships that surround the island and the distant lands depicted in the background but also by the ever-receding horizon that points to all that is not represented. In an age of globalization, the horizon signifies less a barrier than a route—a *via*—linking the island to an unbounded totality that is the early modern world. From the tension between enclave and totality results a form of knowing that can only be described as border thinking. The bounded spatial order of Utopia functions as a framing device, which (as in a *gestalt* image) produces alternating planes of perception that impossibly occupy the same representational space: inside and outside, foreground and background, Utopian and non-Utopian. This dual perspective informs the fundamental ambiguity of Utopia, where social arrangements that seem to promise limitless freedom can suddenly appear as authoritarian forms of absolute control. For instance, Utopian citizens can travel anywhere provided that they obtain a letter from the governor, but anyone traveling without the governor's certificate is brought back as a "runaway" to be severely punished, and even sentenced to slavery if the offense is repeated. For Greenblatt, this discursive pattern ultimately leads to a diminishing return of freedom, noting that "again and again . . . freedoms are heralded, only to shrink in the course of

the description."¹⁵⁹ But there is no reason to suppose that authoritarian control necessarily prevails over free play. It would be more accurate to say that Utopia produces alternating dimensions of freedom *and* unfreedom (utopia *and* dystopia) within a single representation that necessitates a continual adjustment of perception.

The interpretation of Utopia is conditioned by this underlying spatial dialectic upon which Utopian society is founded in the first place. ¹⁶⁰ The meaning of this spatial order is indelibly linked to an original act of imperialism whose effect persists in the very fabric of Utopia's spatiotemporal order despite its abolition of private property, rendering the meaning of Utopian social engineering fundamentally ambiguous. Once this is recognized, the reader is forced to confront the paradox that a true Utopian solution cannot be found solely *in* Utopia but admit to the necessity of a continual journey away from, and return to, Utopia.

3. The Cosmopolitics of Utopia: Humanism and Its Limits

Neither Hythloday nor Utopia, of course, is real. They are fictions of migration that point toward another world than that which is given. What *is* real was the desire for Utopia. More lived in a period when migration was becoming a vital necessity, and for many, the only way to live. In a recent study on religious refugees, Nicholas Terpstra has emphasized the expulsion of Iberian Jews in 1492 as a point where we can see most clearly the official consequences of a growing ethos of purity and purgation, which would culminate in the Reformation and its preoccupation with establishing religious-political orthodoxy within the territorial boundaries of emergent

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¹⁵⁹ Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 40-41.

¹⁶⁰ For Harvey, this insight leads to a vision of a "spatiotemporal utopianism" conceived as a "social process in spatial form," which would introduce an evolutionary dimension to Utopia's spatial order. See Harvey, *Spaces of Hope*, 182-196.

nation-states.¹⁶¹ J. H. Hexter is surely right to caution against too easily bringing in the Reformation as a context for More's *Utopia*, which was published a year before Martin Luther posted his famous theses in 1517.¹⁶² However, it would be equally absurd to say that the sense of estrangement caused by the process of subjectivation was fundamentally different for More in 1516 than it would be after 1517, granted the politics of subjecthood in this later period would take on an additional dimension of confessional conflict, which would result in More's death as a "Catholic" martyr. Rather, the religious politics of this later period must be understood as a *latent* or *emergent* subtext of *Utopia*, a further sharpening of the boundaries between self and other in the ongoing process of European identity formation, which would continue to take on new meaning throughout the different stages of European expansion.

The significance of the 1516 Latin publication of *Utopia* must be found in the unique historical moment—between the Christian reconquest of Spain and the beginning of the Protestant Reformation—that effectively marked the beginning *and* the end of Europe as a basis for a universal Christian identity. More was part of a circle of northern humanist with close ties to the prominent figure of Erasmus, whose cosmopolitan vision of reformed Christendom (what has been called "Christian humanism") was supported by a wide range of international followers, many of whom were princes and potentates. The singular celebrity of Erasmus was made possible by the dissemination of the printing press, which enabled the formation of a "humanist republic of letters" that could transcend the nominal boundaries of national-imperial politics. This emergent public sphere made possible for Erasmian humanists to put forth their vision of social, political, and religious reform to an educated European readership and, in so doing,

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¹⁶¹ Terpstra, Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World, 1-20.

¹⁶² J. H. Hexter, "The Composition of Utopia," in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, Vol. 4, eds. Edward Surtz and J. H. Hexter (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), xxiv.

establish an imagined community upon which a shared sense of reformed, Christian identity could be founded. As H. R. Trevor-Roper has discussed, the project of Erasmian reform would ultimately fail in the face of the Protestant movement, championed by another international celebrity, Martin Luther, who proved to be as adept as Erasmus (if not more) at utilizing the printing press to get his message across, all the more so because the German monk would put his faith in the vernacular. The widely publicized, polemical exchange between Erasmus and Luther presaged the intra-Christian division and the emergent nationalism of absolutist-states that would put an end to the idea of a unified Christendom. This is the Europe that More will die defending; and this is the Europe that Hythloday will leave behind.

What is at stake in *Utopia*, I suggest, is the possibility and limit of Renaissance humanism as a basis for cosmopolitical praxis: its capacity to offer a compelling solution to, or critique of, the emergent reality of European imperialism and its turning of the world into territorial possessions. Past studies of *Utopia* have tended to locate the potential for political action exclusively in the humanist's role as an advisor to the governing monarch—a view no doubt affirmed in the works of the period's leading humanists such as Erasmus's *The Education of a Christian Prince*, Machiavelli's *The Prince*, and Castiglione's *The Courtier*. Less attention has been paid to the aspect of civic humanism that emphasizes the political agency of individuals with the capacity to form voluntary associations (or publics) independently of their roles within hierarchical institutions of power. This horizontal mode of belonging was crucial to the humanist effort to imagine alternative forms of universalism in a period characterized by the consolidation of territorial powers. If the aim of humanism was to promote the good of the commonwealth, the fundamental questions that need to be asked are: What forms of collectivity were brought forth

as a basis for the active life? What were the possibilities and limits afforded by such processes of public-making?

Central to critical discussion has been the question of whether Hythloday's radical social vision reflects More's own views, and hence, to what extent the description of Utopian communism should be understood as a serious attempt to delineate the constitutions of "the best state of a commonwealth" (*optimo reipublicae statu*). 163 More's text invites this very question by its open-ended and dialogic structure, which, in the characteristically humanist fashion, is interested more in the possibilities raised by rhetorical debate than it is in arriving at any definitive conclusion. It is important to recognize, however, that this critical-ideological debate is itself contingent upon how we interpret the possibility and limit of humanism as a political praxis that seeks to realize a just commonwealth from *within* the political-juridical system of the monarchical-state. Much of Book 1 of *Utopia* centers around the debate between More and Hythloday about whether it is possible for courtier-bureaucrats to justly counsel kings without losing their integrity in a corrupt system of power (i.e., "the problem of counsel"). It is Hythloday's utter rejection of this reformist solution that leads to the assertion that all social ills derive from private property:

But as a matter of fact, my dear More, to tell you what I really think, as long as you have private property, and as long as money is the measure of all things, it is scarcely ever possible for a commonwealth to be just or happy. For justice cannot exist where all the best things in life are held by the worst people; nor can anyone be happy where property is limited to a few, since those few are always uneasy, and the many are utterly wretched. (35)

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¹⁶³ R. W. Chamber and Edward Surtz have argued that More was a Catholic reformer who was not seriously espousing communism as a social program. On the other hand, Russell Ames, J. H. Hexter, Quentin Skinner, and Eric Nelson have argued that Hythloday's vision of Utopian communism represents More's own vision of a just commonwealth. Others have emphasized the interplay between Hythloday and the More as characters in a literary text. For this, refer to the works of C. S. Lewis, Elizabeth McCutcheon, and Dominic Baker-Smith.

The meaning of Utopian communism is thus inseparable from the debate about the respective merit of *negotium* and *otium*—a staple topic of debate among humanists that responds the conflict between the humanist obligation to public service (or *vita activa*) and the belief that the truth of political life can only be arrived at through a life of leisurely contemplation free of the need for political compromise (or *vita contemplativa*). Quentin Skinner has argued that *Utopia*'s stating of this debate represents the competing positions within "civic humanism," a republican tradition associated with the Italian city-states. ¹⁶⁴ For Skinner, More represents the position of Ciceronian civic humanism, which emphasized the active participation of a well-educated citizenry in public affairs, while Hythloday represents the ethical ideals of Plato (increasingly made popular after Ficino's complete translation of his dialogues in the 1480s), who argued that freedom from public duty is indispensable for the achievement of truth and happiness.

Building on Skinner's work, Eric Nelson situates More's *Utopia* in its more immediate intellectual milieu. ¹⁶⁵ More belonged to a circle of Oxford-London humanists (such as John Colet, William Grocyn, Thomas Linacre, William Lily) who were the first Englishmen to learn Greek and who made a point of preferring Greece over Rome, notably in their defense of Erasmus's controversial project of using the Greek New Testament to correct the Vulgate. As proponents of the new Greek learning, Nelson argues, the English Hellenists criticized the neo-Roman republican tradition of *civitas* (with its emphasis on *patria*, civic glory, and liberty) in favor of an alternative tradition of republicanism based on Greek ethics (whose highest end was happiness or *eudaimonia*, achieved through rationalism and not incompatible with totalitarian

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¹⁶⁴ Quentin Skinner, "Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* and the Language of Renaissance Humanism," in *The Languages* of *Political Theory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Padgen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 123-158.

¹⁶⁵ Eric Nelson, "Greek Nonsense in More's Utopia," Historical Journal 44.4 (2001): 889-917.

control). ¹⁶⁶ In this context, Hythloday's rejection of *negotium* represents a repudiation of a neo-Roman civic humanism (whose principal text was Cicero's *De Officis*) in favor of a competing republican tradition inspired by Greek socio-ethical philosophy (whose immediate source was Plato's *Republic*). Because the two opposing ideologies were based on fundamentally irreconcilable conceptions of justice and freedom, Nelson suggests, when seen from one perspective the other necessarily appears as an absurdity (or "nonsense").

Hythloday, then, represents the ideals and aspirations of northern-Erasmian humanists whose vision of reformed Christianity was informed by the wholehearted attempt to recover Greek literature and philosophy as a relevant and vital source of knowledge. It is this Christian humanist reception of Greek social vision that informs the ethical imperative of Utopian communism in the here-and-now:

But it is exceedingly strange that this community of possessions advocated by Plato should so displease Christians that they attack it with stones, since nothing ever said by a pagan philosopher is more similar to the judgement of Christ.¹⁶⁷

Hythloday's desire for Utopia, we might say, is the desire of Renaissance humanism itself, which attempts to return to the culture of an ancient civilization in order to revive an alternative way of life offers a solution to the evils of the contemporary world. It is this desire that allows Utopian communism to be perceived as a realizable social program, a desire shared by an international community of humanists who were prepared to believe in this Platonic vision as a truth more compelling than their own immediate reality. This is the community that is so vividly evoked in Book I of *Utopia*, set in a bustling, contemporary Flanders, where More accompanied Cuthbert

¹⁶⁶ Nelson states: "[F[or More and his circle, an impassioned defense of the Erasmian project and the new Greek learning carried with it a corresponding attack on Rome in general, and on Roman philosophy in particular" ("Greek Nonsense," 899).

¹⁶⁷ From Erasmus's *Adage* (Froben, 1515), translated and quoted in Nelson, "Utopia through Italian Eyes: Thomas More and the Critics of Civic Humanism," *Renaissance Quarterly* 59.4 (2006), 1037.

Tunstall on a diplomatic mission to negotiate between Henry VIII and Princes Charles regarding Dutch import duties. Against this backdrop of monarchical tension, More depicts an atmosphere of remarkable civility and sociability among Europeans of different nationalities. During a brief recess in official state-business, More goes to Antwerp to visit his friend Peter Giles, who introduces him to Hythloday, a Portuguese sailor who has lately returned from Cape Frio, where he had accompanied Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine native employed by the monarchies of Spain and Portugal:

When Peter had told me this, I thanked him for his kindness in wishing to introduce me to a man whose conversation he hoped I would enjoy, and then I turned to Raphael. After greeting one another and exchange the usual civilities of strangers upon their first meeting, we all went to my house. There in the garden we sat down on a bench covered with turf to talk together. (5-6)

What is striking is that the Iberian hegemony in the New World is registered not as an existential threat or a ground for competition but simply as a new reality to be shared among fellow Europeans who can be trusted to be friends. Despite the uncertainties surrounding the new discoveries, Hythloday's account, while questioned, is not discredited or attacked on the basis of imperial-factional politics. This contrasts sharply with the state of affairs after the Reformation, when the atrocities committed by the conquistadores will be used by Protestants as ammunition against Catholic powers. On the one hand, *Utopia* anticipates this emergent geopolitical reality in its allusion to the conflict between Henry VIII and the young Charles as well as in Hythloday's general criticism of the European monarchs as warmongers. Nevertheless, the New World is not itself perceived as a place that has to be fought over and against competing European powers, precisely because the Iberian imperial hegemony in the New World is not yet seriously contested. As a result, the meaning of the New World in *Utopia* is relatively free of the sense of disillusionment that will later accompany the Empire's decline and the concomitant rise of other

European nations with nascent imperial ambitions (England, France, and the Netherlands), who will each insist on their own account of truth against which other's accounts will be proven false.

The belief that there is a European community of like-minded individuals whose worldviews are not determined by their roles as state-functionaries is what allows the truth of *Utopia* to be playfully grasped as both real and illusory. *Utopia* would not be possible without this sense of genial complicity (of open secret) established by a community of friends who have come together to support the imaginary island More has created, each contributing their own piece of writing in the making of a collective fiction. What emerges is a form of self-fashioning that is predicated on More's sense of belonging to a cosmopolitan community of his peers, which constitutes a form of voluntary, civil association, rather than a hierarchical institution of power. This horizontal mode of belonging would have had just as much (if not more) claim to More's sense of self as his identity as an English subject. Indeed, More's later refusal to subscribe to the oath of Supremacy testifies to the fact that his allegiance to this cosmopolitan vision of Christian humanism may have been ultimately more real for More than the narrower universalism of the sovereign nation-states.

This sense of being a citizen-of-the-world is most clearly embodied in the figure of Hythloday, who offers nothing but disdain for the imperialist ambitions of European monarchs, who are said to be interested only in acquiring new kingdoms "by hook and by crook." As a citizen-of-the-world, Hythloday is both the product of Erasmian humanism and a testament to its limitations. On the one hand, he is explicitly identified with the new Greek learning: Peter Giles compares him to Odysseus and Plato; he is said to prefer the Greeks over Romans for the former's philosophy. But even as he associates with More and his humanist friends, Hythloday does not seem to subscribe to their vision of a reformed Christian Europe in that he refuses to

accept the validity of the prevailing system of power, even going so far as to equate "service" with "servitude." Critics tend to assume that Hythloday's rejection of public service (negotium) means a retreat to inner contemplation (otium), that he chooses a philosophical life over a life of action. But it should be pointed out that Hythloday's occupation is neither a public servant nor a philosopher by occupation, but a ship's captain (naucleus) whose sphere of action is presumably the world itself. Hence, Hythloday's decision to stay away from courtly-imperial politics amounts to a repudiation of a particular kind of vita activa in favor of one more conducive to his cosmopolitan subjectivity: a form of voluntary diaspora undertaken in search of a better life.

As mentioned earlier, More comes across Hythloday in Antwerp, a city fast growing as a nexus for migrants and refugees, and which housed a significant population of Portuguese émigrés that formed a global network of trade diaspora. According to Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, this Portuguese trade "nation" was less a cluster of merchant colonies than a collectivity without a territory, a diasporic community bound by informal ties and associations:

Though its members had a nominal tie to the kingdom of Portugal, the Nation, as a diaspora, was not rooted in a single place. It inhabited a multitude of territories without possessing them. . . . The Portuguese Nation was a nation without a state, a collectivity dispersed across the seas. It was sustained by trade, federated through dense and overlapping webs of kinship, commercial association, and patronage, and bound together through the recognition of symbols of common identity. ¹⁶⁸

The majority of this Portuguese trade nation consisted of New Christians, such that the "notion that the Portuguese Nation was a collectivity primarily defined by its shared Jewish ancestry has become something of a commonplace in the historical literature." The unique position of New Christians as both insider and outsider of the Iberian imperial hegemony informed the

¹⁶⁹ "Over half the members of the Portuguese Nation were New Christians" (Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation Upon the Ocean Sea*, 10).

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¹⁶⁸ Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, A Nation Upon the Ocean Sea: Portugal's Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492-1640 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 5.

Portuguese overseas experience, which produced markedly different forms of community characterized by dispersal, mobility, and hybridity, as opposed to the principle of enclosure, stasis, and homogeneity that organized the Spanish empire. By adopting a Portuguese sailor as its principal narrator, then, *Utopia* invokes this Portuguese history, even as it fails to register the crucial information that as a member of the dispersed nation of Portugal, Hythloday very well may have been of Jewish ancestry. Instead, Hythloday is identified with another ancient civilization—the Greeks—more readily assimilated into the project of Christian humanism.

What is revealed is the limit of Erasmian Christian humanism. Despite his cosmopolitanism, Erasmus would routinely engage in anti-Semitic rhetoric when criticizing the emerging commercialism of European nations which were seen as engaging in non-Christian behaviors (or Judaizing). This is not to say that More too subscribed to anti-Semitic views. What is more remarkable perhaps is the conspicuous absence of anti-Semitic rhetoric in *Utopia*, a text so thoroughly invested in criticizing the evils of money and mercantilism. Rather, More simply leaves out any mention of the Jewish experience, even though he may well have encountered Portuguese Jews or New Christians during his embassy in Flanders. More fails to recognize the central role played by European Jews in his own time—as victims and agents of European imperialism—simply because they do not register as part of his immediate sphere of concern. In other words, they do not figure into Erasmian humanism's vision of restoring the idea of a universal Catholic Europe as a basis for a Christian renewal.

It is no coincidence, therefore, that the Portuguese Hythloday would come to represent the position of the skeptic. While Hythloday and Erasmus may both believe in the vision of

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¹⁷⁰ Studnicki-Gizbert states: "Judaism and the sense of belonging to a broader Jewish community were central to the experience of many members of the Portuguese Nation and, indeed, provided key links keeping certain families together, but it is important to note that this community had a composite religious culture that mixed both Jewish and Christian elements in complex ways" (*A Nation Upon the Ocean Sea*, 11).

Utopian/Platonic communism, they differ in their attitudes towards the European public. The project of Erasmian reform assumes the possibility that the Europeans would come to accept the validity of the utopian vision. In the 1508 edition of *Adagia*, Erasmus states: "If it were only possible for mortals to be persuaded of this in that very instant war, envy and fraud would depart for their midst." On the contrary, it is precisely the perceived impossibility of persuading the European public of this alternate reality (of guiding them out of Plato's proverbial cave) that informs Hythloday's sense estrangement from the rest of Europe. Hythloday's disillusionment thus anticipates the eventual fracturing of the European public into competing factions and nations. Or rather, it is as if he already inhabits this fractured reality; and it is this historical consciousness that informs the felt necessity to embark on a diasporic mission.

4. Utopia as Diaspora: Jean de Léry's Voyage to the Land of Brazil

As a romance of a Portuguese diaspora, More's *Utopia* inhabits the same discursive space as such narratives of migration as Jean de Léry's *Histoire d'un Voyage fait en la Terre du Bresil* (1578), which recounts an early, unsuccessful attempt to establish a Huguenot refuge in Brazil. Léry's treatise contains a detailed and comprehensive description of the Tupinamba society that participates the same genre of writing and descriptive impulse that inform Hythloday's representation of Utopia society. Like the Utopians, the Tupinamba live in harmony with their environment, and have managed to curb the kind of expansionary impulse characteristic of contemporary Europe by organizing an economy based around needs. In a passage that echoes More (and anticipates Montaigne), Léry recounts his attempt to explain the Europeans' restless desire for accumulation to a Tupinamba elder, whose pastoral vision of a simple, contented life

iterates the by now familiar utopian critique of private property, familial legacy, and mercantile greed:

I see now that you *Mairs* (that is, Frenchman) are great fools; must you labor so hard to cross the sea, on which (as you told us) you endured so many hardships, just to amass riches for your children or for those who will survive you? Will not the earth that nourishes you suffice to nourish them? We have kinsmen and children, whom, as you see, we love and cherish; but because we are certain that after our death the earth which has nourished us will nourish them, we rest easy and do not trouble ourselves further about it. $(102)^{171}$

We see here the beginning of the myth of the Noble Savage whereby the European subject is discursively produced in opposition to an American other. Accordingly, Léry's *Voyage* has been viewed as a foundational text in ethnography, a field of human inquiry represented by the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss who famously described the treatise as "a breviary of ethnologists." In this context, Michel de Certeau has discussed Léry's treatise as a paradigmatic instance of a "hermeneutics of the other" to demonstrate how it (de)constructs the essential dichotomies undergirding the modern regime of discourse-knowledge (e.g., Europe/America, civilization/barbarism, writing/speech). De Certeau emphasizes the link between ethnography and historiography in the early modern efforts to formulate a "history of man," understood as an attempt to redress the sense of estrangement, absence, and loss brought about by modernity ("Ethnology will become a form of exegesis that has not ceased providing the modern West with what it needs in order to articulate its identity through a relation with the past or the future, with foreigners or with nature"). On the future of the

¹⁷¹ Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

¹⁷² See Clifford Geertz, "The Cerebral Savage: On the Work of Claude Lévi-Strauss," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 345-346.

¹⁷³ Michel de Certeau, "Ethno-Graphy: Speech, or the Space of the Other: Jean de Léry," in *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 209-243.

¹⁷⁴ De Certeau, "Ethno-Graphy," 221. On the intersection of history and anthropology, see De Certeau, "Travel Narratives of the French to Brazil: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," *Representations* 33 (1991): 221-226.

the link between Léry's Calvinism and the ethnographical impulse of his text. ¹⁷⁵ But the assumption remains that the significance of Léry's work lies in its status as a precursor to Enlightenment thinking and the modern habit of working through the discontents of civilization by means of the idealized and ambiguous figure of the *bon sauvage*. ¹⁷⁶

De Certeau is surely right to approach Léry's text as a work of ethno-historiography; but it should be emphasized that the history with which Léry is primarily concerned is less that of European modernity per se than that of a particular historical group—the Huguenots—that came to form a diasporic community across the Atlantic world. Recent scholarship has underscored the existence of a transatlantic refugee community of Huguenots centered around major European cities (London, Amsterdam, Geneva, Frankfurt) with vibrant printing cultures capable of establishing informal networks of correspondences and publications that effectively constituted a Republic of Letters. 177 Huguenots would form an "imagined community" similar to the sense discussed by Benedict Anderson in his study of nationalism, only they were a nation of refugees without a state or a territory. 178 This has led historians to apply the term "diaspora" (albeit advisedly) to describe the Huguenot experience to underscore the ways in which the collective identity of Huguenot communities came to be organized and sustained through a sense of shared

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¹⁷⁵ Frank Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage: L'Amerique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des guerres de Religion (1555-1589)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1999); Whatley, "Une révérence réciproque: Huguenot Writing on the New World," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 57.2 (Winter 1987/88): 270-289; Andrea Frisch, "In Sacramental Mode: Jean de Léry's Calvinist Ethnography," *Representations* 77 (2002): 82-106; Scott Juall, "Of Cannibals, Credo, and Custom: Jean de Léry's Calvinist View of Civilization in Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre due Bresil (1578)," in *Civilization in French and Francophone Literature*, eds. Buford Norman and James Day (New York: Editions Rodopi, 2006), 51-68.

¹⁷⁶ On Léry's influence on Enlightenment philosophy, see Lestringant, "The Philosophy's Breviary: Jean de Léry and the Enlightenment," *Representations* 33 (1991): 200-211.

¹⁷⁷ Lachenicht, "Diasporic Networks and Immigration Policies," in *A Companion to the Huguenots*, eds. Raymond A. Metzer and Bertrand Van Ruymbeke (Boston: Brill, 2016), 259-260. See also, Mark Greengrass, "Informal Networks in Sixteenth-Century French Protestantism," in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, 1559–1685, eds. Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 78–97.

¹⁷⁸ See Lachenicht, "Huguenot Immigrants and the Formation of National Identities, 1548–1787," *Historical Journal* 50.2 (2007): 309–331. According to Lachenicht, Huguenot refugees constituted a "nation of their own" with their own distinct identity as a privileged minority.

memory and destiny.¹⁷⁹ Central to the formation of this diasporic consciousness were historiographical writings (e.g., martyrologies and memoirs) that recounted the individual and collective experience of French Huguenots (and that of Protestants, more broadly) and which helped to make sense of their situation as part of a larger history in which they were embedded.¹⁸⁰

Léry's *Histoire d'un Voyage* participated in this body of contemporary historiography that grappled with the fate of the French Protestants as a persecuted minority. Shortly after his return from Brazil, Léry wrote an account of the execution of three Huguenots at the hands of the French colonial governor, Villegagnon, which was published in a collection of Protestant martyrology edited by Jean Crispin, *Persécution des fidéles en terre d'Amérique* (1564), a book that would have a lasting influence on the Huguenot consciousness as John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* would for English protestants.¹⁸¹ After having witnessed the aftermath of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572), Léry published an account of his experience during the Siege of Sancerre (1572-3), *Histoire memorable de la ville de Sancerre* (1574), which describes how people on the verge of starvation are pushed to the limit of civility, even resorting to cannibalism, in a documentary style that bears a resemblance to the ethnographic descriptions found in *Histoire d'un Voyage* published a few years later (1578). Janet Whatley observes that Léry's early expedition to the New World and his later experience during the Siege of Sancerre are "closely inter-woven in Léry's mind" as is "evident both in explicit cross-references and in

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¹⁷⁹ Van Ruymbeke, "Refuge or Diaspora? Historiographical Reflections on the Huguenot Dispersion in the Atlantic World," in *Religious Refugees in Europe, Asia and North America, 6th–21st Century*, ed. Lachenicht (Hamburg: Transaction Pub., 2007), 155–69. See also, Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, eds., *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2003). ¹⁸⁰ Carolyn Chappell Lougee, "Huguenot Memoirs," in *A Companion to the Huguenots*, eds. Raymond A. Metzer and Bertrand Van Ruymbeke (Boston: Brill, 2016), 323-347. Lougee argues that narrative recollection of first-hand experience became a significant social practice in seventeenth-century France. See also, David van der Linden, "Histories of Martyrdom and Suffering in the Huguenot Diaspora," *A Companion to the Huguenots*, 348-370. ¹⁸¹ Van der Linden, "Histories of Martyrdom," 352.

the carry-over of details of language from one text to the other."¹⁸² The recent history of the French civil war functions as a living memory—an ongoing trauma—that informs the exigency of his writing and, as Léry makes clear, constitutes the immediate backdrop for the composition and publication of his *Voyage*:

I finished [*Histoire d'un Voyage*] at a time when I was living in the town of La Charité-sur-Loire; violence was descending in France on those who were of the Religion, and I was constrained, in order to avoid that fury, to leave in haste all my books and papers and take refuge in Sancerre." (xlv)

The retreat to Sancerre, and the harrowing experience that followed, constitutes the occasion for Léry's writing and provides the impetus to renew the dream of an American refuge two decades after Léry's mission. To foreground the status of Léry's *Voyage* as a work of Huguenot historiography, in this way, is to emphasize the text's discursive participation in the project of migration as distinguished from the project of empire: a project concerned primarily with the survival of an embattled minority, rather than commercial or imperial expansion per se. To be sure, Léry's work participates in the general desire to represent the New World and its inhabitants (what de Certeau calls "writing that conquers"); but this is an endemic feature shared by all travel narratives in this period, rather than what is particular to Léry and his situation. Is important to emphasize, therefore, that the meaning of Lery's ethnographic description is contingent upon, and secondary to, its function as a *narrative of migration*: the depiction of

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¹⁸² Whatley, "Food and the Limit of Civility," 388.

¹⁸³ On the plausibility of a Huguenot Refuge in America, both before and after Léry's venture, see Lestringant and Ann Blair, "Geneva and America in the Renaissance: The Dream of Huguenot Refuge 1555-1600," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 26.2 (1995): 285-295.

¹⁸⁴ Lestringant states: "Léry's originality is not due to his presenting updated or new facts previously unavailable to his predecessors. The Tupinikin Indians of southern Brazil were already well known in France since the publication of the *Singularitez de la France Antarctique* by the Franciscan André Thevet in 1557. In 1575, the same author had provided in his *Cosmographie universelle* an expanded version of his ethnographic description, adding in particular several chapters on Tupi mythology. Aside from a 'dialogue' or handbook of French-Tupi conversation and a musical transcription of Indian songs and dances, which remained available up through the *Encyclopedie* of d'Alembert and Diderot, Léry's book added little to the previous documentary corpus" ("The Philosopher's Breviary," 202).

Tupinamba society in the middle of the book (Chapters VII-XIX) are couched between the accounts of Léry's journey to and from Brazil (Chapters I-VI; Chapters XX-XXII), which provide an overarching narrative frame that organizes the meaning of what would otherwise be a loose compendium of ethnological data. Just as the story of Hythloday frames his description of Utopia, the narrative dimension of Léry's treatise recounting the unique and problematic experience of the Huguenots informs his description and interpretation of the Tupinamba culture.

In an effort to situate the Huguenot diaspora in the broader context of imperial history,

Owen Stanwood has emphasized the "tension between Huguenots and their sponsors, between
dreams of Eden and the desires of Empire." Because overseas enterprises were expensive, the
Huguenots depended on the financial backings of their imperial hosts who would in turn take
advantage of the former's navigational, mercantile, and artisanal expertise. To counter the
perception that the Huguenots were rebels that undermined the stability of the state, leading
members of French Protestants were eager to declare their allegiance to the Valois monarchy:
Calvin dedicated his *Institutes of the Christin Religion* to Henry III and argued against the theory
of resistance and tyrannicide, even though the king pursued persecutory policies towards
Protestants. Such a dual consciousness informs Léry's *Voyage*, where the French expedition to
Brazil is described foremost as a mission to establish a refuge for the Reformed religion
("undertaken for the express purpose of establishing the pure service of God, both among the
French who had retreated there, and among the savages living in that land"; xli), even as the
project is lauded and justified as an ambitious attempt to extend the power and jurisdiction of the

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¹⁸⁵ Owen Stanwood, "The Huguenot Refuge and European Imperialism," *A Companion to Huguenots*, 395. See also, Stanwood, "Between Eden and Empire: Huguenot Refugees and the Promise of the New World," *The American Historical Review* 118.5 (2013): 1319-1344.

¹⁸⁶ On Calvinism and the theory of resistance, see Skinner, *The Foundation of Modern Political Thought, Vol. 2: The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 189-358.

French crown ("in all past history there will not be found any French and Christian captain who has extended both the reign of Jesus Christ, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and the boundaries of his sovereign prince, into so distant a land"; xli).

The ambiguity of Léry's mission statement reflects the overlapping and conflicting interests of the various parties involved in the early attempt to establish a French colony in the Spanish and Portuguese dominated parts of America (i.e., Brazil and Florida). The colony in Rio de Janeiro was founded in 1555 by Durand de Villegagnon who received financial backings from both Admiral Gaspard Coligny, a Huguenot sympathizer who would become the leader of the French Protestant movement, as well as from Cardinal de Lorrain, the leader of the Catholic clergy and a member of the anti-Huguenot Guise family. While we cannot be sure what Villegagnon's personal objectives were and what he hoped to achieve, Léry tells us that the French colonial governor was initially motivated by a desire to found a refuge for the reformed religion ("he had yearned to withdraw into some distant country, where he might freely and purely serve God according to the reformation of the Gospel, and, moreover, to prepare a place for all those who might wish to retire there to escape persecution"; 3). Villegagnon was acquainted with Calvin (they were both students in Paris) and allegedly wrote a letter to him, requesting that he send ministers instructed in matters of religion to help establish a Protestant mission, which he would later deny doing. Léry arrived in 1556 as one of the Calvinists recruited to join Villegagnon in Fort Coligny; but he was soon expelled from the colony—upon threat of death—over a dispute about the Eucharist, forcing him and his crew to seek a second refuge with the Tupinamba.

The question of how these events actually unfolded—much like the interpretive conflict over the Eucharist—would become a subject of high-stakes controversy. Léry begins his treatise

with a lengthy Preface refuting, point by point, the polemical attacks that had recently been published in André Thevet's *Cosmography*, where the royal cosmographer (a Franciscan friar with pro-Spanish sympathy) blamed the group of Huguenots that fell out with Villegagnon for the failure to secure a French colony in Brazil:

But in the present year 1577, reading Thevet's *Cosmography*, I saw that he has not only revived and augmented his early errors, but what is more (perhaps supposing that we were all dead, or that if one of us were still alive he would not dare contradict him), with no other pretext than the desire to backbite and, with false, stinging, and abusive digressions, to slander the ministers and those—of whom I was one—who in 1556 accompanied them to go join Villegagnon in Brazil, he has imputed to us crimes. Therefore, in order to refute these falsehoods of Thevet, I have been compelled to set forth a complete report of our voyage. (vlvi)

Léry describes his *Voyage* as an attempt to defend the significance, purity, and legitimacy of his past enterprise against the official Catholic accounts of the events that were being circulated among the French public.¹⁸⁷ Throughout his treatise, Léry reproduces lengthy sections of his opponents' published materials to expose them as malicious and factually inaccurate. For instance, Léry debunks Thevet's claim about the existence of a town called "Ville-Henry," which Léry dismisses as an "imaginary city" created out of fantasy: "So that nobody might think that I am speaking anything but the truth, I defer to those who have been on the voyage, and even to Villegagnon's own people . . . as to whether there was a trace of a city where [Thevet] has tried to situate this one, which I dismiss with the fictions of poets" (54). The emphasis on factual realism, defined in opposition to fiction, becomes a defensive strategy, a guard against mistruths propagated by one's political detractors. But even as Léry's writing seeks to assert its own truthclaim by being empirically grounded, it is no less informed by wish-fulfillment and utopian longing which, according Northrop Frye, constitutes the principal characteristics of romance, and

¹⁸⁷ On Léry's *Voyage* as a "testimony" of the Reformed mission, see Janet Whatley, "Food and the Limits of Civility: The Testimony of Jean de Léry," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 15.3 (1984): 387-400.

hence, of all storytelling.¹⁸⁸ For the aim of Léry's treatise ultimately has less to do with accurately recounting facts as such, than with persuading its readers of the significance of a story (or history) of migration grounded in the author's own experience—an experience in which readers are enjoined to vicariously and imaginatively participate. As a narrative of migration, Léry's *Voyage* achieves its rhetorical aim by transporting its readers to the world it describes: a world made real and compelling by the desires, anxieties, and hopes of a diasporic subject.

As a narrative of diaspora, Léry's *Voyage* is distinguished from the official Catholic account of state-driven colonization published by Thevet by the way it foregrounds European violence as a principal threat to survival, and hence, a motivating force to find a refuge outside of Europe. Léry's criticism of European imperialism and his identification with the Tupinamba are made possible, certainly more poignant, by the perspective afforded by his status as a refugee, a victim of persecution and conflict which would only intensify over the course of the Wars of Religion. The chief criticism level against Europeans by Léry is that they kill and eat their own kind, unlike the Brazilian natives who only kill and eat their enemies:

[I]f it comes to the brutal action of really (as one says) chewing and devouring human flesh, have we not found people in these regions over here, even among those who bear the name of Christians, both in Italy and elsewhere, who, not content with having cruelly put to death their enemies, have been unable to slake their bloodthirst except by eating their livers and their hearts? . . . During the bloody tragedy that began in Paris on the twenty-fourth of August 1572—the fat of human bodies . . . was it not publicly sold to the highest bidder? The livers, hearts, and other parts of these bodies—were they not eaten by the furious murders, of whom Hell itself stands in horror? Likewise, after the wretched massacre of one Coeur de Roy—did not those who committed this murder cut his heart to pieces, display it for sale to those who hated him, and finally, after grilling it over coals—glutting their rage like mastiffs—eat of it? (132)

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¹⁸⁸ See Northrop Frye, *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976).

The meaning of the most problematic of Tupinamba customs—cannibalism—is made contingent upon the interpretation of the atrocities committed during the European wars: 189 the kind of violence that arises when one's religious-political opponents are perceived no longer as human beings but as a kind of disease to be excised from the social body. To explain the nature of such massacres, scholars have emphasized the irreducible role played by religion as a social institution and practice.¹⁹⁰ One of the most explosive issues that divided French public was the controversy surrounding the Eucharistic mass, which traditionally performed the ritual function of communal reconciliation and satisfaction (what John Bossy describes as a "social miracle"). 191 Popular violence broke out when such public rituals were disrupted or challenged, especially in towns with a significant population of Protestants who were made conspicuous by their cultural difference, enough to be perceived as a threat to the unity of the sacral community. In a seminal essay, Natalie Zemon Davis has argued that the popular violence that occurred in sixteenthcentury France (e.g., torture, burning, drowning, hanging, desecration of bodies and objects) constituted a form of purification rites which sought to demystify, purge, and humiliate that which was perceived to be polluting elements within the social body in order to restore the latter to its original unity. 192 Such rites of violence constituted a form of symbolic action that sought to resolve—at the level of ideology—the contradictions posed by the fracturing of the body social.

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¹⁸⁹ Léry goes on to remarks: "So let us henceforth no longer abhor so very greatly the cruelty of the anthropophagous—that is, man-eating—savages. For since there are some here in our midst even worse and more detestable than those who, as we have seen, attack only enemy nations, while the ones over here have plunged into the blood of their kinsmen, neighbors, and compatriots, one need not go beyond one's own country, nor as far as America, to see such monstrous and prodigious things" (133).

¹⁹⁰ See Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995; reprinted 2005), 1-6. The fullest account of the Paris massacre in English can be found in Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-century Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

¹⁹¹ On the social miracle of ritualized reconciliation, see John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

¹⁹² See Davis, "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France," *Past & Present* 59 (1973): 51-91 Susan Juster has recently extended the geographical scope of European religious violence to the New World. See Juster, *Sacred Violence in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

Léry's narrative may be understood as an analogous form of socially symbolic action which responds to, seeks to resolve, the contradictions brought about by the fragmentation of the sacral-social body. As an emissary of the Reformed faith, Léry subscribed to the ideal of social discipline as systematically expounded in Calvin's Institutes of the Christina Religion, and famously realized in Geneva, where Léry studied theology. Unlike Luther, Calvin received a humanist education and was influenced by the Christian humanists and their desire for religious renewal. It is not surprising therefore that there are similarities between More's utopian social program and Léry's Calvinist social imagination. Like More, Léry criticizes the European obsession with fashionable clothing—although Léry's critique has a polemical edge directed at the ceremonial aspect of Catholicism, which is censured in comparison to the "naturalness" of Brazilian nakedness. Falsehood of all forms (e.g., money, artificial beauty, idolatry, misinformation) is condemned throughout with an unwavering clarity of a person driven by moral conviction. What drove Léry to live with the Tupinamba was such a disagreement with Villegagnon over how the Reformed religion should be practiced and administered in the New World. Léry portrays Villegagnon as a lapsed Protestant, whose apostasy is evident not only in his fuzzy theological reasoning regarding the Eucharist (which falls short of rejecting the real presence), but also in his love of extravagant clothing and his cruel treatment towards his compatriots and their Brazilian allies. Léry's rejection of Villegagnon's colonial government and his turn to the Tupinamba establishes what would become a recurring pattern of politicalreligious dissent during the Huguenot Revolution in France ("since [Villegagnon] had rejected the Gospel, we were in no way his subjects"; 47); while Léry's refuge with the Tupinamba constitutes one in a series of similar retreats (to Brazil, Geneva, Sancerre) that would define the

course of Léry's life as he searched for a utopian space in which to freely practice and administer the Reformed religion.

The paradox lies in the apparent contradiction between Léry's uncompromising vision of Calvinist reform and the relativizing-ethnological impulse of his writing, which informs his sincere admiration for the Tupinamba as well as his pessimistic view of the possibility of their salvation on the basis of their non-Christianity. 193 What is at issue is the possibility and limitation of Léry's (Calvinist) social imagination. As Lestringant observes, the Huguenots sought to define their own expansionary strategy against the violent and exploitative forms of conquest practiced by the Spanish: the polemical accounts of the Spanish conquistadors (i.e., the "Black Legends") circulated among Protestant circles as part of the "Huguenot corpus on America." Léry's own treatise participates in this body of literature insofar as it seeks to offer alternative vision of European presence in the New World, one founded on the recognition of their common humanity with the Brazilian natives as vital allies in the Protestant struggle against Catholic powers. Léry's writing constitutes an exploration of new forms of sociality (at once transatlantic and cosmopolitical) from the point of view of the Huguenot diaspora: it is a form of public-making which succeeds to the extent that it is able to present a viable and compelling social imaginary that encompasses the Huguenots and the Tupinamba without sacrificing the diasporic identity of the Huguenot that makes them distinct from Catholic Europe.

For Léry, the prospect of a Huguenot-Tupinamba communion (one that goes beyond mere alliance of convenience) depends on the latter's receptiveness to religion. By this, Léry does not mean a body of doctrines, but an awareness of what he considers to be the indisputable truths of human existence. Léry reflects that while the Tupinamba seems not to worship any

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¹⁹³ On Léry's "Calvinist ethnography," see Fisch (2002) and Juall (2006).

