Rhetoric, gender, and property in English Renaissance anatomical and topographical poetry

Hinckley, Catherine Chopp, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1992
RHETORIC, GENDER, AND PROPERTY IN
ENGLISH RENAISSANCE ANATOMICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL POETRY

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the
Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

Catherine Chopp Hinckley, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1992

Dissertation Committee:

David O. Frantz
Phoebe S. Spinrad
Christian K. Zacher

Approved by

[Signature]
Adviser
Department of English
For Jim

"You frame my thoughts and fashion me within
You stop my tongue, and teach my heart to speak"
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the following sources for the illustrations in my dissertation. The Armada portrait (Plate I) and the frontispiece to De Sphaera Civitatis (Plate II) are from The Riverside Shakespeare, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974). The Ditchley portrait (Plate III) and the Sieve portrait (Plate XVI) are from Elizabeth I by Anne Somerset (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991). The April eclogue woodcut in Spenser's Shepheardes Calender (Plate IV) is from Renaissance England: Poetry and Prose from the Reformation to the Restoration, eds. Roy Lamson and Hallett Smith (New York: Norton, 1956). Bunting's map of Europe (Plate V) and the "Het Spaens Europa" map (Plate VI) are from The Discovery of the World: Maps of the Earth and the Cosmos by Elizabeth Hale (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985). The map "Aspecto Symbolico del Mundo Hispanico" (Plate VII) is from Cartographical Curiosities by Gillian Hill (London: British Museum Publications, Ltd., 1978). The frontispiece to Poly-Olbion (Plate XIV) is from Representing the English Renaissance, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: U of California P, 1988). The frontispiece to "Hymne" by George de la Mothe (Plate XV) is taken from The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry by Roy Strong (London: Thames
and Hudson, 1977). The above illustrations were xeroxed from those texts without permission of the publishers, as I was instructed to do by University Microfilms.

I have requested and am waiting for permission to use the following engravings from *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time* by Hugh Honour (New York: Pantheon, 1975): "America" by Etienne Delaune, (Plate VIII); "America" by Philippe Galle (Plate IX); "America" by Jan Sadeler (Plate X); "Vespucci 'Discovering' America by Theodor Galle; "America" by Crispijn de Passe (Plate XII); and "America" by Maarten de Vos (Plate XIII).

I would like to thank Dr. David O. Frantz for directing my dissertation and for his support of my project over the years and the miles. I also owe thanks to Drs. Christian K. Zacher and Phoebe S. Spinrad for their careful reading of the many drafts of the dissertation. I am especially grateful to my Loyola Marymount University colleague Dr. Rebecca Rumbo for her good humor and encouragement when the project seemed impossible to finish.

I am deeply indebted to all the members of the Chopp and Hinckley families for always believing in me. My greatest debt is to my husband for his love, patience, and sense of humor. Jim, thank you for helping me to persevere.
1984 ................................. B.A., English, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana
1984-1987, 1988-1989 ............... Graduate Teaching Associate in English, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1986 ................................. M.A., English, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1987-1988 ............................. Graduate Administrative Associate, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1989-1992 ............................. Visiting Instructor in English, Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, California

FIELD OF STUDY

Major Field: English
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION ................................................... ii  
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ............................................. iii  
VITA .......................................................... v  
LIST OF PLATES ................................................. viii  
INTRODUCTION ................................................. 1  
  Notes ...................................................... 8  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. &quot;THE BLAZON OF SWEET BEAUTY'S BEST&quot; IN RENAISSANCE ANATOMICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL POETRY</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Poetic Blazon in Anatomical Poetry</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Poetic Blazon in Country-House Poetry</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Heraldic Blazon in Country-House Poetry</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Heraldic Blazon in Anatomical Poetry</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. &quot;THINGS GREATER ARE IN LESS CONTAINED&quot;: WOMAN AS MICRO COSM OF THE WORLD</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Female Body as Cosmos</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Female Body as Body Politic</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Female Body as Architecture</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Female Body as Land</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. &quot;O MY AMERICA, MY NEW FOUND LAND&quot;: DOCUMENTS OF EXPLORATION AND COLONIZATION OF A FEMALE NEW WORLD</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Imperialism and the Hakluyt Collections</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The New World as Mother, Virgin, and Mistress</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Female Land as Object of the Male Gaze</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV. "DISCRIPTION OF THE . . . EARTH, WITH HER PARTES KNOWN": SURVEYING AND MAPPING THE FEMALE LAND .......................... 285

Renaissance Anatomical Cartography ................................. 285
A Female America in Renaissance Cartographic Decoration and Art .................................................. 288
Mapping England: Queen Elizabeth's Body .......................... 293
Science and Metaphor: Renaissance Cartography and Surveying .................................................. 301
Notes ........................................................................ 318

CONCLUSION .................................................................. 324

APPENDICES

A. Excursus: Woman as Property in Renaissance England ... 330

Notes ........................................................................ 346

B. Plates ...................................................................... 350

BIBLIOGRAPHY ........................................................... 367
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLATE</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>The Armada portrait of Queen Elizabeth I. c. 1588. By George Gower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Frontispiece to John Case's <em>De Sphaera Civitatis</em>, 1588.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>The Ditchley portrait of Queen Elizabeth I. c. 1592. By Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>Woodcut accompanying the April eclogue in Edmund Spenser's <em>The Shepheardes Calender</em>, 1579.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Map of Europe in the form of a virgin from Heinrich Bunting's <em>Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae</em>, 1581.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>Map of &quot;Het Spaens Europa,&quot; or Europe in the form of a queen, 1598. Artist unknown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI.</td>
<td>&quot;Vespucci 'Discovering' America,&quot; late sixteenth century. Engraving by Theodor Galle, after a drawing by Stradanus (Jan van der Street).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LIST OF PLATES (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLATE</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XIV.</td>
<td>Frontispiece to Michael Drayton's <em>Poly-Olbion</em>, 1612.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV.</td>
<td>Title-page to George de la Mothe's <em>Hymne</em> to Elizabeth I, 1584.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI.</td>
<td>The Sieve portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, c. 1579. By Massys the Younger.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

The Renaissance in England witnessed the development of "anatomical" or erotic love poetry, which revels in the female body, and "topographical" or country-house poetry, which celebrates the English country estate. These genres, however, are only superficially disparate; their different subjects belie an affinity of form and idea. Essentially, women and land are perceived and described in similar ways, and the poetry reflects the aggressively masculine, imperialistic tenor of Renaissance England by simultaneously praising and appraising the lady and the landscape. The female body and the land become properties appropriated by the rhetorical discourse of the poetry. My study demonstrates how these genres are integrated by considering the contexts that inform both types of poems.

At first, the series of contexts which this study lays forth may seem separate domains: the tradition of the blazon, or the taking control of a woman's body rhetorically through its division into parts; the heraldic display of the English country-house estate; the image of woman as a microcosm of the world; the rise of English imperialism; exploration narratives of a New World gendered as female; the quest for the terrestrial paradise; the development of
the sciences of cartography and surveying in England; and property
laws and women's rights in Renaissance England. First impressions,
however, can be deceiving, for we cannot understand the poetic
representation of the female body or of the country estate if we
isolate art from its cultural, historical and ideological contexts.
By examining these influences on anatomical and topographical poetry,
we can gain new insights into the Renaissance imagination.

This dissertation should not be construed as an argument for a
synthesis of genres—indeed, I respect generic distinctions—but for
a juxtaposition of them. I wish to remove anatomical and country-
house poetry from their unmerited isolation as supposedly "minor"
genres in Renaissance literature and place them side by side, center
stage, to demonstrate their significance as well as how they are
influenced by the same ideas and systems of correspondences
particular to Renaissance England. My project goes beyond poetic
analysis. It investigates how English Renaissance culture affected
the aesthetic perception and representation of women and land; both
were considered properties or territories to be desired, surveyed,
conquered, and possessed.

Essentially, then, my study traces the history of a metaphor in
the Renaissance; it shows how the female body and the land are often
equated in male discourse as a way of achieving dominion over both
territories. Women and land are considered properties that signify
the economic, social, and political status of their owners. My study
does not restrict itself to issues of gender, but establishes an
intersection between gender, rhetoric, power, and property in
Renaissance poetry.

Crosscurrents between the genres are not as strained as might be imagined. The anatomical poems of John Donne, Thomas Carew, Andrew Marvell, and others, which delight in the display of the female body or anticipate the joys of "full nakedness," can be considered sexual topography; whereas topographical poems, such as Ben Jonson's lush descriptions of bounteous Penshurst or Carew's sensual encomium on Wrest Park, can be regarded as a form of anatomical poetry because the estate is feminized. It was commonplace for the English to think of England as the fairest of lands, as it is natural for an owner to take pride in his property. Similarly, a lover believes his mistress to be the most beautiful of women. The female body is often imperialistically viewed as a territory to be discovered, mapped, conquered, and possessed like a piece of property; she is an estate or a "new found land." Conversely, the country-house estate is feminized in the topographical poem, the poet adoring each feature of her beauty; the estate is a desirable woman.

Of course, there have been many studies of Renaissance anatomical poetry and country-house poetry respectively, but affinities between the genres have not been fully recognized. Patricia Parker verges on making a connection when she examines the Renaissance blazon of the female anatomy in relation to New World exploration narratives and eighteenth-century topographical or "prospect" poetry.¹ Parker understands the metaphorical bond between the female body and the land, as does Annette Kolodny in her study of the feminization of America.² I am greatly indebted to Kolodny and
Parker for their illumination of the land/female body metaphor and for the idea of a "rhetoric of property" that appropriates and controls the territories of the female body and the land. Their studies demonstrate that much can be learned about rhetoric, metaphor, and culture by juxtaposing English Renaissance anatomical poetry and country-house poetry.

My dissertation has three parts—Rhetoric, Gender, and Property—a division suggested by the subtitle of Parker's book, *Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property*. Although Parker's own study is not sectioned into these three areas, I find her focuses useful as divisions here. Part I on Rhetoric consists of Chapter 1 on the blazon, the rhetorical structure employed in both anatomical poetry and country-house poetry. Part II concentrates on Gender in terms of the female body/land metaphor that informs both poetic genres, and encompasses Chapter 2 on woman as microcosm of the world, Chapter 3 on New World narratives, and Chapter 4 on Renaissance cartography and surveying. The Excursus (in Appendix A) makes up Part III on Property, which is based on the idea that the blazon and the female body/land metaphor in Renaissance poetry treat women and land as properties subject to male desire and appropriation. This idea of women as property, prevalent in the poetry, mirrors the actual relations of power in the patriarchal culture of Renaissance England. Of course, these divisions of my dissertation are not rigid but permeable, because each Part considers the intersection of rhetoric, gender, and property.
Throughout the study, I refer to specific English Renaissance anatomical and country-house poems to illustrate connections between the genres. By "anatomical" poems, I mean those poems which focus on the anatomy of the female body, and they are usually erotic. The term "anatomical" is appropriate for this type of poetry because "anatomy" is not only its subject, but also its mode of description. The word "anatomy" literally means a dissection or an attempt to know every part of something—the very same function of the blazon, the rhetorical structure of this poetry. My primary anatomical poems are Donne's "Elegy 18: Love's Progress" and "Elegy 19: To his Mistress Going to Bed"; Carew's "A Rapture"; and Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress." These poems simply represent the genre; they do not constitute the entire genre. I chose these poems because they often use topographical metaphors for the female anatomy, and because Carew, Jonson and Marvell wrote both anatomical and country-house poems. These anatomical poems are also interesting because they play with the conventions of the blazon. Although my dissertation centers on these specific poems, other Renaissance erotic poems receive attention, including (among others) Thomas Nashe's "The Choise of Valentines" and Shakespeare's The Rape of Lucrece and Venus and Adonis. Spenser's The Faerie Queene is another integral poem to my study because it is extremely conscious of the female body. The epic contains many detailed anatomical blazons of female characters, and concerns itself with the decorums and consequences of the display of the female body to the male gaze. In this sense, The Faerie Queene can be deemed "anatomical." I occasionally consider the depiction
of female characters in Renaissance drama and prose, but only to illustrate the ubiquity of the blazon and the female body/land metaphor. My study of the female body in English Renaissance poetry is not meant to be exhaustive, but representative.