¹⁹⁴ Lestringant and Blair, "Geneva and America," 294.

gods, they have an awareness of the divine as invisible forces that govern human life. He goes on to point out that they also believe in the "immortality of the soul" and the "resurrection of the body," thus repudiating (in Léry's mind) the "atheists" in Europe who reject these doctrines (138-140). But precisely because these religious truths have been made known to the Tupinamba, Léry suggests, they are themselves to blame for failing to recognize Christianity as the true religion, given that the Gospel has already been introduced to this part of the world, not only in recent years, but possibly going back to the times of the Apostles. On the basis of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, Léry condemns the Tupinamba to the category of the "inexcusable," who, like the Catholics, have failed to recognize the true religion ("one can see that this fear they have of Him whom they refuse to acknowledge will render them utterly without excuse"; 139), for which they have only themselves to blame ("when men do not recognize their Creator, it is a result of their own wickedness"; 139). Even so, Léry goes on to state that "despite the utter darkness in which they are plunged, the seed of religion . . . germinates in them and cannot be extinguished" (140) and that but for the apostasy of Villegagnon, they would have been able to convert some of the Tupinamba to the reformed faith ("Still, I am of the opinion that if Villegagnon had not revolted from the Reformed Religion, and if we had stayed longer in that country, we would have drawn and won some of them to Jesus Christ"; 148).

What allows the humanity of the Tupinamba to be recognized (i.e., their consciousness of divinity) is also what leads Léry to question the possibility of their collective salvation on the theological level: they are responsible for their own failure to recognize the authority of the Christian God *because* they are capable of perceiving the presence of the divine. The contradiction is never resolved, such that the possibility of a true communion between the

Huguenots and the Tupinamba is repeatedly invoked but never simply accepted as a matter of fact. Léry describes an episode where he nearly succeeds in converting a group of Tupinamba by offering a Christian exegesis of a Tupinamba myth that speaks of the arrival of a European stranger long time ago that proselytized of a God similar to that of the Christians. The Tupinamba initially appear receptive to Léry's efforts to dissuade them from the practice of eating their enemies, but they are later seen once again singing about avenging themselves of their enemies and eating them. Léry goes on to describe another moment when his Brazilian companions were drawn to the sound of him singing Psalm 104 despite the linguistic barrier between them, which he offers as an example showing that "these nations of savage living in the land of Brazil are teachable enough to be drawn to the knowledge of God, if one were to take the trouble to instruct them" (149). When asked what the Psalm is about, Léry explains that he is celebrating God as a Creator ("that I had in general praised my God for the beauty and governance of his creatures, and in particular I had attributed to him this: that it was he alone who nourished all men and all animals, and made the trees, fruits, and plants grow throughout the whole world"; 149) to which his Tupinamba companion responds with amazement at Léry's knowledge ("O you Mairs . . . how fortunate you are to know so many secrets that are hidden from us poor wretches!"; 149).

The episode describes a moment of communion between the Huguenots and the Brazilians that transcends cultural, religious, and linguistic differences. What makes possible this ephemeral moment is a shared appreciation of the beauty of the natural world, prompting Léry to burst into a song, specifically, Psalm 104, in praise of God and his creations:

As I was passing with them through a great forest, contemplating so many different trees, grasses, and flowers, all green and fragrant, and hearing the songs of the countless birds warbling through the woods in sunlight, I felt impelled to

praise God, and feeling Gay of heart, I began to sing aloud Psalm 104, "Bless the Lord, O my soul. (149)

Throughout his treatise, Léry repeatedly invokes the classical notion (citing Cicero as a source) that "there is no people that does not have the feeling that there is a divinity" (139). The presence of what Léry calls "divinity" is suggested not only in moments of contentment and delight associated with the pastoral mode, but also in moments of radical uncertainty and catastrophe associated with romance, such as the hazardous sea-journeys that are entirely beyond human control, and thus, force an encounter with (and awareness of) the very limit of humanity:

[W]hen in such turbulence one is suddenly lifted so high on these terrifying mountains of water that it seems one must rise to heaven, and Just as abruptly one plummets so low that it seems one must penetrate to the hollows of the deepest gulfs and abysses—to dwell thus, I say, in the midst of a million sepulchers, is this not to behold the great wonders of the Eternal? (9)

In speaking of the Eternal glimpsed in the midst of a tempest, Léry points to a horizon of reality that is ultimately unrepresentable but which can nevertheless be intuited as that which lies beyond of human perception. Léry' invokes this idea of divine power governing (and revealed through) maritime enterprises to justify his mission to the Tupinamba: "I added that, because we served Him, He preserved us as we crossed the sea, even as we lived on that sea continually for four or five months without putting foot to ground, just so that we might seek them out" (146). At another moment, Léry reflects on the mysteries of oceanic ecology and the failure of contemporary maritime-climatological sciences to adequately account for them, which leads him to reflection on the limitations of human understanding. In speaking of the presence of snow in Peru, Léry remarks:

[W]e have here an exception in the rule of philosophy, and I think that there is no solution to this question more certain than the one that God himself offered to Job. To show him that men, however subtle they may be could never comprehend all his magnificent works, much less their perfection. He said to him: "Hast thou entered into the treasures of the snow? Or hast thou seen the treasures of the

hail?" As if the Eternal, this great and excellent worker, were saying to his servant Job: "In what garner do you think I store these things? Could you give the reason for them? No, you cannot, you have not the knowledge." (203)

The recognition of divinity and the concomitant acknowledgement of the limit of human knowledge have far-reaching ethical and political implications. They become the foundation of an enlightened universalism that transcends the nominal differences of particular cultures and creeds ("regardless of what is particular to them"):

> Those who have spoken best, according to common feeling, have not only said but also recognized that being human and having the intuition of dependence on a greater Being than oneself, indeed, than any created thing, are so conjoined with each other that, however different may be the ways of serving God, there remains the fundamental fact that man must naturally have some religion, true or false. (lix)

The notion that there is a common truth underlying all the major religions in the world was a key premise adopted by French humanists in their argument in favor of religious toleration. ¹⁹⁵ In *The* Concord of the World (1544), Guillaume Postel would argue against forced conversion on the basis that the truths of Christianity will commend themselves to all rational beings, and that the proper task of the missionary is to point out the underlying truth of "the religion and law held in common throughout the whole world." On the other hand, Jean Bodin would argue for toleration on the basis that any position that would kill for religion assumes a pretense of certainty, while still others would press for toleration not as a positive virtue, but as a political concession necessary to avoid the destruction of the commonwealth. ¹⁹⁷ Many Huguenots supported such a policy of toleration against the enforcement of religious uniformity, even as some sought more active forms of resistance against the Valois monarchy. On the contrary, the escalating conflicts in France and the Netherlands would also result in the revival of stoicism that

¹⁹⁵ Skinner, Foundations of Modern Political Thought, Vol. 2, 244.

¹⁹⁶ Qtd. in Skinner, Foundations of Modern Political Thought, Vol. 2, 245.

¹⁹⁷ Skinner, Foundations of Modern Political Thought, Vol. 2, 246-54.

argued against theories of resistance, a notable example being Montaigne, whose *Essays* argued in favor of a life of *otium* over that of *negotium*, a retreat to the self that would inaugurate the genre of the personal essay.¹⁹⁸

As a narrative of migration, Léry's *Voyage* would seem to represent a position that lies somewhere between resistance and quietism. Léry does not explicitly criticize Henry II as the persecutor of the Huguenot. As mentioned earlier, he describes his own venture as a furthering of the French monarch's dominion overseas. But neither does Léry abandon public life or retreat to a life of pure contemplation. On the contrary, his narrative is addressed to, and in the service of bringing forth, a diasporic community of Huguenots scattered across the Atlantic world. The cosmopolitical possibility of Léry's *Voyage* is not exhausted by the choice between active resistance and passive obedience. It consists in the capacity to imagine, and bring forth, a new society to which one would belong; and it is this utopian impulse that undergirds the diasporic consciousness of Léry's text.

5. Coda

The French Huguenot presence in Brazil dissipated when its principal sponsor, Admiral Coligny, turned his attention to the Protestant cause in Europe, following the second war of religion, while the settlement in Florida came to an end when, on the order of Menendez de Aviles in 1565, the Spanish massacred one thousand Huguenots settled there. Consequently, the future of the Huguenot diaspora was to be found in the British and Dutch colonies, including Virginia and

¹⁹⁸ Skinner, Foundations of Modern Political Thought, Vol. 2, 275-284.

South Carolina. As Stanwood points out, "[w]hen the Virginia Company sought possible paths to profit in the 1610s, it invited several Huguenots to the colony to jumpstart the colony's wine and silk industries." We find in Robert Johnson's *Nova Britannia* (1609), a pamphlet encouraging such a settlement in a plantation in Virginia ("Offering most excellent fruites by Planting in VIRGINIA"), published two decades after the land was so named by Walter Raleigh in honor of Elizabeth I, and a settlement established with John White as its leader ("by the conduct of John White, chief leader, above an hundred men, women, and children at one time, and left them there to inhabit to this day"; 7). Pool En route to Virginia in 1609, William Strachey and his crew aboard the Virginia Company's ship *Sea Venture* would find themselves in the midst of a storm, an account of which would capture the imagination of the English public, when the crew, who were believed to have been lost, unexpectedly turned up a year later. Strachey's account of the shipwreck in the Bermudas (published in 1625 but circulated in manuscript before then) has been discussed, along with Montaigne's "Of Cannibal," as a possible source of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1609-10).

Critical studies of *The Tempest* have long tried to situate the play in its New World context. The play has been a foundational text for postcolonial criticism which sees in the relationship between Prospero and Caliban—as colonizer and colonized—a dramatization of the myth of imperialism that would resonate throughout subsequent centuries. The main obstacle to this approach has been that the play's actions take place in an island located in the Mediterranean (between Tunis and Naples) and the only geographical allusion to the New World occurs in a

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¹⁹⁹ Stanwood, "The Huguenot Refuge and European Imperialism," 401.

²⁰⁰ Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia*, (London: S. Macham, 1609); reprinted (Rochester, NY: G. P. Humphrey, 1987).

²⁰¹ See Alden T. Vaughan, "William Strachey's 'True Reportory' and Shakespeare: A Closer Look at the Evidence," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59.3 (2008): 245-273.

passing reference to the Bermudas. The absence of clear references to the Americas has led critics to argue (persuasively) that the dominant context for the play be found in the interimperial conflicts centered around the Mediterranean, whether they be the dynastic politics in Italy and the Mediterranean South, the English colonization of Ireland, or its tentative presence in North Africa. Underlying this shift in the play's geopolitics is the assumption that even though Shakespeare's play was inspired by the discourses of discovery and exploration, it was not grounded in social reality of an English America, given that England's colonial presence in the New World was relatively negligible at this time compared to its Iberian counterpart.

But the history of empire is not the same as history of diaspora, and we know that English migrants participated in expansionary enterprises in ways that were independent of, and often in tension with, the aims of official, state-driven colonialism. If the tendency of European imperialism was toward reification, where relations between peoples are transformed into relations between things, the history of migrants tells the story of de-reification, whereby the possibility of alternative social relations is newly revealed and recovered. The significance of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* lies in the dramatization of this discovery, which, I suggest, amounts to the recognition of the fundamental unity of a new world order that has come to encompass Afro-Eurasia and the Americas as an integrated social totality. In a play where all the main characters are migrants and refugees, in one way or another, Shakespeare-as-Prospero brings about an imaginary resolution, where all those who have been separated by forces beyond their control miraculously come to recognize their hitherto hidden connections to each other:

[I]n one voyage
Did Claribel her husband find at Tunis,
And Ferdinand, her brother, found a wife
Where he himself was lost; Prospero his dukedom
In a poor isle; and all of us ourselves,
When no man was his own. (5.1.208-13)

Hard-won as this recognition may be, Gonzalo's remark glosses over the many contradictions that remain unresolved in what is a remarkably open-ended play, chief among them being the fates of Caliban, Antonio, and Sebastian, whose collective "reformation" is the overarching aim that informs the utopian humanism of Prospero's magic. In Prospero, we find the oppressor and the oppressed combined in a single figure—at once prince and migrant, Villegagnon and Léry—who must resolve the underlying cause of his current diaspora (i.e., attempted fratricide at the hands of his ambitious brother) before he can truly return to wherever it is that may called be home. This project of homecoming depends on the possibility of education: first of the inhabitants of the island (Miranda and Caliban) and then of the newcomers from Europe (Ferdinand, Antonio, Sebastian, Gonzalo, and Alfonso).

The centrality of Prospero as an authority-author figure who orchestrates (with the help of Ariel) the action of the play suggests a utopian vision closer to that of the monarchical-state of Bensalem found in Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1626) than the radical socialism of More's *Utopia*. In *The Tempest*, Gonzalo's dream of founding a utopian commonwealth is merely laughed at and would hardly be taken seriously by the rest of the aristocratic casts, including Prospero himself, who, impatient of any hint of dissent from Ariel or Caliban, resorts to threats, compulsion, and subjugation in order to govern. The nature of Prospero's power—the occult magic found in his books—derives from the possession of an obscure and hidden knowledge that is inaccessible to anyone but himself, and is therefore reminiscent of Bacon's description of Salomon's House, where knowledge is carefully guarded from outsiders. Nothing could be further from More's Utopia, where every citizen is enjoined to freely participate in public lectures and where humanistic knowledge is integral to the realization of its civic ideals. Even as it shares this utopian project of humanist reform, *The Tempest* inhabits a distinctly post-

Reformation world, where one form of knowledge-power (that of Prospero) must compete against another (that of Sycorax) over the dominion of a contested territory. There is not much that is genuinely new about Prospero's world, which feels tired and intractable, and brave only in the ironic sense later to be found in the work of Aldous Huxley.

Rather, it is in Miranda that we may locate the possibility of once again inhabiting a different historical rhythm: someone who is able to recognize Europeans as the inhabitants of a "brave new world" and by virtue of that perception could indeed allow them to inherit a different kind of world. As a migrant, Miranda's situation is different from that of Caliban, who, while conceived in Algiers, was born on the island which is the only home known to him. As a figure of the colonized, Caliban is acutely conscious of his present state of dispossession as he is locked into an antagonistic competition with his European oppressor, Prospero. On the other hand, Miranda inhabits a more thoroughly liminal existence: the island, for her, both is and isn't a home. Like Caliban, Miranda may be a victim of European imperialism, which has disinherited her of her home in Milan, only she has little memory of this original act of dispossession and has therefore no reason to feel entitled to a home which has never been hers in the first place. She retains a bond with her European past primarily through her father who has withheld from her the reality of internecine conflict that has brought her to the island. This story of expulsion Prospero reveals to her in Act 1 Scene 2 with much anxious insistence that she listen to him carefully ("Dost thou attend me?"; 1.2.78). But while Prospero's story (of his usurpation in the hands of his ambitious brother) provides a pertinent backdrop for understanding Miranda's current situation, it is not the only relevant past afforded to her, for her mind is able to reach back to distant memories yet undisrupted by filial competition ('Tis far off, / And rather like a dream

than an assurance / That my remembrance warrants. Had I not / Four or five women once that tended me?; 1.2.44-47) to Prospero's great amazement:

But how is it That this lives in thy mind? What seest thou else In the dark backward and abysm of time? (1.2.48-50)

The history of a migrant, it is shown, is not reducible to the history of empire to the extent that the former contains within itself the potential to restore alternative forms of sociality which run counter to the reality of monarchical-imperial rivalry.

Chapter 2 Sir Thomas More and the Tragedy of Citizenship

1. The Moment of Tragedy

In her seminal work on city comedy (*Theater of a City*, 2007), Jean Howard emphasizes how London's commercial theaters depended on the city's unprecedented demographic growth brought about by migration from the provinces and the European continent.²⁰² In this, Howard participates in a long-standing tradition of scholars who have sought to account for the development of Elizabethan-Jacobean drama, from the mid-1580s up to the 1640s, by situating London's public theaters in relation to the city in which, and for which, it was produced. The aim of such scholarship is to investigate how the social and political conditions of early modern London informed the shape and meaning of popular drama as it incorporated into itself the specific textures and concerns of metropolitan life (e.g., immigration, urban space, commodity exchange, religious and class conflict, prostitution). To this end, city comedy, with its depictions of contemporary urban life and rich topographical references, has been an especially valuable resource. Insofar as city comedies represent the lives of ordinary Londoners, they differ from the high-stakes drama of exceptional characters found in tragedies like *Tamburlaine*, *Doctor* Faustus, or Hamlet. Aristocrats and monarchs are typically absent in city comedies, such that the central conflict dramatized revolves around civil or civic relations rather than courtly or imperial

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²⁰² Jean Howard, *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy*, *1598-1642* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

politics. As a genre concerned about the matter of the city as a semi-autonomous polity, city comedies foreground the actions and interactions of London inhabitants as they navigate urban life. They examine what it means to exist—and coexist—in London during a period when the city was undergoing rapid social changes.²⁰³

Underlying these critical discussions is a tendency to associate urbanity with comedy—
the assumption being that comedy in its low- or middling-style is more suited to the depiction of
city life and its commercial economy. As a result, surprisingly little has been said about the
possible relationship between urbanization and the explosion of tragedy that characterized this
period (e.g., Kyd, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Ford, Massinger). This is somewhat curious when we
consider that tragedy in its classical origin was linked to the rise of the democratic polis in fifthcentury Athens, and as such was foremost a product of the city-state.²⁰⁴ In contrast, studies of
English Renaissance tragedy have tended to emphasize the genre's connection to the emerging
nation-state, especially its engagement with the competing political discourses that were in
circulation in Tudor-Stuart England, a country Patrick Collinson characterizes as a "monarchical

²⁰³ Classic studies of city comedy include: Alexander Leggat, *Citizen Comedy in the Age of Shakespeare* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973); Brian Gibbons, *Jacobean City Comedy: A Study of Satiric Plays by Jonson, Marston, and Middleton* (New York: Methuen, 1980); Theodore Leinwand, *The City Staged: Jacobean City Comedy from 1603-1613* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986); Douglas Bruster, *Drama and the Market in the Age of Shakespeare* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

²⁰⁴ See Jean-Pierre Vernant and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Myth and Tragedy in Ancient Greece*, trans. Janet Llyod (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988). Vernant and Vidal-Naquet seek to explain why the historical moment of Greek tragedy was circumscribed to a specific place and time, why tragedy "[is] born, flourishes, and degenerates in Athens, and all almost within the space of a hundred years" (25). Having thus defined the "problem of tragedy," they go on to argue that the proper material of tragedy was the social thought peculiar to the city-state: "Tragedy is not only an art form; it is also a social institution that the city, by establishing competitions in tragedies, set up alongside its political and legal institutions. The city established under the authority of the eponymous archon, in the same urban space and in accordance with the same institutional norms as the popular assemblies or courts, a spectacle open to all the citizens, directed, acted, and judged by the qualified representatives of the various tribes. In this way [the city] turned itself into a theater. Its subject, in a sense, was itself and it acted itself out before its public" (32-33). A similar argument can be made in relation to the public theaters of early modern London. Steven Mullaney has argued that London's amphitheaters constituted an institution of mass publication, where London's heterogeneous audience could come together as "focused gatherings" to form competing notions of the public. See Mullaney, Reformation of Emotions, 76. Mullaney engages with Vernant's thesis in relation to English theater, Reformation of Emotions, 5-6. See also, Mullaney, The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1988), 168, n.17.

republic."²⁰⁵ Important exceptions include Julia Lupton's *Citizen-Saints: Shakespeare and Political Theology* (2005) and John M. Archer's *Citizen Shakespeare: Freemen and Aliens in the Language of the Plays* (2005), both of which emphasize the horizontal-normative dimensions of civil and civic associations as opposed to the vertical-exceptional dimensions of sovereignty and subjection.²⁰⁶ However, neither Lupton nor Archer addresses how the figure of the citizen—an urban inhabitant with a specific set of privileges—might have informed the development of English Renaissance tragedy more broadly; nor do they offer sufficient explanation as to how the social reality of urban life might have contributed to a distinct notion of the tragic.

The modern, universalized concept of the citizen-subject as it came to be established in the eighteenth century (especially in the course of the French Revolution of 1789) had its origin in part in the medieval and early modern incorporated cities, where the freedom of citizens derived from their membership in a corporation recognized as having certain rights. Citizen rights, in this sense, was less an attribute associated with an isolated individual as it was a set of privileges relationally produced through social practices (what Margaret R. Somers has described as "autonomy in membership" or "liberty in embeddedness").²⁰⁷ In England, a defining moment of urban enfranchisement came during the so-called "legal revolution" of the 12th-14th centuries, when the English towns gradually freed themselves from manorial and baronial powers by means of the "charters of liberties" granted by a centralizing monarchy—a notable example being the Royal Charter of 1319 under Edward II, popularly known as the "Magna Carta of the

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²⁰⁵ For a useful overview, see David Armitage, Conal Condren, and Andrew Fitzmaurice, eds., *Shakespeare and Early Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

²⁰⁶ Julia Lupton, *Citizen-Saints: Shakespeare and Political Theology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005). John M. Archer, *Citizen Shakespeare: Freemen and Aliens in the Language of the Plays* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

²⁰⁷ Margaret R. Somers, "Rights, Relationality, and Membership: Rethinking the Making and Meaning of Citizenship," *Law & Social Inquiry* 19.1 (1994): 63-112; 103.

London commonality."²⁰⁸ During this process, urban citizenship came to be defined exclusively in terms of guild membership, so that the only way to be a citizen was by becoming a member of a guild.²⁰⁹ The tradition of medieval guilds continued on in the incorporated towns of Tudor England, which experienced less a rupture than an intensification of the process of urbanization that had begun in the preceding centuries. Nevertheless, as a result of the extension of urban franchise, approximately three quarters of men over the age of 26 in London would become freemen by mid-sixteenth century, constituting a significant departure from the medieval towns where the freemen body had comprised a more or less privileged minority.²¹⁰

To be a citizen of London was to be formally admitted to the city's freedom, which entailed certain economic, political, and legal privileges.²¹¹ Because freedom was controlled by the guilds, one had to be a member of one of the companies, either in trade or craft. For most, this meant serving out a term of apprenticeship; but it was also possible to inherit the freedom through patrimony, purchase it by redemption, or be granted one through royal or city patronage. The terms of citizenship were not fixed but continually negotiated, especially during periods when social relations were put under pressure by demographic growth brought about by immigration. In such moments, citizens and freemen sought to protect their privileges from both state and foreign interventions.²¹² The prevailing complaint throughout the sixteenth century was that the strangers (i.e., non-English immigrants) posed a threat to the freedom of the citizens by operating outside the rules and norms that governed the city. It was alleged that the strangers

²⁰⁸ Somers, "Rights, Relationality, and Membership," 103.

²⁰⁹ Somers, "Rights, Relationality, and Membership," 100-104.

²¹⁰ Steve Rappaport notes that the percentage of the freemen dropped to two-third by the end of the century, but their number increased from 14, 800 to 28, 700. Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 53.

²¹¹ Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 61.

²¹² Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, 61; Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, 23-60.

enjoyed unfair advantages over the citizens by practicing their crafts and engaging in trades outside of the traditional guild-system, their interests protected by their ambassadors who could bypass the city's normal juridical process by appealing directly to royal sponsorship. During moments of heightened tension, the conflict between citizens and strangers could erupt into antialien riots through which citizens (or would-be-citizens like the apprentices) sought to make known their grievances both to the strangers with whom they were in competition and the authorities responsible for governing the city.

In such moments, citizenship emerged as a subject of heated public debate in which ordinary Londoners (beyond those who formally possessed the freedom) felt they had the right to participate through a multiplicity of public forums, which included not only the official legislative channels, such as the law court and the parliament, but also the unofficial forms of publication, such as libels, polemical tracts, sermons, pamphlets, ballads, and stage-plays.²¹³ The potential for civility in the rapidly growing metropolis depended on the effectiveness of its public outlets (official or otherwise) through which the underlying tensions between citizens and strangers could be addressed. At the same time, citizenship as a form of popular political participation could pose a challenge to the authority that the centralized state had over the City and its citizens, a potential for radicalism that would culminate in the English Civil War and the

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²¹³ Recent scholarship on the early modern public sphere has sought to complicate the Habermasian account of the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere by emphasizing the multiplicity of "publics" and forms of "publicmaking" that go beyond the notion of a single, totalizing public sphere based on an idealized notion of rational debate. Central to these studies has been Habermas' insight about the reciprocal relation between privacy and publicity: that modern *publicity* came to be grounded in the coming together of *private* individuals. See Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin, eds., *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 2010). Wilson and Yachnin define early modern "public-making" as "the active creation of new forms of association that allowed people to connect with others in ways not rooted in family, rank, or vocation, but rather founded in voluntary groupings built on shared interests, tastes, commitments, and desires of individuals" (1). Together these forms of public-making constituted in England what post-revisionist historians have called a "post-Reformation public sphere," characterized by a proliferation of competing publics—both actual and virtual—through which individuals otherwise excluded from official politics could see their views published and influence the operations of the Tudor polity, directly or indirectly.

founding of a Puritan refuge in North America.²¹⁴ As a political unit that precedes (and supersedes) the nation-state, the city was to become a nexus of utopian imagining: a model of commonwealth famously taken up by John Winthrop in 1630, when he invoked the image of "the City upon a Hill" before a group of Puritan colonists bound to Massachusetts Bay.²¹⁵

How did citizenship relate to tragedy? What did a tragedy of citizenship mean in an age of mass migration? This essay turns to the multi-authored *Sir Thomas More* (1593-4; c. 1600) in order to trace a counter-tradition in English Renaissance tragedy, whose focus is neither the subject nor the monarchical-state *per se*, but the city and its citizens.²¹⁶ The period's dominant forms of tragedy (e.g., revenge tragedy, historical tragedy) typically represent the actions of the

²¹⁴ See Archer, "Popular Politics in Early Seventeenth Century," in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005). On the role of London during the English Civil War, R. C. Richardson, ed., *Town and Countryside in the English Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992). See also, Phil Withington, "Two Renaissances: Urban Political Culture in Post-Reformation England Reconsidered," *The Historical Journal* 44.1 (2001): 239-267; Withington, *The Politics of Commonwealth: Citizens and Freemen in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Withington argues that the emergence of a metropolitan-based system of incorporated communities in pre-revolutionary England resulted in a distinct urban political culture predicated on the idea of a "city commonwealth" and the concepts of civility, citizenship, and commerce it embodied.

²¹⁵ Citizenship did not necessarily conflict with subjecthood: a citizen of London was at once a natural subject of the English crown, a part of the Commons that represented the res publica, as well as a member of a locality with ties to the community. On the interlacing of locality, providence, and nation in incorporated cities, see Withington, *The* Politics of Commonwealth, 65-66. Nevertheless, the concept of the citizen was potentially at odds with that of the subject, especially as the latter came to be defined in relation to the sovereign, monarchical state. On the genealogy of the citizen-subject, see Etienne Balibar, "Citizen-Subject," in Who Comes After the Subject, eds. Eduardo Cadava, Peter Conner, and Jean-Luc Nancy (New York: Routledge, 1991), 33-57. For Balibar, "the time of the subjects coincides with that of absolutism," the subject (subjectus) being foremost a political-juridical figure defined in relation to a sovereign: "the individual submitted to the ditio, to the sovereign authority of a prince, an authority expressed in his orders and itself legitimated by the Word of another Sovereign (the Lord God)" (36). The citizen, on the other hand, is the holder of a freedom derived from his membership in a corporation recognized as having certain rights. In the Renaissance doctrine of commonwealth, this included the freedom from interference as well as the freedom to actively participate in decision-makings that pertain to one's well-being. See David Harris Sacks, "Freedom to, Freedom from, Freedom of: Urban Life and Political Participation in Early Modern England," Citizenship Studies 11.2 (2007): 135-150. On Renaissance commonwealth ideology, see Withington, The Politics of Commonwealth, 51-84.

²¹⁶ Margaret Tudeau-Clayton, "This is the strangers' case': The Utopic Dissonance of Shakespeare's Contribution to *Sir Thomas More*," *Shakespeare Survey* 65 (2013): 239-54. Tudeau-Clayton observes that the play "might best be described as city tragedy, a counterpart to the emerging genre of city/citizen comedy which places city and its citizen ideology center-stage" (243-4). See also, Nina S. Levine, "Citizens' Games: Differentiating Collaboration and *Sir Thomas More*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 58 (2007): 31-64; Tracey Hill, "The Cittie is in an uproare': Staging London in *The Book of Sir Thomas More*," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 11.1 (2005): 1-19; Karl P. Wentersdorf, "On 'Momtanish Inhumanyty' in *Sir Thomas More*," *Studies in Philology* 103.2 (2006): 178-185.

governing elites, usually the dynastic-imperial struggles of aristocratic powers against the backdrop of centralization and state-building. In doing so, they imagine the political process originating from the center of power, that is, the contested seat of *imperium* in England and Europe. Sir Thomas More inverts this representational hierarchy by leaving Henry VIII conspicuously unrepresented, relegating to the background the well-known factional conflict between the supporters of Anne Boleyn and Catherine of Aragon that undergirded the Henrician Reformation—the very subject of Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* (1613). Instead, the story of Tudor consolidation is acted out entirely in the City of London, such that what is foregrounded are the actions of the citizens (including More himself) as they pertain to the survival of the city. The result, I suggest, is a charter myth not of the emerging nation-state, but of London and its civic institutions: a tragic meditation on the place of the city and its citizens in the world.

2. The Politics of Citizenship

The first part of Sir Thomas More (Scenes 1-7) depicts the events of the Ill May Day riot of 1517, a short-lived incident which nevertheless had a looming presence in the Elizabethan consciousness in the manner of a collective-historical trauma. The play's account of the riot comes from Raphael Holinshed's Chronicles (based on Edmund Hall's earlier account), which tells the story of the events leading up to, and following, the night before the May Day festivity, when a crowd of young men marched through the streets of London, freeing inmates who had been jailed for attacking strangers and looting the houses of foreign merchants and artisans. There had been rumours that "on Maid daie next the citie would rebell and slea all the aliens." ²¹⁷

²¹⁷ Raphael Holinshed, *The Third Volume of the Chronicles*, 841. Quotations of Holinshed are from John Jowett, ed., Sir Thomas More (New York: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2017).

Two days before the riot, several men were jailed for assaulting strangers, which prompted Cardinal Wolsey to summon the mayor of London, John Rest, and pressure him to take measures to keep the peace. The mayor, in consort with the city's aldermen, proposed a curfew on 30 April, which turned out to be impossible to implement on a night traditionally set aside for May Day celebration. When a skirmish broke out between over the curfew, it quickly escalated into a full-blown riot which the city officials were unable to pacify or subdue.

Despite threats of lethal violence, the riot did not lead to a single fatality. It is unlikely that the rioters intended to cause a massacre or purge the city of its strangers, although Holinshed reports that a group of strangers did flee the city fearing such an event shortly before the riot broke out. In this, Ill May Day riot differed from the kind of Girardian mimetic violence described by Natalie Zemon Davis in her influential article on popular religious violence in sixteenth-century France. Instead, the London riot is more accurately described as a form of popular protest, a bargaining strategy whereby the rioters tried to influence the city's politics by publishing their grievances to a larger audience and, in so doing, raise the stakes of the negotiation. According to Holinshed, the riot was incited by one John Lincoln, a disgruntled broker, who persuaded one Dr. Bell to read aloud a bill of complaint against strangers during a sermon at St. Paul's Cross on Easter Tuesday. The bill was addressed to the City's authorities ("To all you the worshipfull lords & maisters of this citie"), who were likely present during the Easter sermon, even as it appealed to the obligation of all Londoners ("And as the hurt and damage greeueth all men, so must all men set to their willing power for remedie"), whose

²¹⁸ Davis, "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France," *Past & Present* 59 (1973): 51-91. ²¹⁹ See Ethan Shagan *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Shagan emphasizes the extent to which the governed played a role in their own government in Tudor England by adopting a broad definition of popular politics as pertaining to "the presence of ordinary, non-elite subjects as the audience for or interlocutors with a political action" (19).

livelihoods were supposedly threatened by strangers who enjoyed special economic privileges as well as immunities from normal juridical procedures, through the mediation of foreign ambassadors who appealed directly to royal sponsors. Holinshed reports that popular grievance was exacerbated by the behaviors of strangers, whose disdain for the rules and norms of the city was taken to be illustrative of an underlying socio-economic injustice.

The Ill May Day riot constituted an exercise in citizen politics in which ordinary Londoners asserted their rights against the Crown's sponsorship of foreign merchants and artisans. What was being negotiated were the terms of citizenship itself: the privileges of citizens as members of a semi-autonomous polity whose freedom was potentially at odds with state and foreign interventions. This fact was not lost on the authorities, who sought to reframe the events after the fact through an elaborate performance of power characteristic of Tudor politics. On 4 May, 278 men, women, and children were paraded through the streets on the charge of high treason, on the ground that an attack on the strangers constituted a breach of the King's peace. On 7 May, 13 people were executed while others were reprieved at the last moment in a show of mercy that reaffirmed the crown's authority over the city, even as it reestablished a functioning relationship between the court and the citizens. Despite its apparent failure, the Ill May Day riot led to a series of legislations that restricted the strangers' ability to operate outside the control of the guilds by extending the freedom, which temporarily eased the underlying conflict between citizens and strangers by integrating the latter more firmly within the City's socio-economic relations.²²⁰ While tensions persisted throughout the century, London notably did not experience popular violence on a mass scale in contrast to most major European cities that did. This has led urban historians to seek explanation for London's relative "stability," especially during periods

²²⁰ Rappaport, Worlds Within Worlds, 42-53.

of heightened tension between the citizens and strangers.²²¹ Even during the crisis of the 1590s, when London suffered from plagues, inflations, and unemployment, anti-alien riots did not lead to actual massacres, even though there were "plenty of libels threatening action."²²²

By the time *Sir Thomas More* was written (c. 1593-4), the stakes of citizenship politics were arguably different from those of the pre-Reformation milieu in which the Ill May Day riot took place. From the mid-sixteenth onwards, intra-Christian divisions caused by the reformations and the emergent nationalism of monarchical-states (under the principle of "one law, one king, one faith") produced waves of confessional migration of both Catholics and Protestants.²²³ England saw an influx of Dutch refugees from the southern and maritime provinces of the Habsburg controlled Netherlands, where under the rule of the Duke of Alva, almost sixty thousand Dutch Protestants fled their homeland in what was, at the time, the largest instance of mass migration to date.²²⁴ The French Protestants constituted another significant immigrant population in London, especially following the "Massacre of St. Bartholomew" (1572), and continuing after the Edict of Nantes (1598) and its subsequent revocation (1685).²²⁵ The demographic pressures were felt particularly strongly in densely populated urban centers where the authorities struggled to maintain stability, even as certain types of refugees were courted by the state for their potential economic, political, and religious benefits.²²⁶ Particularly valuable

²²¹ Rappaport, Worlds Within Worlds, 60.

²²² Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, 7, 140.

²²³ See Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World* (2015); Lachenicht, "Refugees and Refugee Protection in the Early Modern Period," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 30.2 (2016): 261-281. For a useful discussion of "one faith, one law, one king" as it pertains to the possibility and limit of coexistence, see Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 99-126.

²²⁴ Rubright, *Doppelgänger* Dilemmas, 7.

²²⁵ See Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

²²⁶ "From a princely perspective . . . refugees were a hot commodity, highly desirable for the powerful economic impulse they brought to territories, the revenues they brought to state coffers and, in some cases, also their religious commitment. Therefore, however vulnerable refugees were, however much in need of protection and a home, some

were the "wealthy rentiers, manufacturers, wine growers, silk producers and well-connected merchants," whom the Crown tried to accommodate by granting them rights equal to (or better than) the native subjects.²²⁷ Such policies were met with hostility from the city's native artisans, who saw the strangers as direct economic competition and a threat to their way of life which was organized around guild membership.

It is in this context that, in March 1593, a bill was introduced in the House of Commons on behalf of the London's freemen and shopkeepers "against Aliens selling by way of retail any Foreign commodities." During the debate, the question of whether to entertain or expel the strangers was discussed, with arguments put forward from both sides. Two months later, in May 1593, a libel was posted on the wall of the Dutch Stranger Church in London, blaming the strangers for social and economic ills and threatening them with violence comparable to the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre:

Since words nor threates nor any other thinge canne make you avoyd this certaine ill
Weele cut your throtes, in your temples praying
Not paris massacre so much blood did spill
As we will doe iust vengeance on you all.²²⁹

In an effort to contain the threat of potential civil unrest, the authorities responded with unusual swiftness and urgency by apprehending the suspected instigators. The signature at the bottom of the libel, "Tamburlaine," prompted an investigation into Christopher Marlowe and his roommate, Thomas Kyd, the latter imprisoned and possibly tortured for having in possession an atheistic

bargaining usually went on between them and prospective hosts." Kaplan, "The Legal Rights of Religious Refugees in the 'Refugee-Cities' of Early Modern Germany," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 32.1 (2018): 100.

²²⁷ Lachenicht, "Refugee 'Nations' and Empire-Building in the Early Modern Period," *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 6.1. (2019), 107.

²²⁸ On the parliamentary debate, see Tudeau-Clayton, "Utopic Dissonance," 239-45.

²²⁹ Quoted in Arthur Freeman, "Marlowe, Kyd, and the Dutch Church Libel," *English Literary Renaissance* 3.1. (1973), 51.

manuscript which he claimed belonged to Marlowe.²³⁰ What made the libel threatening enough to warrant such extreme measures may have been that it brought the familiar argument against strangers outside of the official, legislative channel to an unauthorized, anonymous domain of publication that was open to all—a volatile site of political engagement where the gap between words and action could be dangerously close. By invoking the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, the libel addressed a world where such mass violence has become a real possibility. For the French Huguenots living in London, the "paris massacre" would have been a living memory, the very condition of their current diaspora. Whether the threat was genuine or not, the aim of the libel seems to have been to polemicize the conflict between citizens and strangers in a way that involved a more wide-ranging public than the relatively few freemen and shopkeepers who had introduced the parliamentary bill. In so doing, the publication of the libel may have brought forth the condition for actual violence to occur by making London's stranger communities more visible, and their potential persecutors more emboldened to act out their fantasies of violence.²³¹

A similar anxiety informs Edmund Tilney's censorship of *Sir Thomas More*. The Master of the Revel insisted that the scene depicting the anti-alien riot be treated briefly by report only, and not as staged action:

Leave out the insurrection wholly and the cause thereof, and begin with Sir Thomas More at the Mayor's sessions, with a report afterwards of his good

²³⁰ See Eric Griffin, "Shakespeare, Marlowe, and the Stranger Crisis of the Early 1590s," in *Shakespeare and Immigration*, eds. Ruben Espinosa and David Ruiter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 23-46.

²³¹ Early modern practice of toleration depended on a kind of double vision where the dissenting minority were tolerated insofar as their presence were not made conspicuously public. See Kaplan, "Fictions of Privacy: House Chapels and the Spatial Accommodation of Religious Dissent in Early Modern Europe," *The American Historical Review* 107.4 (2002): 1031-1064. According to Kaplan: "Keeping dissent out of sight and stripping it of any symbolic presence preserved the monopoly of the Reformed Church over public religious life. It thus maintained a semblance, or fiction, of religious unity" (1048). See also, Mullaney, Angela Vanhaelen, and Joseph P. Ward, "Religion Inside Out: Dutch House Churches and the Making of Publics in the Dutch Republic," in *Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe: Performance, Geography, Privacy*, eds. Angela Vanhaelen and Joseph P. Ward (New York: Routledge, 2013), 25-36.

service done being Sheriff of London upon mutiny against the Lombards – only by a short report, and not otherwise, at your own perils. (139)²³²

In part, Tilney may have been motivated specifically by an awareness of the radical potential of popular tragedies in this period. We have already seen that Marlowe and Kyd, the period's leading tragedians, were imprisoned for their alleged connection to the Dutch Church Libel. Marlowe had earlier written a play titled *The Massacre at Paris* (1593) about the massacre of French Huguenots in 1572. But while it is unclear if Sir Thomas More ever got past Tilney's censorship, we know that *The Massacre at Paris* was a popular success and was performed at least ten times in 1594 by the Admiral's men, and was later revived by Henslowe in 1602. One reason may have been because Marlowe's play depicted the persecution of Protestants, its actions safely displaced onto a foreign and officially Catholic nation. But it may also be because Marlowe represented the massacre of the Huguenots not as a spontaneous movement initiated by the French populace, but as a byproduct of courtly and imperial politics. The play's action centers around the conflict between the Huguenot followers of Navarre and the Catholic faction under the leadership of the Duke of Guise; and it is Guise and his soldiers who chase the Protestants on stage with their swords drawn. By foregrounding the actions of the nobility, Marlowe represents the popular violence carried out by the Parisians as a function of dynasticfactional politics.

In *Sir Thomas More*, on the other hand, the nobility appear either as internal commentators of the citizens' actions or as state functionaries who act on behalf of Henry VIII, who is himself conspicuously unrepresented. Instead, the play foregrounds the actions of the citizen-rebels as the principal agents in a political process that takes place in London. The first line of the play is given to the defiant Doll, who, along with Lincoln, becomes one of the leading

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²³² Quotations are from Jowett ed., Sir Thomas More (New York: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2017).

members of the ensuing riot. Unlike in *Coriolanus* or *Julius Caesar*, the citizens are represented not as a faceless mob, but as individuated characters with distinct names and personalities (Doll, Sherwin, Williamson, Lincoln, George Betts, Ralph Betts) whom we as audience are enjoined to take seriously.²³³ Each citizen belongs to a distinct profession, gender, and status; they have different stakes, feelings, and misgivings about the riot; they disagree about what course of action they should take, what their cause should be, and what they hope to achieve. By dramatizing the emergence of London citizens as individuated agents in a collective action, *Sir Thomas More* inverts the traditional representational hierarchy of tragedy by elevating the citizens to the realm of tragic action traditionally occupied by kings and nobles.

There is a consensus among critics that the play's depiction of the citizen-rebels undergoes a dramatic shift: that the citizens are initially presented as articulate, literate, and justified in their desire to redress the injustices suffered in the hands of the uncivil strangers. As the movement descends to mob violence, however, it is suggested that the citizens' actions become less coherent to the point of being absurd. Walter Cohen has argued that the revision of the riot scene by Hand D "belittles the protestors, depriving them of an individuality they possessed earlier in the play and reducing them to the idiotic fear of disease-causing vegetables." Similarly, Kathleen McLuskie comments that "the comic tone of the riot scenes ... trivialise[s] the serious political theme." But the chaotic unruliness of the citizens during the riot does not necessarily contradict the play's initial depiction of the citizens as rational individuals or trivialize their subsequent actions as merely comic or stupid. Even when they

²³³ This is also true of the depiction of Cade's rebellion in Part 2 of Henry VI, where two rebels bear the name of the actors in Shakespeare's company.