My primary country-house poems are Jonson's "To Penshurst" and "To Sir Robert Wroth" and Carew's "To Saxham" and "To My Friend G.N., From Wrest." I also examine Marvell's "Upon Appleton House," which, while it is usually categorized with the other country-house poems, modifies and deviates from the genre in intriguing ways—a fact which I use as a counterpoint to the other, standard country-house poems. The country-house genre is considerably more limited than Renaissance anatomical poetry; the aforementioned poems compose the genre. By "country-house poetry" I mean those poems which combine panegyrical description of the country-house estate of a noble family with its moral signification. I use the term "topographical" poetry interchangeably with country-house poetry, although country-house poetry is only one type of Renaissance topographical poetry and a precursor to eighteenth-century "prospect" poetry. Other Renaissance topographical poems include verse chorographies such as Michael Drayton's Poly-Olbion and John Denham's "Cooper's Hill"; New World poetry such as Drayton's "Ode: To the Virginian Voyage," George Chapman's "De Guiana, Carmen Epicum," Edmund Waller's "The Battle of the Summer Islands," and Marvell's "Bermudas"; and mythic landscape poetry such as The Faerie Queene, Marvell's "The Garden," and Milton's Paradise Lost. I briefly consider these different types of Renaissance topographical poetry, but only as they relate to country
house poetry and New World narratives.

The term "topographical" poetry is useful as a designation for country-house poetry because topography parallels anatomy. In poetry, both anatomy and topography are rhetorical processes that break down a large subject—the female body or the landscape—into its various parts in order to ascertain their position, relations, structure, and function. Anatomy and topography, then, are types of distributio, just as the blazon is. In terms of subject, anatomy and topography also intersect in anatomical and country-house poetry. Renaissance anatomical poetry often portrays the female body as a landscape; the female body is a topographical anatomy. Conversely, the land in Renaissance country-house poetry is feminized; hence, the land is an anatomical topography.

By juxtaposing these poetic genres and placing them within the appropriate cultural contexts, we can see how this particular metaphor of female anatomy/topography is propagated. Metaphor belongs not only to the realm of poetry, but also to life. Indeed, metaphor begins with an observation of life, and that perception influences poetic description. The metaphorical equation of the female-as-land and the land-as-female in Renaissance anatomical and country-house poetry is therefore not just poetically convenient or efficacious, but culturally evident.
NOTES

1 Patricia Parker, Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property. (London and New York: Methuen, 1987).


3 The term "anatomy" appears in the titles of many Renaissance prose works on a variety of subjects. Marjorie Donker and George M. Muldrow explain that an anatomy is not exactly a literary genre, but a rhetorical process; it breaks down a large subject into parts for close examination (Dictionary of Literary-Rhetorical Conventions of the English Renaissance. [Westport, CN and London: Greenwood P, 1982], p. 9). Renaissance rhetoric books call this process distributio. As we will see in Chapter 1 on the blazon, distributio is another term often used by Renaissance rhetoricians for the blazon of the female body. It is important that we see the significance of anatomizing as a mode of Renaissance thought, for this distribution of a whole into parts informs both anatomical and country-house poetry. And as a systematic analysis, anatomizing was a method appropriate for many other kinds of writing as well.

4 Of course, The Faerie Queene is not wholly gynocentric, nor is its depiction of the female body always deliberately erotic. For instance, the blazon of Belphoebe in Book 2 does not intend to titillate, but it can have that effect.

5 G. R. Hibbard's "The Country House Poem of the Seventeenth Century," defines the country-house poem genre (Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes XIX (1956): 159-74). Hibbard contends that this limited genre consists of the poems I consider, as well as Robert Herrick's "A Country Life: To His Brother, Mr. Thomas Herrick" and "A Panegyrick to Sir Lewis Pemberton." I do not examine "Country Life" since it praises the retired life, not the patron's estate; it is not, properly speaking, a country-house poem. Granted, Jonson's "Wroth" is also a retirement poem or a country-city debate, but it contains the elements of the country-house poem, specifically its focus on the plentiude and layout of the estate. "Wroth" is also important because it echoes "Penshurst." I omit "Pemberton" because
CHAPTER I
"The blazon of sweet beauty's best"
in Renaissance Anatomical Poetry and Country-House Poetry

An hundred years should go to praise
Thine eyes, and on thy forehead gaze,
Two hundred to adore each breast:
But thirty thousand to the rest.
An age at least to every part.
And the last Age should show your heart:
For Lady you deserve this State;
Nor would I love at lower rate (11. 13-20). 1

The excessive praise Marvell promises to give "To His Coy
Mistress," had he "but world enough, and time," is an allusion to the
blazon, the poetic praise of a woman's perfections by means of a
catalogue of her physical features. Renaissance poets often use this
rhetorical device to celebrate the beauty of the female anatomy.
Blazons are so popular in Renaissance poetry that even the most casual
reader will be struck by the frequent appearance of these catalogues of
feminine charms. 2

Although it is easy to find many blazons in Renaissance (and
medieval) literature, the standard definition of the blazon itself is
unsatisfactory. What exactly is a blazon? 3 Contemporary critics
generally agree that the blazon's subject is a woman's physical
attributes; its structure is a descending catalogue of her parts; its
vocabulary uses Petrarchan metaphors; and its purpose is to praise her beauty. This definition, however, is too narrow. We need to redefine the blazon in light of the fact that it is the rhetorical structure employed in both Renaissance anatomical poetry and country-house poetry. At first, the application of the blazon to a genre that does not even describe women, that is, country-house poetry, may seem untenable. However, the blazon is a versatile rhetorical device capable of organizing various descriptive projects, not just the encomiastic display of the female body. Indeed, the blazon varied in definition and usage in the Renaissance itself, a fact which today's standard definition of the blazon overlooks. Furthermore, the blazon has important sexual and economic implications as a mode of display. It demonstrates the intersection of rhetoric, gender, power, and property when it itemizes the parts of the female body and the land in these two poetic genres. Before examining the implications of the blazon as a mode of display, we should consider the initial variations of blazon in the Renaissance which allow us to partake in such "liberty" with the rhetorical device in Renaissance anatomical and country-house poetry.

The verb "to blazon" first appeared in English in the sixteenth century, derived both from the French blasonner and from the English "to blaze," that is, "to proclaim as with a trumpet, to publish, and, by extension, to defame or celebrate" (Vickers, "Blazon" 95). The noun "blazon" denotes either "a conventional poetic description of any object praised or blamed by a rhetorician-poet" or "a conventional
heraldic description of a shield” (Vickers, "Blazon" 95). The blazon is thus firmly grounded in two distinct yet complementary descriptive traditions—the poetic and the heraldic. In both cases, the blazon is the organizing principle in the descriptive project.

Besides these multiple meanings of "blazon" in the Renaissance, its usage varied too, particularly with the poetic blazon. For example, the sixteenth-century French poetic blason offers several variations on the standard English blazon. One innovation is the French blason as detailed praise of one part rather than a catalogue of all parts of the body. Blasons anatomiques du corps femenin (1543) is an anthology in which each blason praises a separate part of the female body. Each poem literally speaks "of hand, of foot, of lip, of eye, [or] of brow" (Shakespeare, Sonnet 106). This collection of blasons was inspired by Clement Marot's celebrated "Blason du Beau Tetin" in 1536, an entire poem in praise of a breast. Marot's work acted as a catalyst for interest in the anatomical blason, triggering a "sudden fashion" for similar poems on feminine charms (Forster 80).

Despite this vogue, the French blason does not restrict itself to the female anatomy. Dudley B. Wilson is the rare critic who recognizes the blason's many applications, explaining that "very little of the sixteenth century and its interests escapes the [French] blasonneurs who are apparently equally at home in treating costume, customs, courtliness, religion, law, medicine and household possessions" (55). Wilson corroborates his assertion by listing the table of contents of an anthology of blasons, which shows "the variety of subjects treated in this apparently limited genre" (55). To the French, any subject can
be partitioned and praised in a **blason**.

Although English Renaissance rhetoricians recognize the blazon's ability to celebrate the female anatomy, they, too, do not circumscribe its subject matter.\(^5\) However, "blazon" was not an established literary term in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. In fact, Renaissance rhetoricians and critics do not use the term at all, although some are familiar with its formula (Donald 2). Instead, the formula is given a variety of names: "icon," "resemblance by imagery," "portrait," "distribution," or no name at all. For instance, in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), George Puttenham describes a device he calls the "figure of Icon or resemblaunce by imagerie and portrait" (243). From his examples (an excerpt from his own blazon of Queen Elizabeth in *Partheniade* and an allusion to Sidney's Arcadia, presumably the blazon of Philoclea, "What Tongue Can Her Perfections Tell"), we can see that his "Icon" and the blazon are identical.

Puttenham advises the **blasonneur** to "resemble every part of her body to some naturall thing of excellent perfection in his kind" (244).

In *Allarme to England* (1578), Barnabe Rich also explains how to effect this resemblance of female body parts to natural things. He describes a blazon-like pattern for praising a woman, but he does not name this formula at all, calling it neither "blazon" nor "icon":

Shee shall be praysed by proportion: first her Haires are wires of golde, her Cheekes are made of Lilies and red Roses, her Browes be arches, her eyes Saphires, her lookes lightnings, her mouth Corall, her teeth Pearles, her pappes Alabaster balles, her bodye streight, her belly softe, from thence downewarde to her knees, I thinke, is made of Sugar Candie, her arms, her hands, her fingers, her legges, her feete, and all the rest of her bodie shall be so perfect, and so pure (qtd. in Rollins 147-48).
Not all Renaissance rhetoricians focus on the blazon's ability to praise the female body. Some regard the "blazon" as a general organizing principle, a mode of distribution or division of parts in any complex descriptive project. For instance, Henry Peacham is familiar with the blazon's formula, referring to the device as an "Icon" in the first edition of *The Garden of Eloquence* (1577). He defines Icon as "the Image of a thing or person . . . painted out by comparing and resembling forme with forme, qualitye with quality, and one likenesse with another."^6 Peacham then shows how he might commend by this figure a bewtiful woman: her bodye is lyke the slender yew, her fyngers like the whyte palme braunches . . . . her eyes like glittering pearles, her lyppes lyke the carnation Rose, her cheeke like the whyte Lillye, besprinckled with ruddy juyce, her lockes like a golden fleece, her countenaunce chereful. . . . her neck and brestes like to whyte Alablaster.

His description of the beautiful woman is only one example of the use of the icon, which is "the Image of a thing or person." In the second edition of *The Garden of Eloquence* (1593), Peacham still includes the rhetorical figure of the icon, but omits the example describing a beautiful woman. Instead, his illustrations are descriptions of "a ravenous and venomous person" and "the cart of covetousness" (Peacham, *Garden* [1593] 145). Apparently, Peacham does not restrict the formula to the female body.

In *The Lawiers Logike* (1588), Abraham Fraunce also refers to the blazon formula, viewing it as an organizing principle that could benefit lawyers in their presentations. He defines it as a kind of distribution, in which "parts are set from the subject" (Fraunce 59). He gives an example from poetry to demonstrate its use: Hobbinol's
song of Eliza in Spenser's Shepheardes Calendar, in which he "divideth her beauty being the adjunct, into her several subjects, as face, eye, cheek, etc." (Fraunce 59). Fraunce does not identify the blazon formula as the praise of the female body but as an ordering device—the distribution of the parts of the whole—and Spenser's description of Eliza is just one possible illustration of this rhetorical device.

We can thus see that while some Renaissance rhetoricians associate the blazon with the description of the female body, more importantly, others recognize it as the division or distribution of parts in any descriptive project. As we can see too, Renaissance rhetoricians do not use the term "blazon"—but neither do many Renaissance poets for that matter. What critics today would term a blazon, that is, the description of a beautiful woman, is often called by Renaissance poets simply that—a "description" of a beautiful woman. For example, in the poetry collection England's Parnassus (1600), the section "Descriptions of Beautie and Personage" contains what we would call blazons, including the Arcadia lyric on Philoclea. But these blazons are entitled "A Description of . . ." or "In praise of . . .," never "A Blazon of . . ." (Donald 3). Those Renaissance poets who do use the term "blazon" do not necessarily confine its subject to the female body. For example, in Sonnet 106, Shakespeare discusses "the blazon of sweet beauty's best" or a descriptive catalogue of body parts, but his "descriptions" are of "fairest wights" and "ladies dead and lovely knights." For Shakespeare, the blazon can be the praise of any person, male or female. Spenser also uses the verb "blazon" in the proem to Book 1 of The Faerie Queene; however, he means "to proclaim" or "to
celebrate." and the object of his praise is not the female body. He promises that his epic poem will "blazon broad" "Knights and Ladies gentle deeds" and that "Fierce warres and faithfull loues shall moralize [his] song."7

We can say, then, that the blazon formula was not restricted to the female body in the Renaissance, nor was the term itself, when used, limited as such. Considering this original flexibility, we might expect to find it in both Renaissance anatomical and country-house poetry. In examining this phenomenon, we must also study the complementary descriptive traditions from which the blazon itself originated—the poetic and the heraldic—in both types of poems.

The Poetic Blazon in Anatomical Poetry

In order to understand the poetic blazon in Renaissance anatomical poetry, we must acknowledge the essential purpose of the blazon in this context—the display of the female body to the male gaze. The word "display" comes from the Latin displicare, which means "to scatter," but also, "to unfold to view" (Parker, Ladies 127). The blazon is informed by both senses of "display." It does "scatter" the parts of the female body in its enumeration. Some critics have even called this scattering of the body in the blazon a "dismemberment."8 The blazon also "unfolds" or opens the body to the view of others, usually to men.

No scholar writing in the 1990s can approach this subject unaware of the perspective of feminist cinema critics Laura Mulvey and E. Ann Kaplan, who have studied the effects of the male gaze and have shown that forms of display, such as the blazon, are potentially dangerous to
those beheld in the gaze. In the blazon, the woman's body becomes an object of voyeurism and an object of mercantilism; she is both erotic body and saleable commodity on display. Helene Cixous argues that it is the responsibility of the feminist critic to reclaim the female body "which has been confiscated from her, which has been turned into the uncanny stranger on display" (250). The difficulty of such a rescue, however, lies in the duality—some would say, duplicity—of the blazon itself, which functions as both adoration and titillation, as both praise and appraisal. This section focuses on this duality by examining the elements of the poetic blazon in English Renaissance anatomical poetry.

The first and most obvious element of the blazon in Renaissance anatomical poetry is its structure. A blazon is a catalogue of the physical parts of a woman, and this catalogue can encompass all or part of the poem. Generally, the itemization has an intrinsic proportion; a fixed number of lines is devoted to each feature, a ratio which the poet establishes by his choice of formal structure (Donald 39). Each part is usually praised equally, but some blazons linger on one part or another, often with titillating results. This inventory is not a literal anatomy, then, but a praise of selected parts. For example, in "To His Coy Mistress," Marvell's speaker promises to praise the woman's eyes, forehead, and breasts, but he would celebrate "every part" of "the rest" of her body, had he "but world enough, and time" (11. 17, 16, 1). Donne is more thorough in his blazons in "Love's Progress" and "To his Mistress Going to Bed." In fact, in "Love's Progress," Donne's
persona journeys down—and up—the entire female body, and in "Going to Bed," he lets his eyes lasciviously explore every part of her body as he imagines her doing a striptease which will render unto his eyes, and his "roving" hands, the joys of her "full nakedness" (11. 25, 33). Carew's speaker is as zealous as Donne's in his blazon of Celia in "A Rapture." He likens her body to a paradisial garden, and, like a bee, he will visit every flower in her garden—her rosebuds, violets, cherry and apple blossoms, and lilies—before depositing his "elixir" in her "hive" (1. 78). The blazon can thus be either an abbreviated or amplified catalogue, depending upon the speaker's intentions, but both are usually erotic. Marvell's lover teasingly abbreviates his promised blazon because of time constraints, while Donne's and Carew's lovers revel in every part of the woman's body, particularly her genitalia.

The next element is the speaker or cataloguer, most frequently a male who verbally displays the female body. The notion of display is significant, for the blasonneur does more than describe the body by listing its parts. Through the gaze of the blazon, he opens that female body to view. Her parts are made known because the blasonneur wishes to reveal these particular beauties to others. Blazoning is thus not a neutral act, but participates in an interested way (Parker, Ladies 127). That interest is the cataloguer's intention to display this "property" to the view of others—to claim possession, to exhibit pride in ownership, to incite desire, to assess its value, to validate himself, to advertise merchandise, or some combination of motives. The logic of the blazon is thus a contradictory one as it simultaneously lays claim to and advertises the female body.
Considering this contradictory logic, we must then ask who is the audience of the blazon. Ostensibly, the blazon is directed towards the woman in order to praise her. In Marvell's poem, the truncated blazon, or promise of one, is directed toward the mistress herself. The poem addresses her, "his coy mistress," and this promise of an elaborate blazon is one weapon in the lover's arsenal to seduce her. Indeed, when Marvell's persona apologizes to her for his abbreviated encomium, claiming that she "deserves" better, he implies that being blazoned is something all women desire. Carew's "A Rapture" and Donne's "To his Mistress Going to Bed" are also presumably addressed to women in order to seduce them. But we must note that the blazon is a one-way discourse. The woman as audience does not directly interact with the blasonneur. Of course, her lack of response may simply be inherent in the nature of the lyric, yet we should not overlook the significance of the woman's silence, whether it be an unintentional or a deliberate silencing. As Francis Barker observes, the woman does not speak in "the inexorable male voice" of the blazon (91). It is only as a body that she is present, and without speech, she is rendered powerless. She is made even more vulnerable by the scattering or "dismemberment" of her body in the blazon. The woman has no control because she is relegated to the status of passive object of representation and desire, which, as we will see, has potentially dangerous consequences.

The woman is not always the audience of the blazon. Sometimes, the audience is other men. For example, on one level, we can argue that the primary audience of Donne's poems is not his real or imaginary mistresses, but a male coterie of literate wits. Staying outside the
biographical realm, we can still identify the audience of Donne's "Love's Progress" as male. Donne's speaker gives advice to lover-travelers about voyaging on the female body, and he creates the journey blazon to demonstrate that ascent is better than descent. But there is more to the blazon than just men telling other men how to woo women. The blazon also has erotic and economic implications for the female body as male property. The female body becomes the object of a wholly male discourse in the blazon. Not only is she described by a male speaker, but she becomes a passive commodity surveyed and viewed by interested male consumers. Nancy Vickers reminds us that "the canonical legacy of description in praise of beauty is a legacy shaped predominantly by the male imagination for the male imagination"; it is, in large part, "the product of men talking to men about women" ("Blazon" 96). Moreover, the blazon often functions as a weapon in male territoriality and rivalry.

In order to understand how the blazon has traditionally been a predominantly male discourse, with the female body as its subject, we should consider several relevant studies on the power of the male gaze. Laura Mulvey observes that the eroticization of women on the screen is structured by the explicitly male look or gaze in "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." Mulvey contends that the look of the male-operated camera, the look of men within the narrative, and the look of the male spectator are all inherently voyeuristic (6-18). She also claims that the male gaze objectifies the female body and renders her powerless through its vision.
In Gazing on Secret Sights: Spenser, Classical Imitation, and the Decorums of Vision, Theresa Krier also examines the problematic relationship between desire and sight in The Faerie Queene, and shows how Spenser criticizes the blazon's "fundamental act of display" (17). She argues that the many instances of "the male contemplation of woman" in The Faerie Queene lead to shame, anger, and other, more dire consequences for the exposed woman, consequences that Spenser deplores, especially the "visual consumption" of Serena by the cannibals (Krier 17, 148). Even though Krier believes that Spenser is concerned with the ethics of how to represent the female body without displaying it, she ruefully concedes that Spenser is nevertheless trapped within his literary tradition and that he persists in positioning his female characters as objects of vision and desire more often than his male characters (16).

Mulvey and Krier lead us to believe that the gaze of the blazon is an inherently male act; however, E. Ann Kaplan asks the important question, "Is the gaze male?" Kaplan also wonders if there is a female gaze. She concludes that the gaze is "not necessarily male." "But to own and activate the gaze, given our language and the structure of the unconscious, is to be in the 'masculine' position" (Kaplan 319). Kaplan recognizes that "our culture is deeply committed to clearly demarcated sex differences, called masculine and feminine, that revolve on, first, a complex gaze-apparatus; and, second, dominance-submission patterns" (319). In other words, the dominant position of the bearer of the gaze has long been defined as male through the continual attributions of this role to men. Conversely, women have
been traditionally associated with the submissive, powerless position as object of the erotic gaze. Thus, the gaze is not inherently gendered; rather, it is all a matter of power.

Certainly, Kaplan's observations about our culture's male/female roles of beholder/beheld and dominant/submissive are also applicable to patriarchal Renaissance society. The blazon appears as a primarily male discourse in Renaissance literature because the blazon, like the gaze, "carries with it the power of action and of possession," a power wielded predominantly by men at that time (Kaplan 311). We should also not overlook the simple fact that not many women were writing during the Renaissance. The vast majority of literature in Renaissance England was produced by men.

Although there were few women writers in the Renaissance who could have possibly activated the gaze of the blazon, there are certainly some female characters in Renaissance literature who are blasonneurs. Of course, we must remember that these female blasonneurs were created by male poets. Significantly, these female characters more frequently blazon their own bodies to men rather than blazoning men's bodies or other women's bodies.¹⁴ Women characters who display their charms to men are usually portrayed as that "unnatural" breed of woman, the lustful wooer. The motif of the female wooer is especially popular in Renaissance erotic epyllia, yet even those sexually aggressive women (surprisingly) refrain from blazoning the bodies of their men, preferring instead to exhibit seductively their own charms, as Venus does to seduce Adonis in Shakespeare's epyllion (Donno, Epics, 7). Venus likens her body to a "park" in which she offers "grazing"
privileges to Adonis the "deer" (11. 231. 233. 231). Her auto-blazon, however, is contradictory. She assumes the "masculine" position of blasonneur/wooer by activating the gaze, only to position herself as the "feminine" object of Adonis' gaze. In effect, Venus negates any power she assumed in wielding the gaze; she takes control of her body only to give it to Adonis. Moreover, Venus departs from the tradition of the male blasonneur. The male blasonneur does not offer his own body in the blazon; to do so would put him in the vulnerable position of object rather than agent. Instead, he blazons the female body and thereby retains control of the language and his own body. But in trying to capture Adonis, Venus ends up capturing herself in the blazon and then realizes the consequences of her actions—she is "selling [her]self" (1. 513). She sees herself as a self-advertising commodity, and her auto-blazon reveals the desperation to which her lust has driven her. Even though Venus herself activates the gaze, she nevertheless suffers the same fate as other blazoned women: she becomes erotic body and saleable merchandise on display.

An interesting variation on the Venus/Adonis motif occurs in the courtesan Insida's song to Francesco in Robert Greene's moralistic 1590 novel, Greene's Never Too Late. Here, the woman blazons the man's body in order to seduce him. Insida likens herself to Venus and Francesco to Adonis, but instead of offering her own body in the blazon as we would expect, she describes his body. Her siren song "completely reverses convention and pays homage to passive masculine beauty and active feminine sexual desire" (Austern 447). But Insida's blazon of Francesco is scarcely erotic compared to the lascivious blazons of the
female body. She praises only his face, cheeks, lips, neck, and eyes. She never even gets to Francesco's good parts! Despite her relatively tame praise of his body, Insida's seduction of Francesco is successful. Linda Austern attributes Insida's success in capturing Francesco to the power of her siren song, but I would add that the rhetoric of her blazon also captures him (447).