²³⁴ Cohen, "Sir Thomas More," in *The Norton Shakespeare*, eds. Stephen Greenblatt et al. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2016), 862.

²³⁵ Kathleen McLuskie, *Dekker and Heywood: Professional Dramatists* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984), 30. Quoted in Hill, "Staging London," 14.

resort to mob violence, the citizens are never entirely mindless or without justification. For instance, Lincoln's call to burn the strangers' houses is initially met with enthusiasm but they momentarily decide against this course of action when Sherwin points out that the fire could endanger the city ("Stay, no, that would much endanger the whole City, / Whereto I would not the least prejudice"; 4.41-42).²³⁶

What appears to be the citizens' inability to articulate a coherent and reasonable agenda for themselves, I suggest, illustrates the faultline and ruptures that occur within a decentralized, grassroots movement that contains a multiplicity of perspectives, some more valid than others. Rather than try to determine whether the citizens are rational or irrational (they are clearly both), the collective action of the citizens must be grasped as an object of "interpretive conflict" in the theater, and hence, a locus of critical and affective engagement in its own right. Indeed, it is precisely by grappling with the contested and ambivalent meaning of the citizen rebellion that the London audience come to recognize themselves as potential actors in the social-historical process in which they too are embedded. When viewed as an object of tragic reflection, the actions of London citizens point toward a problematic at the heart of London's emerging civic consciousness. On the one hand, the collective sovereignty of the citizens manifests most vividly in their capacity to take the law into their own hands, in other words, their will to inflict extralegal violence on the strangers. By seeking to take bloody vengeance on the uncivil strangers,

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²³⁶ Upon finding out that the strangers have fled the city, the citizen-rebels, encouraged by Lincoln, reverts back to their original plan to fire their houses ("Then fire hte houses, that, the Mayor being busy / About the quenching of them, we may scape. / Burn their kennels!"; 5.1.76-8).

²³⁷ I emphasize the dialectical and dynamic nature of the perceptual-representational possibilities afforded by the actor-spectator interaction. In this, I follow Mullaney who has argued that the London public theater constituted a vehicle of (embodied) social thinking: "As a public and performative art, theater provides public and performative cultures with a means of thinking about themselves, especially when confronting their more painful or irresolvable conflicts and contradictions, or when other method and media fail. Theater is a form of embodied social thought, we might say. It is a critical phenomenon in the way that theory, an etymologically related term for seeing, is critical: a far from harmonious and not always therapeutic way of thinking, by means of actual bodies on stage and in the audience, about the larger—and largely virtual—social body" (Mullaney, *Reformation of Emotions*, 6).

however, the citizens end up threatening the very rules of civility they seek to uphold. As a tragedy of citizenship, therefore, the meaning of *Sir Thomas More* hinges on how the play resolves—or fails to resolve—the contradiction between sovereign violence and the norms of civility.

3. Against Wild Justice: An Oresteian Tragedy

Violence and tragedy were inseparably linked in the Elizabethan-Jacobean imagination to the extent that the "age's premier dramatic genre, tragedy, was identified with revenge." Consequently, the idea of tragedy-as-revenge has informed critical efforts to account for the wide range of English tragedies produced between the mid-1580s and 1640s. This is nowhere more evident in the influential category of "revenge tragedy," which has been used as early as 1902 by A. H. Thorndike and 1940 by Fredson Bowers, and continues to have currency among scholars interested in Western drama's enduring preoccupation with the theme of justice. In the English Renaissance, the Senecan model of revenge tragedy emerged as a dominant form of tragedy, such that plays like Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* enjoyed immense popularity, and led to countless adaptations and variations, such as Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* or *Hamlet*. Such tragedies typically feature an individualized hero, who, deprived of the official legal channels for redressing the wrongs he has suffered, takes it upon himself to act as the sole agent and arbiter of

²³⁸ Linda Woodbridge, *English Revenge Drama: Money, Resistance, Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 4.

²³⁹ Fredson Bowers, *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971). See Woodbridge, *English Revenge Drama*, 5.

²⁴⁰ English revenge tragedies departed significantly from the Senecan tradition in their insistent metatheatricality (evident in Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*), which allowed the revenger to self-consciously reflect upon his role, and to indefinitely defer the actual enactment of vengeance.

justice.²⁴¹ On the one hand, the revenger is the victim, utterly powerless in the face of a defective yet totalizing system of power. At the same time, he becomes a vivid embodiment of that power by appropriating for himself the authority to dispense justice like a king or a god. What ensues is a plot driven by (what Gordon Braden calls) "the privilege of anger": an aesthetics of excess characterized by bloody murders, sexual intrigues, and violent eruptions of passions.²⁴²

Revenge tragedy, defined as such, is essentially a tragedy of the sovereign individual. Insofar as the dispensation of justice is considered the exclusive duty and prerogative of the crown, private vengeance constituted a challenge to a system of justice in which the ruling monarch claimed supreme authority. For an apologist of monarchical authority like Francis Bacon, revenge was "a kind of wild justice" which "putteth the law out of office." In this context, English revenge tragedy has sometimes been viewed—in part—as a response to the rise of monarchical absolutism in English politics (ambiguous and strategic under Elizabeth, but more forcefully asserted under James I), analogous to how Senecan tragedies may have responded to the nascent imperial ideology of Augustan Rome. As a tragedy of the subject, revenge tragedies dramatize the unattainable fantasy of redress under an oppressive regime, even as they empower the revenger as an agent of his own justice. Typically, revenge tragedies

²⁴¹ See Katherine Eisaman Maus, ed., *Four Revenge Tragedies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). Maus states: "Revenge tragedies feature someone who prosecutes a crime in a private capacity, taking matters into his own hand because the institution by which criminals are made to pay for their offense are either systematically defective or unable to cope with some particularly difficult situation. Such plays testify to an apparently ineradicable yearning for justice" (ix).

²⁴² Gordon Braden, *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition: Anger's Privilege* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

²⁴³ Francis Bacon, "Of Revenge," in *The Major Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 347-48.

²⁴⁴ It should be noted that James I's absolutist pretensions did not reflect the political reality of England. On the ideology of absolutist justice, see Deborah K. Shuger, *Political Theologies in Shakespeare's England: Sacred and the State in Measure for Measure* (New York: Palgrave, 2001). On the influence of Seneca's tragedies on Renaissance revenge tragedies, see Braden, *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition* (1985); Robert Miola, *Shakespeare and Classical Tragedy: Influence of Seneca* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1992); John Kerrigan, *Revenge Tragedy: Aeschylus to Armageddon* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1996).

²⁴⁵ On the ideologically indeterminate qualities of revenge plays, see Chris Macmahon, *Family and the State in Early Modern Revenge Drama: Economies of Vengeance* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 21-25.

project a solitary vision of justice in which the agent of revenge is an isolated individual driven by his radical estrangement from the public world. Seldom is the case that the revenger imagines a form of sovereignty that is justified by a consenting body. Instead, it is precisely the perceived impossibility of consensus that necessitates private vengeance as a form of wild justice.

In its depiction of the citizen rebellion, *Sir Thomas More* at once invokes and repudiates the conventions of Renaissance revenge tragedy. By this, I do not mean that *Sir Thomas More* itself falls under the category of revenge tragedy, but that the interpretation of its meaning *as tragedy* cannot be separated from the problematics of revenge that informs the pattern and structure of the period's dominant tragic form.²⁴⁶ The collective action of the citizen-rebels is described as retribution ("Let us step in, and help to revenge their injury"; 1.39-40) for the injustices suffered in the hands of the strangers: a popular redress for the failures of the official legal system which facilitates foreign abuses instead of protecting native subjects. As in Holinshed, the popular grievance is directed at the strangers who purportedly reap the economic benefits afforded to them by royal sponsorship at the expense of English natives with whom they are in competition ("From them that breathe from his majestic bounty, /That, fattened with the traffic of our country, / Already leap into his subjects' face."; 3.9-15). An especially egregious instance of abuse is imagined as a sexual crime committed by Francis de Barde, who is accused of stealing a citizen's wife and having the husband pay for her lodging. The opening scene has de

²⁴⁶ In this, I understand genre less as a fixed set of conventions than as a heuristic, interpretive frame that conditions the play's horizon of meaning—one that mediates between the play and its audience by constantly being in flux and open to social and historical pressures. On genre as mediation, see Jameson, *Political Unconscious*, 103-150. "Genres are essentially literary *institutions*, or social contracts between a writer and a specific public, whose function is to specify the proper use of a particular cultural artifact. . . . No small part of the art of writing, indeed, is absorbed by this (impossible) attempt to devise a fool proof mechanism for the automatic exclusion of undesirable responses to a given literary utterance" (106-7). See also, Howard, "Shakespeare and Genre," in *A Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. David Scott Kastan (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999): 297-310. On Renaissance genres, see Rosalie Colie, *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance*, ed. Barbara Lewalski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

Barde attempt to seduce Doll Williamson under the assurance that he has immunity from the city's law. The most passionate call for action comes from Doll who is the first to advocate on behalf of herself and the abused citizens:²⁴⁷

Why, Betts, am not I as dear to my husband as my Lord Mayor's wife to him, [to Williamson] and wilt thou so neglectly suffer thine own shame? [to de Barde] Hands off, proud stranger, or, <by> Him that bought me, if men's milky hearts dare not strike a stranger, yet women will beat them down ere they bear these abuses. (1.60-66)

The play thus establishes a sense of real injustice suffered by the citizens; their cause is sufficiently justified within the play not only by the citizens themselves, but also by the city officials and the nobility (3.1-24), who are nevertheless anxious about the citizens taking matters into their own hand ("This tide of rage, that with the eddy strives, / I fear me much will drown too many lives"; 3.62-3). The only person fully absolved of blame is Henry VIII, who, despite his role in favoring the strangers in the first place, is said to be uninformed of his subjects' grievances ("his majesty / is not informed of this abuse, / and daily wrongs are offered to his subjects; / For if he were, I know his gracious wisdom / Would soon redress it."; 3.66-80). Henry VIII's absence from London's political scene creates a vacuum where the citizens step in as the enforcers of their own justice:

Then gallant bloods, you whose free souls do scorn To bear the enforced wrongs of aliens, Add rage to resolution! Fire the houses Of these audacious strangers! . . . Shall these enjoy more privilege than we In our own country? Let's become their slaves. Since justice keeps not them in greater awe, We'll be ourselves rough minsters at law. (4.21-32)

²⁴⁷ On the importance of women and other marginal perspectives in the play's depiction of the riot, see Jeffrey Masten, "Sir Thomas More: More or Less Queer," in Shakesqueer: A Queer Companion to the Complete Works of Shakespeare, ed. Madhavi Menon (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 309-18.

By taking upon themselves the power to enact lethal violence, the citizen-rebels appropriate the sovereignty of the monarch, who, according to More, is the only one with the authority over life and death ("life or death hangs on our sovereign's eyes"; 2.225). They are later accused by More of usurping the authority of the King ("you sit as kings in your desires"; 6.88), the sovereign to whom God "hath his office lent / Of dread, of justice, power and command" (6.112-3). In their capacity for sovereign violence, the citizen-rebels occupy the position of the revenger in revenge tragedies; only instead of a solitary revenger, they constitute a *collectivity* of revengers.

Ultimately, Sir Thomas More subverts the pattern of revenge tragedy by having More successfully persuade the citizens to give up their fury. In this, the play departs from Holinshed's account of the riot, which records that the then undersheriff More tried but failed to convince the rioters to desist. In so doing, the play not only exaggerates More's involvement in the riot, but also emphasizes the citizens' voluntary submission to the reasoned argument of an elected cityofficial, whose speech effectively saves the city from a potential massacre, both in the hands of the rioters, who might have ended up burning the whole city, and by the royal troops, which were prepared to meet force with force. By having the citizens freely come to a peaceful resolution on their own, the play valorizes the city's capacity to maintain social order without the military intervention of a centralized monarchical state. The renunciation of violence constitutes a pivotal moment in the play that affirms—rather trivializes—the will of the citizens as free and moral agents responsible for their own fate. If the rioters had been either allowed to carry out their vengeance or subdued by brute force, the tragic pattern of revenge that had characterized the conflict between citizens and strangers would have remained unresolved. To assure the continuing survival of the city, it is crucial that the citizens' anger be acknowledged, and their

grievances addressed through an institution of justice whose legitimacy is acknowledged by the citizens themselves.

As a play ultimately about the avoidance of extra-legal violence, I suggest, Sir Thomas *More* resonates more with the model of Greek tragedies (especially the *Oresteia*) produced in the democratic city-state of Athens than with Seneca's tragedies produced under the Roman emperors. While the influence of the Senecan tradition on English Renaissance tragedies has been well established, much less has been said about the possible influence of Greek tragedy and its civic philosophy.²⁴⁸ Recent studies have shown, however, that "all extant Greek tragedies had been translated into Latin by 1555"; and that at least from the 1560s, it is possible to speak of a "well-documented culture of performance of Greek tragedy on England's learned stage" (19; 13).²⁴⁹ In particular, Louise Schleiner has argued that Latin translations of Aeschylus's *Oresteia* and Euripides's Orestes were in circulation in the London theatre, most likely the Latin Aeschylus translation (Basel, 1555) of Jean de Saint-Ravy of Montepellier (a copy of which was owned by Ben Jonson) or a number of anthologies containing selected plays of (and commentaries on) Euripides that were available in publication. Schleiner points out that the Oresteia was likely the source text of a pair of lost plays by Thomas Dekker and Henry Chettle titled Agamemnon and Orestes Furious (1599), which may have been the only English adaptation of Greek drama on the London stage at the time. ²⁵⁰ Incidentally, Dekker and Chettle

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²⁴⁸ Shakespeare's knowledge of ancient Greek drama has been difficult to ascertain in any definitive sense, despite much efforts to do so. This is not necessarily the case, however, with other playwrights who were active in this period, especially those who were university-educated. See Gordon Braden, "Classical Greek Tragedy and Shakespeare," *Classical Reception Journal* 9.1 (2017): 103-119.

²⁴⁹ For a recent study that argues for the visibility of Homer and the Greek tragedians in English commercial theaters, see Tania Demetriou and Tanya Pollard, "Homer and Greek Tragedy in Early Modern England's Theatres: An Introduction," *Classical Reception Journal* 9.1 (2017): 1-35.

²⁵⁰ Louise Schleiner, "Latinized Greek Drama in Shakespeare's Writing of *Hamlet*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41.1 (1990): 29-48. See also, Claire Kenward, "The Reception of Greek Drama in Early Modern England," in *A Handbook of the Reception of Greek Drama* (Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), 173-198.

were among the five authors (others included Anthony Munday, William Shakespeare, and Thomas Heywood) who worked on *Sir Thomas More*.

I do not mean to suggest that the *Oresteia* directly influenced the composition of the English play, but simply that the Greek drama was a part of a broader repertoire of plays that comprised the Elizabethan-Jacobean genre-system in relation to which the overdetermined meaning of *Sir Thomas More* could be interpreted. The *Oresteia* may offer a pertinent model for a tragic reading of *Sir Thomas More*, I suggest, insofar as both plays are viewed as a kind of "charter myth" that justifies the institutions and norms that govern the city and its citizens.²⁵¹ The *Oresteia* famously concludes with the incorporation of the Furies within the newly established Athenian law, thereby enacting their transformation into the Eumenides (or the Gracious Ones). Analogously, *Sir Thomas More* may be said to dramatize the sublimation of vengeance (i.e., the citizens' vendetta against the strangers) within the city's formal legislative procedures. By persuading the citizens-rebels to submit to the rule of law, More prevents the city from descending into a Hobbesian state of war:

ALL Peace! Peace!

More Look what you do offend you cry upon:

That is, the peace. Not one of you here present—Had there such fellows lived when you were babes That could have topped the peace as now you would, The peace wherein you have till now grown up Had been ta'en from you, and the bloody times

Could not have brought you to the state of men. (6.70-77)

In its dramatization of the conflict between violence and civility, *Sir Thomas More* grapples with the tensions and ambiguities of a civic ideology in the making. It does so by representing the collective sovereignty of the citizens, both in their capacity for extra-legal violence *and* their

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²⁵¹ On the *Oresteia* as a charter of the city, see Simon Goldhill, *Aeschylus: The Oresteia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 24-48.

submission to the rules and norms that govern the city. This paradox is resolved only insofar as the play succeeds in showing that the law, rather than depriving the citizens of their agency, allows them to survive in a realm of civic freedom somewhere between anarchy and tyranny. Indeed, the play's portrayal of More—his sense of irony and wit—may itself be understood as a function of this ideological contradiction. Both as sheriff and as Lord Chancellor, More is foremost a figure of the law; but his is a law founded on the principles of equity and survival, rather than abstract and absolute principles. At one moment we see More mediating on behalf of a pickpocket by playfully revealing the hypocrisy of the judge who would have the petty criminal (Lifter) sent to the gallows ("devise me but a means /. . ./ And as I am a Christian and a man, / I will procure thy pardon for that jest."; 2.57-60). Later, we see him devising a playful punishment for a rioter (Falconer) by ordering him to cut off his hair instead of his head ("Discharge him, fellows. / Thy head is for thy shoulders now more fit: / Thou hast less hair upon it, but more wit"; 8.246-248). What is emphasized is the version of More that was opposed to fundamentalism and partisanship, instead of the More who burned heretics and traded polemics with Tyndale: a More that was full of irony and compassion for the poor as can be glimpsed from the first part of his *Utopia*.

More's mediation on behalf of Lifter and the Falconer—first as London's sheriff, then as Lord Chancellor—is wholly consistent with his role in successfully prevent the citizen rebellion from resulting in a single fatality. The result is that the power to enact irrevocable violence becomes associated not with the citizen-rebels but with the juridical authority of the Tudor state. The first half of the play concludes with the execution of the rebel-leader, John Lincoln, on the charge of treason, and the subsequent promotion of More as Lord Chancellor. The second half of the play concludes with the execution of More on an analogous charge of treason for his refusal

to take the Oath of Supremacy. In the process, More comes to occupy the same situation as Lincoln, quite literally, if the same scaffold was used for the staging of both executions.²⁵² Any interpretation of the play therefore must grapple with the thematic-structural parallel between the two citizens' death. Specifically, how Lincoln and More are sacrificed by the state *as* citizens—or how they "die into citizenship."²⁵³

4. We Refugees

The parallel between Lincoln and More suggests that the first and second halves of the play be read as a single, continuous action: a unified tragedy about what it means to be a citizen.²⁵⁴ Indeed, the two historical events depicted in the play (the Ill May Day Riot and More's martyrdom) can be brought under a single analytical framework only if we understand them both as representing the actions of citizens who find themselves fatally estranged in their homeland. The play makes clear that Lincoln dies on behalf of the City and its citizens, whose way of life is thought to be threatened by the royal sponsorship of strangers. In his final moment, he fashions himself into what may be would call a "citizen-saint," submitting to his death with full awareness of the political stakes of his actions ("This the old proverb now complete doth make: / That 'Lincoln should be hanged for London's sake.'"; 7.44-45). Nor is he the only London native to demonstrate such heroic resoluteness in the face of death. Having volunteered to be executed

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²⁵² We do not know if the exact same scaffold would have been used on stage for both executions, since the historical Lincoln, being a non-aristocrat, was hanged, while More was beheaded. Regardless, the structural similarities between the two deaths would have been clear to a discerning audience.

²⁵³ The phrase is borrowed from Lupton, *Citizen-Saints*, 21.

²⁵⁴ For a reading that highlight dramatic unity, see Alistair Fox, "The Paradoxical Design of *The Book of Sir Thomas More*," *Renaissance and Reformation* 5.3 (1981): 162-173. See also, Giorgi Melchiori, "*The Book of Sir Thomas More*: Dramatic Unity," in *Shakespeare and Sir Thomas More*: Essays on the Play and Its Shakespearian Interest, ed. T. H. Howard-Hill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 77-100.

after Lincoln, Doll turns herself into an example of female resistance against foreign encroachment ("And when that I am dead, for me yet say / I died in scorn to be a stranger's prey"; 6.130-131), only to be saved at the last moment when the royal pardon belatedly arrives.

When the audience finally sees More on the scaffold, then, they cannot help but see an established pattern of citizen martyrs. Like Lincoln, the former undersheriff of London dies resisting the authority of the Tudor state. It is at this point that the notion of the citizen in its narrow, formal sense (pertaining to one's membership to the City of London) begins to expand to its modern, popular sense (denoting an active, public individual with rights). We might say that the play dramatizes the emergence of citizenship at the *limit* of subjecthood. The possibility of civic freedom is brought forth in opposition to the emerging monarchical-state, which functions as an overarching (albeit suppressed) subtext throughout the entire play. The actions of Henry VIII determine the fates of his subjects in a manner of a totalizing (if not totalitarian) regime, all the more so because he never appears on stage in person. Against this backdrop, London emerges as a tenuous but significant refuge from state power: an island of freedom where citizens and strangers can indeed coexist (albeit not without serious tensions) and survive as an individuated collective. The city functions as a model of commonwealth that precedes (and supersedes) the monarchical-state—a "city commonwealth" that has long been the locus of utopian imagining.²⁵⁵

Sir Thomas More would have participated in the making of such collective consciousness insofar as it allowed the London audience to re-cognize themselves as internal émigrés or potential exiles in their own city or country. As a coherent aesthetic act, the play succeeds to the

²⁵⁵ Withington states: "[T]he ideologies upon which the city commonwealth drew were essentially retrospective. This was true of the 'ancient' cities that served as the primary template for incorporation It was also true for the humanism and, indeed, custom based common law that provided the ideological energy for change" (*The Politics of Commonwealth*, 48).

extent that it *reveals* a shared condition of estrangement that undergirds the seemingly disparate stories of 1) the strangers, 2) the citizen-rebels, and 3) Sir Thomas More—all of them (arguably) victims of centralization and state-building. In this way, the figure of the refugee comes to embody the contradictions of this historical development; but it is only gradually that the play reveals the centrality of the refugee's position. In fact, the strangers' status as refugees is initially suppressed within the play, which presents them instead as wealthy, upper-class merchants and artisans. It is only later during More's speech that the image of the "wretched strangers" is first brought to our attention:

Imagine that you see the wretched strangers, Their babies at their backs, with their poor luggage, Plodding to th'ports and coasts for transportation (6.85-7)

What appears to be a perceptual inconsistency is in fact crucial to the emotional trajectory of the play. Not only does it allow the audience's sympathy to shift from the aggrieved citizens to the persecuted strangers, but it also brings about the rioters' change of heart, and thus, makes possible the peaceful resolution of the citizen rebellion. In a pivotal moment, More enjoins the rioters to recognize the shared humanity of citizens and strangers; and he does so by reminding them of the strangers' status as refugees and asylum seekers, whose backstory would have otherwise remained suppressed amidst the heat of the riot. The purpose of More's speech is to bring about this affective-epistemological transformation, whereby the existential situation of the refugee is grasped—as if for the first time—as the underlying condition of citizenship itself:

Say now the King,
As he is clement if th'offender mourn,
Should so much come too short of your great trespass
As but to banish you: wither would you go
What country, by the nature of your error,
Should give you harbor? Go you to France or Flanders,

²⁵⁶ On the strangers as refugees, see E. A. J. Honigmann, "Shakespeare, *Sir Thomas More*, and Asylum Seekers," *Shakespeare Survey* 57 (2004): 225-35.

To any German provinces, Spain or Portugal, Nay anywhere that not adheres to England: Why, you must needs be strangers. (6.138-146)

To be a stranger, More suggests, is to exist *in-between* nation-states—the assumption being that there is no viable political-juridical position outside of the state paradigm, such that a fugitive of the state (i.e., a refugee) effectively does not belong anywhere. In rebelling against the sovereign, the citizens come to occupy the position of the refugee, whose only option as a dissenting subject is death or banishment. The irony is that More himself will later inhabit this same position when he refuses to subscribe to the articles demanded by Henry VIII. At this moment, however, More simply affirms the ideology of divine kingship in order to chastise the citizens for their disobedience (16.111-120). His point is that the citizens are acting without sufficient awareness of the irony that they too have effectively become refugees, while trying to deprive the strangers of a place of refuge. More suggests that this shared existential condition, once recognized, should lead to an ethical universalism that transcends the distinction between citizens and strangers:

MORE Would you be pleased

To find a nation of such barbarous temper
That, breaking out in hideous violence,
Would not afford you an abode on earth,
Whet their detested knives against your throats,
Spurn you like dogs, and like as if that God
Owed not nor made not you, nor that the elements
Were not all appropriate to your comforts,
But chartered unto them? What would you think
To be thus used? This is the strangers' case,
And this your mountainish inhumanity.

ALL CITIZENS Faith, 'a says true. Let's do as we may be done by. (6.146-68)

In a miraculous turn of events, the popular nationalism of the citizens, previously manifested as xenophobia, is shown to be compatible with cosmopolitanism, which here takes the form of civil empathy rather than Stoic apathy. It is important, at this point, that we

distinguish between popular nationalism and absolutist statism (often collapsed under the hyphenated formulation "nation-state") as they relate to cosmopolitan practices.²⁵⁷ In its Enlightenment derivation, cosmopolitanism was opposed not to nationalism as such, but to the system of absolutist-states as it came to be established following the Peace of Westphalia.²⁵⁸ The first systematic theory of cosmopolitanism came from Kant, who argued for "a universal cosmopolitan existence" in a world political community grounded in individual rights, which he described as "a perfect civil union of mankind."²⁵⁹ In *Sir Thomas More*, we see an earlier rendering of this cosmopolitics, where the lateral association characteristic of urban citizenship makes possible the solidarity between natives and strangers against the backdrop of Tudor consolidation. In the emancipatory politics of citizenship, it is shown, the discourses of nationalism and cosmopolitanism can both be invoked without evident contradiction.

From this point onward, the central conflict of the play is no longer between natives and strangers, but rather between the citizens, whose civic nationalism is capable of a grassroots cosmopolitanism, and the Tudor state, which, as discussed earlier, had its own reasons for sponsoring strangers who were beneficial to its interests. The underlying conflict between the citizens and state power, however, is deliberately obscured in a way that neatly contains the subversive potential inherent in citizen politics. For example, the citizens agree to be persuaded by More on the condition that he procure a pardon from the King ("We'll be ruled by you, Master More, if you'll stand our friend to procure our pardon."; 6.159-160), but the pardon arrives only after Lincoln has been executed, because of an over-zealous sheriff eager to carry

²⁵⁷ On early modern nationalism, see Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 6-7. Greenfeld defines nationalism as deriving its membership from a "people," and thus, involving the elevation of the populace to the position of the political elite.

²⁵⁸ On the unstable opposition between nationalism and cosmopolitanism, see Cheah, "The Cosmopolitical—Today," in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, eds. Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 20-44.

²⁵⁹ Cheah, "The Cosmopolitical—Today," 23.

out the King's command without delay ("We may not dally time with great command"; 7.33) lest the City be fined ("The write is come above two hours since. / The City will be fined for this neglect."; 7.27-28). Here, the play departs from the Holinshed's account, which says that Henry VIII granted a general pardon *after* thirteen people had been executed. The effect is to exonerate the King from blame for Lincoln's death, even as it affirms the sovereign authority of the King to dispense justice in matters of life and death. Upon the scaffold, the repentant Lincoln is made to profess his actions as an offence not to the stranger, but to the King's authority:

Then, to all you that come to view mine end, I must confess I had no ill intent
But against such as wronged us overmuch.
And now I can perceive it was not fit
That private men should carve out their redress
Which way they list. No, learn it now by me:
Obedience is the best in each degree.

. . .

Henceforth be warned to attempt the like 'Gainst any alien that repaireth hither (7.53-67)

In this way, the play takes pains to leave no room for ambiguity regarding what Lincolns' crimes were in order to regulate potentially unruly interpretation of his martyrdom. This is not the case, however, with the play's representation of More's death. When asked by Shrewsbury to confess his offence to the king ("My lord, 'twere good you'd publish to the world / Your great offence unto his majesty; 17.70-71), More simply evades the question, and offers instead a characteristically witty response that he will bestow his soon to be severed head to the King as a kind of compensation for his "trespass":

I confess his majesty hath been ever good to me, and my offence to his highness makes me, of a state pleader a stage player – though I am hold and have a bad voice – to act this last scene of my tragedy. I'll send him, for my trespass, a reverent head: somewhat bald, for it is not requisite that any head should stand covered to so high majesty. If that content him not, because I think my body will then do me small pleasure, let him but bury it and take it. (17.73-77)

No doubt More's ambiguous self-fashioning in his final moment is entirely consistent with his overall characterization. But here, it has the effect of mystifying what the real conflict was between More and Henry VIII. More's refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy constitutes a pivotal moment in his tragedy, where the audience is enjoined to grapple with the significance of his decision. As critics have pointed out, however, the play suppresses the religious stakes and motivations behind More's martyrdom in such a way that we are left with multiple, contradictory interpretations of the play's religious politics—including More's own religion—which refuse to congeal into a single, coherent meaning.²⁶⁰

The life and death of Sir Thomas More (1485-1553) exemplified the tumultuous confessional politics that characterized by uncertain beginnings of the English Reformation. Not only did More publish works of religious polemics against the "Protestant heresies" (at times at Henry VIII's request) in which he defended the legitimacy of the Roman Catholic church, but, as Lord Chancellor, he was also responsible for torturing and burning Protestant heretics, whose stories would later be popularized in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. More's refusal to subscribe to the Oath—and his subsequent execution—was directly implicated in the dynastic-factional conflict between the 'Protestant' supporters of Anne Boleyn and the 'Catholic' supporters of Catherine of Aragon. The complex dynamic of contested allegiances, as represented by More's career, would continue to be highly resonant to later generations of the English people, who would be forced to adapt to the frequent, often abrupt, shifts in official

²⁶⁰ Sussanah Brietz Monta, "The Book of Sir Thomas More and Laughter of the Heart," Sixteenth Century Journal 34 (2003): 107-21. Monta argues that play subverts the conventions of sixteenth-century martyrology by playing up More's humor in the face of death, which conceals, rather than reveals, his beliefs. See also, Alison Shell, Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 218-21; Gillian Woods, "'Strange Discourse': The Controversial Subject of Sir Thomas More," Renaissance Drama 39 (2011): 3-35.

doctrinal positions.²⁶¹ As Michael C. Questier has shown, conversion to and from Catholicism occurred with remarkable frequency throughout Elizabeth's reign, such that "flux in religion was the norm rather than the exception in religious experience."²⁶² Those who refused to convert would meet their death as martyrs or become fugitives of the Tudor state, living covertly in England or as exiles in another country.²⁶³

In this context, the non-representation of confessional politics in *Sir Thomas More*'s is entirely in accord with the theatrical norms of the period. Under the post-Reformation regime, the staging of explicit Christian content was rigorously suppressed, such that the representational strategies of London's commercial theaters departed significantly from the medieval tradition which predominantly featured biblical and saintly materials. If Sir Thomas More was ever performed in the Elizabethan playhouse, it would have necessitated a kind of "double-vision," where the latent confessionalism of More's tragedy would function as a kind of "open secret" that the audience would both see and unsee. In so doing, however, the play may have paradoxically made confessional politics all the more visible. As Musa Gurnis has argued, the Elizabethan playhouse had to accommodate the mixed faiths of its audience in order to arrive at a sense of shared feelings in what was de facto if not de jure, a multi-confessional city.²⁶⁴ By relegating religion to the background, the Elizabethan theater sought to incorporate the multiple perspectives of its audience (always a good business strategy), even as it conformed to the strictures of official censorship. In this sense, the non-representation of religion could have resulted in the proliferation, rather than the containment, of interpretive possibilities.

²⁶¹ For a survey of recent English Reformation historiography, see Shagan, ed., *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester University Press, 2005).
²⁶² Michael C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics, and Religion in England, 1580-1625* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 206.

²⁶³ See Peter Marshall, "Religious Exiles and the Tudor State," *Studies in Church History* 43 (2007): 263-284.

²⁶⁴ Musa Gurnis, *Mixed Faith and Shared Feelings: Theater in Post-Reformation London* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

Despite the deliberate ambiguity surrounding More's religion (or rather because of it),

More's identity as a London ends up being the common ground that potentially resonates with all
members of the London audience, regardless of religious beliefs, More dies less as a 'Catholic'
martyr than as a Londoner, who resists the terms of subjecthood as newly imposed under the
principles of monarchical sovereignty:

I will subscribe to go unto the Tower With all submissive willingness, and thereto add My bones to strengthen the foundation Of Julius Caesar's palace. Now, my lord, I'll satisfy the King even with my blood. (13.175-9)

More's martyrdom is the culmination of the play's *de casibus* pattern, which traces the rise and fall of his fortune from his humble beginning as an undersheriff of London to his ascent to the Privy Council, followed by his resignation and subsequent imprisonment and execution. In this way, More's death represents a form of return to his origin or roots. He is led to the scaffold by a London sheriff, a successor to his old office, thus signifying that his life has come full circle. Prior to his death, we are reminded again and again that More has not forgotten where he came from despite his meteoric ascent to Chancellorship ("That I from such an humble bench of birth / Should step, as 'twer, up to my country's head"; 8.6-7). As Lord Chancellor, he invites the City elites to his house in Chelsea, whom he addresses as "brothers" (a term reserved for fellow members of the guild) and thoughtfully entertains with a banquet and a play:

Once again, welcome, welcome, my good Lord Mayor, And brethren all – for once I was your brother, And so am still in heart. It is not state That can our love from London separate. (9.92-95)

More's success is celebrated by the citizens, and is considered a significant contribution to the City's fame, even as his death is mourned by them as their own loss:

Needs must we say when we remember More,

'Twas he that drove rebellion from our door, With grave discretion's mild and gentle breath Shielding a many subjects' lives from death. O, how our City is by you renowned, And with your virtues our endeavours crowned! (9.100-107)

What is pointedly *not* remembered is the fact that More dies on the charge of high treason; or that he was a 'Catholic' martyr, who persecuted and burned Protestants on the stake. The only official condemnation of More comes, hesitantly, from the court aristocrats, most notably, the Earl of Surrey ("Tis strange that my Lord Chancellor should refuse / The duty that the law of God bequeaths / Unto the king"; 105-107), whose concluding remarks about More's "errors" ("A very learned worthy gentleman / Seals error with his blood.; 17.125-126) proves ironic in light of the fact that Surrey himself would soon be executed by Henry VIII. More's crimes, such as they were, are all but forgiven and forgotten, precisely because they fail to elicit the necessary passion in the London audience who would much rather commemorate him as the City's hero than condemn him for his failings. The pathos of More's martyrdom is all the more heightened *because* he is the victim of state power, a citizen-saint who seemingly transcends the confessional divide by virtue of his localized allegiance to the City.

4. Feelings Worth Dying for: The Cosmopolitics of Tragedy

In her seminal works, Hannah Arendt discusses how the mass displacement of refugees and stateless people following the First World War was born out of the contradictions of the European nation-states, wherein people without states of their own found themselves deprived of

human rights. ²⁶⁵ Building on her work, Giorgio Agamben has argued that the refugee constitutes a "limit-concept" that "at once brings a radical crisis to the principles of the nation-sate and clears the way for a renewal of categories that can no longer be delayed." ²⁶⁶ By placing the refugee at the center of the political imaginary, Arendt and Agamben invite us to recover alternative concepts of the "political" to that of the modern system of nation-states—forms of associations, sensibility, and belongings that point towards other political possibilities. In this context, the refugee offers a means to explore what a number of scholars have called "cosmopolitics," provided that we understand the term as pertaining not to an idealized rootless existence, but to the "modes of life, thought, and sensibility that are produced when commitments and loyalties are multiple and overlapping." ²⁶⁷ Such an approach would challenge the commonly held assumption that a full-blooded political action can only be founded in national membership; that a non-national mode of belonging, especially one with universalist aspirations, lacks the emotional attachment necessary to act as a basis of a political movement.

In *Sir Thomas More*, we are presented with two historical events where the citizen-subjects' allegiance to a localized polity (London) and a pan-European institution (Roman Catholic Church) fatally conflicts with their allegiance to an emerging absolutist-state. In so doing, the play illustrates the affective power of non-national, non-statist modes of belonging in a moment in history when one's allegiance to the nation-state could not be taken for granted, but had to be justified against older, competing forms of associations (e.g., local, regional, continental, cosmopolitan, global), which had to be overridden affectively as well as

²⁶⁵ Hannah Arendt, "The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of Human Right," in *Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1979), 267-302. See also, Arendt, "We Refugees," in *The Jewish Writings*, eds. Jerome Kohn and Ron H. Feldman (New York: Schoken Books, 2008), 264-274.

²⁶⁶ Giorgio Agamben, "Beyond Human Rights," Social Engineering 15 (2008): 94.

²⁶⁷ On the "new cosmopolitanism," see Bruce Robbins and Paulo Lemos Hortas, eds. *Cosmopolitanisms* (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 3. See also, Robbins, "Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism," in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 1-19.

ideologically: a moment when the "structure of feeling" (in Raymond Williams's phrase) that informed a person's identity was undergoing a radical transformation. To speak of a *cosmopolitics of tragedy*, then, we must examine not only the competing ideologies that were available, but also the feelings that made those ideas real enough to *move* people in every sense of that word.²⁶⁸ In Elizabethan London, popular tragedies offered a poignant means by which individuals could recognize their own feelings of dissent and, in so doing, become aware of their own capacity to actively participate in the political process. Insofar as tragedy could make the dream of a life elsewhere *feel* urgent and real, it constituted the affective-ideological condition for a political movement, a potential for radicalism, which in England, would culminate in the English Civil War and the founding of a Puritan refuge in North America.

In *Sir Thomas More*, we see how this familiar political history gathered momentum in the streets of London, where demographic pressures brought about by mass migration resulted in a *politics of citizenship*, which had implications beyond mere local politics, even as it was rooted in the everyday interactions of its urban inhabitants. While citizenship politics derived from the social contradictions specific to a given locality, the particular mix of social relations that defined the uniqueness of London as a place was in no way circumscribed within that place.²⁶⁹ Not only was the majority of London's population non-natives, but the very survival of the City depended on the continual movement of people and things across and beyond the British archipelago. London was a recruiting ground for new and seasoned migrants, a site of official and unofficial cosmopolitanisms made possible by the extensive network of refugees, sailors, merchants, artisans, priests, ambassadors, laborers, and colonists. Citizenship as a political

²⁶⁸ "Ideology wants to move us—in an affective a well as a performative sense of the term" (Mullaney, *Reformation of Emotions*, 30).

²⁶⁹ See Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994). Massey states: "the particular mix of social relations which . . . [define] the uniqueness of any place is by no means included in that place itself" (5).

category necessarily grappled with the contradictions this shifting nexus of localized and globalized allegiances, for better or for worse.

By correlating the historical-existential situation of the citizens with that of the refugees, *Sir Thomas More* points toward a concept of the "political" that both includes and surpasses the nation-state paradigm, pointing towards what may be called the "cosmopolitical." The question then becomes: what kinds of political possibilities are opened up by *Sir Thomas More*? Does More's death signify the impossibility of existing outside of the state apparatus? Does it suggest a desire for a world without kings and courts ("There lives a soul that aims at higher things / Than temporary pleasing earthly kings"; 12.3-4)? In his final moment, More resolutely refutes the notion that life can be contained within the juridical order of the state:

Stay, is't not possible to make a scape from all this strong guard? It is. There is a thing within me that will raise, And elevate my better part 'bove sight Of these same weaker eyes. (17.109-112)

More does not seem to be looking back to a bygone Catholic world order that would soon be replaced by the narrower universalism of the nation-states; nor does he seem to be turning to any particular denominational religion (e.g., Catholicism as opposed to Protestantism) as a viable alternative. Rather, his death simply amounts to a rejection of state sovereignty (which is not the same as a rejection of popular nationalism), leaving open the question of what such a rejection would actually mean. On the one hand, the play tacitly dismisses the option that More would have wanted to survive as an exile in another country, like the strangers he so eloquently defends, even as it hints at such a possibility in its depiction of More's friendship with Erasmus of Rotterdam. In so doing, the play seems to reject an easy, idealized notion of a humanist cosmopolitanism, some elite republic of letter that transcends the vicissitudes of confessional conflict. Instead, it finds in the limited freedom of the city an actually existing cosmopolitanism,

a way of life that allows for the citizens and strangers to continue to live together in spite of the very real conflicts that can never entirely be resolved.

Chapter 3 Romance and Realism in an Age of Migration

1. The Renewal of Greek Romance

In the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean years, England witnessed a veritable renewal of romance as the growth of the publishing industry and the increase in literacy resulted in an expanded popular audience. Writing for a divided, skeptical, and potentially hostile public, early modern authors had to be adept at manipulating the generic and symbolic codes within which their works were couched—in relation to a dynamic and contested generic system where disparate representational strategies competed with each other.²⁷⁰ Within this literary ecology, popular romance took on remarkably heterogeneous forms to include elements of the pastoral, chivalric, hagiographic, mercantile, and picaresque.²⁷¹ At the same time, romance as a quintessential popular genre fiction could rely on the pleasure of recognizing familiar narrative devices: the archetypal theme of loss, wandering, and recovery could be as expected as it was satisfying. Ben Jonson's tendentious remark about Shakespeare's *Pericles* nicely captures how such narratives could be perceived: "some mouldy tale, / Like Pericles, and stale / As the

²⁷⁰ The self-conscious negotiation of the author-reader contract can be seen in the rhetorically elaborate prefaces of such works as Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveler*, Rabelais's *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, and Cervantes's *Don Quixote*. On the problem of authorship for early modern prose writers, see Naomi Conn Liebler, ed., *Early Modern Prose Fiction: The Cultural Politics of Reading* (New York: Routledge, 2007). See also, Robert Weimann, *Authority and Representation in Early Modern Discourse*, ed. David Hillman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

²⁷¹ For an overview of English prose fiction in this period, see Paul Salzman, *English Prose Fiction*, 1558-1700: A Critical History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). Salzman claims that there was a "proliferation of modes of fiction" in this period (5).

shrieve's crusts, and nasty as his fish—/ Scraps out of every dish / Thrown forth, and raked into the common tub."²⁷² In the eyes of one critic, romance was an old-fashioned, mixed form that could nevertheless capture the imagination of the English public.²⁷³

Recent scholarship on Elizabethan popular romance has newly emphasized the role played by the translation and adaptation of ancient Greek romances, namely, Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*, Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe*, and Achilles Tatius's *Leucippe and Clitophon*, and *Apollonius of Tyre*, all of which were published in English between 1483 and 1597.²⁷⁴ In her study of English popular romance, Lori H. Newcomb has focused on the material history of Robert Greene's immensely popular *Pandosto* (1585), which had received relatively less critical attention compared to Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* (1611) of which it was the principal source.²⁷⁵ Greene's *Pandosto* was closely modeled after the conventions of Greek romance and may have been influenced by Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (c.1580), which was later revised as *New Arcadia* (1590) to incorporate elements from Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*.²⁷⁶ Building on Newcomb's work, Steve Mentz has argued that the defining characteristic of Elizabethan prose fiction was its "large-scale narrative coherence" and that the complex and coherent plot structure characteristic of Greek romance contributed to the market success of the works of Sidney,

²⁷² Ben Jonson, "Excerpt from *Ode to Himself*, quoted in David Skeele, ed., *Pericles: Critical Essays* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), 34.