We see a similarly restrained blazon of the male body in Jonson's "A Celebration of Charis in Ten Lyric Pieces," in which Charis blazons her ideal man to her suitor Ben in Lyric 9, "Her Man Described By Her Own Dictamen." Charis has been the object of Ben's persistent wooing, and at his urging, she describes "what a man she could love well" (Lyric 8. 1. 4). Her blazon of her ideal lover is fairly sedate. She describes only his hair and face, straying no lower than his heart. Charis devotes her wish list instead to his qualities, and she concludes that "Such a man, with every part, / I could give my very heart: / But of one, if short he came. / I can rest me where I am" (11. 53-56). However, the purpose of her blazon is not necessarily to possess the described man. He does not even exist; he is a product of her imagination. Rather, her blazon aims to dispossess Ben of any hope in attaining her. Charis uses this blazon of her ideal man to show Ben that he is not what she wants. The last lyric, "Another Lady's Exception, Present at the Hearing," ends the collection with a lewd jest. Another woman blazons her ideal man, but more briefly. She cares not "for his mind." but only wants him to be titled, well-dressed, young, and handsome. Ultimately, he needs only "one good part," and she would "lie withal." At last, some woman dares to
mention that "one good part" in her blazon.

Although I have noted here a few examples of women characters blazoning men's bodies in Renaissance literature, these instances are the exceptions rather than the rule. I should again emphasize that these female blasonneurs are the products of male imaginations. Strictly speaking, then, women are not actually wielding the gaze of the blazon. Rather, it is the male version of the female-activated blazon (which may or may not be how a woman would actually blazon the body of a man).

Even though there are relatively few blazons of men in Renaissance literature, naturally there are descriptions of male characters. However, men are not often described in the detailed catalogues seemingly reserved for women. And when a blazon is used to describe a man, as we have seen in Greene's *Never Too Late* and "Charis," such a depiction is comparatively tame, with the possible exception of the homoerotic description of Leander in Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*. Yet even then, the narrator essentially denies that he is blazoning a man at all, claiming that "some swore [Leander] was a maid in man's attire, / For in his looks were all that men desire" (1st Sestiad, 11. 83-84).

The fact that men are infrequently blazoned in Renaissance literature is fodder for parody. Shakespeare uses this fact to humorous effect in the mechanicals' play in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The heroine Thisby, played by the male mechanical Flute, blazons the dead Pyramus, played by Bottom; however, Thisby attributes the traditional Petrarchan metaphors to the wrong parts of the body so that Pyramus has "lily lips," a "cherry nose," and "yellow cowslip cheeks"
Besides this error, the blazon is also comic because men are usually not blazoned, nor do women do the blazoning. Shakespeare thus creates humor by inverting various decorums of the Renaissance anatomical blazon.

The blazon follows a certain hierarchical order of the parts praised in its catalogue of the female body, usually a descending order. The propriety of descent is advocated by medieval rhetoricians who influenced the Renaissance blazon of feminine charms. Medieval rhetoricians do not call this description a "blazon," for the term did not yet exist, but they do discuss the blazon formula. In *Poetria Nova*, the thirteenth-century rhetorician Geoffrey de Vinsauf discusses the blazon of a beautiful woman. To describe her fully, he advises beginning at the head and descending to the toe. Geoffrey provides a model, describing her hair, forehead, eyebrows, nose, eyes, skin, mouth, lips, teeth, chin, neck, throat, shoulders, arms, fingers, breasts, and waist. After a decorous or perhaps teasing caesura ("I will not mention the parts beneath: here the imagination speaks better than the tongue"), he concludes with her legs and feet (45). Geoffrey offers a similar model for describing the lady's clothes, especially her jewels, and it too follows a descending route.16

Matthew de Vendome includes a comparable prescription for the blazon in *Ars Versificatoria*, but unlike Geoffrey, he does not refrain from praising her private parts.17 Matthew celebrates her genitalia, though euphemistically, as "the storehouse of modesty, the mistress of Nature, [and] the delightful dwelling of Venus" where "sweetness . . .
lies hidden" (32). He continues down her leg to her knee and foot, only to end with her hand. Matthew thus also endorses the head-to-toe order of the catalogue.

The reason Geoffrey and Matthew encourage the descent of the body is clear. The catalogue begins at the head because that is the seat of the intellect, and it properly descends to the locale of the lower passions. It was also believed that Nature, as God's executor, created man by starting at the head and ending at the feet, and so it is right that a catalogue, which essentially re-creates a woman through its description of her, should follow a descending pattern. Furthermore, it is an ancient concept that physical altitude is an index of value. Of course, the descending movement can also be explained by the fact that the head of the blazoned body is at eye-level to the blazonneur and is thus the first body part he sees. Naturally, his gaze would descend from there.

Many blazons of the female body follow this traditional descent. In "To His Coy Mistress," Marvell's blazon descends along her body, starting with her eyes and forehead, dropping to her breasts, and then teasingly alluding to "the rest" of her body (1. 16). Marvell's speaker follows the descending order because he is eager to please his mistress by adhering to this custom of compliment, or at least he is eager to please her to the point of seducing her. Carew's lover also travels down Celia's garden-like body in "A Rapture." He flies like a bee from the flowering bower of her face to her apple breasts to the "love's channel" of her genitalia, visiting her other horticultural charms along the way (1. 89).
Not all poets follow the descending route. Kevin Kiernan observes that poets realized the convention of the descending catalogue should be used "advantageously, not mechanically," and because their audience "expected to survey a beautiful woman from head to toe," they could "achieve some startling effects by violating these expectations" (2). Kiernan cites several modifications: the sharply abbreviated catalogue, which begins conventionally at the head, only to stop abruptly in the course of the descent; the reversion to parts of the body already mentioned in the catalogue, thereby emphasizing that part and heightening the audience's sense of participation in a voyeuristic act; and the reversal of the direction of the catalogue (2).

Donne is especially fond of violating poetic convention for the purpose of titillation. For example, in "To His Mistress Going to Bed." Donne's persona does not strip the woman from head to toe. Instead, he works from the outside in, removing each layer of garments from outerwear to underwear (as most people would undress). He removes, in order, her "girdle" (belt), her "breastplate" (bodice), her "busk" (corset), her "gown," her "wiry coronet," and her "shoes" (11. 7, 11, 13. 15, 17). Interestingly, her "top" and "toe" coverings are the last to be taken off, her "wiry coronet" and her shoes. We might expect her headpiece to be removed first if Donne were following the traditional head-to-toe order. However, this way, the "wiry coronet" hiding her "hairy diadem" can refer not only to her head, but to her pubic hair, and it would then make sense in the normal course of undressing for her to remove her "coronet" at this point. Donne does end with her feet, although, again, we might expect her shoes to come
off earlier, as in the usual course of undressing. Donne thus both adheres to and defies the normal course of undressing in his titillating blazon, and by avoiding the traditional top-to-toe order, he modifies the index of bodily value. Apparently, her genitalia are her most precious part, not her head or intellect.

Donne also defies convention in "Love's Progress." The speaker finds the top-to-toe route unsatisfying and recommends ascent of the female body. Indeed, the whole poem argues against the traditional descent of the blazon, and Donne's lover explains his opposition through the metaphor of a voyage upon the female body. Before the lover-traveler sets sail, the experienced skipper warns: "Whoever loves, if he do not propose / The right true end of love, he's one that goes / To sea for nothing but to make him sick" (l. 1-3). He contends that while men may "contemplate" a lady's "airs," "words," "heart," and "virtues," they really "love the centric part" (l. 35, 36). Women have only one proper function, and "the sensible male lover will head directly for the scene of action, avoiding all diversions" from his course (Louthan 65). "This desired place" or "the right true end" of love's progress—with a sexual pun on her "end"—is the female genitalia, described in an extended geographical metaphor as "her India" (l. 39, 2, 65). Once again, the genitalia are the most valued part of the female body. By openly acknowledging the appeal of the female "centric part," Donne is thus able to poke fun at the hypocritical idealism of the traditional blazon.

With the proper destination of love's expedition determined, Donne's speaker again warns the lover-traveler, this time about
charting his course. Those voyagers who "set out at the [lady's] face" will "stray" "in attaining this desired place" (ll. 40, 39). We might then expect Donne not to chart such a troublesome expedition; however, he opts to illustrate the Odyssean tasks awaiting such a foolish adventurer—and to have fun with the tradition of the descending catalogue. Donne starts with her hair, which is a "forest" "of springs, snares, fetters, and manacles" (ll. 41, 42). Her brow can be navigated only "when 'tis smooth and plain." but "when 'tis wrinkled," it causes a shipwreck (ll. 43, 44). The voyager then comes to her nose, a meridian running between two suns, her eyes, which are flanked by the hemispheres of her cheeks. The meridian leads to the false paradisial islands of her lips, from which come sirens' songs to detain the unwary sailor. Ahead lie the chin, the strait between her breasts, and the sea passage to her navel. If the seafarer has managed to navigate this far, he now runs into "another forest," the pubic hair, "where many shipwreck, and no further get" (ll. 69, 70). Donne's lover thus advises an alternate route to her erotic region: "set out below" and "rise from the foot" (ll. 73, 86). This direction will lead the lover-traveler safely to her coveted "centric part."

The ascending blazon, or the journey from her foot to her "centric part," is a less scenic route, however. We anticipate amazing ports of call on this "proper" progress, but our expectations are thwarted. David Frantz laments, "How Donne deludes such an expectant reader, for he discourses for thirteen lines [ll. 74-86] upon that organ almost never catalogued, the foot!" (228). Frantz also rightly complains that the ascent from the foot is "virtually a void" (228):
For as free spheres move faster far than can
Birds, whom the air resists, so may that man
Which goes this empty and ethereal way,
Than if at beauty's elements he stay (11. 87-90).

The poem does conclude at the "right true end of love," the female genitalia. But even at "this desired place," the unwary traveler can err in distinguishing between her "two purses . . . [whose] mouths [are] aversey laid"—her vaginal orifice and her anus—and Donne makes "an obscene jest" about this distinction (11. 39, 92) (Frantz 229).

Donne's persona takes liberties with the blazon while he also takes or hopes to take lascivious liberties with the lady in "Love's Progress." He applies the journey metaphor to the blazon, making the female body a land upon which men voyage, and he calls for an ascending route. More importantly, Donne's lover identifies a destination for the blazon's seemingly unprioritized tour of the female body—the genitalia. He effectively cuts the body into two routes to this desired "end." Donne's speaker also recognizes the blazon's inherent eroticism: men may "contemplate" a lady's airs, virtues, words, and beauties in the blazon, but when it comes right down to it, men really "love the centric part" (11. 35, 36).

Thomas Nashe is another proponent of ascent of the female body. In "The Choise of Valentines," Nashe creates a libidinous blazon in the description of Tomalin's voyage upon Francis' body. Tomalin begins immediately at her feet, not her head, and his "fingers up thes curtaine heaue" as he lifts the hem and folds of her gown (1. 100). "Stealing by degreese," he "bare[s] hir leggs" and "creep[s] vp to hir kneese" (1. 102). He "thence ascend[s] unto her mannely thigh," with no intention of "lingring when [he is] so nighe" to her genitalia, the
object of his progress (ll. 103-04). When Tomalin finally sees her private parts, he believes that "heauen and paradize are all but toyes / Compar'd with this sight [he] now behould[s] (ll. 106-7). Certainly, the ascending route to her genitalia is preferable; it brings him more quickly and directly to his destination. Ironically, Tomalin has problems getting an erection when he finally arrives at her private parts, having spent himself in contemplation of enjoying Francis.

According to Donne, Carew, and Nashe, the proper "end" of the catalogue is the female genitalia. Their lovers ogle their mistresses' bodies in an overture to sexual intercourse; the blazons inevitably lead to the mistresses' private parts. Marvell's lover, however, is more circuitous in his route in "To His Coy Mistress." He claims that he would laud his mistress's body parts for all eternity if he could, but ultimately, his blazon would end with her heart: "And the last age should show your heart" (l. 18). Her physical beauty is supposedly no comparison to her spiritual beauty, and we are reminded here of the Neoplatonic ideal that contemplation of a woman's physical beauty will lead to appreciation of her spiritual beauty and to knowledge of the idea of Beauty. It is decorous of Marvell's speaker, then, to end with a praise of her spiritual qualities after lavishing so much attention on her external ones. However, considering his ostensible desire to bed the woman, we might wonder if Marvell's speaker would ever even get to his mistress's heart! His blazon is as coy as his mistress. The body parts absent from the catalogue are as important as those present, and since her breasts are promised a disproportionate amount of praise compared to the less erotic eyes and forehead, there seems to be little
doubt as to the lover's priorities here, or at least where he is headed in his southerly route—her genitalia. The destination of Marvell's blazon, then, is the same as Donne's, Carew's, and Nashe's, but Marvell is not so direct. His blazon ends with her heart, perhaps to obscure his true destination, but he does re-evolve her genitalia later in the passage about "worms" defiling her virginity (11. 27-28). Her "quaint honor turn[ing] to dust" (l. 29) signifies her proud chastity, but the adjective "quaint," when connected with the Middle English noun "queynte," is a pun for her pudenda (Donno, Marvell 234 n29). Some critics have even argued that the "iron gates" at the end of the poem are metaphoric labia, although I agree with Elizabeth Story Donno that such an interpretation is a rather "desperate search for signification" (Marvell. 235 n44).

The female genitalia play a crucial role in the blazon, paradoxically because they are often not explicitly present, whether decorum or titillation motivates such a lacuna. The amplified blazon often omits the genitalia, descending from belly to knees, as it does when Geoffrey de Vinsauf avoids mentioning those parts below her waist because "imagination speaks better than the tongue." Of course, it is in the nature of description to be synecdochal. No matter how committed to "realism," a poet cannot name or describe every body part in the blazon. As Helena Michie observes, however, "at some point the represented . . . come[s] to stand for the unrepresented, the present for the absent" (97). Michie further argues that the parts that compose the description of the female body are "carefully selected not only for what they represent but for the absences they suggest" and
that these selected attributes "construct an imaginary body in the space between" (97). Even when the female genitalia are omitted from the blazon, our imagination creates the body part to fill the void, as Geoffrey de Vinsauf predicts.

Sometimes, the lady's private parts are mentioned in the blazon, but it is always obliquely or euphemistically. We should consider as an example the blazon of Belphoebe in *The Faerie Queene*, which describes the votaress of Diana and one of the poem's representatives of Queen Elizabeth. Belphoebe's blazon is modest and decorous, befitting her virginal status. We do not see any of her body except those parts not usually covered by clothing, although "her daintie paps" are "signifide" "through her thin weed" and her legs are like "marble pillours" beneath her buskins (2.3.29, 28). Instead, Spenser concentrates on the heavenly beauties of her face and on her clothes. Curiously, when he approaches the clothing covering her private parts, the description breaks off suddenly and moves quickly to her legs:

```
and all the skirt about
Was hemd with golden fringe

Below her ham her weed did somewhat traine,
And her streight legs most brauely were embayld
In gilden buskins of costly Cordwaine,
All bard with golden bendes, which were entayld
With curious antickes, and full faire aumayld:
Before they fastned were vnder her knee
In a rich Iewell, and therein entrayld
The ends of all their knots, that none might see,
How they within their fouldings close enwrapped bee
```

(2.3.26, 27).

Louis Montrose contends that this "impairment" of the blazon is significant not only because it is "one of the poem's very rare unfinished lines," but because "the conspicuous gap at the center of
the blason coincides with a conspicuous silence about the center of the body it describes" ("Elizabethan Subject" 327). He explains that "moving downward, the narrator's gaze skirts the fringes of Belphoebe's secret parts" and thereby "displace[s] them into an intricate description of the 'rich Iewell' in which the 'knots' of her buskins are 'entrayld . . . that none might see'" (Montrose, "Elizabethan Subject" 327). The noticeable absence of her private parts is countered by the subsequent image of the jewel entangled in knots, signifying her own virgin-knot. Although this lacuna regarding Belphoebe's genitalia is motivated by decorum, it can certainly also titillate (though unintentionally), and this teasing gap at the center of the blazon is generally true of blazons of the female body.

It goes without saying that intentionally erotic blazons are not as oblique in their treatment of female genitalia, yet private parts are still referred to euphemistically. For example, in "To his Mistress Going to Bed," Donne's speaker describes her genitalia as an "America, [his] new found land" which his "roving hands" will discover (11. 27, 25). In "Love's Progress," Donne uses a similar geographical metaphor, "her India," for the woman's genitalia, because like America, "India" was considered to be a place of great wealth (1. 65). Carew also uses witty sexual topography to describe the erotic regions of Celia in "A Rapture." The lover compares his penis to a bark or a "tall Pine" which will "unlade [its] fraught" in his mistress's "Cyprian strait" or "love's channel" (11. 85, 86, 89). He also promises that he will be like a bee who will "swell / [his] bagge with honey" and "bring that great elixir to [her] hive" (11. 60-61, 78). Female genitalia are
described metaphorically in the blazon, if at all, because graphic or clinical descriptions are seldom erotic. Besides, even the most erotic blazon intends to be teasingly clever, not crude.

Erotic blazons are not always of naked women. There are blazons describing clothed women that are sometimes as suggestive and lascivious, if not more so. (We have already looked at the blazon of the clothed Belphoebe, but it is not deliberately erotic.) The parts of the female anatomy actually mentioned in these blazons are usually only those not covered by clothing and thereby visible to the eye. This type of catalogue might descend from hair to face to eyes, nose, lips, neck, and breasts, and then abruptly halt its anatomical descriptions to consider her clothes from the breast area downwards. In such a case, the inverted triangle shape of the stomacher or bodice of the typical Renaissance female costume draws the blasonneur's eye to her private parts. Montrose's examination of Queen Elizabeth's costume in the Armada portrait illustrates how the blazon follows the pattern and shapes of clothing (Plate I). He argues that the Armada portrait: displaces features of the queen's numinous body onto the patterning and decoration of the dress that covers it. In the appropriate spot, at the apex of the inverted triangle formed by her stomacher, the beholder's attention is drawn to an ostentatious bow. Resting upon it are a rich jewel in an elaborate setting and a large tear drop pearl pendant, both of which are attached to a girdle that is also composed of jewels and pearls (Montrose, "Elizabethan Subject" 315).

Montrose concludes that her costume is a "demure iconography of Elizabeth's virgin-knot" ("Elizabethan Subject" 315). The pattern of the Queen's costume leads the eye to her private parts, following the same descending order as the blazon. Clothing, then, is paradoxical:
it reveals the body it covers.

Although actual body parts mentioned in such blazons are limited primarily to the lady's face, the descriptions of her clothes are often quite suggestive of the body parts they conceal. Each item of apparel derives its beauty primarily because it touches her body, the supreme determinant of beauty. For example, "To his Mistress Going to Bed" is actually a blazon of her clothes, which turns into an imagined striptease as the lover's eyes remove each item of her apparel until the "joys" of "full nakedness" are revealed to his gaze. He wonders what joys are hidden by her girdle, breastplate, busk, gown, coronet, and shoes, so he encourages her to strip to satisfy his curiosity—and his sexual desire. We never really see any parts of her naked body, however, because Donne's lover is trying to persuade her to shed her clothes, and she is not necessarily complying. Also, although he lauds "full nakedness" as the ultimate pleasure, her clothes compete with her body; they are so mesmerizing "that th'eyes of busie fooles may be stopt there" (11. 33, 8). He is dazzled by her "glisterring" girdle, her "spangled breastplate," and the rest of her sumptuous apparel which he celebrates in the blazon (11. 5, 7).

Robert Herrick's "Upon Julia's Clothes" does not contain a blazon, but the poem also shows how mesmerizing and enticing a woman's clothing can be. Herrick's speaker rhapsodizes about "that liquefaction of her clothes" as Julia moves and how "that glittering taketh" him (11. 3, 6). In Herrick's "Delight in Disorder," the lover is also "bewitched" by the "sweet disorder in the dress / [which] kindles in clothes a wantonness" (11. 13. 1-2). His fetishizing blazon describes
various pieces of a woman's clothing in praise of feminine disarray: a scarf of lawn, a piece of lace floating on a crimson stomacher, a "neglectful" cuff, ribbons flowing "confusedly," a "tempestuous" petticoat, and a "careless" shoestring (11. 7, 8, 10, 11). Only one body part is mentioned in this blazon, "the shoulders" (1. 3). Yet "the shoulders" are neuter; they are not even identified as her shoulders. The only sense we have of a woman's body is that "body" evoked by the description of her attire, the descent down the body from her shoulder scarf to her shoestring. The clothes themselves do not really excite the lover; instead, he is turned on by the "wild civility" they suggest about the woman who wears them (1. 12). Like the lacuna regarding genitalia, the blazon of clothing can also be construed as either decorous or titillating.

Clothed or unclothed, the woman is divided into parts by the blazon, and the praise given to her features is standardized. Marvell's lover does not specify the type of metaphors he would use to praise the coy mistress's parts, but judging from the very extravagance of the time he would take and the poem's other elaborate conceits, he would probably use the codified vocabulary of hyperbole to celebrate her charms. These recurrent superlatives define a woman whose perfection supposedly cannot be rendered in this world. The language of the blazon is not meant to be visually accurate, but symbolic. The blazon's conceits distort and magnify the woman's qualities in order to link every part of her with its ideal correspondent.

These compliments derive from the vocabulary standardized by imitators of Petrarch, in which physical human features are compared to
natural phenomena. Sparkling eyes resemble stars or suns in a heavenly face, blonde hair is likened to gold wires which ensnare the helpless lover, cheeks are gardens in which roses and lilies bloom, lips are tasty cherries, teeth are pearls, the neck is an ivory tower, breasts are alabaster balls or apples, and so on. The lady's beauties could be praised by these standard metaphorical descriptions (teeth like pearls), by the expression of their effect on the lover (hair that entangles him), by mythological association (lips as sweet as Venus' lips), or some combination. These extravagant compliments became so commonplace that an engraving in Charles Sorel's *The Extravagant Shepherd* (1654) gives a woman literal Petrarchan attributes—suns for eyes, wires for hair, roses for cheeks, and globes for breasts.

With hardly an exception, the woman praised in the typical blazon is a blonde with sapphire eyes, lily white skin, rosy cheeks, ruby lips, pearly teeth, an ivory neck, snowy white arms and hands with slender fingers, an alabaster bosom, a soft belly, a small waist, goodly thighs, shapely legs, and small feet. Every blazoned lady is essentially the same, or at least looks the same and is praised in a similar way. And yet, the lover insists that his lady is different from and more beautiful than all others! It is a "peculiar irony" of the blazon that while using every device at his disposal to convince us (and perhaps himself) of the distinctiveness of his mistress, the lover only persuades us of her similarity to other women (Donald 39). In Sonnet 130, Shakespeare denigrates this cookie-cutter Petrarchan mistress by arguing that his mistress is "nothing like" those other women who are "belied with false compare."
The erotic blazon, however, does not necessarily rely on Petrarchan compliments. For example, Donne does away with the supplications and self-abasements of the Petrarchan lover, or "whining poetry," as he calls it in "The Triple Foure." Instead, the blazons in "Love's Progress" and "Going to Bed" view the woman's body as a geographical territory to be explored, mapped, and conquered. She is a New World, an America, the Indies, and a new found land. This sexual topography rejects the highly artificial Petrarchan metaphors that idealize each part of the woman's body. Instead, we see an increasing valuation of the sensuality of the woman's body. She is not the Petrarchan amalgamation of cold precious metals and stones, but an exotic earth which yields these treasures. As in Donne's "The Sun Rising," the female body becomes "both th'Indias of spice and mine" (1. 17). By comparing the female body to land, the blasonneur's sexual needs come to the forefront because this metaphor places the blasonneur in an imperialistic position. He can conquer the woman just as he conquers a territory, rather than admire her idealized beauty from afar, as he did with the Petrarchan mistress. And since the blazon is essentially concerned with the configuration of a surface—the female body—the efficacy of the sexual topography metaphor is apparent.