²⁷³ I use the term "romance" to refer to a cluster of literary modes or strategies rather than a fixed genre. For a useful discussion of this definitional problem, see Barbara Fuchs, *Romance* (New York: Routledge, 2004). On the use of the word "romance" in the context of early modern fiction, see Christine S. Lee, "The Meanings of Romance: Rethinking Early Modern Fiction," *Modern Philology* 112.2 (2014): 287-311.

²⁷⁴ For a seminal work, see Samuel L. Woolf, *Greek Romances in Elizabethan Fiction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912). See also, Carol Gesner, *Shakespeare and the Greek Romance: A Study of Origins* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970).

²⁷⁵ Lori Humphrey Newcomb, *Reading Popular Romance in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

²⁷⁶ Sidney develops a lengthy backstory about the adventure and wandering of Pyrocles and Mucedorus before they arrive in Arcadia. This backstory is retroactively recounted by the two princes in the course of their pastoral courtship, a delayed revelation that creates an interwoven narrative structure associated with Heliodorus.

Greene, Lodge, and Nashe.²⁷⁷ Because Aristotle's *Poetics* was not widely read in this period, Mentz proposes that we consider Heliodorus's *Aethiopica* as a principal model for these "plotted" romances that variously responded to the neo-Aristotelian emphasis on unity and plausibility.²⁷⁸

Mentz goes on to attribute the reason for the vogue for plotted romances to Providentialism and the Protestant conception of passive, human agency. While this points to an important religious subtext for the sense of uncertainty and alienness that characterizes the world of Greek romances, it does not address the more obvious fact that these were quite literally stories about wandering and homecoming. What is absent is an explanation for the popularity of these romances that addresses the central theme of displacement as something more than merely spiritual without denying displacement's metaphoric and symbolic significance. This chapter examines how the unique mimetic possibility afforded by Greek romances resonated with the existential situation of the migrant as an inter-imperial subject: a mode of being characterized by the dialectical tension between local identities and the global designs.²⁷⁹ It argues that the idealized Greek romance became newly significant within the Renaissance literary system because it responded to, and grappled with, the existential situation of migrants caught between empires.

2. The Aesthetics of Inter-Imperiality

²⁷⁷ Steve Mentz, Romance for Sale in Early Modern England (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 11.

²⁷⁸ On the limited influence of Aristotle in the early modern period, see Henry S. Turner, "Plotting Early Modernity," in *The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities, and Knowledge in Early Modern England*, ed. Henry S. Turner (New York: Routledge, 2014), 85-127.

²⁷⁹ On early modern inter-imperiality, see Barbara Fuchs and Emily Weissbourd, eds., *Representing Imperial Rivalry in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2015). This volume focuses on the political-ideological dimension of inter-imperial competition in the Mediterranean. For a transhistorical approach to "inter-imperiality" in literary studies, see Laura Doyle, "Inter-Imperiality: Dialectics in Postcolonial World History," *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 16.2 (2014): 159-196.

Typically set in a pre-Christian, idealized Hellenistic world, Greek romance takes place neither in the past nor the present but seem to belong to both anachronistically. Greene's *Pandosto* features an oracle from the temple of Apollo in Delphos (a Renaissance variant of the isle of Delos) but is set in the kingdom of Bohemia; Shakespeare's *Pericles* alludes to the historical figure Antiochus, but features a knight from Macedon who bears a motto said to be in Spanish but is actually in garbled Italian ("*Più per dolcezza che per forza*"). Any attempt to historicize the representation of migration in Greek romance, therefore, must take into account its multiple temporalities and overdetermined geography. Rather than constituting an absence of historical engagement, the representation of migration in Greek romance must be shown to illustrate the complex encoding of Mediterranean history and the shifting frontiers of the early modern world in the making.

Consider the following passage from the dedicatory preface addressed to the earl of Oxford in Thomas Underdowne's translation of Heliodorus's *Aethiopica* (1587):

The Greekes in all manner of knowledge and learning, did farre surmount the Romanes, but the Romanes in administering their state, in warlike factes, and in common sense were much their superiours: for the Greekes were wedded to their learning alone, the Romanes content with a mediocritie, applied themselves to greater things. (1-2)²⁸⁰

Underdowne distinguishes between Greek and Roman culture by associating the former with knowledge and learning, and the latter with war and government—his point being that Heliodorus's *Aethiopica* will meet both these criteria for the benefit of the English nobleman, being a story neither bloody nor licentious, but which offers a "pattern of a good prince." In invoking a conventional formula, Underdowne transmits an old, ideological opposition between

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²⁸⁰ Thomas Underdowne's 1587 English translation of *Aethiopica* has been reprinted as *An Aethiopian History*, ed. W. E. Henley (London: D. Nutt, 1895). Citations are from this edition.

Greekness and Romanitas that was foundational to the invention of Greek romance in the Second Sophistic era: a period between 1st and 3rd-4th centuries CE which saw the revival of classical, Attic Greek literature among the Greco-Roman elites, who, through the ambiguously prestigious category "Greekness," negotiated their own situation as both insiders and outsiders of the late Roman Empire.²⁸¹ According to Tim Whitmarsh, the idea of "Greekness" and "Romanness" came to be dialectically constructed following the Roman conquest of the Greeks, as can be seen in Anchise's speech in Virgil's *Aeneid*:

Others (I can well believe) will hammer out bronze that breathes With more delicacy than us, draw out living features From the marble: plead their causes better, trace with instruments The movement of the skies, and tell the rising of the constellations: Remember, Roman, it is for you to rule the nations with your power, (that will be your skill) to crown peace with law, To spare the conquered, and subdue the proud. (6.847-53)

Anchise enjoins Aeneas, the soon-to-be founder of Rome, to preemptively identify himself as "Roman," an identity distinguished from the "Others" (alii) by the dual usage of the word "skill" (artes), which can refer to the perfection in the arts (sculpture, oratory, and astronomy) as well as skill in government (imperium)—the point being that while the Greeks excel in learning, to the Romans belong the art of empire (tu regere imperio populous . . . memento [hae tibi erunt artes]).

Greek romance constitutes an ambiguous and complexly mediated literary response to the contradiction of imperial dominion from the vantage point of Greek subjects living under the hegemony of the late Roman empire. Insofar as Greek romance participated in the construction

²⁸¹ Tim Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 5, 34. On the tangled and contradictory allegiances informing the construction of Greek identity in these romances, see Susan Stephens, "Cultural Identity," in *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Novel*, ed. Tim Whitmarsh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 56-71. See also, Simon Goldhill, ed., *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Simon Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Criticism, and Power in the Greek World AD 50-250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

Greek identity, however, it did so by effectively erasing Rome from its literary landscape. As Lawrence Kim points out, Greek romance (unlike the comic-satiric novel) contains little or no reference to contemporary life in Rome; instead, it evokes an idealized, pre-Roman classical past that resists historicization, but in a way that the absence of definitive historical markers does not preclude it from being read as contemporary.²⁸² The mimetic strategy of Greek romance hinges on a kind of double-vision, where the reader simultaneously perceives several overlapping historical realities that are at once present and absent. In this respect, the distinct realism of Greek romance derives from a kind of estrangement effect, provided that we understand the term less as a detached mode of critical perception that alienates the reader from what is represented, but rather as the blending of incommensurable planes of perception wherein the two realms of reality ("Here" and "There") become entangled and resonate on both levels at once.

What did the nostalgic revival of a classical Greek past (accompanied by the non-representation of Rome) mean for the reception of Greek romance during the Renaissance? As Barbara Fuchs observes, the principal literary model for European national mythmaking was based on the Roman *imperium* model (via Virgil's *Aeneid*).²⁸³ Accordingly, critics have emphasized how canonical works of English literature (such as *The Faerie Queene*) sought to construct a mythology of British *imperium* by tracing its origin back to Troy—an ideological construction based on the long history of attributing the name of the tribe of Britons to the Trojan Brutus, who is said to have ended up in the British Isles after the fall of Troy. Crucially, Underdowne distinguishes Heliodorus's *Aethiopica* from these types of nationalist-chivalric romances that deal with the "matters of Britain" as their subject:

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²⁸² Lawrence Kim, "Time," *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Novel*, 147-8.

²⁸³ Fuchs, "Imperium Studies: Theorizing Early Modern Expansion," in *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval through Modern*, eds. Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 72-73.

If I shall compare it with other of like argument, I think none commeth neere it. Mort Darthure, Arthur of little Britaine, yea, and Amadis of Gaule, etc. accompt violente murder, or murder for no cause, manhood: and fornication and all unlawfull luste, friendely love. This booke punisheth the faultes of evill doers, and rewardeth the well livers. What a king is Hidaspes? What a pattern of a good prince? (4-5)

For the humanist Underdowne, Heliodorus's romance constitutes an implicit rejection of the Roman/British imperium model of romance insofar as the latter is based on violence and conquest. In this respect, Aethiopica may be viewed as participating in the Renaissance counterepic tradition, but in a way that is different from such parodies of heroic action, such as Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, that were still modeled after stories of war and masculine virtue which they at the same time satirized. The principal literary model of *Aethiopica* was Homer's *Odyssey* rather than the *Iliad* or the *Aeneid*.²⁸⁴ In its emphasis on wandering and circularity, *Aethiopica* would seem to accord with David Quint's definition of "romance" as the dialectical counterpart to epic and empire. 285 But rather than rejecting empire as such, Aethiopica presents an alternative model of empire through the figure of the Ethiopian king, Hydaspes, who, at a critical moment shows leniency to the inhabitants of Syene, a city he conquered during a siege battle with the Persian satrap of Egypt by redirecting the Nile and flooding the city.

Underdowne's mirror-for-prince reading of the episode notwithstanding, the most compelling question posed by Aethiopica is not whether and how a prince should wield imperium. Rather, the question is: what does it mean to survive in a world governed by competing empires? The episode goes on to recount the plight that the Syenese undergoes when the Persian satrap escapes from the city under the cover of night, thereby violating the terms of

²⁸⁴ In *Aethiopica*, Odysseus appear to Calasiris in a dream to chastise him for neglecting to pay homage when

passing by Ithaca.

285 See David Quint, Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton (Princeton: Princeton) University Press, 1993).

their surrender and potentially incurring the wrath of the Ethiopian conqueror. This leads to the inhabitants of Syene preemptively surrendering themselves and demonstrating their noncomplicity with the Persians by putting on a procession out of the city. Hydaspes not only exonerates the Syenese, but later pardons the Persian satrap of Egypt, Oroondates, in a magnanimous gesture of reconciliation. Oroondates writes Hydaspes a letter asking that the latter return a captive maiden to him: "There was a certaine maid who in carriage from Memphis, happened to fall into your handes by chaunce of war, . . . [T[his wench I desire you to sende me, both for her owne sake, but most for her fathers" (285). The maid is none other than Hydaspe's estranged daughter, Chariclea, who had escaped Memphis to flee from the murderous jealousy of Oroondates's wife, Arsace, only to be captured by the Ethiopians. The plight of Chariclea mirrors that of the Syenese caught between the competing empires of Persia and Ethiopia, but it is also representative of her larger story of wandering: her expulsion from Ethiopia prompted by her white skin and her subsequent adventures in Greece, the Persian controlled Egypt, and Ethiopia, as she struggles to stay alive by adopting various strategies of assimilation and dissimulation.

Given that *Aethiopica* centers around the story of Chariclea rather than that of Hydaspes, I suggest, the romance is best understood as an aesthetic response to the imperative to survive in a world of competing empires, rather than as an attempt to represent a vision of *imperium* as such.²⁸⁶ This thesis may be extended to most Greek romances that feature a wandering heroine/hero. In Greek romance, migration functions as a byproduct of some state of emergency

²⁸⁶ On the ethical imperative of inter-imperial subjects, see Stephen Joyce, "Inter-Imperial Aesthetics: Korean and Korean Diasporic Literature Between Empires," *Modern Fiction Studies* 64.3 (2018): 488-511. See also, Andrea, *The Lives of Girls and Women from the Islamic World in Early Modern British Literature and Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017). Andrea uses the term "survivance" to describe the strategies of resistance and survival that characterize the agency of displaced individuals.

(e.g., pestilence, shipwreck, kidnapping, political turmoil, oracle, sovereign jealousy) that causes the separation of the characters from their places of belonging and/or each other. The structuring logic of Greek romance is determined not so much by the character-in-quest, but by the alienated condition of the world to which the quest is a reaction.²⁸⁷ The heroes and heroines of Greek romance are conspicuously non-martial, their stories inclining more toward amor than arma.²⁸⁸ The principle of action is largely passive in the sense that the characters undergo a series of sufferings brought about by circumstances beyond their control. The chief exercise of agency consists in dissimulation (often necessitated by the exceptional beauty of the heroine and hero), rather than in active, assertive deeds characteristic of martial exploit and conquest. What is at stake is often the no less significant ask of maintaining one's constancy in spite of the vicissitude of Fortune—with much emphasis placed on bodily integrity as a kind of enclosure guarding against the forces of dissolution and dispersal. Accordingly, Greek romance constitutes a literary project that is distinct from the dominant heroic narratives of the period, but not necessarily in a way that explicitly opposes or criticizes imperial ideology. Instead, Greek romances focusing on depicting the complexly interwoven fates of migrant-characters, whose primary objective is to survive, rather than to overthrow or even actively resist their enemies, which is impossible. What is at stake in such a romance-project is the utopian imagining of a "we" that would survive in a world that has been made radically inhospitable.

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²⁸⁷ Mikhail Bakhtin describes the spatial dimension of this dynamic in what he calls the "adventure time" of Greek romance: "In essence, all the character's actions in Greek romance are reduced to *enforced movement through space* (escape, persecution, quests); that is, to a change in spatial location. Human movement through space is precisely what provides the basic indices for measuring space and time in the Greek romance, which is to say, for its chronotope." Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 105.

²⁸⁸ On the subject of masculinity in Mediterranean romances, see Goran Stanivukovic, *Knights in Arms: Prose Romance, Masculinity, and Eastern Mediterranean Trade in Early Modern England, 1565-1655* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016). The study focuses on the depictions of knight-errants and the shifts in the conception of heroic-masculine agency within heroic romances.

From these preliminary observations, we may begin to formulate a theory of migration and mimesis: To the extent that romance is defined by the master-plot of loss-wandering-recovery, we may consider it an example of what Frank Kermode has called "end-determined fictions," which satisfies "a need in the moment of existence to belong, to be related to a beginning and an end." While Kermode sees this desire for closure as fundamental to interpretation as such, it has a particular relevance for the study of romance, whose principal narrative strategy has been characterized in terms of the sustained tension between quest and fulfillment. According to Patricia Parker, romance "simultaneously quests for and postpones a particular end, objective, or object," which produces a "dilatory space" of error and wandering. Drawing on Northrop Frye, Jameson characterizes this process of dilation as a struggle between good and evil—an ethical binary which must be rewritten on the level of social, historical subtext by transcoding the categories of good and evil into the positional categories of Self and Other. For both Parker and Jameson, romance is characterized as a narrative strategy that tries to resolve a state of separation between things that properly belong together.

For Jameson, this separation is the effect of a world-alienation, where the term *world* is grasped in the phenomenological sense as "the overall organizational category or ultimate perceptual horizon, within which empirical, inner-worldly objects and phenomena are perceived

²⁸⁹ Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 4-6.

²⁹⁰ Patricia Parker, *Inescapable Romance: Studies in the Poetics of a Mode* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).

²⁹¹ Northrop Frye characterizes "romance" as a form of wish-fulfillment or Utopian fantasy. For Frye, the "world" of romance is structured around the metaphysical struggle between higher and lower realms, where through movements of "ascent" and "descent," ordinary reality (i.e., the middle realm) is transformed into some ideal realm (angelic or demonic), even as the former is contained in the latter: "The quest-romance is the search of the libido or desiring self for a fulfillment that will deliver it from the anxieties of reality but will still contain that reality," Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957). See also, Frye, *The Secular Scripture* (1976). Jameson transcodes Frye's metaphysical framework into a phenomenological one. See Jameson, "Magical Narrative: On the Dialectical Use of Genre Criticism," in *The Political Unconscious*, 103-150; see especially, 110-119.

and inner-worldly experiences takes place," which leads to his definition of romance as "precisely that form in which the *worldness of world* reveals or manifests itself."²⁹² Accordingly, the agent of romance is *world* itself, which acquires a "strangely active and pulsating vitality" and "absorbs many of the act- and event-producing functions normally reserved for narrative characters."²⁹³ The *worldness* of romance—characterized by deferral, delay, dilation, or difference—informs the Utopian longing and wish-fulfillment, which nevertheless maintains a vital relation to reality to the extent that it enacts imaginary resolution to real social contradictions. Insofar as we approach romance as a symbolic mediation of historicized difference, in this way, what remains to be shown is whether and how the differences that characterize the world of Greek romance correspond to that which informed the existential situation of migrants in the early modern world.

3. The Plotted Realism of Greek Romance: Heliodorus's Aethiopica

What kind of world does Greek romance evoke? With the exception of Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe* (a pastoral romance whose actions are largely circumscribed to the island of Lesbos), the Greek romances popularized in the Renaissance had a uniquely global scope in that they took on the entire known and habitable world of Greek antiquity (or *oikoumene*) as their setting.²⁹⁴ This literary landscape was centered around the larger Mediterranean world with an outward thrust in the directions of the East and the South. Accordingly to James Romm, the majority of Greek

²⁹² Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 110-111.

²⁹³ Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 112.

²⁹⁴ It is only in the later seventeenth century that we see the Greek romance model adopted to represent migration to and from the Americas, notably, in Aphra Behn's classically inspired *Oroonoko* (1687).

romances exhibit "a strong orientalizing impulse" due to the influence of Herodotus's *Histories*, which responded to the advent of the Achaemenid Persian empire and its global reach:

It was the advent of the Persian empire, which had connected the coast of Turkey to the hinterlands of Iran with a well-provisioned Royal Road, that had made access to the Far East freely available to the Greeks, and whetted their appetite for exotic and erotic oriental tales just as keenly as the opening of the Portuguese trade routes to India had given renaissance Europeans a taste for cinnamon and cloves.²⁹⁵

In the geopolitical paradigm of Greek romances, Ethiopia and India constitute the southern and eastern limits of the world, while northern Europe, "a frontier of the new Roman world, barely known to classical Greece," marks the far western fringe.²⁹⁶ Greek romance follows the human movements across this world—traversing Greece, Persia, Egypt, Scythia, Babylon, Ethiopia, and India—with the Mediterranean Sea acting as a principal (but by no means the only) means of transportation, such that the plot is structured around the spatial axis, and the sense of place evoked by the travels of various characters is made integral to the narrative's meaning and aesthetic effect.

It is significant that the locations of these romances, while often distant and exotic, are nevertheless identifiable as real places, unlike the fantastic or imaginary locales that might characterize utopian fiction or chivalric romance.²⁹⁷ The combination of realism and exoticism in Greek romance (what Tasso calls "verisimilar-marvellous") would seem to align it with travel narratives, if it were not for the fact that the former, unlike the latter, would not be mistaken for

²⁹⁵ James Romm, "Travel," in *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Novel*, 112-13.

²⁹⁶ Romm, "Travel," 124.

²⁹⁷ More's Utopia, while inspired by travels to the New World, cannot be placed on a map. Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* contains an episode in which a character travels to the moon. Spenser's *Faerie Queene* sets forth an allegory of empire in a fairyland. Notice, however, how these fantastic locations do not necessarily conflict with the claim to historicity, but instead may enhance a sense of history through imaginary, pseudo-mythical displacement. See Elizabeth B. Bearden, *The Emblematics of the Self: Ekphrasis and Identity in Renaissance Imitations of Greek Romance* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2012), 19-46.

events that actually happened.²⁹⁸ Consequently, scholars have variously remarked on the apparent lack of historicity that characterizes the world of Greek romances. Bakhtin has pointed out that Greek romances have little sense of "historical localization" or "significant attachment to a particular historical epoch, a link to particular historical events and conditions."²⁹⁹ While a number of classicists have taken issue with this characterization by pointing out the link between these romances and historiographical writings, the observation that these ideal romances contain little or no markers that would allow for an accurate historical positioning still stands.

Rather than acting as a hindrance, the idealized conventionality of Greek romance and its concomitant lack of historical markers seem to have offered Renaissance writers a means to appropriate the geopolitical paradigm of Mediterranean wandering in ways that speak to their own estranged situations. It is noteworthy that a number of the Renaissance writers who translated or adapted Greek romances were themselves *conversos* or exiles. In her study of Alonso Núñez de Reinoso, Constance Hubbard Rose suggests that "the rediscovery and vogue for the Byzantine novel among intellectuals may be interpreted, in part, as a means of expressing enforced exile, with the concomitant of endless wandering and travail."³⁰⁰ Núñez de Reinoso was a Jewish *converso* originally from Spain who migrated first to Portugal and then permanently to Italy, where he published his novel, *Historia de los amores de Clareo y Florisea y de los trabajos de la sin ventura Isea* (1552), an adaptation of Tatius's *Clitophon and Leucippe*, containing repeated laments about his homeland, Spain, voiced by the narrator Isea, whose condition of exile strongly resonate with the author's own situation. According to Fuchs, the

²⁹⁸ Bearden, *Emblematics of the Self*, 29. On Tasso's advocacy of verisimilitude in epic, see Ralph C. Williams, "Two Studies in Epic Theory," *Modern Philology* 22.2 (1924): 33-158.

²⁹⁹ Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination*, 15.

³⁰⁰ Constance Hubbard Rose, *Alonso Núnez de Reinoso: The Lament of a Sixteenth-Century Exile* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1971), 10.

novel constitutes a "fascinating precedent" to Cervantes' *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (1617), itself influenced by Helidorous's *Aethiopica*.³⁰¹ The first Spanish translation of *Aethiopica* was in turn published in Ambréres in 1554 by an anonymous *secreto de la patria* (secret friend of his native land) who is presumed to have been an Erasmian exiled from Spain.³⁰²

One way to explain the significance of Greek romance in the Renaissance would be to establish a correspondence between these Mediterranean romances and the individual biography of the early modern migrants, so that the former may be read as a kind of roman á clef for the latter. While such readings are possible in cases where the personal history of a writer or a reader can be brought to bear on the meaning of the romance, this would not exhaust the interpretive possibilities of these texts; nor would it explain the wide-ranging appeal Greek romances had for early modern readers, including those who may not have suffered the fates of migrants themselves. Instead, it could be argued more generally that the existential situation of the migrant constituted a culturally significant subject-position around which Renaissance romances came to be organized into meaningful forms. As critics have emphasized, what was remarkable and desirable about the Greek romance model for the Renaissance writers and readers may have been its closed and coherent plot structure that conformed to the neo-Aristotelian standard of unity and plausibility. This is evident from the comments made by the period's leading literary critics who would praise the use of "continual narration," elaborate plot structure, and the in media res opening which generates the readers' desire to understand the story's beginning and end.³⁰³ Heliodorus's Aethiopica was taken as an example of this aesthetic principle by Renaissance

³⁰¹ Fuchs, Passing for Spain: Cervantes and the Fictions of Identity (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 100.

³⁰² Fuchs, *Passing for Spain*, 99.

³⁰³ On the critical reception of Greek romances, see Bearden, *Emblematics of the Self*, 19-46.

critics, such as Amyot, Scaliger, Tasso, and El Pinciana.³⁰⁴ In the preface to his influential 1547 French translation of *Aethiopica*, Jacques Amyot comments:

But above all the disposition is remarkable: since it starts in the middle of history, as do the epic poets: which causes prima facie great admiration in the readers and engenders in them a passionate desire to know the beginning: and it draws them in further with its clever organization of the story; such that what is found at the beginning of the first book is not resolved until the end of the fifth has been read. And having arrived there, there is an even greater desire to see the end than there was before to see the beginning: in such a way the mind is kept in constant suspense until one comes to the conclusion, which leaves the reader satisfied in the same way as those who finally come to enjoy an ardently and long awaited desire. (107-8)³⁰⁵

Often cited in this regard is the famous opening scene of *Aethiopica*, which begins *in media res* with a *tableau vivant* whose enigmatic meaning will only gradually reveal itself as the story unfolds:

When day had just begun to smile, and the sun was beaming down onto the peaks, men armed like bandits crept over the summit of the hill that overlooks the so-called Heracleiotic mouth of the Nile, where it pours into the sea . . . In that small space the deity had contrived an infinitely varied spectacle, defiling wine with blood and unleashing war at the party, combining wining and dying, pouring of drink and spilling of blood, and staging this tragic show for the Egyptian bandits. . . . They stood on the mountainside like the audience in a theater, unable to comprehend the scene. $(353-4)^{306}$

As a self-conscious example of the novelistic genre that effectively marked the last of its kind in the 4th CE, *Aethiopica* deliberately throws off the reader's expectation by omitting identifiable markers of time and place, instead presenting a mysterious scene through the confused eyes of the Egyptian bandits. In claiming that the *in media res* opening creates in the reader a desire to understand the beginning and the end, Amyot reads *Aethiopica* as an "end-determined fiction" in

³⁰⁴ Bearden, *Emblematics of the Self*, 24-7.

³⁰⁵ Jacques Amyot, "Le Proesme du translateur," in *Romans Grecs* (Paris: Lef.vre, 1841), 105–10. Translated and quoted in Bearden, *Emblematics of the Self*, 25.

³⁰⁶ Heliodorus, "An Ethiopian Story," in *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, trans. J. R. Morgan, ed. Bryan P. Reardon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

the sense described by Kermode. Significantly, this readerly desire (what Roland Barthes calls *la passion du sens*) is generated by a scene that depicts a catastrophe befallen a group of migrants, among them, the romance's heroine, Chariclea, whose otherworldly beauty leads to a series of speculations about who she is and where she comes from.

The question of Chariclea's identity constitutes the principal hermeneutic code that drives Heliodorus's romance. Her contested heritage is what causes her banishment from Ethiopia in the first place: Calasiris reads in a letter written by Persinna that she had to send away her newborn daughter who was born white, an anomaly said to be a result of maternal impression caused by Persinna looking at a painting of Perseus and Andromeda while having sex with her husband, Hydapses. Fearing that her daughter's white skin will be interpreted as a sign of adultery, Persinna leaves her in the care of an Ethiopian ambassador, who in turn entrusts her to Charicles whom he meets in Egypt while negotiating with the Persians over the mining of precious metal. The negotiation goes sour and the Ethiopian ambassador leaves before he can reveal the identity of the infant to Charicles, a Delphian priest who is himself in voluntary exile following the deaths of his wife and daughter. Chariclea grows up to be a priestess of Diana in Delphi, where she falls in love with Theogenes, a member of the Acadians who trace their ancestry back to Achilles, and who are in Delphi attending a festival. During a ritual, Charicleas receives an oracle prophesying her return to a "sun-scorched" land. Prompted by a divine visitation, Calasiris, another exile from Memphis, acts the pander to Charicleas and Theagenes, and becomes a second adoptive father to the former. With his help, the lovers travel with Phoenician merchants, only to be captured by pirates, whose captain falls in love with Chariclea and tries to marry her as soon as they land on the shore, but not before the crew fall to infighting which results in the massacre that the Egyptian bandits witness in the opening scene. All this

backstory is recounted through the retrospective narration of Calasiris up to Book 5, at which point the narrative proceeds more or less linearly; most of the action takes place in Egypt, then gradually up the Nile as the lovers are brought to Ethiopia, where the grand recognition scene takes place. The puzzle of Chariclea's identity—presented in the form of a riddle by the Delphian oracle—cannot be solved until all the pieces are threaded together, such that the surface reality of separation can be magically resolved through the discovery of an underlying reality of unity, the gradual revelation of which corresponds to the narrative *plot*—provided that the term *plot* is understood not as a determinate structure, but as the active interpretive reworking of *fabula* (story) in and by *sjuzet* (discourse).³⁰⁷

In *Aethiopica*, the migrant functions as an agent of emplotment who literally integrates the discrete pieces of the Afro-Eurasian world into a single story. The world thus emplotted simultaneously affirms and deconstructs the myth of origin and autochthony by virtue of the migrant's liminal ontology. Even though Ethiopia is described throughout as the land of the "sunscorched" people, an easy racial identification of Ethiopia is undermined by the fact that the Ethiopians trace their ancestry back to Perseus and Andromeda, both of whom are presumably white. Chariclea's white skin, then, is really a sign of her Ethiopian origin—but it is an origin that is already adulterated in the sense that Ethiopians share their mythic ancestry with the Greeks who are coded as white. Chariclea's migration to and from Ethiopia ends up creating a series of tangled alliances between Greeks, Ethiopians, Egyptians, and the Persians. While racial differentiation between Greece and Ethiopia causes Chariclea's exile, her migration and subsequent marriage to the Grecian Theagenes have the effect of deconstructing the myth of genealogical purity in favor of a mutually entangled identity that straddles civilizations. The

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³⁰⁷ On this dynamic conception of plot, see Peter Brooks, *Reading for Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1984).

result is a decentralized worldview where "Hellenism" can be located at the edge of the non-Greek world, and where all places, despite their surface differences, are shown to be interconnected.

Heliodorus identifies himself at the end of the narrative as "a Phoenician man from Emesa, of the race of Helios, the son of Theodosius, Heliodorus" (326). Quoting Philostratus, Underdowne infers that Heliodorus was "an Arabian," adding that "those countries are neare the one unto the other" (5). Medieval commentators have surmised that Heliodorus was a Byzantine bishop in Constantinople, who, when asked to renounce his book or give up his bishopric, chose the latter. While this story is likely apocryphal, it is generally assumed that Heliodorus likely lived at the margin of the Greek imperial world as a Hellenized Syrian. Similar ambiguity informs the origin of *Aethiopica*'s literary ancestor, Homer. At one point in the narrative, the Egyptian priest Calasiris claims that Homer was himself an Egyptian:

Different peoples may attribute Homer's origins to different places, my friend; and we can allow the wise man every city. But the truth is that Homer was a compatriot of mine, an Egyptian, and his hometown was Thebes, 'Thebes of the hundred gates', to borrow his own phrase . . . He himself never spoke his true name, nor did he name his city or his descent, but the name was fabricated by those who knew of his deformity [hairy thighs] . . . It may be that he felt ashamed of being an exile, for he was banished by his father, after the mark he bore on his body had led to the recognition of his illegitimacy at the time when he came of age and was being enrolled as a priest. Or possibly this may be another example of his wisdom, and by concealing his true place of origin, he was claiming the whole world as his own. (3.14.2–4)

Taken together, the migrant-figures in *Aethiopica* (e.g., Homer, Heliodorus, Chariclea, Calasirisis, Cmenon) plot a complex diasporic network that integrates Afro-Eurasia and which emphasizes the alliance between Greece and Ethiopia (and more ambiguously, Egypt) against the threat of the Persian Empire.

What did this geopolitical paradigm mean in the context of early modern inter-imperial conflict? It may be noted that Europeans routinely formed political alliances and trade agreements with African rulers.³⁰⁸ The Iberian empires relied on these strategic relations to counteract the threats posed by the Ottomans who controlled North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean, as well as the much-coveted trade route to India via the Red Sea. For instance, the Portuguese made contact with the Christian Empire of Ethiopia and conducted a joint campaign against the Ottomans in the 1530s.³⁰⁹ Such strategic arrangements coexisted with the myth of Prester John, whom the Portuguese claimed to have found in Ethiopia. Ethiopia was thus considered a potential Christian ally, situated at a strategically vital location, at a time when the fate of the Christian European empires was felt to be threatened by the Ottoman empire in the east. While the Ottoman influence in the Mediterranean diminished after the battle of Lepanto, their presence persisted in the cultural imagination, not least in the Spanish and English dramas, many of which represent characters caught between the web of empires that encompassed Afro-Eurasia. The Tempest begins with the shipwreck of a royal fleet on its way back to Italy following the betrothal of the Neapolitan princess Claribel to a Tunisian prince. The English Mediterranean adventure drama, including the so-called Turk plays, responded to the real and imagined threats posed by the Ottoman empire through the trope of "turning Turk." These plays often featured Christian renegades who either through captivity or through their own free will convert to Islam. Others depict European (usually male) characters, who either convert to Islam and die, or resist "turning Turk" despite being seduced by an attractive non-European woman of highborn status, for which they are rewarded with a bride who upon marriage becomes Christian.

³⁰⁸ See Bennett Hermen, *African Kings and Black Slaves: Sovereignty and Dispossession in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

³⁰⁹ See Mordechai Abir, *Ethiopia and the Red Sea: The Rise and Decline of the Solomonic Dynasty and Muslim-European Rivalry in the Region* (London: Biblio Distribution Centre, 1980), 98-100.

These plays are notably set outside of England—usually in the Mediterranean or somewhere far away like south-east Asia—which allows the European characters to undergo transformations of identity in a foreign environment.³¹⁰

Heliodorus's Aethiopica would have participated in the literary mapping of this interimperial dynamic. Critical discussions of *Aethiopica* tend to divulge into two fields: 1) the history of the novel, and 2) race studies. A focus on migration helps bring together these inquiries by emphasizing the reciprocal relation between narrative and identity: how racialcultural identity cannot be separated from the narrative emplotment of reality of imperial competition (e.g., Greece, Ethiopia, Egypt, Persia). On the one hand, this points to a conception of identity as a process of becoming or movement (involving departure, arrival, and return) whose full meaning can only be apprehended through narrative.³¹¹ On the other hand, it shows how the problematic relationship between place and person becomes a key hermeneutic device in Renaissance narratives. The contested identity of Chariclea (a white Ethiopian princess) and her relationship with her two adoptive fathers (the Athenian Charicles and the Egyptian Calasiris) and her biological father (the Ethiopian king, Hydaspes) effectively encode the entanglement of Afro-Eurasian identity. The result is a kind of plotted realism that foregrounds the underlying unity of Afro-Eurasian history, and which sets forth a pattern of narrative-geographical emplotment that will inform subsequent novels of African diaspora, notably, Aphra Behn's

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³¹⁰ The English Turk plays are more about mercantile adventures and conquests than they are about migration. The plays about Christian renegades may be read as dramas of migration. For a survey of recent studies on early modern conversion drama, see Lieke Stelling, *The Turn of the Soul: Representation of Religious Conversion in Early Modern Art and Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2012). Critics have noted that these plays imagine the threat of "turning Turk" as a kind of fatal seduction, where sex (and money) become the "primary motor of apostasy." See Carmen Nocentelli, *Empires of Love* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 130. See also, Jane Hwang Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance on the Early Modern Stage* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).

³¹¹ On narrative and embodiment, see Emma Bond, *Writing Migration through the Body* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

Oroonoko (1688), a classically inspired story of an African prince from Coramantien who, tricked and sold into slavery, is transported to British Surinam. Behn's novel illustrates how the commerce and alliance between Europeans and Africans paved the way to slave trafficking in Africa.

Consider Shakespeare's *Othello*, a play that has everything to do with where Othello is from, what places he has been, and how he came to be in Venice. Not only does the experience of migration informs Othello's ambiguous identity as the "moor of Venice," but it is also one of the reasons Desdemona falls in love with him, and thus what drives the play's romantic-tragic plot. The biographical history of Othello (as a stranger of "here and everywhere") is not only relevant to our interpretation of Othello's character (or *ethos*) but is also integral to the play's plot (or *mythos*). In *Ohello*, the supposed jealousy of Hydaspe that causes Chariclea's expulsion from Ethiopia (and hence generates the plot of *Aethiopica*) is displaced onto the migrant-figure himself, such that it is Othello's own jealousy (prompted by Iago but ultimately deriving from the Venetian anxiety over female sexuality) that results in his estrangement from himself. The play internalizes the inter-imperial drama through the inter-racial romance of Othello and Desdemona to tragic effect.

Othello is informed by the same Afro-Eurasian imperial paradigm that characterizes Aethiopica: He is a Moor who fights for Venice against the Ottoman Turks: his defense of Cyprus against the Turks evokes the war between Venice and the Ottomans in the 1570s, a threat absent from the play's main source. A fundamental uncertainly undergirds Othello's purported place of origin. The reference to "Barbary horse" suggests North Africa; and we are told that an Egyptian woman ("a charmer") gave his mother a spotted handkerchief, which may either

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³¹² Cohen, A History of European Literature: The West and the World from Antiquity to the Present (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 257.

indicate that Othello is himself *not* an Egyptian or that he is.³¹³ The play's references to his black skin may or may not suggest that he is from sub-Saharan Africa, commonly known as the "land of the blacks," and possibly even the "sun-scorched" land of Ethiopia.³¹⁴ Insofar as Ethiopia was a Christian kingdom (imagined by Europeans as such as the phrase "washing the Ethiope white" ambiguously suggests), Othello's Christianity may simply reflect his place of origin rather than his status as a convert. And yet, the epithet "Moor," it has been suggested, combined with the reference to "base Judean" in his final speech may identify him with a Semitic religion. The ambiguity is itself revealing. It shows that, despite the historical distance separating *Aethiopica* and *Othello*, the overdetermined identities of African diasporas—Chariclea and (possibly) Othello—embody a structurally analogous pattern of inter-imperiality (e.g., Greece/Europe, Egypt, Sub-Saharan Africa [Ethiopia], Persian/Ottoman Empire). It is this underlying pattern that remains relatively constant despite shifting alliances in the region and continues to inform the ambiguous identities of migrants and refugees in the Mediterranean world.

The plotted realism of Greek romance simultaneously affirms and deconstructs the myth of origin and autochthony by representing a world that mirrors the ontological status of the migrant who belongs to both here and elsewhere. The decentralized world of Greek romance necessitates a mimetic strategy that locates the real in the formal coherency of a fictional story, rather than the realistic depiction of life at home. The popularity of *Aethiopica* in the Renaissance thus points toward a counter-history of the novel from the perspective of migration

³¹³ There is an episode in *Aethiopica* where an Egyptian woman brings her dead son back to life through black magic. Egypt functions as a liminal place, a land of mystery, learning, pleasure, and dangerous perversion. Heliodorus distinguishes Egypt from Greece and Ethiopia, as well as Persia.

³¹⁴ On the parallel between *Aethiopica* and *Othello*, and Othello's possible Ethiopian origin, see Gesner, *Shakespeare and the Greek Romance*, 70-75.

³¹⁵ On the desire for narrativity, see Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," *Critical Inquiry* 7.1 (1980): 5-27. White asks: "What wish is enacted, what desire is gratified, by the fantasy that *real* events are properly represented when they can be shown to display the formal coherency of a story?" (8). My point is that this desire for narrative coherence is inseparable with the desire of the migrant in Greek romance.

and inter-imperiality, an alternative tradition that foregrounds the underlying unity of Afro-Eurasian history rather than relegates the empire to the background of novelistic realism.

4. Romance of Nostalgia in Cervantes's Don Quixote

In his discussion of Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, Walter Cohen has argued that the strategy of novelistic realism depends on the non-representation of empire outside the imperial center:

[T]o the extent that by means of the everyday reality of Spain, *Don Quijote* seeks to discredit chivalric romance as well as the ideologies, practices, and social structures to which it was related, a direct depiction of Spanish imperialism is all but excluded. . . . Routine existence in Spain undercuts chivalric romance and by extension imperial adventure, but that adventure occurs outside Spain and hence beyond the limits of the novel 316

If the representational strategy of novelistic realism privileges the ontological status of the imperial center over the periphery, it is precisely the novel's dialectical counterpart, romance, that offers an alternative mimetic possibility. *Don Quixote* gestures toward a reality outside of Spain in the episode where Sancho encounters his former Morisco neighbor, Ricote, among a group of German pilgrims: Ricote tells Sancho the lamentable story of his exile following the royal edict that expelled all *moriscos* from Spain, and his clandestine return to Spain in an attempt to reclaim his buried treasures, and to reunite with his wife and daughter who are believed to be living in Algiers. This story intersects with a later episode that takes place in Barcelona, where Don Quixote and Sancho witness the capture of an Algerian corsair which turns out to be captained by Ricote's daughter, Ana Félix, an orthodox Christian *morsica* whose

³¹⁶ Cohen, "Literature of Empire," 22.

story of separation, cross-dressing, piracy, and eventual reunion with her father and her Old Christian lover, is closely modeled on the conventions of Greek romance.³¹⁷

The model of romance Cervantes employs to narrate the experience of Ricote and Ana Félix differs from both chivalric romance and novelistic realism. First, the embedded *morisco* romance tells the story of imperialism from the perspective of its victims, namely, the migrants whose displacement is the direct result of inter-imperial conflict (Muslim/Christian; Spanish/Ottoman). Second, the in-between status of Ricote and Ana Félix demands a representational strategy that counters novelistic realism in that the complexly interwoven stories of their past and present travails require a narrative that is at once densely plotted and geographically dispersed. If novelistic realism constitutes a mimetic principle that privileges the ontological status of stasis and settlement, the plotted realism of Greek romance offers an alternative principle that locates the real in contingency and movement. Prompting the question: If home is what is real, what kind of representational strategy is necessary to tell the story of a migrant whose home must be both everywhere and nowhere at once.

Consider the following passage, where ordinary, private life in Spain becomes an object of desire and aestheticization in Ricote's lament for his lost homeland:

Wherever we find ourselves, we shed tears for Spain, for, after all, this is our native land and the place of our birth. No where do we meet with the reception that our unfortunate plight deserves. Barbary and all those parts of Africa where we expected to be accepted, welcomed, and embraced are the places where we are most abused and ill-treated. We didn't realize how well off we were until we lost all this, and our desire, which nearly all of us have, to return to Spain is so great that most of those who know the language, as I do—and there are many—return here, leaving their wives and children ill-provided for, so great is the love they feel for this land. I now know the true meaning of the saying, "the love of one's country is sweet." (716-7)³¹⁸

³¹⁷ See Roberto González Echevarría, "Love and National Unity: Ricote's Daughter's Byzantine Romance," in *Love and the Law in Cervantes* (New Have: Yale University Press, 2005).

³¹⁸ Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, trans. James H. Montgomery (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2009).

Cohen comments that "Ricote enters *Don Quijote* only when and because he is no longer allowed to enter Spain, when the *moriscos* are not merely a marginal but actually a dispersed, exiled, and superseded sector of the Spanish population, important primarily in their absence, evoked primarily in the mode of elegy."³¹⁹ I would modify this statement to suggest that it is precisely Ricote's in-between status as a Spanish native *and* an exile that necessitates his entry into the novel. Rather than going against the main thrust of novelistic realism and the non-representation of empire, the Ricote episode accords with the latter insofar as the audience perceive him as a properly native inhabitant of Spain, and thus identify with his *pathos* as the suffering of one of their own. We encounter Ricote first as Sancho's former neighbor, their identities intertwined by means of their shared everyday existence in Spain. Given that the prospect of the *moriscos*'s return to Spain, however improbable, was not impossible at the time, Ricote's elegy may express not an irretrievable loss, but a hope for a salvational future and a desire to project his presence back into Spain. It is in this sense that the subsequent *morisco* romance involving Ana Félix functions as a fulfillment of this desire for home.

It should be noted that migrant-characters in Greek romances seldom lament the loss of their homeland as Ricote does. Such a sentiment of nostalgia would be inappropriate for characters like Chariclea who does not know that she has been displaced from her true home in Ethiopia until the very end of the narrative. But even for characters who are aware of their displaced status, verbal expressions of nostalgia are few and far between. Donald Beecher observes that this is typical of most Renaissance romances of wandering, which leads him to argue in such romances the "desire for home" is woven into the archetypal plot of wandering-recovery itself: it is the unconscious desire of the *genre* that longs for *nostos* instead of the

319 Cohen, "Literature of Empire," 25.

migrant-lovers who are then free to pursue the romantic plot.³²⁰ In the romance of Ana Félix, however, the desire for home coincides with the lovers' desire for each other because the royal edict of expulsion that banishes Ana Félix from Spain ends up separating her from her Old Christian lover. The plot revolves around the contested identity of Ana Félix, prompting the audience to want to know who she is, where she comes from, how she managed to survive, and what her future holds. The question of whether or not Ricote and Ana Félix will be able to return to their homeland informs the episode's uncertain outcome, which ends with suggestions that efforts will be made to allow them to stay in Spain, but without assurances that they will succeed in obtaining an exemption from the royal edict of expulsion. The reality principle of the Spanish *imperium* (as epitomized by the edict) works against the romance paradigm that enjoins the recovery of *nostos*, thereby leaving the episode's outcome open-ended. Conversely, the ambiguous status of the migrants problematizes the centralizing and exclusionary practices of Spanish *imperium*, thus prompting the intrusion of a romance fantasy that the banished *moriscos* might be allowed to officially return to Spain.

While the *morisco* romance seems to go against the main thrust of the novel's disillusioned realism, it nevertheless relies on natural causation to establish the plausibility of events as would befall on actual migrant. The romance takes place in actual locations that are realistically described to imbue the contemporary reality of Christian-Muslim conflict with a sense of existential urgency—similar to how "The Captive's Tale" was informed by Cervantes' own experience as a captive in Algiers following the battle of Lepanto. The point is that the claim to reality depends not solely on the verisimilitude of place and person (or the kind of referential historicity that would allow the romance-action to be located in the real world) but on

³²⁰ See Donald Beecher, "Nostalgia and Renaissance Romance," *Philosophy and Literature* 34.2 (2010): 281-301.

the existential situation of fictional migrants, whose life-story constitutes the organizing device through which the world of Cervantes' romance is plotted into a meaning and coherent whole, even as it prompts the employment of disparate literary modes (e.g., chivalric romance, novelistic realism, ideal Greek romance, and picaresque tale) that contribute to the novel's overall estrangement effect. What results is a narrative that feels at once contemporaneous and timeless, verisimilar and marvelous, familiar and exotic, plausible and incredible. The *morisco*'s contested ontological status, which embodies the contradiction of Spanish imperium, necessitates this doubleness, a blending of different realms of reality that become entangled and resonate on both levels at once.

5. Shakespeare's *Pericles* and the Making of a Migrant-Prince

In Cervantes's *morisco* romance, migration and empire constitute conflicting principles of reality: the former based on the necessity of survival and the latter founded on the sovereign will to power over territory and subjects. These two competing imperatives would converge in Shakespeare's *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, a stage adaption of a Greek romance titled *Apollonius of Tyre* featuring a prince who is reduced to the condition of migrancy.

Despite its deliberate antiquarianism, *Pericles* evokes a Mediterranean world that would have been readily recognizable to the early modern audience as one characterized by an ongoing conflict between competing imperial powers: a state of rivalry epitomized by the hazardous courtship of the daughter of Antiochus and, subsequently, by the courtship of Thaisa, the daughter of King Simonides of Pentapolis. After a brief prelude, Gower quickly sets the scene: "This Antioch, then, Antiochus the great / Built up this city for his chiefest seat, / The fairest in

all Syria" (1.0.17-1).³²¹ The imperial hegemony of Antioch, we are told, is being sustained by the self-consuming, incestuous desire of Antiochus that prevents dynastic alliance and genealogical succession. Antiochus's riddle, while pretending to offer an opportunity for advancement and exogamy, is designed to kill off princely suitors while locking them in a state of competition that reinforces the dominion of Antiochus over the Mediterranean city-states:

The beauty of this sinful dame
Made many princes thither frame
To seek her as a bedfellow,
In marriage pleasures playfellow.
Which to prevent, [Antiochus] made a law
To keep her still, and men in awe,
That whoso asked her for his wife,
His riddle told not, lost his life. (1.0.31-38)

We first encounter Pericles as just such a suitor seeking Antiochus's daughter as "a bedfellow, / In marriage pleasures playfellow." In this, he is as yet little different from the other princes who have lost their lives; nor is he distinguished from Antiochus with whom he shares the same object of desire. Pericles ("That would be son to great Antiochus"; 1.1.26) cannot but be complicit in the zero-sum game of imperial politics in which ambitious princes are made to compete for supremacy in the name of honor: a state of homosocial-imperial rivalry scathingly anatomized in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (1601-02). In its critique of imperial politics, *Pericles* too participates in the demystification of the martial-chivalric ethos. But such a critique is never explicitly voiced by Pericles himself, who remains (like Don Quixote) insufficiently critical of his own participation in the ideology of chivalry and empire, that is, unless an ironic attitude is conveyed during performance through inflection or gesture. But Pericles is no Hamlet; and it is more likely that such an estranged perspective belongs to the discerning audience who,

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³²¹ All citations of *Pericles* refer to *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt et al. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2016).

while invested in the fate of Pericles, is nevertheless capable of observing the. prince's action from a position of irony.

Such a dialectical mode of perception—at once empathetic and critical—is the subject of Francis Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1607), a dramatic adaptation of *Don* Quixote produced around the same year as Pericles. 322 In Beaumont's play, a city comedy titled The London Merchant is hijacked by two citizens who try to promote the Grocers' standing among the city guilds by having their apprentice Rafe play a "grocer-knight." What results is an incongruous mixture of city comedy and chivalric romance, interspersed with metacommentaries and stage directions from the over-eager citizens, who at one point instruct Rafe to kill a lion with a pestle ("Let him kill a lion with a pestle, husband; let him kill a lion with a pestle"; Induction, 43-4).³²³ The effect of the juxtaposition is to estrange to simultaneously estrange the chivalric ideals of the nobility and the emerging ethos of the commercial middleclass: the audience is made to perceive the two dominant ideologies of their time in tension with each other in a way that exposes the ludicrousness of both. In the process, the play illustrates (even as it satirizes) a dialectical mode of spectatorship that results from the audience's refusal to stay detached from the fictive world of the play, and their desire to make the play speak to their own lives and preoccupations.³²⁴ (Meta)theatricality, in this sense, is less about alienating the audience from stage conventions (as is sometimes understood by polemical interpretations of Brecht's V-effect). Rather, the phenomenon is more accurately described as a blending of incommensurable planes of perception that become entangled and resonate on both levels at

³²² Valerie Wayne, "Don Quixote and Shakespeare's Collaborative Turn to Romance," in *The Quest for Cardenio: Shakespeare, Fletcher, Cervantes, and the Lost Play* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 217-38.

³²³ Francis Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, ed. Michael Hattaway (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013).

³²⁴ See Nathaniel C. Leonard, "All 'Metatheatre' is Not Created Equal: *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and the Navigation of the Spectrum of Dramatic Representation," *Shakespeare Bulletin* 36.1 (2018): 49-67.

once: a kind of double vision where the audience simultaneously sees and unsees the stage illusion at play, all the while participating in the production of the theatrical phenomenon.³²⁵

A similar interplay of perception informs the audience's relationship with the figure of Pericles. On the one hand, Pericles is a prince, an exalted member of the landed class with their own code of honor and conduct (a group broadly referred to in this period as "Gentlemen"). At the same time, he is an Everyman with whom the ordinary members of the London audience are enjoined to identify. This provisional identification is made possible as Pericles becomes a fugitive (i.e., a refugee) in a world dominated by tyrants like Antiochus. Pericles is a sovereign individual—a prince—who is subjected to a mightier sovereign regime ("The great Antiochus, / 'Gainst whom I am too little to contend; 1.2.16-17). As a lesser prince, Pericles thus finds himself in a position of subjection: the condition of being a subject (*subjectus*) or an "individual submitted to the *ditio*, to the sovereign authority of a prince." Insofar as the London audience identified as a subject in this sense, they are enjoined to recognize in Pericles's precarious situation their own socio-political condition as individuals living under a monarchical-imperial regimes.

This would have been especially true of the French or Dutch strangers living in London at the time, who fled *en masse* from Spanish/Hapsburg-dominated Europe during the religious and political turmoil that followed the Reformation. For such refugees existing at the limit of subjecthood, the flight of Pericles would have mirrored the condition of their current diaspora, of having to seek the support of a patron (typically another prince) who would ensure their survival in a strange land, all the while relying on the good will of the natives, many of whom considered

³²⁵ On "bisociation" in Shakespearean theater, see Stephen Purcell, "Are All Shakespeare's Plays Metatheatrical?" *Shakespeare Bulletin* 36.1 (2018): 5.

³²⁶ Balibar, "Citizen-Subject," Who Comes After the Subject, 36.

strangers a threat to their way of life (the very subject of *Sir Thomas More*, which Shakespeare had a hand in revising). By virtue of their estrangement from subjecthood, the refugees were in an exceptional position to recognize the contradictions of *subjectivation* in the course of early modern imperial-formation. Such an estranged perspective, however, would have resonated more broadly with the inhabitants of London, the majority of were originally from elsewhere, having migrated to the metropolis at some point in their lives as part of the larger demographic movements that accompanied commercial and imperial expansion at home and abroad. As discussed in Chapter 2, Londoners saw themselves as members of a semi-autonomous polity whose freedom, while formally granted by the Crown, nevertheless afforded them provisional rights to self-government. The travels and travails of Pericles, as a victim of monarchical tyranny, might have resonated with the London audience's burgeoning consciousness of their own sovereignty, prompting them to perceive their own condition of subjecthood as one of unjust subjection.

As a vehicle of political consciousness, the figure of Pericles comes to embody the central paradox of political modernity: how modern subjecthood came to be established by creating a provisional circles of sovereignty and equality (citizens, people, nation) while excluding others from this very sphere of enfranchisement (migrants, refugees, women, slaves).³²⁷ The effect is to deconstruct the political-juridical fiction of sovereignty as the ideological foundation upon which the project of early modern imperium was legitimized.³²⁸ In *Pericles*, it is shown that the authority of kings derives less from divine rights or their ability to govern than from the logic of military might that informs Realpolitik ("Kings are earth's gods; in

³²⁷ On citizenship and sovereignty, see Lupton, *Citizen-Saints* (2005).

³²⁸ On early modern imperium, see Fuchs, "Another Turn for Transnationalism: Empire, Nation, and Imperium in Early Modern Studies," *PMLA* 130.2 (2015): 412-418.

vice, their laws their will, / And, if Jove stray, who dares say Jove doth ill?; 1.1.104-105). It is hard to imagine a more effective way of laying bare the mysticism of kingship. In *Pericles*, kingly power is shown to be incestuous, barbaric, and suspicious, and thus diametrically opposed to the notion of a republic or a commonwealth founded on communication and consensus ("Who has a book of all that monarchs do, / He's more secure to keep it shut than shown"; 1.1.95-96). This is so despite the fact that Pericles himself is represented as a benevolent prince who shuns flatterers and cares for his subject (1.2.29-33; 1.2.59-63). Even a moral prince is still a prince in the Machiavellian sense. As Pericles reminds Helicanus, "Thou knowest I have power / To take thy life from thee" (1.2.57-58). Nor is good government of much use against the reality of war. We are told that Antiochus has a vastly superior military force that is sure to render any attempt at resistance futile:

With hostile forces he'll o'erspread the land, And with ostent of war will look so huge Amazement shall drive courage from the state, Our men be vanquished ere they do resist, And subjects punished that ne'er thought offense (1.2.24-28)

The only solution left for Pericles is to flee Tyre and bide his time elsewhere. Helicanus counsels Pericles to "go travel for a while / Till that [Antiochus's] rage and anger be forgot, or till / The destines do cut his thread of life" (1.2.106-8). This act of survival serves more than one existential need. We are told that Pericles chose Tarsus as his refuge because he has heard of their dire situation and reasoned that by offering them provisions, he might forge an alliance with the Tarsians, a bond necessary for his own survival as much as theirs:

We have heard your miseries as far as Tyre And seen the desolation of your streets, Nor come we to add to your hearts But to relieve them of their heavy load. And these our ships, you happily may think Are like the Trojan horse was stuffed within

With bloody veins expecting overthrow, Are stored with corn to make your needy bread, And give them life whom hunger starved half dead. (1.4.87-95)

There is reason to believe that the play emphasizes the princely magnanimity of Pericles in his dealings with the Tarsians, thus offering a model of benevolent kingship that contrasts with the predatory kingship of Antiochus. As Mullaney has shown, *Pericles* deliberately suppresses the mercantile dimension of Pericles's travels found in Lawrence Twine's The Patterne of Painful Adventures by framing the interaction as an act of gift-giving rather than a form of commercial exchange.³²⁹ But whatever we make of Pericles's gesture, the fact remains that its primarily function is to meet the material and existential needs of the two parties, whose lives have been put in jeopardy by powers beyond their control (the self-consuming jealousy of an imperial overlord, on the one hand, and a prolonged famine that has led to literal cannibalism, on the other) and therefore cannot survive without the help of the other. The migration of Pericles proves capable of creating an alternative form of sociality, one that is ostensibly more horizontalreciprocal than the vertical-authoritative model of dynastic alliance previously sought after by Pericles in his courtship of Antiochus's daughter. In this respect, Pericles's migration to Tarsus serves more than a symbolic function; it constitutes a principle of action capable of bringing forth a new reality that responds to—and resolves—the contradictions found in the dominant geopolitical paradigm centered in Antioch.

In short, *Pericles* dramatizes migration as an agent of social change. The migration of Pericles makes possible a solution to the otherwise intractable problems facing Tyre and Tarsus by re-situating (or re-establishing the relationship between) the two politics within the broader political ecology of the Mediterranean world. Migration constitutes a form of action that is

³²⁹ Mullaney, The Place of the Stage, 137-143.

fundamentally transnational or global in nature: it brings forth a geopolitical reality that exceeds the political-juridical boundaries of sovereign-monarchical states. In *Pericles*, the extrajurisdictional dimension of migration is utilized as a dramatic device that effectively unsettles (and renews) the state of existing social relations in the Mediterranean. The arrival of Pericles saves Tarsus from ruins, for which he gains the popular support of the Tarsians, who build a monument in his image (2.0.12-13). Later, when the truth about Dionyza's attempted assassination of Marina is made public, the very same people revolt against their elected rulers in what is arguably a legitimate expression (rare in Shakespeare's plays) of popular sovereignty ("For wicked Cleon and his wife, when fame / Had spread his cursed deed to the honored name / Of Pericles, to rage the city turn, / That him and his they in his palace burn"; Epilogue 11-14). The downfall of Cleon and Dionyza retroactively enacts the overthrow of tyrannical government through popular political participation—a form of poetic justice analogous to the one earlier meted out to Antiochus and his daughter by supernatural powers ("a fire from heaven came / And shriveled up their bodies even to loathing"; 2.4.9-10).

If the emancipatory potential of *Pericles* hinges on its capacity to offer an alternative to the established social relations that sustain the hegemony of kingly powers, the figure of the migrant-prince emerges as an ambiguous bearer of an alternative modernity—one that offers a useful corrective to the New Historicist emphasis on courtly-humanist self-fashioning. As discussed in Chapter 1, the key figure that exemplifies this theatrical mode of being has been Sir Thomas More, a humanist-courtier whose ambiguous relation to the emerging reality of monarchical powers makes him experience his identity as "supremely *constructed*." But while the humanist More chooses to participate in courtly-imperial politics, to serve the commonwealth

³³⁰ Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning, 57.

by counseling princes, Pericles finds himself mortally at odds with the regime of princely powers of which he is a part (in this, he is closer to the situation of More during his later years leading up to his execution). As a refugee and a migrant, Pericles constitutes a cosmopolitical agent that emerges at the limit of subjecthood, even as a prince he embodies the very regime of kingly powers whose contradiction necessitates his diaspora.

At once prince and migrant, Pericles is a figure as incongruous and contradictory as a grocer-knight. But if Rafe straddles the incommensurable realms of chivalric romance and city comedy in a way that simultaneously estranges the ideologies of the landed and mercantile elites, the figure of the migrant-prince deconstructs a more fundamental division in Elizabethan-Jacobean society: that between the landed and the landless. Like Lear, Pericles is stripped of his worldly belongings (kingdom, servants, wife, and daughter) and is transformed into a kind of "nothing." Naked and wet, Pericles encounters a group of fishermen on the shore of what would later be revealed to be Pentapolis. In a speech generally agreed to be in reference to the enclosure riot of 1607, the First Fishermen delivers a cogent analysis of the emerging reality of accumulation, in which the masses ("poor frye") are being dispossessed ("devoured") by a rich minority ("whales") whose inhuman rapacity devastates "whole parish, church, steeple, bells, and all" (2.1.28-34). To this, Pericles responds with an aside, "A pretty moral" (3.1.35), an ambiguous, noncommittal remark that does little to reveal his own attitude, even as it indirectly acknowledges the truth of what the Fisherman says. The effect is to endorse the perspective of the fishermen without spelling out the obvious connection, and hence, the potential for solidarity, between the migrant-prince and the laboring class: they are both victims of a social system in which "the great ones eat up the little ones" (3.3.28-9).

The paradox of *Pericles* is that this radical critique, even as it defines the ethical stakes of the play as a whole, never breaks through the consciousness of the migrant-hero. There is no moment of tragic recognition where Pericles articulates a critique of Jacobean society as a whole: at least none comparable to that of Lear, whose encounter with Poor Tom prompts a speech that effectively deconstructs the hierarchical division of the traditional class-system into a dialectical opposition between the propertied and the dispossessed, the clothed and the naked, the legitimate and the illegitimate, the sophisticated and the thing itself ("Is man no more than this? . . . Thou art the thing itself. Unaccommodated man is no more but such a poor, bare, forked animal as thou art"; 3.4.93-99). Having lost his ship and crew to a storm, Pericles addresses the elements in a similar fashion, but, unlike Lear, he attributes the cause of his suffering exclusively to inhuman forces that govern human lives ("Wind, rain, and thunder, remember earthly man / Is but a substance that must yield to you, / And I, as fits my nature, do obey you"; 2.1.4). Curiously unmentioned is the fact that the reason Pericles set out to sea in the first place was to avoid the existential threat posed by the imperial overlord, Antiochus, and that his current predicament is born out of a particular historical configuration in which he himself participates as a sociopolitical agent. The closest he comes to a utopian-egalitarian critique is during the encounter with the fishermen of Pentapolis, but here too, as we have seen, Pericles's own attitude is left conspicuously ambiguous.

But while Pericles never explicitly attributes a social cause to his own state of deprivation, neither does he exclude this interpretive possibility. In this, the strange passivity of Pericles may actually make him an ideal vehicle for a dialectical theater—one that enjoins the audience to actively bring forth new meanings, associations, and collectivities of their own making. The relative silence of Pericles makes room for the vibrant exchange of the fishermen,

which provides the critical perspective necessary to imagine an alternative to the existing social relations dominated by a privileged minority who "eat honey like a drone / From other's labors" (2.0.18-19).

That said, it should be noted that the radical potential inherent in Pericles's naked encounter with the piscatorial laborers is seemingly subsumed under the pattern of chivalric romance. Having saved Pericles from starvation, the fishermen return his father's rusted armor to him, which allows Pericles to enter a tournament held at the court of Simonides and thus continue his original quest to seek out a marriage alliance with a powerful monarch. The courtship of Thaisa in Pentapolis reenacts—in similarly stylized-ritualized form—the state of homosocial-imperial rivalry that informed the hazardous courtship of the daughter of Antiochus. Other than that Simonides is a better king than Antiochus, however, the two courtships do not bring about a fundamental transformation in the condition of alienation that initially prompted Pericles's migration. Insofar as it occurs within the generic-ideological framework of chivalric romance, Pericles's successful courting of Thaisa offers only a superficial resolution to the real contradiction to which the play responds. The shift to the chivalric mode functions to affirm the innate nobility of Pericles at the expense of a more poignant recognition of solidarity with the laboring classes. Far from being an actual migrant subjected to the same socio-political conditions as the fishermen, Pericles, despite his meagre appearance, is revealed to be the very embodiment of chivalric ideals—a knight—and thus, properly a member of the landed class.

But such a romance resolution is able to function as a strategy of ideological containment only inasmuch as the audience is made to privilege plot over scene. The non-Aristotelian dramaturgy of *Pericles* invites a dialectical mode of spectatorship which relies on the audience's capacity to actively construe the relations between disparate materials within the play. By virtue

of its loosely-knit structure, *Pericles* enjoins each scene to be viewed independently as standalone scenes that maintain only a tentative relationship to the play as a whole.

Pericles's exchange with the fishermen in Act 2 Scene 1 has such a one-off feeling. The exuberant vitality of the fishermen makes for a stage presence whose significance exceeds their contribution to the main plot. Speaking in prose, the fishermen set a tone that is predominantly colloquial and down-to-earth (drawing attention to the material concerns of everyday life) which contrasts with Pericles's opening speech (2.1.1-11) which employs an exalted register appropriate to the speaker's high-born status. The unlikely encounter between a prince and a group of fishermen, precisely because it is so fantastic, could very well have seemed contrived and merely conventional. But this is not how the scene feels during performance, not least because the juxtaposition of disparate rhetorical-generic materials prevents the scene from cohering into a seamless illusion. The discovery of Pericles armor—the very stuff of romance—is brought about when the Second Fisherman catches something big in his net, which provides a further occasion for social critique ("Here's a fish hangs in the net like a poor man's right in the law: 'twill hardly come out"; 2.1.114-5). The attitude of the Fisherman embodies a class perspective (of one who works for a living) which sharply contrasts with that of Pericles who sees in the armor an emblem of his own noble lineage ("It was mine own, part of my heritage, / Which my dead father did bequeath to me"; 2.1.121). We are later told that Pericles's father, like Antiochus and Simonides, was an imperial overlord who held supremacy over lesser princes ("Had princes sit like stars about his throne, / And he the sun for them to reverence. / None that beheld him but, like lesser lights / Did vail their crowns to his supremacy"; 2.3.38-41).

Pericles's armor becomes a site of ideological contradiction that is, at the same time, a generic contradiction. The juxtaposition of conflicting attitudes towards the armor allows the

audience to perceive the workings of two opposing worldviews in dialectical tension with each other—in a way that shows them to be not only different but radically incompatible. On the one hand is the ethos of the working class whose sense of reality is founded on the necessity of labor. On the other is the ideology of the landed aristocracy whose pursuit of glory occludes the material conditions upon which the accumulation of value, status, and power is made possible in the first place (the reality of those who "eat honey like a drone / From other's labors"). A few decades later, such a radical critique of English society will find a coherent articulation in the published writings of Gerrard Winstanley, who would reject all forms of kingly power in favor of an egalitarian communism founded on the collective cultivation of the commons. *Pericles* in no way articulates such a systematic vision of utopian critique. Rather, it is up to the audience to make the necessary (if latent) connection between the disparate elements afforded by the play. It is this dialectical mode of spectatorship that Brecht will later identify as the fundamental principle of epic theater:

With Shakespeare the spectator does the constructing. . . . In the lack of connection between his acts we see the lack of connection in a human destiny, when it is recounted by someone with no interest in tidying it up so as to provide an idea (which can only be a prejudice) with an argument not taken from life.³³¹

Insofar as *Pericles* accords with Brecht's admittedly polemical characterization of Shakespearean dramaturgy, the meaning of Shakespeare's romance is not exhausted by its plot or characterization but may be said to be realized finally through the participation of the audience that would actively piece together the play's episodic elements. The crucial distinction is between the representational content of the play and the kind of attitude (or *gestus*) that the play affords in the audience. What matters is the extent to which *Pericles* enjoins the audience to adopt an

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³³¹ Quoted in Margot Heinemann, "How Brecht read Shakespeare," 206. The excerpt is from an introductory talk given before Brecht's radio interview in October 1927.

outlook of wonder and curiosity (what Brecht calls the "innocence of the naive") that sustains a certain openness to the world, thus making possible the continual (re)discovery of one's own condition of being in the world.

Act 2 Scene 1 culminates in a poignant moment of reciprocity in which Pericles acknowledges his debt to the fishermen ("And if that ever my low fortune's better, / I'll pay your bounties; till then, rest your debtor"; 2.2.140-41). This promise of repayment is never realized in the play, since the fishermen have no further occasion to appear on stage. But this need not mean that they disappear from the consciousness of the playgoers, who might very well continue to recognize the radical bond between the laborers and the migrant-prince, even after the play has ended.

Chapter 4 Migration and the Renewal of Pastoral

1. The Desire Called Pastoral

This chapter attempts to trace what may be called an ecology of the dispossessed by examining how the history of Renaissance pastorals intersected with the history of migration in the early modern world. While often traced back to the technological modernity of the eighteenth century, the ecological crises of the Anthropocene (e.g., climate change, deforestation, air pollution, reduction of biodiversity, global spread of pathogens) had their beginnings in the early eras of European expansion. The impact of human activity on the global environment cannot be understood without taking into account the intercontinental networks that sustained (and were sustained by) large-scale demographic movements which brought together previously separated ecosystems for the first time since the end of the Ice Age (sporadic crossings of Vikings notwithstanding) and drastically and irrevocably altered the composition of the biosphere on a planetary scale. In his seminal work on ecological imperialism, Alfred W. Crosby has shown how the European conquest of the Americas was largely possible because of the introduction of plants, animals, and pathogens from the Old World to the New (i.e., the "Columbian Exchange"), which led to the mass displacement and annihilation of the latter's native inhabitants, including the death of approximately nine-tenth of the Amerindian population.³³² While the full

³³² Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1972). See also, Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Richard H. Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial*

significance of these historical-ecological developments is still being uncovered, it is generally agreed that the dominant, long-term tendency was toward the homogenization of the ecological landscape: a process undergirded by the capitalist-imperialist production of exploitative spatial regimes that would transform the world into so many "cities" and "countries."³³³ Insofar as migration was a byproduct of this emerging logic of uneven development, it would constitute a principal agent of socio-ecological transformation and a reliable marker of environmental degradation in the early modern world.³³⁴

A paradigmatic formulation of this process can be found in Raymond William's *The Country and the City* (1973), which, together with Leo Marx's *The Machine in the Garden* (1964), are regarded as foundational works of environmental criticism in the Anglo-American tradition. Both Williams and Marx were concerned with the evolution of pastoral as an essential ideology informing British and American cultural history, but it is important to emphasize that their scope of analysis was transatlantic or global in its reach. Marx traces the beginning of the American pastoral back to the early colonial writings that fostered the European dream of the New World. The global scope of Williams's analysis is most fully realized in the last two chapters of his book ("The New Metropolis" and "Cities and Countries") where he extends the rural-urban dynamic that informed the transition of England's domestic economy into agrarian

Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600–1860 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Charles C. Mann, 1493: Uncovering the World Columbus Created (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011). See also, Mann, 1491: New Revelations of the America before Columbus (New York: Knopf, 2005).
333 Recent works in environmental history that attempt to incorporate ecology into traditional historiographical narratives of (early)modernity have largely adopted a global framework. See Dagomar Degroot, The Frigid Golden Age: Climate Change, the Little Ice Age, and the Dutch Republic, 1560–1720 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Sam White, A Cold Welcome: The Little Ice Age and Europe's Encounter with North America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017); Geoffrey Parker, War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); John F. Richards, The Unending Frontiers: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

334 On the historical-geographical concept of uneven development, see Smith, Uneven Development (1984); on its relation to geographical mobility, see Harvey, Spaces of Hope (2000).

capitalism to the center-periphery dynamic that would characterize the unequal relation between the British empire and its overseas colonies.³³⁵ The crucial insight of Williams is that capitalistimperialist development is a profoundly geographical affair that affects the relationship between place and person on both local and global levels, such that a localized phenomena (such as the early enclosure movement and urbanization in England) can be meaningfully interpreted as instances that reveal the organizing logic of the world as a whole. But this consciousness of the relations between the local and the global, while implicit in William's analysis of Renaissance pastorals, does not lead to an investigation into the cosmopolitical possibilities afforded by the literary form. This is in part because pastoral is understood primarily as a function of ruling class ideology (one that seeks to repress social reality by presenting an idealized image of rural life) rather than as a locus of popular participation in its own right, even though pastoral enjoyed remarkable popularity in both print and theatrical publications in this period.³³⁶ So while Williams locates the meaning of pastoral in the historical displacement of the masses (quite literally in that the people are placed out of pastoral scene), the consciousness of this historical condition is not granted to the laboring populace, whose alienated subjectivity goes unrepresented in Renaissance pastorals insofar as the latter represents the world-view of the landed class.

³³⁵ "The 'metropolitan' states, through a system of trade, but also through a complex and economic and political controls, draw food and, more critically, raw materials from these areas of supply, this effective hinterland, that is also the greater part of the earth's surface and that contains the great majority of its peoples. Thus a model of city and country, in economic and political relationships, and gone beyond the boundaries of the nation-state, and is seen but also challenged as a model of the world" (Williams, *The Country and the City*, 279). See Introduction of this dissertation, 36-44.

³³⁶ A host of bucolic poetry, romance, and drama—published in both Latin and the vernaculars, and eagerly consumed by elite and popular audiences alike—that came to pervade the European literary landscape. This was especially true of the mass publication of pastoral romances (or "tragicomedies"), such as, Robert Greene's prose fiction *Pandosto* (1588) or the anonymous play *Mucedorus* (1590), which enjoyed enduring popularity throughout the seventeenth century, before and after the Restoration. What emerged was a multiplicity of literary and theatrical publics made up of individuals actively participating in the collective cultural work that is the *pastoral process*.

A notable effort to redress this lacuna can be found in Patricia Fumerton's study of working class mobility, which argues that the foundation of the global economy in early modern England was accompanied by the creation of a "culture of mobility" that resulted in a certain "unsettled subjectivity" characterized by a sense of estrangement and loss of place. 337 Fumerton offers a complementary perspective to the New Historicist emphasis on courtly self-fashioning as typified in the early works of Stephen Greenblatt and Louis Montrose, by shifting the critical attention from the center of power to the margins of society inhabited by migrants, who were subjected to the enforcement of disciplinary apparatuses that sought to control vagrants and other mobile subjects. Confining her discussion to the English working poor, however, Fumerton does not expand on (even as she gestures towards) the full implication of the Marxist position implicit in Williams that perceives the alienated condition of the laboring class as the universal historical determinant undergirding the global expansion of capitalism. To the extent that this insight is taken seriously, it becomes necessary to approach the situation of early modern migrants from a class perspective that transcends the identitarian-nationalist division between the colonists and the colonized (provided that "class" is understood in the dialectical sense to mean one's relative position vis-a-vis the dominant structure of power). Thus, the Irish and American natives colonized by English settlers would have a potential basis for solidarity insofar as it is recognized that the former are victims of the same historical process that mobilized their colonizing/colonized counterpart by first turning the latter into an *internal émigré* within their own homeland. Migration as a form of displacement constitutes a shared condition of existence (and hence, a basis for a common struggle) for subalterns in the periphery as well as those in the center.

³³⁷ Patricia Fumerton, Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006).

To what extent, and in what way, did Renaissance pastoral afford such a criticalcollective consciousness? Critical studies have approached pastoral less as a genre than a mode that performs a certain kind of cultural work: a form of symbolic action that responds to the situation from which it arises—whether it be the gendered politics of the Elizabethan court or the political ecology of country houses—in a way that may or may not sublimate (or mystify) the material conditions of social struggle. Within this framework, recent scholarship has sought to view the pastoral landscape not just as a setting for human action but as a point of interest in its own right, a notable example being Ken Hiltner who has argued that Renaissance pastorals can be read as a form of nature writing as well as political allegory.³³⁸ In this, Hiltner challenges the conventional assessment that Renaissance pastorals had little to do with actual environments, an interpretation based on the perception that such pastorals lack the kind of naturalistic descriptions that figure prominently in certain kinds of environmental literature of later centuries. Against this mimetic bias, Hiltner proposes a "gestural" theory of art, where the text is understood to bring forth an awareness of the environment by pointing towards all that is *not* represented ("what is far more important is what is revealed silhouetted outside of the text"). 339 In his emphasis on the non-representational, Hiltner takes seriously the fundamentally ironic quality of pastoral as an aesthetic strategy without treating the absence of representation solely as a function of mystification.

Rather than attribute ontological primacy to either human praxis or natural environment, this chapter approaches Renaissance pastorals as a form of socio-ecological thinking: a literary

³³⁸ Ken Hiltner, What Else is Pastoral? Renaissance Literature and the Environment (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2011).

³³⁹ Hiltner, What Else is Pastoral?, 59.

or aesthetic attempt to grapple with the relationship between being(s) and environment.³⁴⁰ My premise is that the alienation of labor went hand in hand with the alienation of nature in the course of the historical-geographical transformations that characterized capitalist modernity. Recent scholarship in the field of social ecology has highlighted the dialectical relationship between society and nature, a notable example being John Bellamy Foster who has traced the ecological dimension of the country-city dynamic back to Karl Marx's concept of the "metabolic rift," which describes how the soil nutrients in the rural hinterland are unevenly extracted to sustain the growth of urban centers.³⁴¹ The demographic movement to and from early modern London, in this sense, may be seen as a function of a lager process of resource extraction and uneven development that intersected with the emergence of a conceptual paradigm (and its concomitant "structures of feeling") founded on the dichotomy between country and city, barbarism and civilization, nature and society.³⁴² It is this ideological nexus that informs the emergence of a certain instrumental view of nature in the seventeenth century, the intellectual

³⁴⁰ In this, I participate in the ongoing debate about the possibilities and limitations of pastoral as a mode of ecological thinking. For a summary of this debate, see Terry Gifford, "The Environmental Humanities and the Pastoral Tradition," in *Ecocriticism, Ecology, and the Cultures of Antiquity*, ed. Christopher Schliephake (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017), 159-73. For an anti-pastoral position that suggests that environmental criticism move beyond the land-based model of pastoral to the oceanic model of romance, see Steve Mentz, "After Sustainability," *PMLA* 127.3 (2012): 586-592. Whether one assumes a pastoralist or an anti-pastoralist stance, all critical studies of pastoral must begin with the recognition that pastoral as a strategy (or process) is fundamentally ironic in the sense that it is foremost a figurative or allegorical mode that does not quite mean what it says or shows and is therefore in need of interpretation.

³⁴¹ See John Bellamy Foster, "Marx's Theory of Metabolic Rift: Classical Foundations for Environmental Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology* 105.2 (1999): 366-405. On the dialectics of nature, see Foster, *Marx's Ecology: Materialism and Nature* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000); Alfred Schmidt, *The Concept of Nature in Marx*, trans. Ben Fawkes (London: NLB, 1973). For a non-Marxist formulation of "new" materialism, see Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Jane Bennet, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010). On the complementarity between the two, see Noel Castree, "False Antitheses? Marxism, Nature and Actor-Networks." *Antipode* 34.1 (2002): 111-146.

³⁴² Marx states: "Capitalist production collects the population together in great centres . . . it disturbs the metabolic interaction between man and the earth, i.e., it prevents the return to the soil of its constituent elements consumed by man in the form of food and clothing; hence it hinders the operation of the eternal natural condition for the lasting fertility of the soil." Marx, *Capital*, Volume I (New York: Vintage, 1975), 637. Quoted in Foster, "Marx's Theory of Metabolic Rift," 379.

foundation of which has sometimes been attributed (if somewhat unfairly) to the works of Francis Bacon and René Descartes.³⁴³ In what follows, I examine how Renaissance pastorals' engagement with migration resulted in a socio-ecological consciousness that responded critically to this emerging regime of reality.³⁴⁴ To this end, it becomes necessary to ask: when and how does the environment enter literature as an object of interpretation?

2. The Place of Literature

All literary works may be said to depend in one way or another on the "the evocation of imagined worlds that may or may not bear a close resemblance to literal or historical environments." In order to define a canon of environmental literature, therefore, the literary historian has to grapple with the problem of representation in a way that entails a rethinking of the theory of mimesis based, as it is, on the admittedly naïve but enduring notion that art imitates nature. On the one hand, there is the danger of uncritically conflating the stylized representation of a fictive environment with an actual place. Conversely, one might erroneously conclude from the absence of naturalistic depiction that the text does not register environmentality as such. A nuanced solution to this problem is offered by Lawrence Buell who introduces the concept of the "environmental unconscious" to describe how literary texts simultaneously enable and occlude

³⁴³ On the instrumental view of nature and its critique, see Harvey, *Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference*, 120-204. On the alienation of and from nature in the Renaissance, see Robert N. Watson, *Back to Nature: The Green and the Real in the Late Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Mary Thomas Crane, *Losing Touch with Nature: Literature and the New Science in Sixteenth-Century England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).

³⁴⁴ Proto-environmental works of criticism emerged in England towards the seventeenth century, a notable example being John Evelyn's *Fumifugium* (1661) which responded to the problem of urban congestion in London, a city whose smoked-filled image will find its way into Milton's description of Hell in *Paradise Lost* (1667).

³⁴⁵ Lawrence Buell, The Entire of Emironmental Criticism: Emironmental Criticism: Emironmental Criticism: Emironmental Criticism: Emironmental Criticisms and Literary, Imagination

³⁴⁵ Lawrence Buell, *The Future of Environmental Criticism: Environmental Crisis and Literary Imagination* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 30.

the perception of the physical environment as an integral part of their meaning and effect.³⁴⁶ In doing so, Buell draws on Jameson's well-known theory of the "political unconscious" while emphasizing the ontological primacy of environmentality over ideology:

Genres and texts are themselves arguably "ecosystems," not only in the narrow sense of the text as a discursive "environment," but also in the broader sense that texts "help reproduce sociohistorical environments" in stylized form. . . . Insofar as the where of existence precedes the what of social practice, a text's environmental unconscious is more deeply embedded even than its "political unconscious." Regardless of how one comes down on this issue of priority, however, the "active relationship with the Real," as Jameson holds, is not a matter of simply allowing "reality' to persevere inertly in its own being," but also of the text drawing "the Real into its own texture," "as its own intrinsic or immanent subtext."

Buell's formulation points to a theory of mimesis based on a system-based model of cognition that recognizes how perception occurs through complex and dynamic interactions between subjects and their environment.³⁴⁸ The literary text functions as a kind of perceptual vehicle that has the potential to bring certain aspects of the environment to the foreground while relegating others to the background: "acts of writing and reading will likely involve simultaneous processes of environmental awakening—retrievals of physical environment from dormancy to salience—and of distortion, repression, forgetting, inattention."³⁴⁹ Such a model of cognition accords with the fundamental insight of phenomenology, a field of inquiry founded on the premise that all perceptual processes are not only situated and embodied, but also have a gestalt structure

³⁴⁶ Buell, *Writing for an Endangered World: Literature, Culture, and Environment in the U.S. and Beyond* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 18.

³⁴⁷ Buell, The Future of Environmental Criticism, 44.

³⁴⁸ On cognitive ecology, see Edwin Hutchins, "Cognitive Ecology," *Topics in Cognitive Science* 2 (2010): 705-15; Andy Clark, *Being There: Putting Brain, Body, and World Together Again* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988). On its application in performance studies, see Evelyn Tribble and John Sutton, "Cognitive Ecology as a Framework for Shakespearean Studies," *Shakespeare Studies* 39 (2011): 94-103. Especially useful is the idea of the environment as "affordance" that can either enable or restrict human capabilities. For this, see James J. Gibson, *Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979).

wherein a "figure" is perceived as a distinct entity only in relation to a "ground."³⁵⁰ From this perspective, the task of the environmental critic is less to verify how faithfully literature reproduces factual details about an actual environment (although this may be part of it) than it is to perform a critical analysis of the complexly layered processes through which literary works incorporate, into their own texture, the environment within which they are embedded.