The erotic blazon sometimes takes on the metaphor of a voyage upon the female body, and her body parts are likened to the parts of a landscape and/or seascape. Breasts become snow-covered mountains or hills with a valley between them leading to the open plain of her stomach, the hair which entangled the Petrarchan lover in its snares becomes a forest, the cheeks are gardens of roses and lilies, the belly
is a sloping hill, the thighs are rocks rising as "seamarks to some happy land," and the genitalia are the springs of Venus or Love's channel. Either these general topographical comparisons are used, or specific exotic places are associated with her land, such as America and India, as the lover–traveler explores and maps her territory. The erotic blazon does not wholly reject Petrarchan conceits, however. In "A Rapture," Carew's speaker turns Celia's body into an Edenic garden whose pleasures he wishes to enjoy. It is a sexual topography, yet her body-garden is full of Petrarchan fruits and flowers—rosebud cheeks, cherry lips, coral berry nipples on apple breasts, the vale of lilies of her stomach, and the eglantine grove of pubic hair.

The next chapter discusses topographical anatomy in Renaissance poetry more fully in considering the notion of woman as a microcosm of the landscape. But at this point, we need only be aware that the metaphor of the journey upon the territory of a woman's body, as well as variations on Petrarchan conceits, were often used in the erotic blazon. We should also note here the efficacy of topographical anatomy to identify the female body as a territory to be appraised and appropriated in the male discourse of the blazon.

The blazon often displays the female body to male spectators and functions as a weapon in male territoriality and rivalry. As Nancy Vickers puts it, the blazon is "the product of men talking to men about women" ("Blazon" 96). Specifically, men talk to other men about women in the same way as they do about their other possessions, and the motives for this discourse are varied and often contradictory. The
male blasonneur wishes to claim possession, to demonstrate pride in ownership, to incite envy, to titillate himself and/or other men, to advertise merchandise, to gain prestige among his peers, or some combination of motives. Shakespeare makes explicit this connection between the rhetoric of the blazon and the lexicon of merchandising in Sonnet 102. He argues for limiting public praise of his mistress, even if his love may seem "more weak," because he realizes the wisdom of making "less the show appear." He senses the potential danger of blazoning his mistress or opening her body to view, particularly to other men. He realizes the slipperiness of the blazon's intentions; the blazon can prove itself duplicitous not only to the blazoned, but to the blasonneur. The blasonneur may think he is praising the woman, but his blazon can be transformed by a greedy audience into appraisal and promotion of the woman as property. Shakespeare recognizes that the blasonneur may be victimized by his own blazon and thus concludes, "That love is merchandiz'd whose rich esteeming / The owner's tongue doth publish every where." Because he does not wish to sell his mistress nor incite the envy of other men who might seize his property, he vows "not [to] praise that purpose not to sell"—or at least he vows not to praise his lady publicly (Sonnet 21).

Shakespeare demonstrates these potentially dangerous consequences of being female matter for male oratory in The Rape of Lucrece. Collatine does not "purpose to sell" his wife Lucrece, yet his blazon has the unwitting effect of inciting the sexual and economic desire of his rival, Tarquin, for her. In effect, Collatine gives Lucrece away by making her beauty public. The tragedy is set in motion by a
competition between husbands blazoning their wives. Collatine 
"extoll[s] the incomparable chastity" and beauty of Lucrece so well 
that he sets Tarquin's lust ablaze, and Tarquin acts upon this desire 
by raping Lucrece and thereby claiming his rival's property. Of 
course, Collatine did not anticipate such a disastrous response to his 
blazon. He was merely proud of his "possession of his beauteous mate" 
and wanted to elicit "envy of so rich a thing" (11. 18. 39). But the 
narrator chides Collatine for publishing "that rich jewel [which] he 
should keep unknown / From thievish ears because it is his own" (11. 34-
35). He should have been aware of the danger of inciting envy in other 
men through the blazon.

But how can those blazons which ostensibly direct their praise to 
the woman herself participate in this male discourse of appraisal and 
appropriation? "Love's Progress" is a seduction lesson for men 
(Donne's speaker demonstrates how to acquire control of the female 
body), but what about Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress," Donne's "To his 
Mistress Going to Bed," and Carew's "A Rapture," all of which are 
presumably aimed at a woman? How are these poems part of the male 
negotiations and rivalry for female property? Of course, these poems 
are not necessarily addressed to real women, nor are the poets 
necessarily the speakers of the poems. Yet in the imaginary confines 
of the poems, how does the blazon function as appraisal and 
appropriation?

Marvell's speaker is quite clear as to the purpose of his blazon. 
He wants to praise his mistress, or so he says. But we should consider 
the reason he alludes to the blazon in the first place. He would court
her lavishly, and he would praise her in an elaborate blazon, if he only had the time. On one level, then, the blazon is the necessary avowal of admiration, the preferring of the mistress above all others, and the prelude to the consummation of love. But "time's winged chariot" drawing near does not allow Marvell's speaker to engage in the foreplay of the blazon, or so he claims. He wishes he could love at a "lower rate," or a more leisurely pace, because his lady deserves it (l. 20).

However, the term "rate" here refers not only to time but to pricing or economic appraisal. Marvell thereby associates the blazon with the lexicon of merchandising, and his speaker is essentially looking over and pricing the goods he wishes to acquire. The act of blazoning becomes a claim of ownership, the male gaze admiring and taking stock of the parts of the female body on display for his perusal. The woman's body becomes a commodity to be bought and sold like any other piece of property, and her praise in the blazon becomes an appraisal of her attributes. Indeed, the number of years the lover promises to her parts sounds like monetary figures or bids—a hundred for her eyes and forehead, two hundred a piece for her breasts, and thirty thousand for the rest of the lot—for a price tag tallying 30,500 years. The last large, rounded-off figure offered for the lot indicates his eagerness to close the deal and to "possess" her body—as does the urgency of the entire poem. Rivals for the coy mistress are not mentioned in the poem; however, Marvell's speaker exhibits an awareness of such competition because he bids for the parts of his mistress in his blazon. He stakes his claim against other, would-be
buyers by itemizing and pricing the merchandise he intends to purchase. Marvell's speaker takes epistemological possession by naming her body parts as a prelude to sexual possession of her body.

According to John Carey, Donne's "To his Mistress Going to Bed" also exhibits a merchandising and appraisal of the woman's body, more specifically of her clothes. Carey contends the sex "exudes a strongly economic flavour" because "the situation Donne has concocted gratifies not only his sexual but also his social and financial ambitions" (106). Carey believes that the luxurious accessories of the fantasy (the glittery girdle, the bejeweled stomacher, the chiming watch, and the coronet) are important to Donne's persona, because his elegy "advertises the expensiveness of the female involved" while, at the same time, it "disparages people who set store by such considerations" (106). I am not quite convinced by Carey's argument about the woman's "expensiveness," but I do agree that there is an erotic appraisal occurring in the poem. Donne's speaker is certainly not eyeing his mistress and encouraging her to disrobe for any chaste purposes!

I think it better to see that the economic possession of the woman is not so much in the costliness of her attire as in the statement about her genitalia:

O my America, my new found land,
My kingdom, safest when with one man manned,
My mine of precious stones, my empery,
How blessed am I in this discovering thee!
To enter in these bonds, is to be free;
Then where my hand is set, my seal shall be
to.

(11. 27-32; emphasis mine).

The repetition of "my" here is an emphatic statement of his ownership of the woman. Moreover, because he has "dis-covered" this new
territory, he has the proprietary right to name the place—"America." He acknowledges the potential usurpation of his property by other men when he claims that she is "safeliest when with one man manned." namely himself (1. 28).

But the most significant sign of his ownership of the woman is the setting of his hand or seal on her genitalia. In one sense, the lover is saying that he has put his hand where he desires to consummate their love. But the placing of a seal on her body also represents a compact he has signed between them which he will now make legally binding with his seal. Her body is not the papers of the compact, but the actual property awarded to him in the compact. By metaphorically placing his seal on her body, Donne's lover claims legal ownership of his mistress, and implicit in this claim is an injunction against other men who might try to possess her. After all, all claims of ownership essentially prohibit others from taking possession. Moreover, such a seal is decorated with its owner's heraldic design. We should remember that "blazon" also refers to the description of an heraldic shield. A seal contains the same heraldic devices as its component shield, and so the blazon of the mistress's anatomy in the poem has an "inset blazon" of sorts in this seal on her private parts. The seal of ownership on her genitalia functions much like a sign posted on property to ward off potential usurpers: "No Trespassing. Private Parts" (Louthan 72). We should also remember that the very act of displaying the female body in the blazon can be an act of possession. If the blasonneur can describe the intimate details of a woman's body, he demonstrates a knowledge that is usually privileged only to an owner of such a property, or at
least to an interested buyer. And certainly Donne's speaker is trying to take possession of this desirable woman here by naming the parts as he dis-covers them. Like Marvell's lover, Donne's speaker takes linguistic possession of his mistress in the blazon as he anticipates sexual possession of her body.

Carew's "A Rapture" is also a poem directed towards the woman in order to seduce her. The lover invites Celia to "Loves Elizium," an erotic paradise where they can make love free from "observing spies" (ll. 2, 101). But in the course of the poem, the terms of the seduction are modified. The locus that the lover imagines for their tryst shifts from the Edenic garden to Celia's own body (Parfitt 69). Her body becomes the "delicious paradise" in which he will "rifle all the sweets" (ll. 90, 89). By conflating topography with anatomy, Carew's speaker claims Celia's body as his own garden property whose parts he will dis-cover, explore, and name, as did Adam in paradise. The lover makes several references in the poem to his proprietary rights to Celia and alludes specifically to rivals. He tells Celia that other "greedy men" have used honor to "enclose the common, / And within private arms impale free woman," but that he would not do that (ll. 19–20). Even though he disparages the lusty avarice of his rivals, there is no doubt that he, too, is eager to enclose her in his arms as his private garden. He makes several references to embracing her in his arms—and in his legs and thighs (ll. 44, 80). His judgment about other men is merely a ploy to gain Celia's affection and to ruin the chances of others in the competition for her. Carew's speaker also claims that his hand is "enfranchised" to "slide" "o'er [her] naked
polish ivory" body (11. 29-30). His "enfranchised hand" recalls Donne's "Licence my roving hands, and let them go / Before, behind, between, above, below" in "Going to Bed." But unlike Donne's lover, Carew's speaker does not ask Celia to grant him the rights to her territory; he arrogantly assumes such possession. He imagines his hand as already "enfranchised," whereas Donne's persona requests such "licence." Carew's speaker also erotically and economically appraises Celia in equating her genitalia with the "virgin-treasure" of a "rich mine" (11. 32, 33). He owns this "mine" and will use its treasure for "mintage," or the "coin[ing of] young Cupids," the currency in his realm of Celia. He vows to defend his property from "rivals or . . . emulous loves that dare / Equal with thine their mistress' eyes or hair" (11. 157-158). In doing so, Carew's speaker announces the superiority of his property or woman to all others. He sees Celia as a valuable property who must be encircled in his arms to protect her from usurpers. By blazoning her body as paradise, he claims his ownership of her hortus conclusus in which only he is privileged to enter.

The lovers in Marvell's, Donne's and Carew's poems are trying to seduce their mistresses by praising them in the blazon, but they also use the blazon to proclaim their ownership, or at least to announce their intentions to acquire the property. Their blazons assess these women as valuable commodities, and they capitalize on the public nature of the blazon to stake their claims against other, would-be buyers. In this sense, the blazon exhibits its duplicity as both praise and appraisal.
The Poetic Blazon in Country-House Poetry

Obviously, the poetic blazon is integral to Renaissance anatomical poetry, but it is also important to Renaissance country-house poetry. In examining the blazon within this context, I use the same distinctions established in the previous section on the anatomical blazon. Indeed, the blazon's basic components and concerns do not radically change from one subject to another, because the blazon is a rhetorical trope capable of various applications. Actually, we do not even need to invoke this versatility in order to see the poetic blazon's presence in country-house poetry. The subjects of Renaissance anatomical poetry and country-house poetry are really not all that different; both praise a female anatomy—a woman's body or the estate.

The term "country-house poetry" is somewhat of a misnomer. The focus in the country-house poem is not so much on architecture as on the land of the estate, and that land is gendered as female. In fact, the country-house poem hinges on the metaphor of the feminized land, especially in its prominent sponte sua motif. As Mother Earth, the land freely gives of her natural bounties—the fruits of her fields, gardens, and orchards; the game in her forests; the fish in her waters; and the fowl in her skies—and the country-house poem celebrates her bountiful generosity in a "blazon of sweet beauty's best" of the estate. The estate is praised not only as a benevolent mother who provides nourishment, but as a dutiful wife who yields fruit to the good husbandry of the lord of the estate. There is also a sensual side to the estate's femininity. The poet lovingly adores each lush feature of the estate's beauty, almost as he does the body of the mistress in
the anatomical blazon.

Again, the cataloguer is a male, a poet figure, who verbally displays the body of the female estate in the blazon, and the discourse of description is completely within his control. The estate has no voice. As a feminized territory, the estate is partitioned and dismantled in the rhetoric of the blazon, and its bounties are displayed to the view of others. Of course, this inventory is economically motivated: the estate is a property whose attributes are typically appraised in commercial transactions and surveys. The male negotiations for female property here, however, differ from those transactions in the anatomical blazon. The blasonneur is not the owner of the estate, nor can he realistically aspire to such a possession. Rather, he is a poet seeking the patronage of the lord of the property. By admiring and praising the lord's possessions, the poet hopes to find favor and financing. The discourse of the blazon is still between men—the poet and the master of the estate—but the circumstances of these negotiations are different.

Jonson's "To Penshurst" and "To Sir Robert Wroth" and Carew's "To Saxham" and To My Friend G.N., from Wrest" all exemplify the aforementioned components and concerns of the country-house poem genre; however, I also discuss Marvell's "Upon Appleton House" here as a counterpoint. While "Appleton House" is generally categorized as a country-house poem since it shares affinities with the genre, it is an anomalous and much more complex poem. "Appleton House" does consider the social context of the house with its environs and the personal context of the individual with his environment, yet among other things.
the poem is an effort to reconcile the owner Fairfax, a former Cromwellian general, to his retired life by pointing out that the history and future of the estate are still part of the holy Cause. My discussion of "Appleton House" thus takes into account both its similarities to and differences from the country-house genre.

As in the anatomical blazon, the catalogue is the most obvious aspect of the blazon in English country-house poetry. Here that catalogue is of the estate's physical parts. This inventory can be abbreviated or amplified, and can compose all or part of the poem. The catalogue is not a literal anatomy, but a praise of selected parts or prominent features of the estate. It enumerates not only particular places and landmarks of the estate (buildings, gardens, orchards, fields, rivers, meadows, etc.), but also its natural products, with an emphasis on the entire estate as potential food.

For example, in "To Penshurst," Jonson lists the following places on the Sidney estate (in order): the house's exterior, the walks, the Mount, the tree planted at Sir Philip Sidney's birth, Lady Leicester's oak tree, the Gamage copse, the lower land, the Medway river, the middle grounds, the tops, Ashore's and Sidney's copses, the fields, the Medway river, the ponds, the orchard, the garden, and the great hall of the house itself. He also catalogues the many natural bounties: deer, sheep, cattle, horses, conies, pheasant, partridge, carps, pikes, eels, cherries, plums, figs, grapes, quince, apricots, and peaches. The provisions offered by the tenants and the lord of the manor to each other are also listed. The farmers bring capons, cakes, nuts, apples,
cheese, plums, pears, and their ripe daughters to the lord. In return, the lord offers the hospitality of his table by serving beer, bread, wine, and plenty of meat. The lord's wife and children are also presented as emblems of the fruitfulness of the Sidney estate.

Jonson's "To Sir Robert Wroth" has a comparable catalogue of Wroth's country estate of Durrants, praising its "curled woods" stocked with deer, partridge, and hare; its "painted meads"; its "serpent river" with hawks and thrushes in its bushes; its "flowery fields" and "copses green"; its "mowed meadows with the fleeced sheep"; its apple orchard; and the "open hall with mirth, and cheer" of the house (11. 17, 18, 38, 39, 49). Once again, we see a combination of actual sites on the property and the estate's natural products.

Carew is not as concerned with the estate's landmarks in "To Saxham" as he is with its "native sweets" (1. 7). He praises the abundance of the estate's "dainties"—pheasant, partridge, lark, ox, lamb, fish—which load the Crofts family table. Because of the estate's bounty, the Crofts family can be generous to guests: "There's none observes, much less repines, / How often this man [guest] sups or dines" (11. 47-48). In "To My Friend G. N., from Wrest," Carew focuses on the table well-stocked with food in the hall. In fact, at Wrest, there are many large tables "filled with meats / Of choicest relish, til [their] oaken back[s] / Under the load of piled-up dishes crack" (11. 44-46). All of these dishes are supplied by the self-sufficient estate. Carew also catalogues the estate itself, noting its rich land, aromatic air, the house's architecture, its great hall, the house's encircling moat, and the orchards, gardens, and vineyards. Like
Jonson, Carew emphasizes the estate's bountiful natural products, "her free and unexhausted store" (1. 60).

In "Upon Appleton House," Marvell catalogues Lord Fairfax's estate. Marvell first describes the house and its history, then the gardens, the meadows (before and after the floods), the river, the woods, and finally Fairfax's "ripe" daughter, Maria. Marvell focuses on the natural abundance of the estate, but unlike the other country-house poets, he does not lead us into the hall for the communal feast where all of the estate's bounties are displayed on the Fairfax table. Rather, he ends the poem with the fertile Maria to whom the estate responds fruitfully, and it is Maria herself who is presented as the true bounty of the Appleton estate.

Of course, the centrality of this inventory of the estate in country-house poetry has long been recognized; however, it is important to realize that this catalogue is actually a blazon of a female estate. Rather than praising the beauties and plenitude of the female body, the blazon now lauds those same attributes of the estate.

The country-house estate is gendered as female in several ways. The first mode of feminization is the prominent sponte sua motif in the catalogue of the estate's natural plenitude. This motif is the Ovidian idea of "spontaneous giving," the earth's free and plentiful yielding of her bounties, and it draws upon the archetypal idea of the land or nature as female, that is, Mother Nature or the Great Mother Earth. The soil is perceived as a womb where seeds are planted and nourished in order to bear fruit. In fact, some country-house poems make this gendering of the land explicit by referring to it with a feminine
pronoun. For instance, in "Wrest." Carew depicts the earth as "pregnant" and that she "sends from her teeming womb a flow'ry birth" (11. 9-10). Sponte sua attributes human, specifically female, characteristics to natural phenomena—the inverse of the natural or topographical characteristics frequently given to the human female body in the anatomical blazon.

It is crucial that we recognize sponte sua, or the "yielding" of fruit by the earth, as an essentially feminine act. The key to understanding this gendered act of sponte sua is the word "yielding," which often describes the action of the land in the poems (as well as the action of the wives of the estate owners, who bear fruit or children for their lords). According to the OED, "yielding" or "to yield" has several meanings in the Renaissance, which are applicable in the context of country-house poetry. "To yield" means variously "to give in payment, to render as due, or to pay tribute to"; "to give forth fruit from its own substance by a natural process, or in return for cultivation or labour"; "to offer, present to view, or exhibit"; "to give oneself up, surrender, submit, as to a conqueror"; and "to be inferior to" (OED). The conflation of these meanings of "yielding" suggests the traditionally feminine obligation to submit to masculine power. Wives yield to their husbands, and the female land yields to husbandry. In country-house poetry, feminized nature is everywhere compliant, even eager to serve man; and wives are lauded for their fruitfulness in bearing rightful heirs for their lords. The notion of "yielding" also reinforces the socio-economic hierarchy of the estate. As the female must yield to the male, so must the laborers and tenants
submit to the estate owner. The harmony and success of the estate depend upon all family members, servants, farmers, tenants, and the land herself "yielding" to the lord of the estate.

The *sponte sua* motif also hinges upon the idea that this rich harvest is given to man with relatively little or no effort on his part. Mother Nature will take care of all of man's sustenance needs. Country-house poetry reflects this idea too. The estate is self-sufficient, and surprisingly, little or no mention is made of the land-clearing, plowing, sowing, harvesting, or other agricultural labor necessary to reap such incredible bounties (James Turner 165). "Appleton House" is the only exception, with its description of the mowers in the meadows (lines 369-432). The other poems seem to take for granted the estate's abundance. The only time we see the "rural folk" who cultivate the land is at the communal feast. The implication is that these laborers are responsible for bringing forth the harvest which now loads the dining tables, but their labors are not praised or even noted. It seems as if their good "husbandry," or cultivation of the land, is overlooked. The husbandry of those who actually work the fields, however, is less important than the "husbandry" or "housekeeping" of the estate owner. The well-run and fruitful estate reflects the virtue of her owner as "husband," which comes from the Old English "husbanda," or "house owner or holder" (OED). The social harmony of the country-house estate is also a tribute to its owner or "husband," who gives as generously to his household as his land does. The *sponte sua* of the female land is the direct result of the good husbandry of her owner, not necessarily those who work her fields.
The *sponte suae* motif is prominent in almost every country-house poem. Not only is the land depicted as extremely fertile, practically planting and harvesting itself, but even the animals and fish sacrifice themselves to feed man. These voluntary contributions have their origin in Martial and Juvenal (McClung 118). The self-sacrificing creatures are also reminiscent of the hyperbolic, thirteenth-century poem, "The Land of Cockaigne," in which already roasted geese and larks fly to the table. The country-house creatures are not quite that accommodating to would-be diners, but they, too, offer themselves as food. Of course, the animals are not necessarily female, but they are part of Mother Nature's benevolence. In "Penshurst," the copse "never fails to serve thee seasoned deer" (1. 20). Other locales in Penshurst offer food too: "Each bank doth yield thee coneys," and the tops "doth provide the purpled pheasant" (11. 25, 27-28). Not only does the land "serve," "yield," and "provide," but the animals volunteer themselves as food: "The painted partridge lies in every field, / And, for thy mess, is willing to be killed" (11. 29-30). If the Medway does not offer enough fish for "thy dish," "thy ponds . . . pay thee tribute fish," carps "run into thy net," pikes "officiously . . . themselves betray," and eels "leap on land / Before the fisher, or into his hand" (11. 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37-38). The fish "pay tribute to" or yield what is due to their master; there is a sense of political and social obligation being paid to Sidney by his estate. The orchard and garden also offer fruit and flowers that come dependably in their seasons: "The early cherry, with the later plum, / Fig, grape, and quince, each in his time doth come" (11. 41-42). Not only is fruit plentiful in
each season, it is also accessible: "The blushing apricot and woolly peach / Hang on thy walls, that every child may reach" (11. 43-44). The literal fruit of the Penshurst estate nourishes the fruit or children of the Sidney family, so that in their reciprocal generosity, both Penshurst and the Sidneys flourish abundantly. In fact, the "free provisions" are so bountiful that they "far" exceed "the need" of the household (11. 58, 59).