An enduring instance of such literary encoding of environmentality can be found in the pastoral tradition. Unlike epic, which effectively went out of fashion after Milton's *Paradise Lost* (Derek Walcott's *Omeros* notwithstanding), pastoral has been remarkably adaptive to different historical situations throughout the Anglophone world with such influential practitioners as Sidney, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Thoreau, Whitman, Frost, and Heaney, to name a few.³⁵¹ If, as Franco Moretti suggests, epic is a form that aspires to represent the world in its totality, pastoral has traditionally fashioned itself as a kind of counterepic that represents the modest livings of herdsmen in their habitual setting as opposed to the exploits of warriors and their high-stakes drama of empire/nation-building.³⁵² Consequently, pastoral has been seen as the preeminent mode of literary "place-making," where a nostalgic sense of place is brought forth against the backdrop of world-historical forces that threaten the integrity of a purportedly natural or authentic way of life rooted in a landscape always already in

³⁵⁰ "Gestalt theory tells us that a figure against a background is the most basic sensible given we can have, this is not a contingent characteristic of factual perception that would, in an ideal analysis, leave us free to introduce the notion of impression. Rather, this is the very definition of the perceptual phenomenon, or that without which a phenomenon cannot be called perception. The perceptual 'something' is always in the middle of some other thing, it always belongs to a 'field.' A truly homogeneous area, offering *nothing to perceive*, cannot be given to *any perception*." Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Donald A. Landes (New York: Routledge, 2012), 4.

³⁵¹ For an alternative literary-historical account that emphasizes the continuity of epic and novel, see Franco Moretti, *Modern Epic: The World-System from Goethe to García Márques*, trans. Quintin Hoare (New York: Verso, 1996). On the enduring resonance of pastoral, see Seamus Heaney, "Eclogues 'In Extremis': On the Staying Power of the Pastoral," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* (2003): 1-12.

³⁵² Moretti states: "epic is the literary genre of totality." Moretti, "World-Systems Analysis, Evolutionary Theory, and *Weltliteratur*," in *Immanuel Wallerstein and the Problem of the World: System, Scale, Culture*, eds. David Palumbo-Liu, Bruce Robbins, and Nirvana Tanoukhi (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 67.

the process of receding. For Leo Marx, such place-based nostalgias can manifest in either naïvely idealizing or self-reflective forms, resulting in what he calls "simple" or "complex" pastorals.³⁵³ More often than not, however, the distinction between sincerity and irony is less than straightforward, especially since the one need not exclude the possibility of the other. From its very inception, pastoral has been a highly self-conscious enterprise with a built in awareness of its own status as a (meta-)poetic activity. This is evident in Virgil's *Eclogue I*, which, through the dialogue of Tityrus and Meliboeus, effectively dramatizes the mytho-historical origin of the tradition of pastoral poetry it would inaugurate:

Meliboeus: You, Tityrus, lie under the canopy of a spreading beech, wooing the

woodland Muse on slender reed, but we are leaving our country's bounds and sweet fields. We are outcasts from our country; you, Tityrus, at ease

beneath the shade, teach the woods to re-echo "fair Amaryllis."

Tityrus: O Meliboeus, it is a god who gave us this peace—for a god he shall ever

be to me; often shall a tender lamb from our folds stain his altar. Of his grace my kine roam, as you see, and I, their master, play what I will on my

rustic pipe. $(25)^{354}$

Virgil presents a scene where two herdsmen are speaking in (and about) a bucolic landscape from which one of them would soon be displaced while the other has been allowed to stay. The pathos of this imagined situation is informed by the contemporary reality of land confiscation to which the poem unmistakably responds: large tracts of farmland were reclaimed and distributed as rewards to soldiers following the battle of Philippi in 42 BCE; Virgil was himself allowed to retain his property only by the grace of Octavian to whom the poem pays an ambiguous tribute. In situating the rustic speakers in the aftermath of a civil war, Virgil draws attention to the material conditions needed for the production of poetic discourse: bucolic songs are produced in

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³⁵³ See Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

³⁵⁴ All citations of Virgil's Eclogues are from H. R. Fairclough's Loeb translation, *Virgil: Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*, rev. G. P. Goold (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

a provisional state of peace (*otium*) granted by a godlike patron who can just as easily take away one's freedoms (*libertas*) as give them. As a condition of its production, the Virgilian landscape becomes an object of aesthetic and critical reflection. The readers are certainly not meant to accept the bucolic landscape as a literal depiction of the Italian countryside; but neither are they meant to view it as a purely idealized construction divorced from lived experience.³⁵⁵ Instead, they are enjoined to adopt a dual perspective that recognizes the bucolic world and its inhabitants as simultaneously real and imagined, or as an imaginary representation of a real situation.

For Paul Alpers, pastoral is best understood as a "representative anecdote" depicting the lives of herdsmen, which may nevertheless function as a *figure* for a range of socio-political situations. The advantage of Alpers' formulation is that it allows for a wide range of works to be included under the rubric of pastoral, by means of a minimal formal requirement (they must feature herdsmen) which at the same time keeps the term from being too expansive as to be meaningless. More importantly, it rescues pastoral from the charge that it is a merely idyllic or reactionary form that has little to do with social reality. This is in part due to Alpers' emphasis on the inherent dramatism of pastoral (as opposed to its purely lyrical aspect), which he discusses by drawing on Kenneth Burke's concept of the "act-scene ratio" describing "the synecdochic relation . . . between place and person." As part of a larger study of motivation, Burke considers "scene" as a background or setting in which action takes place, the premise being that "the nature of acts and agents should be consistent with the nature of the scene," that there exists an implicit expectation that action and scene would correlate, an expectation that informs our

³⁵⁵ On the mixed use of mimetic and allegorical/symbolic modes in Virgil's evocation of the bucolic landscape, see Charles Martindale's seminal article, "Green politics: the *Eclogues*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. Charles Martindale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 107-124.

³⁵⁶ Paul Alpers, *What is Pastoral?* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996). The concept of "representative anecdote" comes from Kenneth Burke.

³⁵⁷ Burke, A Grammar of Motives (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 7.

interpretation of what people do and why they do it: how persons orient themselves in relation to their surroundings is a necessary part of how we (de)code motivation.³⁵⁸ Thus, the pastoral landscape may be said to contain the actions of shepherds, even as the landscape is brought into being as a setting for the shepherds' speech and action. To the extent that pastoral is about shepherds and their environment, it may be viewed as a paradigmatic example of how literature negotiates the relationship between person and place.

Environmental critics have sought to complicate Alpers' formulation by approaching the pastoral landscape not only as a setting for human action but also as a point of interest in its own right. Notably, Hiltner has emphasized how Virgil's *Eclogue I* dramatizes an awareness of the environment at the moment of the latter's withdrawal. In this, Hiltner joins a number of critics (including Alpers himself) who have commented on how the situation of the soon-to-be-exiled Meliboeus prompts a renewed perception of his native place, now tinged with an irrevocable sense of loss and longing:

Happy old man! So these lands will still be yours, and large enough for you, though bare stones cover all, and the marsh chokes your pastures with slimy rushes. Still, no strange herbage shall try your breeding ewes, no baneful infection from a neighbor's flock shall harm them. Happy old man! Here, amid familiar streams and sacred springs, you shall enjoy the cooling shade. (29)

Meliboeus is speaking not of an idyllic landscape shrouded in a haze of unreality but of lands covered with "bare stones" and where the marsh "chokes" the pastures with "slimy rushes." The place is desirable less because of its inherent merits than because it is a home (with "familiar streams and sacred springs") from which Meliboeus has become estranged. Here we have an instance of place-attachment (what Yu-Fu Tuan calls "topophilia") as an affectively charged

³⁵⁸ Burke, A Grammar of Motives, 3.

occasion for poetic utterance.³⁵⁹ Meliboeus goes on to contrast his lamentable situation with Tityrus's good fortune of being allowed to stay, the thought of his own imminent departure resulting in a mode of mournful complaint:

But we must go hence—some to the thirsty Africans, some to reach Scythia and the chalk-rolling Oaxes, and the Britons, wholly sundered from all the world. Ah, shall I ever, long years hence, look again on my country's bounds, on my humble cottage with its turf-clad roof—shall I, long years hence, look amazed on a few ears of corn, once my kingdom? Is a godless soldier to hold these well-tilled fallows? a barbarian these crops? (29-30)

Meliboeus responds with indignation and bafflement to the contradictions of empire-building, where the Italian citizens are made to give up their native lands to foreign soldiers. But his lament is not allowed to be the poem's definitive statement. It is followed by Tityrus's consoling words, which offer a temporary resolution to the poem's central contradiction by once again evoking the soon-to-be-absent pastoral world through a rhetorical maneuver that narrows the scope of attention to the material plentitude of the immediately present:

Yet this night you might have rested here with me on the green leafage. We have ripe apples, mealy chestnuts, and a wealth of pressed cheeses. Even now the housetops yonder are smoking and longer shadows fall from the mountain heights. (31)

The dilation of temporality (the smoke rising from distant rooftops; the lengthening shade of lofty hills) creates a space of provisional, localized respite. The world is contracted to a bounded space-time, which, suspended, expands indefinitely precisely because it is limited to the span of a single night. The localized perspective contrasts with Meliboeus's earlier catalogue of colonial outposts, which collectively evoked the full reach of the Roman empire ("the thirsty Africans . . . Scythia and the chalk-rolling Oaxes, and the Britons"). The poem's dramatic structure, embodied

³⁵⁹ Yu-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).

³⁶⁰ Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 1.

in the exchange between the two shepherds, enacts the conflict between these competing senses of place (bounded and expansive, proximate and distant, familiar and strange) to the effect that the significance of the one is contingent upon, and made salient by, the other. Tityrus's concluding lines succeed as *consolatio* to the extent that they make present—and hence, real—the absent pastoral world by drawing attention to the tangible materiality of domesticity, including such familiar things (e.g., green leaves, ripe apples, soft roasted chestnuts, pressed cheese) that give comfort because they are close enough to be apprehensible through the senses.³⁶¹

Because this "twilight closing" will become commonplace in Renaissance pastorals, it is important to assess the meaning of the resolution offered by the Virgilian device.³⁶² On the one hand, it is possible to read it as a form of mystification, whereby the poem suppresses (or contains) the subversive critique of empire voiced powerfully by Meliboeus. Such an approach would interpret the drama of the *Eclogues* as one of agonistic conflict between Tityrus and Meliboeus, where the former is implicitly or explicitly identified with Virgil, who is thought to be ideologically compromised in some ways by virtue of his indebtedness to Octavian.³⁶³ But such readings necessarily downplay the fact that Tityrus is himself presented as an ex-slave whose control over his means of production is conditional upon the allowance of a godly patron,

³⁶¹ For a classic statement of the view that Tityrus's final lines "discovered" the evening, see Erwin Panofsky, "*Et in Aracdia Ego*: Poussin and the Elegiac Tradition," *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 301.

³⁶² According to Lupton, this device is used in Virgil's Eclogue VI and X, and every eclogue in Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*, except "Julye" and "October." See Lupton, "Home-Making in Ireland: Virgil's Eclogue I and Book VI of *The Faerie Queene*," *Spenser Studies* 8 (1990): 119-145; 142, n.5.

³⁶³ The interpretive tradition that identifies Tityrus as Virgil was first established by the fourth-century grammarian, Servius, whose commentary on Virgil was influential enough to be often quoted in Renaissance translations of Virgil's works. On the reception of Virgilian pastoral, see Annabel Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology: Virgil and Valéry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). Patterson views Tityrus as the "authorial ego" of the poem whose main conflict derives from the disparate situations of the two shepherds (2-4). In a similar vein, Lupton remarks that "it is hard not to feel that Tityrus' happiness depends upon Meliboeus' privation" ("Home-Making in Ireland," 122).

the common authority behind the fortunes and misfortunes of both shepherds. There is no clear evidence in *Eclogue I* that suggests that Tityrus is indifferent to the plight of Meliboeus, whose fate may just as easily have been his own, or that Meliboeus is envious of Tityrus to the extent that he resents him for being allowed to say. It would be more plausible to view their exchange as one between neighbors who belong to a common way of life (that of herdsmen), and who are able to discuss the seemingly divergent situation in which they find themselves without losing sight of their mutual attachment to the shared environment that is their home. From this perspective, the evocation of place in the final lines of *Eclogue I* would constitute a form of resolution that is neither an ideological critique nor a mystification (whereby the real social contradictions are either exposed or repressed) but rather a positive expression of worker solidarity: an imaginative re-possession of a shared life-world, familiar yet newly discovered, which is once again made present through the power of sensuous language.³⁶⁴

What distinguishes Virgil's *Eclogues* from the *Aeneid* (another poem about displacement and home-coming) is that the local habitation of the shepherds is conceived primarily as an socio-ecological, rather than a national-political, unit. The shepherds' sense of belonging, and their allegiance to their homeland, are based on an awareness of the mutually dependent relationship between shepherds, flocks, rivers, vegetation and climates. This sense of attachment is potentially in conflict with the demands of political reality, which, while inseparable from the organization of the pastoral world, is nevertheless experienced as an external structure originating from (and arbitrarily imposed upon by) the imperial center, Rome. The pastoral convention (e.g., the singing contest, the exchange of gifts, and the rules of husbandry) arises out of the dynamic *convening* of agent and scene, person and place, a set of relations that may be

³⁶⁴ Relevant here is the idea of "compensatory sensuality" where "[p]eople try to combat alienation by immediacy, such as the sense alone provide." See Burke, *Attitudes Toward History* (Los Altos: Hermes Publications, 1959), 218.

best described as the ecology of a pastoral biome.³⁶⁵ The sense of belonging founded on an awareness of such ecological ties points to its own version of universality which, grounded in locality, is inherently at odds with the universality of empire to the extent that the former transcends the particularity of political allegiances (understood as mutable and arbitrary) in favor of what is imagined to be a more concrete and authentic relationship based on the collective experience of being part of a shared ecological system.

The essential relations dramatized in Virgil's *Ecloque I* (the environment, the poet, the godly patron, those who get to stay, and those who are forced to leave) will be played out again in Renaissance adaptations of pastoral, such as Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, Shakespeare's As You Like It, and Milton's Paradise Lost. Each work imagines the story of displacement differently according to the author's own relation to the historical process that produces migration, a notable example being Spenser who was himself actively involved in establishing an English settlement in Ireland as a colonial functionary of the Tudor state. As such, Spenser's Protestant epic offers a unique vantage point from which to examine how the pastoral mode was employed as an instrument in the project of nation-building in the early stages of the British empire. As I will argue, this project depended on the suppression of the underlying potential for worker solidarity between the English settlers and the Irish natives in a way that pitted them against each other within a paradigm of civility and barbarism, largely in the service of legitimizing the ideology of the propertied class who were themselves subjected to the civilizing process that increasingly fashioned them into courtier-bureaucrats (or that group broadly referred to as "Gentlemen"). 366 Integral to this strategy was the evocation of a pastoral environment

³⁶⁵ On the etymological link between convention and convening (from the Latin *convenio*), see Alpers, *What is Pastoral*? 84.

³⁶⁶ Spenser states in his letter to Walter Raleigh that "the general intention and meaning" of *The Faerie Queene* "is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline." On Spenser and the fashioning of early

whose emblematic meaning must be sought in the relationship between labor and land (as the original sources of value) whose exploitation and mystification constitute the necessary condition for the accumulation of wealth, power, and status that undergirded the process of empire-building.

3. To Fashion a Collective: Spenser and the Emblematics of Nature

The adventures of Sir Calidore in Book 6 (Canto 9-12), together with the tale of Artegall in Book 5 (Canto 12), contain the most explicit allusions to the contemporary reality of colonial Ireland in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*: a reality that constitutes an implicit subtext throughout the poem as a whole, much of it written during the author's tenure as an administrative agent for the resettlement project in Munster.³⁶⁷ As detailed in *A View of the present state of Ireland* (1598; pub. 1633), a crucial aspect of Spenser's involvement in the colonial project concerned the conversion of Irish corporate land tenure (called "tannistry") suited to a nomadic society into an English territorial model based on hereditary notions of land ownership; the term "view" itself referred to the emerging science of cartography and the practice of surveying land. In *A View*, Spenser conceives the project of land reform as a strategy aimed at displacing the Irish from their native land while accommodating the English settlers (numbering approximately 8,400 by the end of the 1580s), many of whom were drawn to the prospect of owning lands of their own

modern subject(s), see Linda Gregerson, *The Reformation of the Subject: Spenser, Milton, and the English Protestant Epic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

³⁶⁷ On the English colonization of Ireland, see Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland, 1583-1641* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie, eds., *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the Making of Irish Colonial Society, 1534-1641* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1986); Steven G. Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors, 1447-1603: English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule* (New York: Longman, 1998); Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

(especially, the younger sons of the gentry), while others were recruited as tenant farmers and laborers essential to peopling the Munster Plantation in the aftermath of famine and depopulation. The role of Spenser as a poet of the Tudor state (and a would-be gentleman landowner himself) was to provide a national-civilizational framework that sought to justify the situation in which one group of people was displacing another: a situation that lends itself to an allegorical framework structured around the ethical antinomy of good and evil, civility and barbarism, self and other.

Such is the interpretive framework adopted in Stephen Greenblatt's important essay ("To Fashion a Gentleman"), which approaches Spenser's epic in relation to the larger Renaissance project of self-fashioning, where the self is defined against an other whose difference must be continually established by means of rhetorical or actual violence. While subsequent scholarship has introduced greater degrees of nuance and complexity to this formulation (by deconstructing the unstable oppositional categories that inform Spenser's "poetics of difference"), they invariably work within this identitarian paradigm insofar as they take for granted that the crucial meaning of Ireland in Spenser's poem lies in the representation of Ireland (and the Irish) as it relates to the construction of English identity (and vice versa). What has been absent in these approaches is the notion of collectivity: the possibility that individuals can participate in a collective of their own making, independently of their relation to a centralized,

³⁶⁸ Greenblatt, "To Fashion a Gentleman: Spenser and the Destruction of the Bower of Bliss," *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 157-192.

³⁶⁹ For post-colonial critiques of Spenser's poems, see Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield, and Willy Maley, eds., *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Andrew Hadfield, *Spenser's Irish Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Willy Maley, *Salvaging Spenser: Colonialism, Culture, and Identity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997); Christopher Highley, *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Crisis in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Richard A. McCabe, *Spenser's Monstrous Regiment: Elizabethan Ireland and the Poetics of Difference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); John Patrick Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

authoritative institution of power that defines their identity as a subject. Instead, the meaning of Spenser's poem is sought in the ideological process that the author instantiates, rather than in the multiplicity of viewpoints that a literary pubic made up of anonymous readers may have allowed.³⁷⁰ Thus Greenblatt conclude that "Spenser's art does not lead us to perceive ideology critically, but rather affirms the existence and inescapable moral power of ideology as that principle of truth toward which art forever yearns."371 The assessment is partly based on the observation that Spenser's epic, unlike the dramas of Marlowe or Shakespeare, does not invite meta-critical reflection of its own ideological operation: "Spenser's profoundly undramatic art, in the same movement by which it wards off idolatry, wards off this radical questioning of everything that exists."372 But it is worth emphasizing that *The Faerie Queene* was published in print, and it was therefore accessible to a wide range of public whose members might not all have identified with the interests of the colonial elites, even with the tendency to universalize the latter's world-view under the garb of nationalism. We may be justified, then, in searching for alternative forms of associations afforded by Spenser's poem, which, despite its overtly ideological function (or even, because it), might allow the reader to discover the possibility of a collective consciousness that unsettles the frame-work of ideology.

It is in this context that we may consider Spenser's turn to pastoral in Book 6, which appears unexpectedly in a romance-epic that places much emphasis on the virtues of "endless worke" as the ethos proper to the project of empire-building. Indeed, the overall ethical vision of *The Faerie Queene* corresponds more closely with that of Virgil's *Georgics* (as opposed to his *Eclogues*) in its valorization of the figure of the husbandman and the idea of cultivation as

³⁷⁰ For a representative example, see Richard Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton, and the Literary System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

³⁷¹ Greenblatt, "To Fashion a Gentleman," 192.

³⁷² Greenblatt, "To Fashion a Gentleman," 192.

civilization:³⁷³ Spenser describes the work of poetry-making itself as a form of tillage; he traces the genealogy of the Redcrosse Knight back to England's patron St. George, described as a plowman who embodies the very spirit of the Georgics. The pastoral turn of Book 6 thus appears as a kind of throwback to the poet's youthful work (The Shepherds Calendars), a return to a form which, in the career trajectory outlined by the Virgilian triad, he is supposed to have outgrown. From a narrative perspective, the pastoral functions as a temporary respite from the relentless militaristic action of Sir Artegall in Book 5 which concludes with the conquest of Ireland in the hands of the Knight of Justice, widely acknowledged to be an allusion to Lord Grey who was ignominiously summoned back to England due to reports of his excessive use of violence. The tale of Sir Calidore in Book 6 continues where Sir Artegall has left off as the former is entrusted by Gloriana with the task of destroying the Blatant Beast, the figure of envy that has ruined Artegall's reputation. At the same time, the Knight of Courtesy is tasked with the larger project of embodying the ideal of civility which would resolve the violent contradictions inherent in the application of sovereign justice in Ireland as was earlier represented by the bloody actions of Artegall and the iron-handed Talus. It is to resolve the contradiction posed by the competing claims of civility and justice that Spenser is enjoined to turn to the pastoral mode.

In this, Calidore's pastoral retreat differs from Guyon's retreat to the Bower of Bliss in Book 2. While both entail the suspension of heroic action, it is only in the former that we are asked to seriously consider the environment as a potential habitat for sustainable coexistence, and thus something more than a mere object of desire to be selfishly enjoyed (selfish insofar as desire is perceived as a pursuit of chimerical excess). The crucial distinction that must be worked

³⁷³ On the limited potential of Spenser's Georgic as a form of ecological imagining, see Gregerson, "Spenser's Georgic: Violence and the Gift of Place," *Spenser Studies* 22.1 (2007): 185-201. See also, Anthony Low, *The Georgic Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 35-70; William A. Sessions, "Spenser's Georgic," *ELH* (1980): 202-208.

out for the poem's ethical vision to succeed has less to do with the absence or presence of pleasure per se, but rather with the principle of reciprocity that ought to undergird the moral economy of a given environment. Spenser illustrates this ethical distinction through Calidore's exchange with the shepherd Meliboe, who educates the knight of the pastoral ideal of living within the limits set by nature:

If happie, then it is in this intent,
That having small, yet doe I not complaine
Of want, ne wish for more it to augment,
But doe my selfe, with that I have, content;
So taught of nature, which doth little need
Of forreine helpes to lifes due nourishment:
The fields my food, my flocke my raiment breed;
No better doe I weare, no better doe I feed.

. . .

The litle that I haue, growes dayly more Without my care, but onely to attend it; My lambes doe every yeare increase their score, And my flockes father daily doth amend it. (6.9.20-21)³⁷⁴

The vision of sustainable growth presented here does not deny the role played by human labor, a form of stewardship that involves attending to an environment that naturally thrives without "forreine helps." Based on the recognition that human beings need to derive sustenance from their natural environment, Meliboe acknowledges the possibility of a reciprocal relationship between human and nonhuman beings, which would allow for the continual reproduction of both. In this, Meliboe's pastoralism presupposes a difference between the free "appropriation" of nature (based on a reciprocal relation between human beings and natural environment) and the "expropriation" of nature (which posits an alienated relation between the two). As John Bellamy Foster has shown, this fundamentally humanist distinction would later be taken up by Marx to defend the communal rights of the German peasants to collect fallen leaves and woods in a

³⁷⁴ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, eds. A. C. Hamilton, Hiroshi Yamashita, and Toshiyuki Suzuki (New York: Routledge, 2013). All subsequent citations are from this edition.

privately owned forest.³⁷⁵ Against Proudhon's assertion that all property is theft, Marx posited a distinction between the "appropriation" of nature for the satisfaction of human need, and the "expropriation" of nature for the purpose of accumulation that would create a rift in society-nature metabolism. In this, Marx participates in a longstanding materialist tradition (with its classical foundation in Epicurus and Lucretius) that posited a dialectical relationship between human and environment: a premise implicit in the utopian aspiration of humanism with its belief that human nature can be reformed by transforming the material conditions of existence.³⁷⁶ By invoking Meliboe's pastoralism as a necessary antidote to the discontents of civilization,

Spenser's poem participates in this materialist tradition of socio-ecological thinking, where nature functions as the ontological ground upon which human beings can fashion themselves by maintaining an active and reciprocal relationship with their immediate environment.

What is suggested is a place-based mode of pastoral self-fashioning conceived as an alternative to that of courtly self-fashioning. We are told that Meliboe in his youth spent ten years in the "roiall court" until he became disillusioned and came back to his "native home" where he "learned to love more deare / This lowly quiet life" (6.9.25). Having given up the need to amass wealth, Meliboe is said to enjoy freedom from worldly competition and anxiety that derive from excessive desire for possession: "Therefore I doe not any one envy, / Nor am envyde of any one therefore; / They that have much, feare much to loose thereby, /And store of cares

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³⁷⁵ On Marx's distinction between appropriation and expropriation of nature and its relation to the labor theory of value, John Bellamy Foster, "Marx, Value, and Nature," *Monthly Review* 70.3 (2018): 122-133. For an extended discussion, see Foster and Brett Clark, "Value Isn't Everything," *The Robbery of Nature: Capitalism and the Ecological Rift* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2020).

³⁷⁶ On the Epicurean foundation of Marx's materialism, see Foster, "Marx's Theory of Metabolic Rift" (1999). John Evelyn, the author of the proto-environmental tract, *Fumifugium* (1661), was an English translator of Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura*. See, Alastair Small and Carola Small, "John Evelyn and the Garden of Epicurus," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 60 (1997): 194-214. On the Renaissance reception of Lucretius, see David Norbrook, Stephen Harrison, and Philip Hardie, eds., *Lucretius and the Early Moderns* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

doth follow riches store" (6.9.21). It is no coincidence that Calidore comes across Meliboe in the commons ("open fields"), removed not only from the towns and cities but also from the privatized domains of country estates ("private farms"):

So sharply he the Monster did pursew, That day nor night he suffered him to rest,

. . .

Him first from court he to the citties coursed, And from the citties to the townes him prest, And from the townes into the countrie forsed, And from the country back to private farmes he scorsed.

From thence into the open fields he fled, Whereas the Heardes were keeping of their neat, And shepheards singing to their flockes, that fed, Layes of sweete love and youths delightful heat: (6.9.3-4)

The retreat to the commons is not only appropriate but necessary in that it is the only setting that allows Spenser to imagine a communal and egalitarian way of life untouched by the pervasive influence of "envy." Here, Calidore finds a utopian community of shepherds and shepherdesses inhabiting a modest yet sustainable ecology of work and play ("For other worldly wealth they cared nought"; 6.9.5). But this is not an edenic life without toil; nor is it a life free from the exigency of survival. Meliboe must take what he needs from the natural environment through his own wit and labor:

Sometimes I hunt the Fox, the vowed foe Vnto my Lambes, and him dislodge away;
Sometimes the fawne I practise from the Doe
Or from the Goat her kidde how to conuay,
Another while I baytes and nets display,
The birds to catch, or fishes to beguyle:
And when I wearie am, I downe doe lay
My limbes in euery shade, to rest from toyle,
And drinke of euery brooke, when thirst my throte doth boyle. (6.9.23)

Hunting is described as a form of mutual play where the parties involved try to trick each other into giving up what they have, an activity that implies (and depends on) the capacity to assume

the viewpoints of other beings who are co-inhabitants of a shared environment. Nor is the relationship between the hunter and the hunted imagined as purely exploitative (where the strong preys on the weak) but as reciprocal in that both are perceived as part of a complex ecosystem: Meliboe hunts the fox who hunts his lambs from whom the shepherd derives his food and clothing; we later learn that the forest contains lions that prey on shepherds. Meliboe's pastoral ecology is distinguished from the competitive world of the court in that it offers the shepherd a place in which to enjoy temporary moments of respite ("I downe doe lay / My limbes in every shade, to rest from toyle, / And drinke of every brooke, when thirst my throte doth boyle") and a peace of mind that comes from being able to rest contented in that place ("But fittest is, that all contented rest / With that they hold: each hath his fortune in his brest."; 6.9.29). It is the attractiveness of this pastoral vision that causes Calidore to delay his quest by accepting Meliboe's invitation to stay with him and his daughter Pastorella with whom the knight promptly falls in love:

Whylest thus he talkt, the knight with greedy eare
Hong still vpon his melting mouth attent,
Whose sensefull words empierst his hart so neare,
That he was rapt with double ravishment,
Both of his speech that wrought him great content,
And also of the object of his vew [Pastorella],
On which his hungry eye was always bent;
That twixt his pleasing tongue, and her faire hew,
He lost himselfe, and like one halfe entraunced grew. (6.9.26)

Calidore's desire for Pastorella and the way of life she represents is nothing less than the desire for pastoral itself: the place-based nostalgia for a purportedly natural way of life rooted in a landscape that is always already receding. As noted earlier, such a desire may be a vehicle of utopian imagining to the extent that it is able to bring forth a collective consciousness that binds together the inhabitants of a common world. Spenser gestures towards this possibility through

Meliboe's pastoral vision and the depiction of the shepherding community of which Calidore becomes a part. But it is quickly revealed that Spenser's humanism (unlike that of More) is only half-heartedly committed to a radical vision of commonwealth that transcends the hierarchy of social distinction (to use Pierre Bourdieu's term). Calidore's courtship of Pastorella follows a typical Petrarchan dynamic, where the idealization of the lady as an object of desire serves to elevate the (male) lover in competition with other suiters ("So farre the meane of shepheards to excell, / As that he in his mind her worthy deemed, / To be a Princes Paragone esteemed"; 6.9.11). Spenser takes pains to establish the superior manner of Calidore in opposition to the bumbling rustic Corydon, whose inept jealousy is made to signify a certain meanness in contrast to the magnanimous condescension of the knight whose conduct cannot help but betray his gentility:

Thus did the gentle knight himselfe abeare Amongst that rusticke rout in all his deeds, That euen they, the which his riuals were, Could not maligne him, but commend him needs: (6.9.45)

If we see here a version of pastoral that implies "a beautiful relation between rich and poor" (to borrow William Empson's phrase), Calidore's success in assimilating with the commoners is nevertheless felt to be problematic if not morally suspect.³⁷⁷ No sooner does Calidore prove himself worthy of Pastorella's love (and the love of his fellow shepherds) does Spenser remind us of the knight's original mission ("Who now does follow the foule *Blatant Beast*, / Whilest *Calidore* does follow that faire Mayd"; 6.10.1). The desire for pastoral-as-Pastorella is said to be in conflict with the desire of epic-romance insofar as it keeps the knight from the course of action ("But now entrapped of love, which him betrayed"; 6.10.1), even as we are told that Calidore is not wholly to blame for his desire for pastoral retreat ("Ne certes mote he

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³⁷⁷ William Empson, Some Versions of Pastoral (New York: New Directions Publishing, 1974), 11.

greatly blamed be") whose "perfect pleasures" are better (in that, they are truer) than the "false blisse" and "painted show" of courtly life (6.10.3). For Spenser, however, the choice between the commons and the court does not lead to a radical social critique or a vision of communism as it does in More's *Utopia*. Instead, it is displaced unto a different kind of *no-place* in the form of an earthly paradise ("whose pleasaunce did appere / To pass all others, on the earth which were"; 6.10.5). Thus, we see Calidore stumble upon a retreat *within* a retreat ("far from all peoples troad"; 6.10.5), an imaginary enclosure hidden away somewhere in the forest of Mount Alcidale, said to be inaccessible to the rest of the rustic population ("Ne mote wylde beastes, ne mote the ruder clowne / Thereto approach, ne filth mote therin drowne"; 6.10.7).

It was an hill plaste in an open plaine,
That round about was bordered with a wood
Of matchless hight, that seem'd th'earth to disdaine,
In which all trees of honour stately stood,
And did all winter as in sommer bud,
Spredding pauilions for the birds to bowre,
Which in their lower braunches sung aloud;
And in their tops the soring hauke did towre,
Sitting like King of fowles in maiesty and powre. (6.10.6)

The view of an open plain surrounded by tall woods conveys a sense of inviolable privacy coupled with a predominant sense of verticality. But if the image of natural hierarchy ("King of fowles in maiesty and powre") resonates with the traditional view of Elizabethan social order, it is nevertheless one that deliberately excludes the presence of human beings, and hence, politics as such.

And at the foote thereof, a gentle flud His siluer waues did softly tumble downe, Vnmard with ragged mosse or filthy mud, Ne mote wylde beastes, neo mote the ruder clowne Thereto approach, ne filth mote therein drowne: But Nymphes and Faeries by the bancks did sit, In the woods shade, which did the waters crowne, Keeping all noysome things away from it,

And to the waters fall tuning their accents fit. (6.10.7)

The desire to imagine a prelapsarian landscape sans people (save for the "Nymphes and Faeries" that "by the bancks did sit") may point towards a form of radical environmentalism of the misanthropic kind, where the faeries are the only truly indigenous inhabitants of fairyland. The only human allowed in this rarefied sphere is the shepherd-poet Colin Clout, who becomes noticeably distressed when Calidore's intrusion dissipates the dance of the three Graces, from whose rank even Gloriana is excluded (although she is nominally included as the fourth Grace). But to say that the description of Mount Alcidale is devoid of human meaning would be to go against the Renaissance tendency to look for moral or political meaning in images of nature: a strategy of (de)coding verbal and visual images as you would an emblem.³⁷⁸ It would be more accurate to say that Spenser's readers—like Calidore—are presented with an emblematic scene that needs to be deciphered in order for it to serve a practical-didactic purpose. Like Calidore, the reader is made to assume the perspective of a non-participant who is transfixed by the baffling view of "An hundred naked maidens lily white, / All raungéd in a ring, and dauncing in delight," chief among whom are the three Graces, "daughters of delight, / Handmaides of Venus" (3.10.11). It is only with the help of Colin that the meaning of the Graces' dance is made known to the readers: that the Graces "teach vs, how to each degree and kynde / We should our selues demeane, to low, to hie; / To friends, to foes, which skill men call Ciuility" (6.10.23). This is hardly a satisfying interpretation of an unearthly spectacle whose sensuous description far exceeds any attempt at moralizing ("whose pleasures rare / With such regard his sences

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³⁷⁸ A particularly enduring example can be found in the figure called the *Tree of Commonwealth* (as elaborated in Edmund Dudley 1509 treatise of the same name) illustrating the traditional view of social order comprising of three estates (the nobility, the clergy, and the commonality). The figure could be appropriated for potentially radical purposes as done by the Levelers during the English revolution as well as by the Anglo-American settlers in their attempt to imagine an Atlantic commonwealth.

rauished"; 6.10.30). Nevertheless, the effect is to relegate Civility to a purely aesthetic realm of poetry inaccessible to mere mortals in a way that preemptively justifies Calidore's subsequent failure to realize this elusive ideal in actuality: a failure with consequences no less devastating than the destruction of entire native populations.

The "Argument" for Canto X tells us that while Calidore is busy with the Graces's dance Pastorella is taken into captivity by what will turn out to be a group of nomadic bandits called the Brigants ("Calidore sees the Graces daunce, / To Colins melody: / The whiles his Pastorell is led, / Into captivity."). In the narrative, the two events in fact occur sequentially with some time apart: the abduction happens after Calidore returns from his sojourn to mount Alcidale. If we take this inconsistency to be deliberate, it would seem that Spenser was trying to have it both ways by implying a causal connection between the two events without making Calidore, Colin, or the Graces explicitly to blame for real life catastrophes. Either way, it is suggested that Calidore is in some ways responsible for what ensues insofar as he has neglected the duties of knighthood while being preoccupied with the pleasures and pastimes of pastoral living:

It fortuned one day, when *Calidore*Was hunting in the woods (as was his trade)
A lawless people, *Brigants* hight of yore
That never vsed to live by plough nor spade,
But fed on spoil and booty, which they made
Upon their neighbours, which did nigh them border,
The dwelling of these shepheards did inuade,
And spoyld their houses, and them selues did murder;
And droue away their flocks, with other much disorder. (6.10.39)

By suggesting that Pastorella is not simply to be courtet but must be rescued from the hands of nomadic bandits, the poem affirms the need for military action in the hands of Calidore, who now effectively takes on the role previously assumed by Artegall, only now in the name of Courtesy. In so doing, Spenser returns to his original position stated in *A View* where he argues

that a large scale military intervention is needed for the total subjugation of the Irish under English rule. In it, Spenser proposes a systematic program of colonization that involves engineering famine to depopulate the landscape, destroying farmlands (even those won by conquest) to prevent them from falling into enemy hands, as well as transplanting natives from different provinces to repopulate the devastated regions. Spenser's argument for such draconian measures depend on a strategy of dehumanization that casts the Irish (and the Irish way of life) as fundamentally barbaric, and hence, incapable of being assimilated into English rule. 379 In AView, Irenius repeatedly insists that it is useless to try to transplant English laws to Ireland on the grounds that the Irish are a radically different kind of people, a claim supported by invoking a proto-ethnological argument that traces the Irish ancestry back to the ancient Scythians. Integral to this strategy is Spenser's argument against pasturage in favor of tillage that associates the former with the barbaric unruliness of the Irish nomads. It is in this context that Spenser's depiction of the nomadic Brigants may be read as a representation of the Gaelic Irish, against whom Calidore battles to defend the more settled (and thus, more civilized) way of life as represented by the (New) English shepherds (Melibee, Corydon, and Pastorella).

Benjamin P. Myers has offered a corrective to this interpretation by pointing out that tillage and pasturage were not necessarily opposed in the practices of English husbandry, which included both.³⁸⁰ The distinction Spenser draws between Irish and the English customs, therefore, was not between tillage and pasturage per se, but rather between enclosure and nomadism as two distinct ways in which life was organized in relation to land: the former based on the notion of landownership associated with wealthier planters, and the latter based on the

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³⁷⁹ Ciaran Brady, "Spenser's Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s," *Past & Present* 111 (1986): 17-49.

³⁸⁰ Benjamin P. Myers, "The Green and Golden World: Spenser's Rewriting of the Munster Plantation," *ELH* 76.2 (2009): 473-490.

free appropriation of nature as common property, which the poorer sorts of tenant farmers and nomads alike depended on for subsistence. In short, there is a class perspective implicit in Spenser's civilizational paradigm, whose real function is to distinguish between those who are part of the emerging regime of agrarian land reform (in which Spenser was directly involved) and those who are made to exist outside of this new geographical regime. Insofar as the Irish nomads and the English working poor were both victims of displacement caused by the new economic imperative for "improvement" that led to profit-oriented uses of land through enclosure (whether for agriculture or pasturage), they were subjected to the same process that sought to control the resultant mobile population. The English laborers who settled in Ireland were themselves encouraged by a policy of colonization that sought to redirect domestic surplus labor to overseas settlements, while the Irish were subjected to a corresponding labor regime geared towards the production of agricultural surplus in plantations.

Insofar as Spenser associates landlessness exclusively with the rebellious Irish and not with the English working poor, thereby ethnicizing what is a shared socio-economic condition, he suppresses the potential for class consciousness among the emerging mass of landless proletarians in England and Ireland. Conversely, the shared recognition of one's unsettled status may function as a basis for solidarity among nomadic peoples from different walks of life. This could potentially lead to the kind of brotherhood-of-the-poor exemplified by the legend of Robin Hood, whose story widely circulated in ballads and plays at this time; and it is therefore telling that Spenser observes in *A View* that every corner of Ireland contains a "Robin Hood." When

³⁸¹ On the mobile conditions of the English working poor, see Fumerton, *Unsettled*. For a post-Tawney account of the development of agrarian capitalism in sixteenth-century England, see Eric Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After* (New York: Barnes and Nobles, 1969). See also, Joan Thirsk and Herbert Patrick Reginald Finberg, eds. *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, Vol. 4, 1500-1640 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); Thirsk, *The Rural Economy of England: Collected Essays* (London: Hambleton Press, 1984).

Calidore and Corydon infiltrate the Island of the Brigants to rescue Pastorella, they disguise themselves as masterless men looking for employment among the outlaws:

Mongst which the theeues them questionéd againe, What mister men, and eke from whence they were. To whom they answer'd, as did appertaine, That they were poore heardgroomes, the which whylere Had from their maisters fled, and now sought hyre elsewhere. (6.11.39)

The Brigants offer to hire Calidore and Corydon to herd the stolen sheep ("To hyre them well, if they their flockes would keepe"; 6.11.39), saying that they are themselves unskilled in the art of animal husbandry and more used to foraging and scouring ("they themselves were euill groomes, they sayd, / Vnwont with heards to watch, or pasture sheepe / But to forray the land, or scoure the deepe"; 6.11.39). In the process, we get a glimpse of an alternative, underground economy made up of people living outside the legitimate channels of production and exchange, quite literally since the Island where the Brigants live is said to be hidden away below ground:

For vderneath the ground their way was made,
Through hollow caues, that no man mote discouer
For the thicke shrubs, which did them alwaies shade
From view of living wight, and couered ouer:
But darkenesse dred and daily night did houer
Through all the inner parts, wherein they dwelt.
Ne lightned was with window, nor with louer,
But with continuall candlelight, which delt
A doubtfull sense of things, not so well seene, as felt. (6.10.42)

By infiltrating the Brigants' den, Calidore not only rescues Pastorella but also destroys an underground world that lies outside the dominion of the Fairy Queene. After having killed and dispersed the Brigants, Calidore returns to the den to collect their treasures, which he gives to Pastorella, and the stolen flocks, which he bestows onto Corydon in a magnanimous gesture that once again affirms his gentility and inaugurates the knight as the champion of the commoners ("To shew the courtesie by him profest, / Euen vnto the lowest and the least"; 6.12.2). We might

say that Calidore rescues Meliboe's vision of pastoralism by literally restoring his stolen sheep back from the Brigants, but we cannot help but feel that something of its radical potential has been lost. It has been shown that Meliboe's way of life is helpless against external threats and is therefore in need of martial intervention by a warrior aristocracy that would offer protection. In effect, the desire for pastoral has been incorporated into the pattern of romance-epic, quite literally, since it is revealed that Pastorella is not the offspring of a humble shepherd after all, but the long-lost daughter of Lady Claribell and Sir Bellamour of Castle Belgard.

It should be noted that this romance resolution is able to function as a strategy of ideological containment only by killing off Pastorella's surrogate father, Meliboe, and thereby effectively disavowing her working-class paternity. It follows, then, that the emancipatory potential of pastoral must ultimately rest on a theory of value that recognizes labor (not landed leisure) as the true source of gentility, status, and wealth. For Meliboe's pastoralism to become a viable socio-ecological vision, it would have to be able to fashion a community (or party) of people founded on the shared belief in the value of collective labor. Insofar as *The Faerie* Queene fails to bring forth this collectivist vision to the foreground, it reveals the limitations not only of the poet's own ideological complicity with the project of empire-building (making him deserving of Marx's epithet, "Elizabeth's arse-kissing poet") but also of the genre of epicromance itself as a form inseparably linked to the official project of national-imperial mythmaking. To find an alternative social vision, we must look to the popular domain of London commercial theater as a semi-autonomous locus of aesthetic production. In what follows, I turn to Shakespeare's As You Like It to assess the potential (and limit) of pastoral comedy to imagine a collectivity of the dispossessed.

4. "To liberty and not to banishment": Shakespeare and the Landless Brotherhood of Arden

Critical discussions about the social logic of Shakespearean comedies have focused on the problem of the marriage plot, where the comic form, despite its potential for inversion and misrule it instantiates, appears inseparably linked to the patrilineal-homosocial transactions that culminate in heterosexual coupling: a form of closure which may or may not succeed in disciplining the multiplicity of potentially subversive desires and allegiances explored earlier in the play. 382 The notion of comedy as licensed misrule was first elaborated by C. L. Barber in his seminal work, Shakespeare's Festive Comedy (1959), which explored the connection between dramatic form and popular-festive rituals (e.g., the May Game, the Lord of Misrule). 383 It has since been taken up by a range of New Historicist, feminist, and queer scholars, who have greatly expanded what constitutes meaningful social rituals, while offering critical analyses of the overdetermined cultural work that is Elizabethan-Jacobean comedies.³⁸⁴ Accordingly, London's theaters have come to be understood as public platforms where different forms of sociality could be explored through bodily performance, where hegemonic and counterhegemonic desires, affects, and attachments could be newly signified and recognized.³⁸⁵ The question remains, however, as to how such recognitions could be mobilized into a social movement informed by a collective consciousness: how the interpersonal relations dramatized in

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³⁸² See Kathryn Schwartz, "Comedies End in Marriage," in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment*, ed. Valerie Traub (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 269-286.

³⁸³ C. L. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy: A Study of Dramatic Form and Its Relation to Social Custom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959).

³⁸⁴ The decisive intervention in recent decades has come from the field of queer studies, which has sought to expand the notion of kinship to include not only the consanguineous and the affinal, but also the multiple forms of ritualized kinship found in same-sex friendship. Crucial to these efforts have been Alan Bray's *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (London: Gay Men's Press, 1982) and *The Friend* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003). See Jonathan Goldberg, ed., *Queering the Renaissance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994).

³⁸⁵ For a recent intersectional approach, see *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment: Gender, Sexuality, and Race*, ed. Valerie Traub (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

public theaters could bring forth (virtual) publics consisting of anonymous individuals capable of participating in the political process. What needs to be explained, in short, is how the social logic of the comic form translates into social efficacy.

In his seminal essay ("The Place of a Brother"), Louis A. Montrose locates the material basis of the marriage plot in the contradiction posed by the transmission (and preservation) of property through primogeniture. In Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, Montrose argues, the romantic action centered around Rosalind and Orlando functions to resolve the contradiction that had resulted in the dispossession of the youngest son of Sir Roland de Bois of his inheritance and status, much to his discontent. In Montrose's reading, the ideology of the comic form is linked to the interests of the gentry class, whose rise in the social order depended on consolidating patrimonial legacy, not only by disinheriting younger sons, but also by pursuing advantageous marriages with high-born women. At the same time, the play's exploration of the fate of the disenfranchised younger son is shown to have a broader resonance with potentially radical implications. According to Montrose, Shakespeare revised Thomas Lodge's *Rosalynde* in order "to intensify the differences between the eldest son and his siblings, and to identify the sibling

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³⁸⁶ Louis A. Montrose, "The Place of a Brother' in As You Like It: Social Process and Comic Form," Shakespeare Quarterly 32.1 (1981): 28-54. Montrose's essay established the subordination of women in Shakespearean comedies in the context of male homosocial bonds. Subsequent criticisms have variously expanded on (and complicated) this interpretive framework. Important works include: Jean Howard, "Power and Eros: Crossdressing in Dramatic Representation and Theatrical Practice," in The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England (London: Routledge, 1994), 93-128; Traub, "The Homoerotics of Shakespearean Comedy," in Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama (London: Routledge, 1992), 117-44; Julie Crawford, "All's Well That Ends Well Or, Is Marriage Always Already Heterosexual?" in Shakesqueer: A Queer Companion to the Complete Works of Shakespeare, ed. Madhavi Menon (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 39-47. 387 "Rosalind's union with Orlando entails the weakening of her ties to her natural father and to a cousin who has been closer to her than a sister; Orlando's union with Rosalind entails the strengthening of his ties to his elder brother and to a lord who becomes his patron. Orlando's atonements with other men—a natural brother, a social father—precede his atonement with Rosalind. They confirm that the disadvantaged young country gentleman is worthy of the princess, by 'nature' and by 'fortune'" (Montrose, "The Place of a Brother," 28-29). ³⁸⁸ Montrose remarks: "As a class, the gentry experienced a relative rise in wealth and status during this period. But the rise was achieved by inheriting eldest sons at the expense of their younger brothers" ("The Place of a Brother," 31). For a recent engagement with Montrose's essay, see Crawford, "The Place of a Cousin in As You Like It," Shakespeare Quarterly 69.2 (2018): 101-127. The problem of class (so central to Montrose) is curiously absent in Crawford's analysis of the affective-erotic bond between Rosalind and Celia.

conflict with the major division in the Elizabethan social fabric: that between the landed and the unlanded, the gentle and the base."³⁸⁹ He goes on to point out that "[w]ithin half a century after Shakespeare wrote *As You Like It*, radical pamphleteers were using 'elder brother' and 'younger brother' as synonyms for the propertied, enfranchised social classes and the unpropertied, unenfranchised social classes."³⁹⁰

Montrose does not discuss the possibility of such radical consciousness among the heterogeneous audience of Shakespeare's theater; his primary focus is the perspective of the youngers sons of gentry who likely attended the play. Nor does he explain how the play's exploration of the iniquities of primogeniture, which in the strict sense concerns only the landowning gentry and aristocracy, would have affected the majority who did not own land; or indeed, how and why modern productions of As You Like It continue to find audiences willing to be moved by the injustices suffered by Orlando and Rosalind, only some of whom are presumably landowners or overly concerned about patrimonial succession. And yet, this is in some ways what needs to happen if the play is to succeed as a theatrical performance. The audience must be emotionally invested in the disenfranchisement of the gentle characters, perceive their loss as if it were their own, and feel a degree of satisfaction (or lingering discontent) as these characters are eventually restored to their "rightful" places. Insofar as the audience can shrug off Orlando's pronouncement that he is nothing if not a gentleman as a frivolous complaint of a pampered youth (why can't he just work for a living?), they are unable to experience the element of tragedy so integral to the play's overall effect. The ordinary members of the audience must be persuaded, however provisionally, that the stakes of Orlando's predicament are both real and universal, that they too participate in the social process that

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³⁸⁹ Montrose, "The Place of a Brother," 34-5.

³⁹⁰ Montrose, "The Place of a Brother," 35.

informs the romance of a would-be gentleman.³⁹¹

The emancipatory potential of As You Like It, I suggest, depends on a process of a provisional identification between the commoners and the disaffected gentry, whereby the hierarchical division of the traditional class-system (consisting of distinct "estates") is transcoded into a dialectical opposition between the propertied and the dispossessed, in such a way that the emergent condition of landlessness is newly perceived as a fundamental injustice undergirding Elizabethan society as a whole: a form of universal disenfranchisement imposed upon people living under a socio-political regime that equates franchise exclusively with property ownership. In Shakespeare's play, the figure of the disenfranchised gentleman functions as a focal point around which popular discontent could be galvanized into political opposition. The "gentleness" of the dispossessed Orlando, all the more justified because it is based only on immaterial merits, makes him beloved of all ranks, much to Oliver's vexation:

> Yet he's gentle, never schooled and yet learned, full of noble device, of all sorts enchantingly beloved, and indeed so much in the heart of the world, and especially of my own people, who best know him, that I am altogether misprized. (1.2.143-7)

Similar anxieties haunt Duke Fredrick who fears that Rosalind's loss (of her father and patrimony) is garnering the people's sympathy, potentially turning her into a figurehead of popular unrest ("Her very silence and her patience, / Speak to the people, and they pity her"; 1.3.74-5). Fredrick's fear is not unfounded given that Duke Senior is reported to have significant followers, some of whom have voluntarily given up their "lands and revenues" to "wander" with him in solidarity ("three or four loving lords have put themselves into voluntary exile with him, whose lands and revenues enrich the new Duke; therefore he gives them good leave to wander";

³⁹¹ A useful comparison would be Charles Dickens's *David Copperfield* (1850), a popular *bildungsroman* about the eponymous hero's precarious journey to becoming a gentleman.

1.1.88-90). Even as Fredrick consolidates his holdings by confiscating the properties of his opponents, he loses valuable supporters to what is effectively a resistance camp in the Forest of Arden. Insofar as power derives from the capacity to effectively mobilize people (as opposed to the mere accumulation of inert possessions), the pastoral court in Arden poses a real threat to Fredrick and functions as a locus of potential revolution within the play's political economy.

It is fitting that the play associates Arden with the legend of Robin Hood, albeit only in a passing speech given by Charles, a follower of Fredrick and Oliver, who alludes to the "old Robin Hood of England" in a derogatory sense to portray the gentlemen followers of Duke Senior as a threatening band of outlaws:

They say he is already in the Forest of Arden, and a many merry men with him; and there they live like the old Robin Hood of England. They say many young gentlemen flock to him every day and fleet the time carelessly as they did in the golden world. (1.1.100-4)

The audience will soon discover that life in Arden is neither idyllic nor carefree, but very much subjected to the exigencies of earthly necessities. Nevertheless, the association of gentility with outlawry (under the shared denomination of "merry men") is appropriate because both refer to those who live in a state of "idleness," neither part of the workforce nor participating in the labor process. The joke hinges on the irony that those who used to enjoy landed leisure have been reduced to a different form of idleness entirely—that of the unemployed—with little separating them from vagrants and bandits. The contemporary fear of masterless men, perceived to be dangerous because unattached and ungoverned, is transposed onto the analogous situation of the discontented younger sons of the gentry class. Like the band of Robin Hood, the gentleman outlaws have become unruly subjects existing outside of the legitimate socio-economic order rather than engaged in gainful employment under some disciplinary regime—be it through education, apprenticeship, or labor.

Such is the situation in which Orlando finds himself. Deprived of the opportunity to be educated like his second brother (the other Jacques), Orlando is put into a state of enforced idleness, unable to find an employment suitable to his gentlemanly status:

OLIVER Now, sir, what make you here?

ORLANDO Nothing. I am not taught to make anything.

OLIVER What mar you then, sir?

ORLANDO Marry, sir, I'm helping you to mar that which God made—a poor

unworthy brother of yours—with idleness.

OLIVER Marry, sir, be better employed and be naught awhile.

ORLANDO Shall I keep your hogs and eat husks with them? What prodigal portion

have I spent that I should come to such penury. (1.1.25-33)

Orlando does not object to the idea of "making" something of himself; on the contrary, he resents that he is prevented from doing so ("I am not taught to make anything") and finds his current state of unemployment disgraceful. The source of his discontent is that he is unable to find the kind of work that will not degrade his self-worth. What Orlando effectively objects to when he exclaims "I am no villain" (1.1.48) is the ignoble condition of alienated labor (of selling one's labor power to someone who owns the means of production) to which the emerging class of the English working poor was increasingly subjected. 392 Later, the shepherd Corin will readily accept these very terms of employment when offered by Rosalind and Celia with a promise of higher wages ("Assuredly the thing is to be sold"; 2.4.98), even as he facilitates their purchase of the cottage, flock, and pasture owned by the shepherd's absentee master ("Go with me: If you like upon report / The soil, the profit, and this kind of life, / I will your very faithful feeder be /

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³⁹² On the shifting meaning of status terms such as, "villain" and "clown," see Mary Thomas Crane, "Theatrical Practice and the Ideologies of Status in *As You Like It*," in *Shakespeare's Brain: Reading with Cognitive Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 67-93.

And buy it with your gold right suddenly."; 2.4.89-92). The transition of property is made possible by the treasures Rosalind and Celia brings from the court ("get our jewels and our wealth together"; 1.3.130), which allow them to settle into the life of an independent householder or a sheep-farming gentry. The fresh influx of capital, however, does not bring about a fundamental change in the condition of labor but merely amounts to replacing one master for another ("I am shepherd to another man / And do not shear the fleeces that I graze"; 70-1). Under these circumstances, the best that Corin can hope for is that his new masters will be more generous than his previous employer of "churlish disposition" (1.3.72). Such is the ethical attitude expressed by Adam when he complains of the loss of mutual respect due to a faithful servant ("Is 'old dog" my reward? . . . God be with my old master; he would not have spoke such a word"; 1.1.70-2). Adam will come to embody this ideal of feudal reciprocity when he offers to give all his life savings and his remaining years of service to Orlando in aid of his escape: "I have five thousand crowns, / The thrifty hire I saved under your father, / . . . / All this I give to you. Let me be your servant" (2.4.38-46).

The principal paradox of *As You Like It* is that a radical critique of alienated labor cannot be articulated by the laboring class, such as Adam and Corin, who engage in a merely ethical critique that harkens back to an ideal feudal order. The emergent condition of selling one's labor is not distinct enough from traditional forms of service that those who are used to working for a living are unable to perceive the entire social system in terms of a dialectical opposition between the propertied and the landless. As in *King Lear*, it takes the high indignation of a gentle-born deprived of what he is entitled to in order to adequately convey what it means to be dispossessed in a way that is emotionally compelling and, in so doing, produce in the audience the sense of estrangement necessary to recognize the fundamental injustice of a nascent capitalist system

founded on the expropriation of the laboring populace. In *As You Like It*, the unjustness of this new form of disenfranchisement is most fully articulated through the story of the gentle-born Orlando who, like Dicken's Copperfield, finds himself traumatically reduced to the condition of vagrancy:

What, wouldst thou have me go and beg my food, Or with a base and boisterous sword enforce A thievish living on the common road? This I must do or know not what to do. (2.3.31-34)

What Orlando ends up doing, of course, is join the landless exiles in the Forest of Arden. In this, he follows the migratory pattern of actual vagrants and paupers in this period, many of whom would forest dwellers.³⁹³ The rapid expansion of England's economy resulted in demographic movement not only to the overpopulated urban centers but also to the underdeveloped woodlands and forests, which offered different kinds of opportunity and freedom to the itinerant poor. The pattern of pastoral retreat in *As You Like It*, in this sense, may be better characterized as a form of migration (as opposed to mere flight) in that it is a movement informed by the agency of the travelers themselves, who, while compelled to leave, are nevertheless actively pursuing a better life elsewhere: "Now go we in content / To liberty and not to banishment" (1.3.133-4).

Christopher Hill links Shakespeare's Arden with the migrant's search for the kind of freedom afforded by forest living: "Sylvan liberty is idealized in the ballads of Robin Hood, in Shakespeare's Forest of Arden and in the wise 'wild men' who appear in Elizabethan and Jacobean pageants. This may relate to contemporary migration to forests in search of security and independence." According to Hill, forest migration was part of a larger social trend that

³⁹³ "[P]oorer folk were attracted to the woodlands by the relative freedom of open, unregulated settlement." (Clark and Souden, *Migration and Society in Early Modern England*, 29)

³⁹⁴ Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (New York: Penguin Books, 1991), 27. See also, Jeffrey S. Theis, *Writing the Forest in Early Modern England: A Sylvan Pastoral Tradition* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2009), 47.

produced new forms of mobility and freedom outside of the traditional feudal relations of master and servant, which would lay the foundation for the revolutionary politics of the seventeenth century:

[A]mong our masterless men are the rural equivalents of the London poor—cottagers and squatters on commons, wastes and in forests. . . . Unlike the relatively stable and docile populations of open arable areas, these men, cliff-hanging in semi-legal insecurity, often had no lords to whom they owed dependence or from whom they could hope for protection. . . . They were liable to suffer from large-scale schemes of agricultural betterment—disafforestation, fen drainage and the like. Meanwhile they existed, in the interstices of society, but undoubtedly growing in number by migration. 395

To forest dwellers, the woodlands offered not only a place to subsist and survive but also a potential locus of political freedom and subversion that lied outside the control of authoritative institutions. Local inhabitants of woodland regions (especially in the Midlands) staged enclosure riots protesting the English crown's increasing efforts to alienate forest resources for sale. Such riots were often led by members of the gentry who would fashion themselves into champions of the commoners—a gentrified Robin Hood—protecting the customary rights to the commons against the emerging ethos of commercialization that emphasized privatized land use. In the tumultuous years of the English civil war, such radical voices acquired a wider audience as the gentry who led the protests drew on the support of the populace. Such popular participation was made possible by the proliferation of political tracts and pamphlets following the breakdown of censorship, which newly made available to the public a wide array of

³⁹⁵ Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, 26.

³⁹⁶ "Towards the end of her life, Elizabeth was forced to sell of part of the royal forests in order to raise money for her Irish wars. Both James and Charles followed her example. Almost invariably, the purchasers enclosed the land they had acquired, and then exploited it commercially, to the detriment of the woods and, in most cases, that of common people in the area, whose way of life had depended on them for hundreds of years." Anne Barton, *The Shakespearean Forest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 7.

³⁹⁷ Richard Wilson, "'Like the Old Robin Hood': *As You Like It*' and the Enclosure Riots," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 43.1 (1992): 1-19. Wilson remarks: "Gentry leadership had been a backbone of revolts like Kett's and remained critical in the folklore of resistance" (6). See also, Meredith Skura, "Anthony Munday's 'Gentrification' of Robin Hood," *English Literary Renaissance* 33.2 (2003): 155-180.

previously marginal views, including those of the Levellers and the Diggers (also known as the "True Levellers"). 398 In the works of Gerrard Winstanley, all forms of "kingly power" would be rejected as a corruption of the original state of human nature before the Fall (a view which, as we will see, anticipates the very premise of Milton's *Paradise Lost*) in favor of an egalitarian communism founded on the collective cultivation of the commons. Such utopian critiques of English society would draw on the myth of the "Norman yoke" (the notion that all Englishmen were free before the Norman conquest) as well as the myth of the two brothers (Cain and Abel, Esau and Jacob), whereby the contemporary struggle over land use would be cast through the lens of a Biblical conflict between the disenfranchised younger brother and the oppressive elder brother (one Digger pamphlet would proclaimed that "Cain is still alive in all the great landlords").³⁹⁹ Winstanley would define "true freedom" as the right of the common people to cultivate land, thus linking political democracy with economic democracy: "True freedom lies in the free enjoyment of the earth . . . If the common people have no more freedom in England but only to live among their elder brothers and work for them for hire, what freedom then have they in England more than we can have in Turkey or France?"400

As a form of publication, Shakespeare's play constitutes a locus of critical thinking that anticipates (and participates in) the political debates of these later decades. The Shakespearean Forest functions not only as a space of self-fashioning where carnivalesque inversion of identities can occur, but also as a space of utopian imagining informed by a desire to rethink the

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³⁹⁸ On the alliance between social groups during the English Revolution, see Ann Hughes, "The English Revolution of 1649," in *Revolutions and Revolutionary Traditions in the West, 1560-1991*, ed. David Parker (London: Routledge, 2000), 34-52. Hughes states: "The parliamentary cause was a social alliance, ranging from peers, gentry and merchants to many humbler men and women. Londoners' support for Parliament was vital in the early 1640s... and, although radicals were in the minority by the mid-1640s, there was always to be a militant constituency in the City and, to a lesser extent, in provincial England, willing to underwrite revolution (45).

³⁹⁹ Quoted in Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, 106.

⁴⁰⁰ Quoted in Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, 95.

conditions of social existence. In *As You Like It*, this utopian impulse is occasioned by a renewed sense of being-in-place as a mode of perception uniquely afforded by the displaced:

Now, my co-mates and brothers in exile,
Hath not old custom made this life more sweet
Than that of painted pomp? Are not these woods
More free from peril than the envious court?
Here feel we not the penalty of Adam—
The season's difference, as the icy fang
And churlish chiding of the winter's wind.
Which when it bites and blows upon my body
Even till I shrink with cold, I smile and say,
"This is no flattery: these are counselors,
That feelingly persuade me what I am." (2.1.1-11)

Duke Senior addresses his gentlemanly followers not as his subjects but as his fellows ("comates and brothers in exile"), bound, as they are, by a shared sense of estrangement from court. The situation could easily have led to an occasion for melancholic dejection on the part of the Duke, prompting him to complain of the unjustness of his usurpation or contemplate revenge on his brother (as does Prospero). Instead, the Duke's speech is intended to bring about an affective-epistemological transformation whereby their current condition of displacement is perceived as a form of *emplacement* within their immediate environment: a return to a more authentic condition of living-in-place as opposed to the false consciousness ("painted pomp") said to govern courtly living. In the forest, the Duke's followers cannot but feel "the penalty of Adam" for they must work hard to persist in a hostile environment that affords them both sustenance for, and obstacle to, survival.⁴⁰¹ The point is that the Duke and his followers are subject to hardships that heighten their awareness of the surroundings and themselves. By drawing attention to the sense of bodily exposure, the Duke enjoins his followers (and consequently, the amphitheater audience) to

⁴⁰¹ I read "feel we not the penalty of Adam" in the rhetorical sense to mean "do we not feel" rather than "we do not feel" because the latter would contradict the Duke's subsequent admission that he feels the chiding of the winter's wind.

acknowledge the fact that human beings are biological entities subjected to the forces of nature in which they are embedded ("these are counselors, / That feelingly persuade me what I am"): a reality that might otherwise have been obscured for those living amidst the man-made structures of a sprawling metropolis.

It is important to note that Duke Senior's speech is not a form of mystifying idealism intended to make his followers forget the harsh reality of banishment. Far from occluding the power of perception, the Duke's speech enjoins his fellow exiles to be more aware of their surroundings; to be receptive to the elemental forces in a way that grounds human existence in real necessity rather than false superfluity; and to be reminded of the ontological primacy of labor (i.e., the penalty of Adam) as the basis of subsistence. Neither is it paradoxical that this perceptual turn is achieved by means of the conventional tropes of literary pastoralism ("Hath not old custom made this life more sweet / than that of painted pomp?"). Rather than being an obstacle to immediacy, the pastoral form functions as a perceptual vehicle through which the exiles come to perceive their situation in a way that is intelligible and emotionally compelling ("Happy is your grace / That can translate the stubbornness of fortune / Into so quiet and so sweet a style."; 2.1.18-20). What is suggested is a theory of literary ecology, where literary and natural tropes are thought to circulate across the human/nonhuman divide because they belong to a general ecology in which they are both embedded. 402 Even as the pastoral convention gives new meaning to the environment in which the exiles find themselves, the forest is said to be overflowing with concrete and tangible tropes that meaningfully speak to its inhabitants in a way that is at once sensuous and moral ("tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, / Sermons in stones, and good in everything"; 2.1.16-17).

⁴⁰² For a phenomenological approach to literary ecology, see David Abram, *The Spell of the Sensuous: Perception* and Language in a More-Than-Human World (New York: Vintage Books, 1997, 2017).

It is quickly revealed, however, that the interpretation of nature's meaning is not a transparent process but a matter of ongoing debate. Duke Senior's pastoralism is immediately challenged by the melancholy Jaques who objects to the practice of hunting venison, going so far as to accuse the Duke of killing the deer in their own "assigned and native dwelling place" (2.2.63), which would make the latter more culpable than his usurping brother ("swears you do more usurp / Than doth your brother that hath banished you"; 2.1.27-8). The Duke himself acknowledges the moral dilemma as he laments having to kill and eat what he describes as the native citizens of the forest ("And yet it irks me the poor dappled fools, / Being native burghers of this desert city, / Should in their own confines, with forked heads, / Have their round haunches gored."; 2.1.22-5). The deer becomes an emblematic figure for the conquered and the colonized that have been dispossessed and displaced from their native place of belonging. What ensues is a humanist debate prompted by the seemingly intractable situation in which natives and newcomers find themselves fighting over the right to live in a place with limited resources, thereby perpetuating the violence that had prompted the displacement of the latter in the first place.

Despite his oppositional stance, Jaques's position is largely in accord with the spirit of the Duke's pastoralism insofar as they both perceive the real problem to lie not so much in the occasional hunting of deer out of necessity, but in the inhuman rapacity of those driven by excessive desire for possession:

"Poor deer," quoth [Jaques], "thou mak'st a testament As worldlings do, giving thy sum of more To that which had too much." (2.1.47-9)

Even as he objects to the killing of deer on moral grounds, Jaques does not explicitly dispute the necessity of hunting for sustenance; nor does he advocate vegetarianism—like Buddhist monks—

—as the logical conclusion to his objection. Later, he even appears to ironically participate in the rituals of deer hunting, proposing to his fellow foresters that the killer of the deer be presented to the Duke while wearing the deer's horns: "Let's present him to the Duke like a Roman conqueror. And it would do well. To set the deer's horns upon his dead for a branch of victory" (4.2.3-5). But Jaques's comparison of deer hunting to military conquest, while exaggerated, raises the question of whether and in what circumstances acts of violence against living beings can be justified, and what one's moral responsibility is toward beings with whom one shares a common world. What distinguishes Jaques from Duke Senior is that he categorically rejects all forms of violence, even legitimate ones sanctioned by the Duke—even as he employs irony to playfully participate in a reality he finds unacceptable yet unavoidable. It is this utopian rejection of all forms of power founded on violence, even ostensibly benevolent ones, that ultimately leads Jacque to abandon the Duke's company to join the reformed Fredrick in the monastery ("To him will I: out of these convertites / There is much matter to be heard and learned."; 5.4.175-6).

Jaques's utopianism diverges from Duke Senior's pastoralism to the extent that it extends a *relative* critique of courtly ambition (presented in opposition to the ideal of rural contentment) to a *general* critique of the underlying structure of power that permeates all of human society—including Arden ("Thus most invectively he peirceth through / The body of country, city, court—/ Yea, and of this our life"; 2.1.58-60). Like More's Hythloday before him, Jaques identifies the root of all social ills in the desire for possession that leads to the universal alienation of individuals from each other:

Then being there alone, Left and abandoned of his velvet friend, "'Tis right," quoth he, "thus misery doth part The flux of company." Anon a careless herd, Full of the pasture, jumps along by him And never stays to greet him. (2.1.49-54) Significantly, the division he sees is between the propertied householders ("Sweep on, you fat and greasy citizens!") and the unaccommodated poor ("that poor and broken bankrupt there") ousted from their home ("assigned and native dwelling place").

"Ay," quoth Jaques,
"Sweep on, you fat and greasy citizens!
'Tis just the fashion: wherefore do you look
Upon that poor and broken bankrupt there?"
Thus most invectively he peirceth through
The body of country, city, court—
Yea, and of this our life—swearing that we
Are mere usurpers, tyrants, and what's worse
To fright the animals and to kill them up
In their assigned and native dwelling place. (2.1.54-63)

Jaques's melancholy is based on a totalizing vision of human corruption from which (it is felt) there is no escape, regardless of whether one is in the country, the city, or the court—similar to how Antonio's sadness in *The Merchant of Venice* derives its tragic potential from the sense that the logic of global commerce has come to encompass all of human relations, including the intimate bonds of love and friendship. It is no coincidence that Jaques describes his own brand of melancholy as an amalgamation of all types of sadness born out of his experience as a traveler of distant lands:

JAQUES

I have neither the scholar's melancholy, which is emulation; or the musician's, which is fantastical; nor the courtier's, which is proud; nor the soldier's, which is ambitious; nor the lawyer's, which is politic; nor the lad's, which is nice; nor the lover's, which is all these; but it is a melancholy of mine own, compounded of many simples, extracted from many objects, and indeed the sundry contemplation of my travels, in which by often rumination wraps me in a most humorous sadness.

ROSALIND

A traveler? By my faith, you have great reason to be sad! I fear you have sold your own lands to see other men's; then to have seen much and to have nothing is to have rich eyes and poor hands.

JAQUES Yes, I have gained my experience. (4.1.10-23)

Jaques's melancholy is described as a function of his cosmopolitanism, one that gives him critical insight and knowledge about the human condition, but which also keeps him estranged from the very humanity that is the object of his contemplation: a form of learned discontent that is effectively anti-pastoral insofar as it prevents him from perceiving (and thus, re-discovering) the pleasures and possibilities afforded by his immediate surroundings.

The necessary irony of Shakespeare's comedy is that Jaques's totalizing vision (even as it informs the ethical stakes of the play as a whole) is all too happily ignored by the pastoral lovers who direct their attention instead to the pursuit of romantic desire, and ultimately, marriage. Jaques's claim to worldly experience is immediately mocked by Rosalind who says she prefers a merry fool over a sad philosopher ("And your experience makes you sad. I had rather have a fool to make me merry than experience to make me sad—and to travel for it too!"; 4.1.24-25). Orlando and Touchstone too display little desire to engage with Jaques in philosophical terms (only Duke Senior deliberately seeks his satirical company), either making fun of his selfseriousness or ignoring his advice entirely: Orlando initially says that he would be better acquainted with Jaques ("I do desire we may be better strangers"; 3.2.239), but he quickly loses interest when Jaques admonishes him for being in love ("The worst fault you have is to be in love"; 3.2.261), thus effectively rejecting an opportunity for an avowedly asexual male bonding ("Will you sit down with me, and we two will rail against our mistress, the world, and all our misery"; 3.2.256-7) in favor of an affectively charged, homoerotic friendship with Rosalind-as-Ganymede. It is precisely by *not* taking Jaques seriously that the play is able to bring about an imaginary resolution to the real contradiction that had initially prompted these characters to seek refuge in Arden: the propertarian logic of an emerging capitalist economy, epitomized by the custom of primogeniture, which has forced brothers to compete against each other. As soon as

they enter the Forest of Arden, Orlando and Rosalind are no longer concerned about the intractable forces that led to their displacement and disenfranchisement, preoccupied as they are with the far more important business of falling in love.

Cynthia Marshall has argued that Jaques functions as a figure of negation through which the play acknowledges the real tensions explored in Act 1, even as it represses this underlying reality for the duration of the pastoral scenes: "the melancholy Jacques . . . takes on the melancholic burden set down by the other characters upon their entry into Arden."403 But given that the contradictions of property and possession, far from being repressed, are variously invoked through the play, it would be more accurate to say that the reality of class conflict, while latent, is never entirely absent from the consciousness of the audience. Rather, the audience is made aware of the real contradictions of their society, even as they allow themselves to be moved by the imaginary resolution brought about by the play's romantic plot. What occurs is an interplay of perception, where the audience is made to provisionally (but not completely) forget the intractable-existential problems that beset the exiled characters who are, for the time being, allowed to freely pursue their romantic interests and forge new bonds and identities. Neither Jaques's melancholy nor the romance resolution is to be taken too seriously in and of itself. Instead, they are meant to be grasped as fictions believed only in a provisional sense, but fictions that can nevertheless bring alternative realities to the foreground of the audience's consciousness.

The play operates under the proposition that the interplay of perception afforded by the process of theatrical fiction-making has the capacity to transcend an otherwise intractable reality of violence. Or, as Touchstone puts it, there is much virtue in "if":

> I knew when seven justices could not take on a quarrel; but when the parties were met themselves, one of them thought but of an "if"—as, "if you said so then I said

⁴⁰³ Cynthia Marshall, "The Doubled Jaques and Constructions of Negation in As You Like It," Shakespeare Quarterly 49.4 (1998), 384.

so"—and they shook hands and swore brothers. Your "if" is the only peacemaker: much virtue in "if." (5.4.90-94)

The intractable situation of brotherly conflicts (which, as we have seen, stands in for class conflict) can only be resolved if one or both of them choose to voluntarily forgo their right to property and status. To imagine a violent overthrow of the elder brothers by the younger brothers (or vice versa) would not be enough, since it would only reproduce, in inverted form, the tragic pattern of revenge that had characterized the banishment of Duke Senior and Orlando in the first place. As in *The Tempest*, the resolution of *As You Like It* hinges on the miraculous transformation of the villainous brothers, who must be made to voluntarily give up precisely that which they were willing to kill their brothers in order to possess. In this respect, even the marriage of Orlando and Rosalind is secondary to (in that, it depends upon) the engagement of Oliver and Celia that precedes it, which prompts the reformed Oliver to renounce all his inheritance to his younger brother, choosing instead to lead the life of a shepherd:

ORLANDO Is't possible that on so little acquaintance you should like her? That but seeing, you should love her? And loving, woo? And wooing, she should

grant? And will you persevere to enjoy her?

OLIVER Neither call the giddiness of it in question, the poverty of her, the small

acquaintance, my sudden wooing, nor sudden consenting, but say with me, "I love Aliena." Say with her that she loves me. Consent with both, that we may enjoy each other. It shall be to your good, for my father's house and all the revenue that was old Sir Roland's will I estate upon

you, and here live and die a shepherd. (5.2.1-11)

If, as Montrose suggests, the marriage of Orlando and Rosalind serves the romance fantasy of the rising gentry class and their desire for upward social mobility, the marriage of Oliver and Celia (as Aliena) would seem to enact a reverse fantasy, one that entails the voluntary renunciation of property and status in favor of companionate marriage based solely on affective-erotic bond. The primacy attributed to marital bond is shown to have an unexpectedly egalitarian consequence as

it allows Oliver to act against his class interest in a way that Orlando does not (Orlando's desire for Rosalind, like Bassanio's desire for Portia, aligns with his desire for advancement). On the one hand, the audience is aware that Aliena is in fact Celia and know that, by marrying a shepherdess, Oliver is in fact be gaining a greater estate than the one he has just renounced. But the awareness of this possibility is made to enhance, rather than detract from, the magnitude of Oliver's conversion, which effectively overturns not only the custom of primogeniture, but also the structure of feeling that informs the hierarchy of class relations. Neither the audience nor the characters (not even Rosalind) can anticipate that a message will be delivered *after* the marriage ceremony, informing everyone present that Duke Frederick has restored the dukedom back to his brother. If the message hadn't arrived, we can only assume, the couples would have continued to live as shepherds.

In the end, it does not greatly matter whether these characters return to court or stay in Arden. What matters more is the extent to which the play allows the audience to imagine an alternative way of (co-)existence that transcends—rather than merely inverts—the divisions of Elizabethan society (e.g., court and country, gentleman and laborer, man and woman, elder and younger brother) in a way that feels emotionally compelling, and hence, sufficiently real: a process of imaginary levelling whereby the seemingly intractable regime of property relations that undergirds the separation of self and other (*meum et tuum*) gives way to a collective consciousness based on the perception of a shared environment. The emancipatory potential of *As You Like It* hinges on its capacity to bring forth this vision of a common world as an alternative reality that is ontological prior to (and more desirable than) the emergent reality of capitalist social relations to which the play responds. This effect is achieved in part through the unique ontology of the Elizabethan theatre, whose minimal scenic design depends (more so than

the naturalistic theaters of later centuries) on the audience's willingness to behold the Forest of Arden in the same platform stage that would have been, a moment ago, the ruthless court of Duke Fredrick. Not only does the transition between the two worlds occur in the same stage space (with possible doubling of Duke Fredrick and Duke Senior), but it is made possible through the active participation of the London audience who willingly undergo, in their mind's eyes, an analogous epistemological-affective transformation as the play's most intractable characters, Oliver and Fredrick.

It might be objected that nothing has actually changed except what is virtually imagined. But it is precisely this desire to bring to life a virtual reality—to sustain a collective belief in an invisible Arden—that will inform the radical politics of the English Revolution. In the years between 1640 and 1660, the English people would emerge as a collective agent in the political process in a hitherto unseen capacity, a revolutionary development accompanied by a wide-spread diffusion of radical ideas through mass publications, which brought utopian proposals to mainstream political discourse. 404 The impact of revolutionary politics on English literature is nowhere more evident than in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which dramatizes humanity's fall from the original conditions of Paradise—conceived as a pastoral ecology sustained by collective labor—precisely when the radical vision of egalitarian communism proposed by some of the English

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⁴⁰⁴ The term "revolution," describing a radical rupture in government whether as a result of a popular movement or not, is used advisedly. Historians have argued that the events leading up to (and following) 1649 in England constituted an unprecedented expression of popular sovereignty (with parallels to the French Revolution of 1789) as it involved the direct and indirect participation of a broad range of social groups, including ordinary men and women formally excluded from official political processes. Interpretations vary, however, with regards to the dominant forces and agents that motivated the execution of Charles I and the abolition of the House of Lords. For a useful discussion of the revolutionary tradition in the West, see David Parker, ed., *Revolutions and Revolutionary Traditions in the West, 1560-1991* (London: Routledge, 2000). See especially Ann Hughes's essay in the same volume, "The English Revolution of 1649," 34-52. On English literature during the revolutionary era, see Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric, and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

revolutionaries, notably the Diggers, appeared to have irretrievably receded from public consciousness in the wake of the Stuart Restoration. By imagining prelapsarian life not as a state of idyllic stasis but as a viable mode of social existence characterized by vitality and dynamism, Milton's poem attempts to revive—and reclaim—the loftiest ideals and utopian visions produced during the revolution at the moment of the its apparent failure.

Milton's valorization of companionate marriage ("Hail wedded Love") over the martial-heroic ambitions of Satan, whose aristocratic pride is the cause of his downfall, has sometimes been viewed as indicative of the ethos of an emerging (Protestant) bourgeoisie characterized by privacy, interiority, and heterosexuality. In this sense, Milton's epic is really an anti-epic that effectively marks the end of an antique genre, even as it heralds the rise of the novel as a literary form better suited to representing the textures and rhythms of bourgeois life. This formulation may be problematic as it assumes an ideological and cultural division between landed and commercial elites, when in seventeenth-century England (unlike revolutionary France) the two groups were often one and the same with their interest closely intertwined. But the idea that the enclosed and intimate space of Milton's Paradise heralds something recognizably modern (however one defines that term) is not unfounded, given that the poem associates the Odyssean figure of Satan with the image of the European colonizer intent on the conquest of the New World. The meaning of Paradise would simply depend on how one formulates the desire that

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⁴⁰⁵ See Quint, *Inside Paradise Lost: Reading the Designs of Milton's Epic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014). Quint remarks: "Adam and Eve leave Paradise Lost cheered, officially by the happy ending of Christian promise, dramatically by the comic solution of marriage. No longer innocent, but now compromised human beings, they belong to the emergent world of the novel, the lower narrative genre of comic compromise that belongs to the subjected plain and domesticity to which they are headed, a literary world where small things must perforce stand in place of, and accomplish, great ones. Perhaps we are still in one kind of epic world after all: just as the Iliadic posturings of the devils in book 1 are replaced by their Odyssean fraud in book 2, so Milton's larger epic may at its halfway point replace the little Iliad of the War in Heaven with an Odyssey of marital reunion; but the Odyssey, as James Joyce understood and proved, is the prototype of the novel" (8).

⁴⁰⁶ See J. Martin Evans, *Milton's Imperial Epic: Paradise Lost and the Discourse of Colonialism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

informs the representation of Paradise. In what follows, I associate this desire with the perspective and agency of the emerging class of (global) proletariats as the bearers of an alternative modernity. To this end, I emphasize the perspective of the Digger movement that defined the central conflict of the English Revolution less as a contest between the feudal aristocracy and the mercantile bourgeoisie, than as on ongoing struggle of the landed and the landless.⁴⁰⁷

5. "When Adam delved and Eve span": Migration and Revolution in Paradise Lost

In *Paradise Lost*, Milton describes his poetic undertaking as an attempt to "assert eternal providence / And justify the ways of God to man" (1.25-6).⁴⁰⁸ Accordingly, Milton's poem has been viewed as a kind of theodicy in epic form, one that responds to, and seeks to make sense of, the unique historical moment in which Milton found himself, not least the recent history of England's failed revolution that has led to the poet's exile from public life, a failure that constitutes the occasion for, and the subject of, his poetic meditation. Milton's epic constitutes a revolutionary's response to "the experience of defeat," which has its own literary precedence in the works of Lucan, Ercilla, and d'Aubigné (what David Quint has called the "epics of the defeated").⁴⁰⁹ What makes *Paradise Lost* unique is that it combines two parallel plots—the story of two falls—that converge in the middle.⁴¹⁰ The poem begins with the story of Satan and his

⁴¹⁰ Quint, *Inside Paradise Lost*, 6-8.

⁴⁰⁷ On the historiographical-interpretive debates surrounding the question of social struggle, see James Holstun, *Ehud's Dagger: Class Struggle in the English Revolution* (London: Verso Books, 2002).

⁴⁰⁸ John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, eds. William Kerrigan, John Rumrich, and Stephen M. Fallon (New York: The Modern Library, 2008). All subsequent citations refer to this edition.

⁴⁰⁹ See Hill, *The Experience of Defeat: Milton and Some Contemporaries* (London: Faber, 1984). Hill's book was published during the Thatcher era when the progressive coalition suffered a crushing defeat. On the counter-tradition of epic linked to the perspective of losers, see Quint, *Epic and Empire* (1993).

followers in the wake of their military defeat (Book 1-2), a prequal to the story of Genesis that simultaneously takes up the traditional subject of epic—war—with its winners and losers. But the ideological-generic paradigm of imperial conflict soon gives way to the story of a married couple, Adam and Eve, ensconced in the pastoral ecology of work and leisure that is Paradise (Book 4-5).⁴¹¹ In its emphasis on place, Milton's pastoral turn amounts to a formal and ethical repudiation of the expansionary impulse of empires and the attendant tradition of martial-heroic epic, which his poem purports to supersede: "Wars, hitherto the only argument / Heroic deemed, chief mast'ry to dissect / With long and tedious havoc fabled knights / In battles feigned; the better fortitude / Of patience and heroic martyrdom / Unsung" (9.28-33). Instead of functioning as a temporary retreat from heroic action (as is typical of the use of embedded pastoral scenes in Renaissance epics), Paradise-as-pastoral functions as an ontologically privileged place in relation to which the meaning of heroic agency can be newly defined.

By casting Adam and Eve—joint laborers in Paradise—as the principal actors in his new epic, Milton points to a vision of history that recognizes the collective sovereignty of that vast majority of people who work for a living. In a move that is as radical as it is deeply Christian, Milton imagines a kind of *popular* epic that recognizes how human capacity is grounded in (and afforded by) the ongoing and reciprocal interaction with a shared environment in relation to which they have their being. In this, Milton's epic-as-pastoral responds less to the readerly desire to see good triumph over evil (by staging an emotionally satisfying overthrow of the arch

⁴¹¹ "Pastoral is the dominant mode for the portrayal of Eden and the life of prelapsarian Adam and Eve. Though our first parents are gardeners rather than shepherds and herdsmen, their life in Eden exhibits the essential qualities of Golden Age or Arcadian pastoral." Barbara K. Lewalski, *Paradise Lost and the Rhetoric of Literary Forms* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 173. Lewalski associates pastoral with the absence of labor and hardship, and thus distinguishes it from the georgic and comedic modes. The distinction may be less important, however, if we associate pastoral with a momentary respite from, rather than a complete absence of, work and hardship. For an eloquent illustration of this idea of pastoral through the example of Primo Levi, see Alpers, *What is Pastoral*, 3-7.

imperial foe, Satan, for instance, as one might see in certain pageants in the mystery cycles) than to the utopian impulse to realistically depict the conditions of prelapsarian life in all its concrete and mundane details: the desire, in short, to imagine Paradise as a place in which one might actually want to live. The phenomenology of *Paradise Lost* depends on the capacity of the reader to willingly participate in the fiction of Paradise—to take it seriously as if it were real—in such a way that would estrange them from their own routine (fallen) existence. To participate in *Paradise Lost*, in this way, is to engage in a continual movement to and away from Paradise. It is to take part in a constant exercise in double vision, where you allow yourself to be moved by the image of prelapsarian life (you are made to imagine what it means to *be* Adam and Eve), all the while registering the ontological gap that separates Paradise from the world you live in now, which results in a heightened perception of both.

The readerly subject thus fashioned is one that is profoundly ironic and critical (or dialectical, as Stanley Fish puts it). 412 But it is a kind of subjectivity that imagines its own alienation specifically as a form of displacement or a loss of habitat ("O unexpected stroke, worst than of Death! / Must I leave thee Paradise? Thus leave / Thee Native Soile?; 11.268). Recent ecocritical approaches to *Paradise Lost* have sought to trace the emergence of a protoenvironmental consciousness in this desire for place. 413 But these studies tend to approach the subject of the environment separately from political history proper, sometimes deliberately, so that the question of how Milton's environmental imagination might relate to his attempt to account for the historical failure of the English Revolution goes unaddressed; nor do they offer

⁴¹² "Paradise Lost is a dialectical experience which has the advantage traditionally claimed for dialectic of involving the respondent in his own edification." Stanley Fish, Surprised by Sin: The Reader in Paradise Lost (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 49.

⁴¹³ For an environmental approach that emphasizes the centrality of place in *Paradise Lost*, see Hiltner, *Milton and Ecology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

sufficient explanation as to how such a renewed awareness of environmentality as the ground of human existence might translate into a viable political praxis in this period. Insofar as Milton's turn to pastoral constitutes not a retreat from worldly action but an attempt to reimagine epichistorical agency from the standpoint of the laboring populace, we are enjoined to ask: To what extent is Milton's environmentalism a function of revolutionary politics? What kind of heroic action on the part of the displaced subject(s) does Milton's epic afford?

In its emphasis on the foundational role of place in the fashioning of selves, *Paradise*Lost bears a crucial affinity to the utopian-egalitarian philosophy of the Diggers, powerfully articulated in and made available through the published writings of Winstanley, which put forth a vision of popular politics that may properly be described as an *ecology of the dispossessed*:⁴¹⁴

[T]he earth was not made purposely for you, to be Lords of it, and we to be your Slaves, Servants, and Beggers; but it was made to be a common Livelihood to all, without respect of persons: And that you buying and selling of Land, and the Fruits of it, one to another, is The cursed thing. . . For the power of inclosing Land, and owning Propreity, was brought into the Creation by your Ancestors by the Sword. . . . [T]he main thing we aym at . . . is this, To lay hold upon, and as we stand in need, to cut and fell, and make the best advantage we can of the Woods and Trees, that grow upon the Commons, To be stock for our selves, and our poor Brethren . . . and to provide us bread to eat, till the Fruit of our labours in the Earth bring forth increase. 415

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⁴¹⁴ The ongoing debate about the social origins of the English civil war has revolved around competing interpretations of agency and causality. The traditional Whiggish and Marxist interpretation of these events as a liberal or bourgeois revolution have been met with criticism by revisionist historians who, in their effort to challenge overarching narratives of historical development, have privileged short-term, contingent causes originating from (and limited to) the sphere of high politics. This account has in turn been challenged by post-revisionist historians who have emphasized the broad alliance of social groups variously invested in the political process, by paying greater attention to the unofficial forms of publication (e.g., preaching, pamphlets, newspapers, stage-plays) that proliferated during the breakdown of censorship, which led to forms of politics characterized by direct and indirect appeal to popularity. By emphasizing the multiplicity of overlapping associations and publics (rather than a particular social group or class), these approaches seek to avoid reducing the history of the civil war to a single cause or conflict, focusing instead on the process of collective negotiation through which the governed played a role in their own governance: the complex interaction between political leaders and the general public whereby popular sovereignty could be expressed in the course of the revolutionary era. For a useful overview of the historiographical debate, see Hughes, The Causes of the English Civil War (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991; 1998). ⁴¹⁵ Winstanley, "A Declaration from the Poor Oppressed People of England" (1659), in The Complete Works of Gerrard Winstanley, Volume 2, eds. Thomas N. Corns, Ann Hughes, and David Lowenstein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 31-32.

What is remarkable here is not so much the nascent environmentalism per se, but how the renewed consciousness of land as the true source of wealth and power (from which the general populace has been historically displaced) points to a conception of popular sovereignty founded on the idea of universal franchise ("without respect of persons"). The Diggers were distinguished from the liberal-constitutional Levellers (who demanded full manhood suffrage only for all property-owning males or "free Englishmen") in that they sought to extend franchise to all men regardless of whether they possessed property. 416 On the one hand, the Levellers and the Diggers were both radicals of their time, who were motivated by the recognition that political freedom was inseparable from economic freedom. The Levellers, however, equated freedom with private property and therefore objected to the extension of franchise to the unpropertied on the basis that the latter's economic dependence on their masters and landlords made them politically dependent also (a not wholly unreasonable assumption in this period). The Diggers, on the other hand, pushed for a universal-democratic franchise that included the unpropertied masses, an argument based on the premise that the earth is a "common treasury" that belonged to those who live and work in it. By conceiving landownership as a function of labor, the Diggers extended the Leveller conception of liberty to all who work in the universal commons that is the earth. As Winstanley states: "True freedom lies where a man receives his nourishment and preservation, and that is in the use of the earth."⁴¹⁷

The rhetorical power of Winstanley's writing derives from a vision of collectivism that presents itself as timeless, self-evident, and universal: a vision that claims to be revealing an

⁴¹⁶ The distinction between the Diggers and the Levellers is a significant one. In *The World turned Upside Down*, Hill attributes the failure of the English Revolution partly to the insufficient egalitarianism of the Independents that represented small property owners at the exclusion of wage laborers and servants, which, by retaining the hierarchical division between landlords and tenants, would usher in the restoration of the greatest of all landlords, the monarch.

⁴¹⁷ Quoted in Hill, World Turned Upside Down, 129.

alternative reality that has always been there (literally, the earth) but which has hitherto been obscured by a certain false consciousness that serves to justify existing property relations. If the Levellers claimed to be restoring England to the state of liberty before the Norman yoke while taking for granted the postlapsarian condition of private property and class division, the Diggers asserted that society can and must return to the prelapsarian condition of Paradise that preceded the institution of property as such. The success of such a movement would—in theory—depend on the degree to which the public could be persuaded to accept the conditions of an imagined Paradise as ontologically and morally prior to those that support the status quo, enough to be moved to model their own society and behavior according to the principles of the former. It is not enough to perceive Paradise as an inert object of nostalgia, a state of being only to be regained in the afterlife. The paradisal conditions must be grasped as a vital and urgent necessity which is at the same time eminently reasonable, in order for a social movement to be mobilized around the belief that it is both possible and necessary to institute a prelapsarian model of society in the here-and-now. It is crucial, therefore, that the Digger movement did not put its stocks on an otherworldly no-place, but instead sought to firmly root itself—through the act of digging—in the very ground on which all human beings must stand.

Milton can hardly be described as a Digger, but his poem, published around the time of Winstanley's death, may be said to participate in the radical vision of the latter insofar as it represents (and imaginatively restore) Paradise as a place founded on unalienated labor. The reader first encounters Paradise through the eyes of Satan as he discovers near the border of Eden, a wooded enclosure on top of a steep hill surrounded by a wilderness of vegetation acting as a barrier ("Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides / With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild, / Access denied"; 4.135-7). Satan's perspective is that of a predatory outsider preying on a

sheepfold ("a prowling wolf, / Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey, / Watching where shepherds pen their flocks at eve / In hurdled cotes amid the field secure"; 4.183-6). As he climbs the "steep and savage hill" (4.172), however, Satan is stricken with wonder at what lies within the wooded enclosure ("Beneath him with new wonder now he views / To all delight of human sense exposed / In narrow room Nature's whole wealth, yea more, / A Heavn's on Earth"; 4.205-8). What follows is a description of Paradise's variegated geography ("A happy rural seat of various view"; 4.247), its soils, trees, fruits, flowers, brooks, rivers, fountains, all of which rendered vividly to the reader's imagination.

Pleasure is the overarching paradigm that informs the heterogeneous descriptions of the paradisal landscape (Eden in Hebrew means "pleasure"). Specifically, it is a kind of pleasure granted to the inhabitants of Paradise, who maintain a naturally reciprocal relationship with their surroundings as they work in, and are nourished by, the place of which they are a part—a state of happy emplacement figured in the following *tableau vivant* where Adam and Eve, having completed their daily work in the garden, are seen enjoying their evening refreshment:

Under a tuft of shade that on a green
Stood whispering soft, by a fresh fountain side
They sat them down, and after no more toil
Of their sweet gard'ning labor than sufficed
To recommend cool Zephyr, and made ease
More easy, wholesome thirst and appetite
More grateful, to their supper fruits they fell,
Nectarine fruits which the compliant boughs
Yielded them, sidelong as they sat recline
On the soft downy bank damasked with flow'rs:
The savory pulp they chew, and in the rind
Still as they thirsted scooped the brimming stream. (4.325-36)

The pleasures of Paradise are "recommend[ed]" to Adam and Eve not despite but because of the "sweet gard'ning labor" they perform. Work in Paradise is both necessary and sufficient. It not only rewards Adam and Eve with "supper fruits" that fall from "compliant boughs" with ease,

but also affords them the "wholesome thirst and appetite" necessary for them to enjoy the very fruits of their labor.

We witness this scene from the alienated perspective of Satan, who, tormented by the pleasures of Paradise of which he is deprived, justifies his intention to destroy the place whose beauty and innocence he acknowledges. The dominant effect of his speech is that of painful contrast, and its theme, the impossibility of mutuality:

O Hell! What do mine eyes with grief behold, Into our room of bliss thus high advanced Creatures of other mold, earth-born perhaps, Not spirits, yet Heavnly spirits bright Little inferior; whom my thoughts pursue With wonder, and could love, so lively shines In them divine resemblance, . . . Thank him who puts me loath to this revenge On you who wrong me not for him who wronged. And should I at your harmless innocence Melt, as I do, yet public reason just, Honor and empire with revenge enlarged, By conquering this new land, compels me now To do what else though damned I should abhor. (4.368-92)

The imperative to conquest is justified by an appeal to necessity ("yet public reason just . . . compels me now") that is really the zero-sum logic of revenge and empire ("Honor and empire with revenge enlarged"). The narrator is quick to denounce this as the self-serving rhetoric of tyrants ("So spake the fiend, and with necessity / The tyrant's plea, excused his devilish deeds"; 4.393-4). The false necessity of empire is opposed to the alternative ethos that governs Paradise, where life revolves around an alternating rhyme of pleasurable labor followed by welcome respite ("God hath set / Labor and rest, as day and night to men / Successive"; 4.612-3). The necessity of labor is what distinguishes the native inhabitants of Paradise (who belong there because they live and work in that place) from the insidious outsider driven by the desire for conquest and revenge (who has no reason to work or care for the place). It is also what dignifies

Adam and Eve in their role as the stewards of Paradise, entrusted by God with the authority and responsibility over the natural world ("This Paradise I give thee, count it thine / to till and keep"; 8.319-20). The notion that right to land derives from labor corresponds to the basic idea behind the Digger movement that the earth belongs to those who make use of it. Here, it becomes the basis of Milton's anti-imperial critique and the utopian-pastoral impulse that informs his representation of Paradise.

Insofar as the reader is invited to inhabit the perspective of Adam and Eve as paradisal labor, it is possible to speak of a certain poetics of labor in Milton's poem, where labor functions as a device through which Paradise comes to be organized into meaningful form. Significantly, it is only human labor that counts as meaningful action in Paradise:

other creatures all day long
Rove idle unemployed, and less need rest;
Man hath his daily work of body or mind
Appointed, which declares his dignity,
And the regard of Heav'n on all his ways;
While other animals unactive range,
And of their doings God takes no account. (4.616-626)

The important distinction between labor and rest does not apply to other creatures because their doings are "idle," "unemployed," and "unactive." Milton is not rejecting the agency of non-human actors per se (after all, they "Rove" and "range" all day). His point is that human beings are the only free and moral agents in Paradise insofar as they are endowed with the ability to

⁴¹⁸ For a recent study that emphasizes the centrality of labor in Milton's poem, see Saskia Cornes, "Milton's Manuring: *Paradise Lost*, Husbandry, and the Possibilities of Waste," *Milton Studies* 61.1 (2019): 65-85. Cornes suggests that an emphasis on the literal dimension of labor would complicate pastoral readings of Paradise "that view work in Eden as primarily symbolic or spiritual self-discipline" (68). For Cornes, "Milton's Eden is not pastoral" (69). My understanding of Edenic labor largely accords with that of Cornes, but I disagree with her unproblematic association of pastoral with *otium*. As noted earlier, pastoral does not mean the absence of labor per se but a temporary respite from toil and hardship. It is only when the necessity of labor is understood as being diametrically opposed to leisure (and hence, belonging to a realm of oppressive unfreedom) that labor and pastoral become incompatible. Milton's Paradise, with its oscillating rhythm of labor and leisure, may be better understood as a reworking of the pastoral trope in the context of the prelapsarian world.

purposefully engage in meaningful action with regards to (and with an awareness of) the whole of the environment, the socio-ecological totality in relation to which the meaning of a given action can be interpreted in the first place. Labor constitutes a form of action assigned properly to human beings and it is the latter's capacity for labor (which is the capacity to create) that distinguishes them from other creatures ("Man hath his daily work of body or mind, / Appointed, which declares his dignity"). By engaging in labor, Adam and Eve continually "reform" Paradise in a way that the latter is made both habitable and intelligible to its human inhabitants. We are told that there is a natural propensity toward wilderness and excess that necessitates the intervention of Adam and Eve, who (through cropping, pruning, and manuring) work to "improve" the process of natural reproduction. Each morning, Adam and Eve confer with each other about how best to fulfill their work ("Then commune how that day they best may ply / Their growing work; for much their work outgrew / The hands' dispatch of two gard'ning so wide"; 9.201-3). The rate of natural growth exceeds the modest ability of the two gardeners; but they only need to tend to their immediate surroundings, at least until the arrival of future generations ("These paths and bowers doubt not but our joint hand / Will keep from wilderness with ease, as wide / As we need walk, till younger hands ere long / Assist us"; 9.244-47).

The purpose of Adam and Eve's joint labor, we are led to believe, is not to impose mastery over nature (which is impossible) but to cultivate knowledge of their surroundings in order to arrive at a greater awareness of their place in Paradise and thus to better understand the meaning (or "reason") of their being-there:

Yet not so strictly hath our Lord imposed Labor, as to debar us when we need Refreshment, whether food, or talk between, Food of the mind, or this sweet intercourse Of looks and smiles, for smiles from reason flow, To brute denied, and are of love the food, Love not the lowest end of human life. For not to irksome toil, but to delight He made us, and delight to reason joined. (9.235-43)

Unalienated labor is described an act of communion that is coextensive with (rather than opposed to) pleasurable exchanges of love and understanding. It is a form of ritual that affirms sociality ("sweet intercourse"), a prayer that celebrates and renews the bond between God and his creatures (and thus, properly an act of religion in its etymological sense of rejoining). The critical debate about whether Milton associates Edenic labor more with spiritual self-discipline or with practical, manual work, while illuminating, ultimately misses the point insofar as what is gestured toward is an expansive and transformative conception of labor, whose point is precisely to combine knowing and doing, theory and practice. Milton imagines Edenic labor as a form of production that entails a continual (re)production of consciousness and sociality; it is a process of world-making through which Adam and Eve participate in the reformation of the dynamic and unfinished project that is their being-in-Paradise. Labor functions as a vehicle of existential knowledge: a phenomenological praxis informed by a desire to better orient oneself in relation to one's surroundings and, in so doing, realize more fully what it means to be in the world.

We see this desire in Eve for whom the burgeoning awareness of the complex and interdependent relations that constitute her immediate environment leads to her wish to understand the larger universe in which she exists:

All seasons and their change, all please alike, With charms of earliest birds; pleasant the sun When first on this delightful land he spreads His orient beams, on herb, tree, fruit, and flow'r. Glist'ring with dew; fragrant the fertile earth After soft showers; and sweet the coming on Of grateful evening mild, then silent night With this her solemn bird and this fair moon, And these the gems of heav'n, her starry train:

. . .

But wherefore all night shine these, for whom This glorious sight, when sleep hath shut all eyes? (4.640-658)

The full answer to this question would have to wait until Adam's conversation with Raphael in Book 8, where the archangel expounds the mystery of the Creation from the perspective of monist materialism that counters schools of philosophy founded on mind-body dualism. 419 This dialogic-dialectical process of arriving at knowledge is opposed to the asymmetrical form of knowledge aimed at mastery, exemplified by Satan's attempt at espionage where he eavesdrops on Adam and Eve to gain advantageous information (that eating from Tree of Knowledge is prohibited) in order to bring about their destruction. The limitation of such knowledge-as-power is illustrated by the estranged perspective of Satan, who is only capable of perceiving Paradise one-sidedly (which is to say, un-dialectically) in terms of what he is not and what he has not:

> Sight hateful, sight tormenting! Thus these two Imparadised in one another's arms The happier Eden, shall enjoy their fill Of bliss on bliss, while I to Hell am thrust, Where neither joy nor love, but fierce desire, Among our other torments not the least, Still unfulfilled with pain and longing pines. Yet let me not forget what I have gained From their own mouths; all is not theirs it seems: One fatal Tree there stands of Knowledge called, Forbidden them to taste: knowledge forbidden? Suspicious, reasonless. (4.505-16)

What is described is a form of knowing that is a kind of unknowing, one that operates by creating ethical antinomies but is unable to think through and resolve its own oppositional categories (by eating from the Tree of Knowledge, Adam falls to the same intractable condition: "let him boast / His knowledge of good lost, and evil got, / Happier, had it sufficed him to have known / Good by itself, and evil not at all"; 11.86-9). What is gained is the tautological certainty

⁴¹⁹ On Milton's materialism, see Fallon, Milton among the Philosophers: Poetry and Materialism in Seventeenth-Century England (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

of self-sameness, which is experienced as the boundless homogeneity of Hell from which there is no escape because it is effectively place-less ("from the bottom stirs, / Hell within him, for within him Hell / He brings, and round about him, nor from Hell / One step no more than from himself can fly / By change of place"; 4.19-23). What is lost is the ability to continually renew one's relation to the world from the inside by being part of it. Satan describes this sense of alienation as a loss of place—of Earth—where he might have walked around, dwelled, and found refuge:

O Earth, how like to Heavn'n, if not preferred

• •

With what delight could I have walked thee round, If I could joy in aught, sweet interchange Of hill and valley, rivers, woods and plains, Now land, now sea, and shores with forest crowned, Rocks, dens, and caves; but I in none of these Find place or refuge; and the more I see Pleasures around me, so much more I feel Torment within me, as from the hateful siege Of contraries; all good to me becomes Bane, and in Heav'n much worse would be my state. But neither here seek I, no more in Heav'n, To dwell, unless by mast'ring Heav'n's Supreme. (9.99-125)

The central drama of Milton's poem, the fall of humanity, revolves around this relationship between person and place. As a narrative event, the Fall is simultaneously the cause and the effect of a rift that occurs between Paradise and its inhabitant. This moment of rupture is poignantly rendered in Eve's lament that describes the Fall as a displacement from "native soil":

O unexpected stroke, worse than death! Must I thus leave thee Paradise? Thus leave Thee native soil, these happy walks and shades, Fit haunt of gods? (11.268-271)

The official injunction to leave Paradise comes some time after Eve eats from the tree of Knowledge ("she pluck'd, she eat: / Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat / Sighing

through all her Works gave signs of woe, / That all was lost"; 9.781-4), so that the physical removal from Paradise has the effect of confirming what has already happened, that Eve (and Adam) have become aliens in their own land, unauthorized workers no longer permitted to till the soil that used to be their home (Michael says: "But longer in this Paradise to dwell / Permits not; to remove thee I am come, / And send thee from the Garden forth to till / The ground whence thou wast tak'n, fitter Soile"; 11.259-62). For the reader, Eve's lament is felt to be all the more poignant because she has already fallen and therefore relates to her home as an object of longing and desire ("where I had hope to spend, / Quiet though sad, the respite of that day / That must be mortal to us both."; 11.271-3). What is lamented is the loss of the unique connection that Eve had with her working surroundings, the familiar things that have meaning to her because she has given them her care and attention in the course of her daily work:

O flow'rs,
That never will on other climate grow,
My early visitation, and my last
At ev'n, which I bred up with tender hand
From the first op'ning bud, and gave ye names,
Who now shall rear ye to the sun, or rank
Your tribes, and water from th' ambrosial fount?
Thee lastly nuptial bower, by me adorned
With what to sight or smell was sweet; from thee
How shall I part, and wither wander down
Into a lower world, to this obscure
And wild, how shall we breathe in other air
Less pure, accustomed to immortal fruits? (11.273-85)

The question of what causes the Fall (and hence, who or what is responsible) has long been a subject of critical debate, one that often centers around the interpretation of the Separation scene in Book 9. From a narrative perspective, the moment that would irrevocably seal humanity's fate may at first appear relatively straightforward: it is when Eve is separated from Adam, which gives Satan the opportunity to persuade Eve to eat from the Tree of Knowledge.

That this was the point of no return is emphasized by the narrator's interjection, which lays the blame squarely on Eve's hapless shoulders ("O much deceived, much failing, hapless Eve, / Of thy presumed return! Event perverse! / Thou never from that hour in Paradise / Found'st either sweet repast, or sound repose;"; 9.404-7). As Fish has shown, the narrator's comment should not be taken at face value but viewed as one among many interpretive possibilities afforded a poem that delights in staging contradictory accounts of the same event from the perspectives of characters in conflict with each other. The separation of Eve and Adam—as an event—instantiates such an interpretive conflict. It creates a tension in the couple's relationship that draws attention to the reality of gender hierarchy that puts a strain on the principle of mutuality and kinship upon which paradisal unions are supposedly based. It is all the more significant, therefore, that the fatal estrangement of Adam and Eve is brought about when Eve proposes to institute a division in their usual system of joint labor with the purported aim of increasingly productivity. The contradiction of gender difference is translated into, and becomes inseparable from, the problem of labor division:

Adam, well may we labor still to dress
This garden, still to tend plant, herb and flow'r,
Our pleasant task enjoined, but till more hands
Aid us, the work under our labor grows,
Luxurious by restraint; what we by day
Lop overgrown, or prune, or prop, or bind,
One night or two with wanton growth derides
Tending to wild.

. . .

Let us divide our labors, thou where choice Leads thee, or where most needs, whether to wind The woodbine roud this arbor, or direct The clasping ivy where to climb, while I In yonder spring of roses intermixed With myrtle, find what to redress till noon. (9.205-19)

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⁴²⁰ On the Miltonic reader as the perceiver of irony, see Fish, *Surprised by Sin* (1967).

Eve's argument hinges on the notion that sociality is a hindrance to work, which goes against the idea, expostulated by Adam, that the purpose of labor is to commune with each other and one's surroundings, that sociality is its own reward and an end in itself ("For while so near each other thus all day / Our task we choose, what wonder if so near / Looks intervene and smiles, or object new / Casual discourse draw on, which intermits / Our day's work brought to little, though begun / Early, and th'hour of supper comes unearned"; 9.220-225). Eve does not directly challenge this notion of labor-as-discourse; nor does she continue with her point about how they will get more work done if they are not distracted by one another. The conversation quickly turns away from the initial topic of productivity (the purported reason for dividing labor) to the subject of Eve's individual freedom (i.e., her capacity to stand as an individual apart from her relation to Adam) and whether it would be sufficient to withstand the threat posed by Satan as forewarned by Raphael. The economic argument in favor of the division of labor (that it would make them more efficient workers) is revealed to merely a symptom of a more fundamental rift in a martial union that is also a union of labor: the argument that gains traction only to the extent that Eve's individuality is viewed as being contingent upon her separation from Adam rather than being confirmed by her relationship with him. The contradiction inherent in a patriarchal union, which had hitherto bound the two individuals to each other and to a common place of work, is exposed and exacerbated to a point where the two no longer inhabit the same place, even when they are together ("Go; for thy stay, not free, absents thee more"; 9.372).

When read as a scene that dramatizes the mytho-poetic origin of alienation (from place, labor, society), the separation of Adam and Eve would seem to stage a conflict between two incompatible discourses of freedom. On the one hand is the notion that associates freedom with the solitary hero whose individuality is defined by their capacity to stand alone and apart from

others ("what is faith, love, virtue unassayed / Alone, without exterior help sustained?; 9.335-6). On the other is the notion of collective freedom based on the paradoxical yet necessary idea of individuality-in-union ("Among unequals what society / Can sort, what harmony or true delight? / Which must be mutual, in proportion due / Given and received"; 8.383-6). That the latter is to be preferred is made clear by the way that the poem consistently associates individual heroism of the kind that Eve says she wants with that of Satan, while the same is rejected on the formal level by Milton's critique of epic in favor of pastoral. At the same time, the viability of the ideal of freedom-realized-in-society, presented as an alternative to Satanic-epic individualism, is challenged by the reality of gender in Paradise, which puts Adam's high-minded exhortation about the necessity of mutuality, while true, in danger of sounding naive and insufficiently cognizant of the dimension of Realpolitik that governs all human relations: a reality of difference that informs our interpretation of Adam and Eve's relationship and which cannot be explained away by an appeal to their prelapsarian innocence.

nor think superfluous others' aid.

I from the influence of thy looks receive
Access in every virtue, in thy sight
More wise, more watchful, stronger, if need were
Of outward strength; while shame, thou looking on,
Shame to be overcome or overreached
Would utmost vigor raise, and raised unite.
Why shouldst not thou like sense within thee feel
When I am present, and thy trial choose
With me, best witness of thy virtue tried. (9.308-17)

But even if one reads Adam's speech with a suspicious attitude (on the lookout for signs of mystification), it is hard not to be moved by his conception of collective heroism, based, as it is, on his own experience of being invigorated by Eve's gaze ("I from the influence of thy looks receive / Access in every virtue, in thy sight / More wise, more watchful, stronger"). We recognize the truth of Adam's speech, even as we see how it falls short of addressing Eve's

discontent. In Adam's seeming incomprehension of Eve's desire for independence ("Why shouldst not thou like sense within thee feel"), the reader may well register their own distance from Paradise, knowing from experience that in the postlapsarian world they live in, what is at issue is rarely a choice between individuality and collectivity per se, but rather one between competing models of sociality where one might be allowed to be most authentically *individual* in every sense of the word. For such a reader, the problem cannot be resolved by choosing between the seemingly conflicting visions of heroic agency presented by Adam and Eve, since it is possible to recognize the necessity of society without accepting the particular model of society (i.e., a patriarchal union) thus offered. The path forward must be through a third option, implicit in Milton's representation of paradisal marriage but which ultimately points to forms of sociality beyond marriage: the capacity and freedom to choose one's associate(s) for oneself.

The paradox of *Paradise Lost* is that the revolutionary notion that you can choose your own society is contingent upon the breakdown of a given society, even one as perfect as Paradise. It is only when one perceives an irresolvable contradiction in the existing state of relations that it becomes possible and necessary to imagine different ways of being in the world. The loss of Paradise, then, may indeed be a *felix culpa*. The alienation of Adam and Eve—their physical and metaphysical removal from Paradise—irrevocably unsettles their relationship to each other and to the world in a way that opens up the possibility of new forms of society: it is a displacement that promises new forms of emplacement. Humanity's fall thus contains within itself the possibility of a redemptive scenario as Michael makes clear when he consoles the dejected Eve:

Lament not Eve, but patiently resign What justly thou hast lost; nor set thy heart, Thus over-fond, on that which is not thine; Thy going is not lonely, with thee goes Thy husband, him to follow thou art bound; Where he abides, think there thy naive soil." (11.287-92)

We may see in Michael's injunction a reaffirmation of patriarchal marriage, an attempt to contain the subversive potential displayed by the errant Eve, prone to wandering. But if so, it is one that sits uneasily with the bourgeois ideology of domesticity, given that without a household of their own, Eve and Adam are effectively in the same position as the landless laborers who would flock *en masse* to the city, roam the countryside, or emigrate to new-found settlements in distant lands. What would it even mean for Eve to wander away from Adam, or Adam from Eve, if both are homeless? As a voluntary union of migrants, the marriage of Adam and Eve comes to signify a bond that precedes property relations, a companionship among those who have nothing to lose but each other, but in each other, a world to gain:

The world was all before them, where to choose Their place of rest, and providence their guide: They hand in hand with wand'ring steps and slow, Through Eden took their solitary way." (12.646-9)

Insofar as this logic of comedy is taken as a principle of history, the alienated situation of the displaced masses would point toward the condition of their own emancipation. Or at least, such is the vision with which Milton concludes his poem, with Adam and Even on their "solitary way" but with "hand in hand."

Conclusion Migration, Mimesis, and the Moment of Criticism

Erich Auerbach's Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature (1953), to which the title of this study pays homage, begins abruptly, sans introduction, with an analysis of the scene of Odysseus's homecoming in Book 19 of *The Odyssey*. 421 After years of wandering, the hero returns to Ithaca disguised as a stranger, only to be discovered by his old housekeeper, Euryclea, who, while washing his feet, recognizes him by the scar on his leg. At this moment of heightened tension, Homer interrupts the narrative with a digression about the origin of Odysseus' scar, taking the time to describe in great length how the hero came to be wounded (during a board hunt, while vising his grandfather, Autoclyus), apparently in no hurry to return to the drama unfolding in Penelope's chamber until all the circumstantial details pertaining to the events have been fully rendered. For Auerbach, the effect of this temporal dilation is not to increase suspense, as one might assume, but to relax the tension, by directing the attention to the story of the hunt in a way that the digression fully occupies the consciousness of the reader, letting them forget, for the time being, the scene of the foot-washing at which they were present a moment ago. The digression is not a distraction, Auerbach argues, but a device intended to immerse the reader-audience in the world of storytelling. It is part of the Homeric art of makingpresent, wherein the poet deftly transports us from one scene to another, allowing each episode

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⁴²¹ Auerbach, "Odysseus's Scar," in *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. William R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953, 2003), 3-23.

to take place in our mind, fully realized: "Homer . . . knows no background. What he narrates is for the time being the only present, and fills both the stage and the reader's mind completely."⁴²²

Auerbach's characterization of the Homeric style—with its echoes of Matthew Arnold's sweetness and light—may ultimately tell us more about the critic's own desire to locate in Greek antiquity a more straightforward world than his own: an unironic world where there is hardly any need for interpretation because everything is on the surface, where phenomena can be "brought to light in perfect fullness" and "men and things stand out in a realm where everything is visible."423 This desire for perfect illumination is one that the humanist exile might have shared with the migrant-hero, Odysseus, to whom the Homeric world must be nothing if not unillumined, tossed around, as he is, by forces beyond his control or knowledge. Such a perspective of being in the world (which is also the situation of the reader-critic) must be distinguished from the perspective of the epic poet who exists outside of the world he describes (in "leisurely fashion"), free from the vicissitudes of time that inform the existence of human beings as proverbial migrants journeying through life. It is this phenomenological gap—between Odysseus and Homer, the reader and the author, the migrant and the world—that *The Odyssey* may be said to dramatize: the same gap which would later inform the perspectives of ancient Gower and the storm-tossed Pericles. In the dual perspective afforded by this structure of dramatic irony, we may locate the timeless modernity of the Homeric epic as a literature of migration: an instantiation of the interpretive impulse founded on the dialectical play of

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⁴²² Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 4-5. Auerbach goes on to contrast his account of Homeric realism (informed by the "need for an externalization of phenomena in terms perceptible to the senses"; 6) with the world of the Old Testament characterized by all that is left unsaid and unseen: a world governed by the absent presence of God which prompts the need for interpretation ("Since so much in the story is dark and incomplete, and since the reader knows that God is a hidden God, his effort to interpret it constantly finds something new to feed upon"; 15). On the centrality of interpretation in Auerbach's *Mimesis*, see Vassilis Lambropoulos, *The Rise of Eurocentrism: Anatomy of Interpretation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 3-16.

foreground and background, being and becoming, part and whole. In the desire of the migrant, we may locate the desire of criticism as such.

Migration and Mimesis is about how migration in literature prompted such a moment of criticism in Renaissance culture. Its argument is based on two simple premises: 1) that to participate in fictions about migrants is to effectively engage in critical theory, and 2) that the publication of such fictions during the Renaissance afforded avenues for critical thinking in a time when people were becoming increasingly mobile and/or subjected to the conditions that necessitated migration. By approaching migration literature as a site of popular participation, I was responding critically to the prevailing tendency in English literary studies to privilege the national as a default analytic category, to the effect that the question of mimesis is largely reduced to the problem of representing (or misrepresenting) cultural others. By conflating mimesis with the power to represent, it seemed, such studies fail to take sufficient account of the dialectical and intersubjective dimension of mimesis, which depends not only on the shaping power of the author-authority but also on the capacity of the reader-audience as collective participants in the interpretive process. The existence of such a critical public—capable of forming their own opinions and societies—has been emphasized by a growing scholarship on early modern (or post-Reformation) public sphere. That these emerging publics would have necessarily consisted of migrants of various types afforded me an opportunity to explore how literatures of migration in this period could be read not only as cultural fantasies about aliens and strangers, but also as collective histories of people coming into consciousness of their own condition of alienation in an age of mass migration. What is a literary history of migration, if not a history of the movement of people?

The decision to organize the chapters according to different genres reflects the idea that the crucial meaning of migration in literature lies in its capacity to estrange, to unsettle, and to move: not least by drawing attention to the frames (or forms) within which representation and interpretation occur in the first place. As discussed in the introduction, I approach genre as a form of mediation whereby the reality of human movement is transformed into an aesthetic object. I have focused on literary and dramatic forms that were new or particular to the Renaissance in order to investigate how these forms became newly significant by grappling with the problem of human movement. The materials covered in this study in no way exhaust the subject of migration literature in this period. The absence of a discussion about lyric poetry is perhaps the most obvious lacuna. It may also be pointed out that a literary work is more often than not a composite of multiple generic traditions, and thus allows itself to be read differently depending on which interpretive framework is adopted. My argument has been that migration in literature prompts such multiple and contradictory interpretations in part due to the radical uncertainty and undecidability inherent in migration as a liminal phenomenon. It is in this respect that migration may be said to bear a kinship with literature as analogous forms of world-making: they do not merely reflect or represent what is given in the world but have the potential to renew our perception of the world as a whole.

Whether and to what extent such a revolutionary potential was actually afforded by Renaissance literature (i.e., the extent of its social efficacy) is difficult if not impossible to determine and must therefore remain a matter of ongoing interpretation. As one critic observes, "literary history is always the history of the possibility of literature." The radical undecidability of migration in literature, in this sense, may ultimately have less to do with the

⁴²⁴ Greenblatt, "What is the History of Literature," *Critical Inquiry* 23.3 (1997): 470.

lack of empirical-historical evidence (one that would somehow illuminate the meaning of movement once and for all) than with the fact that migration-as-history is itself an open-ended and dialectical process which prompts conflicting interpretations from those seeking to make sense of such movements. Such a moment of criticism is prompted by the figure of Adam and Eve ("solitary" but "hand-in-hand") with which I conclude the fourth chapter, and which I hope would serve as an illustration of the tragicomic possibilities of modernity conceived as a history of migration. Where we go from here is yet to be decided; but any such decision—if it is to be a decision—would depend on our capacity and willingness to recognize in such migrant-figures, the still-unfolding history of our own unsettling.

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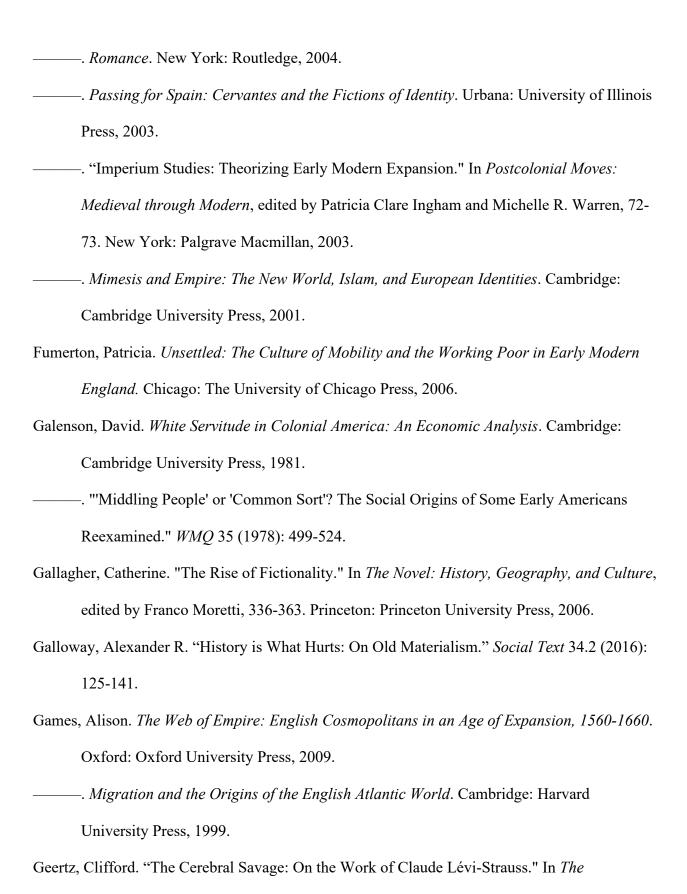
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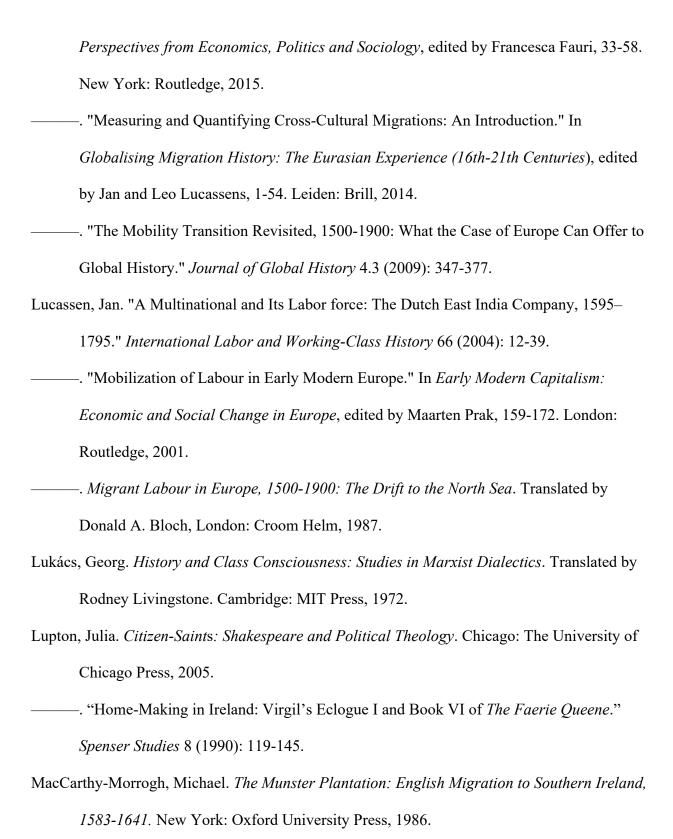
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