Carew also praises Saxham's sponte sua. Nature's seasons conspire to bless the Crofts table with plenty. "Winter takes aught [and] spring adds more" to Saxham's "store," so that even when the neighbors had little but "coarse cates," Saxham "hadst dainties" (11. 10, 9, 16, 17). The very sky is Saxham's "volary," but the birds do not have to be ensnared: "The pheasant, partridge, and the lark / Flew to [the] house" themselves (11. 18, 21-22). The other animals volunteer themselves too: "The willing ox of himself came / Home to the slaughter, with the lamb, / And every beast did thither bring / himself, to be an offering" (11. 23-26). Even the fish or "the scaly herd more pleasure took, / Bathed in thy dish, than in the brook" (11. 27-28). In short, "water, earth, air, did all conspire / To pay their tributes" to the lord of Saxham (11. 29-30).

In both "Penshurst" and "Saxham," Jonson and Carew comment on how flora and fauna "pay tribute" to the lord of the estate. This yielding or self-sacrifice is presented as a ritual of obligation to provide sustenance for the household. Nature is perceived as continually acquiescent to human pursuits and needs, but we must remember that this cooperative nature is feminized. In a sense, the country-house poem
insinuates that the feminized land—and thereby women—should cooperate naturally and plentifully with the desires of men. In the natural order of things, the feminine "yields" to the masculine.

In "Wrest," the land is also characterized by her sponte sua, but Carew makes the feminization of the yielding land explicit by depicting the earth sweating in the labor of birth:

Here steep'd in balmie dew, the pregnant Earth
Sends from her teeming wombe a flowrie birth,
And cherisht with the warme Suns quickning heate,
Her porous bosome doth rich odours sweate;
Whose perfumes through the ambient ayre diffuse
Such native Aromatiques (11. 9-14).

Nature is also personified as female; she is "bounteous" and "with care and diligence / Employs her skill" in directing the course of the waters around Wrest (11. 70, 72-73). Carew also feminizes Wrest by locating mythological goddesses associated with Nature on the estate. Amalthea empties "her free and unexhausted store" from her "horn of plenty" "within the door" of Wrest (11. 60, 58, 59). Ceres, the goddess of agriculture, is in the grain; they "grind the yellow goddess into food" (1. 68). Also, Ceres is impregnated by Bacchus, "begetting so himself on her," to increase the harvest (1. 103). Flora sports in Wrest's gardens with Zephyr and "yield[s] . . . / Sweets for the smell . . . and the palate" (11. 95-96). Pomona, the wood nymph, holds court in Wrest's forest, attended by Vertumnus, god of the seasons.

The house at Wrest is female too. (Most country-house poems do not gender the house at all.) Carew explains that it is "a house for hospitality" and that

. . . she more numerous trains
Of noble guests daily receives, and those
can with far more conveniency dispose,
Than prouder piles, where the vain builder spent
More cost in outward gay embellishment
Than real use (11. 24, 50-55).

Ostentatious architecture represents vanity, but Wrest's "face" is
"naked" of such fripperies (1. 30). The house is built for utility and
hospitality, not for show; she is a charitable mistress, not a vain and
selfish one. The house at Wrest is thus characterized by her sponte
sua or hospitality too.

"Wroth" has another agenda besides praise of Durrants. By
satirizing the evils of urban life, Jonson argues that country life is
better than the city or court, but in the course of this argument, he
lauds the sponte sua of Wroth's estate. He tells Wroth that at
Durrants, he can "live, with un-bought provision blessed" (1. 14). He
appeals to Wroth's love of hunting, noting that in the spring, the stag
"makes thy house his court" and the "lesser deer" approach "thy
friends" in the summer (11. 24, 26, 25). In autumn, the partridge
"makes a flight. / And giv'st thy gladder guests the sight." while in
the winter, the hare, hawk, and thrush accommodate Wroth's desire to
hunt (11. 27-28). These animals sacrifice themselves not just for
"fare," but for Wroth and his friends' "exercise" in hunting (1. 30).
Jonson thereby shows the estate to be bountiful enough to provide game
for food as well as sport. The land is also fertile at Durrants. The
fields are "flow'ry," the copses "green," the fields filled with
"ripened ears" and their "furrows laden with their weight," and the
apple harvest "doth longer last" (11. 38, 41, 42, 43). The
domesticated animals, sheep and pigs, are also "fat" (1. 44). Once
again, the estate's fruitfulness signifies its yielding, female land.
Marvell's "Appleton House" is different from other country-house poems. It celebrates its "fragrant gardens, shady woods, / Deep meadows, and transparent floods" with which "Nature here hath been so free," but the estate's fruition is not ascribed solely to sponte sua (ll. 79-80, 75). Marvell realizes the labor necessary to maintain a well-ordered estate when he observes the mowers with their "whistling scythe[s] and elbow[s] strong" (l. 393). He also notices "the women that with forks . . . fling" the new mown hay to be trussed into bales (l. 423). Marvell does "mythologize" these workers, yet he knows that the earth does not yield so fully without effort on the part of humankind. He locates the source of the estate's fertility not in a benevolent, sponte sua earth, but in Fairfax's daughter, Maria:

'Tis she that to these gardens gave  
That wondrous beauty which they have;  
She straightness on the woods bestows;  
To her the meadow sweetness owes;  
Nothing could make the river be  
So crystal pure but only she;  
She yet more pure, sweet, straight, and fair,  
Than gardens, woods, meads, rivers are (ll. 689-96).

A lady's power over a landscape is a standard topos; however, Marvell feminizes the Appleton estate through this association with Maria, its heiress. The grounds of Appleton emulate Maria and will stand, like her, as ideals: "That, as all virgins she precedes, / So you all woods, streams, gardens, meads" (ll. 751-52).

The Appleton estate, however, is also masculine because of its association with its owner, Lord Fairfax. Marvell often uses martial imagery to signify the retired Cromwellian general Fairfax, for instance, the garden as a fort, the flowers as regiments of soldiers.
the mock-heroic war at the nunnery, the massacre of the meadows, and the birds and vegetation trooping their colors in the woods. We also see the male narrator becoming one with the estate, not only conferring with nature, but being transmuted into a tree and vice versa. While such masculine imagery is crucial, Marvell nevertheless ends the poem with a celebration of Maria and her feminine influence on the paradisial estate. In fact, the entire poem builds up to this praise of Maria and the future of the estate and the family that her fertility represents. "Appleton House" thus demonstrates an interesting conflation of the masculine and the feminine in the estate, which distinguishes it from other country-house poems.

This association of the beauty, virtue, and fertility of a particular woman (often the wife of the owner) with the estate is another way that the country-house poem feminizes the land. We have already seen Appleton's gendering through Maria (Lady Fairfax, Maria's mother, is relatively unimportant in the poem). The female is also an emblem of the estate in "Penshurst." The farmers at the Sidneys' feast offer fruits, cheeses, and other rural delicacies as well as "their ripe daughters, whom they would commend / This way to husbands; and whose baskets bear / An emblem of themselves, in plum, or pear" (ll. 54-56). The daughters are part of of the estate's harvest of fruits. Because the girls are ripe and fertile themselves, they are also like the estate. With good "husbandry," they will be good wives and bear fruit. This reference to "ripe daughters" is metonymically related to the lady of the house, who is identified with fertility throughout the poem (Wayne 68). For example, "thy lady's oak" is supposedly the tree
under which Lady Leicester, then mistress of Penshurst, went into labor with her son, Sir Robert Sidney, master of the estate at the time Jonson wrote the poem (1. 18). Sir Robert's wife, Barbara Gamage Sidney, is identified with the copse "named of Gamage" which "serve[s]" an unending supply of deer for Penshurst's table (ll. 19. 20). Lady Sidney is also complimented for "her high huswifery" and hospitality when she entertained King James and his son who unexpectedly arrived as guests at Penshurst (1. 85). But most importantly, she is praised for being "noble, fruitfull, chaste withal" (1. 90). Her fertility and chastity are crucial because of her twelve children, "Thy great lord may call [all] his own" (1. 91). Like Penshurst, Lady Sidney paid her "tribute" and obligation to her husband/lord by yielding an abundant harvest of his fruit. Jonson thus praises Lord Sidney for a fruitful, well-ordered estate and family. Sidney is a good "husband" in both senses of the word, as spouse and householder.

In other country-house poems, the lady of the manor is not as central as Lady Sidney, but when the lady is mentioned, it is for her hospitality, a form of fruitfulness. For example, in "Wroth," the only reference to Lady Wroth is that she is a "noblest spouse [who] affords [her guests] welcome grace" (1. 55). Carew does not mention Lady Crofts in "Saxham," but he does praise Lady de Grey in "Wrest." Lady de Grey and her husband are commended for the fact that they "delight / Rather to be in act, than seem in sight" (ll. 31-32). The de Greys are lauded for their hospitality rather than the ostentatious display of wealth; they "act" noble rather than "seem" so. This praise of the lady's charity in "Wroth" and "Wrest" refers to the land because her
hospitality mirrors the benevolence of the estate. She, too, generously feeds her household and guests.

The only instance in which the association of the mistress of the estate with the land does not represent fertility is the nunnery passage in "Appleton House." The Appleton estate, originally a Cistercian priory, came to the Fairfax family at the dissolution (Donno, Marvell 248). The poem recounts the story of Isabel Thwaites, who was to marry William Fairfax in 1518 (Donno, Marvell 249 n90). When Isabel was confined by her guardian the prioress, Fairfax obtained an order for her release and then seized her by force (Donno, Marvell 249 n90). Marvell describes the hortus conclusus of the convent as a sterile place, with the exception that the nunnery gave "birth" to the Appleton estate; that is, the convent was the first building erected on the site (1. 85). Within the cloister, "the blooming virgin Thwaites" is kept at the mercy of the "subtle nuns" who sought her permanent confinement as one of their order (ll. 90, 94). A conniving nun tries to entice Isabel with a description of their hortus conclusus estate:

'Within this holy leisure we
Live innocently, as you see.
These walls restrain the world without,
But hedge our liberty about.
These bars inclose that wider den
Of those wild creatures called men.
The cloister outward shuts its gates,
And, from us, locks on them the grates' (ll. 97-104).

In short, the nun concludes, "What need is here of man?" (l. 183). The nuns' estate is not hospitable; they have locked their gates to the world, particularly to men. (Appleton and other country estates are always praised for their open doors, which represent their hospitality
Marvell sees the nuns' militant celibacy as unnatural, as does Fairfax, who penetrates the virgin walls of the enclosed convent to bring out Isabel's fertile potential (sexual imagery which Marvell no doubt intended). Marriage is thereby established as a superior state to celibacy. Marvell is not necessarily against the guarding of chastity, however. Later in the poem, he lauds Maria for closing herself off from the advances from unwanted suitors (ll. 713-20). Marvell can praise Maria for her vigilant chastity here because he knows that she guards herself in preparation for marriage (Rivers 107).

Until this point, we have looked primarily at the maternal/wifely femininity of the country-house estate, but we should also consider her sensuality. Of course, country-house poets did not intend to portray the estate lasciviously, yet there is an understated eroticism in the lush descriptions of the estate's grounds and natural plenitude. After all, in the country-house blazon, we are taken on an intimate tour of a feminized property, the center or terminus of which is the inner recesses of the house. We are invited to view and admire the estate displayed for us. The poet adores each feature of the estate's beauty just as he would extol the delights of the female body. But the estate's swelling ripeness, however enticing, is not necessarily erotic; her appeal is that of pregnancy and fruition, not sexiness. Of course, the blazon emphasizes the desirability of the estate, but that appeal is economic. The estate is presented as a lucrative piece of property and a well-managed establishment. For the most part, then, the language of the country-house blazon is not erotically charged.
This is not to say that the female land is never described in a titillating way. Chapter 3 examines the narratives of New World discovery, in which the land is blazoned as sensuous and inviting in her plenty. In fact, the New World-as-female is often represented as a sexually attractive woman willing to satisfy male desire. More important to this discussion of country-house poetry is the fact that this female New World is concurrently figured as Paradise in the narratives, an Edenic association that country-house poetry also makes. For example, Marvell calls Appleton "heaven's centre, Nature's lap, / And paradise's only map" (11. 767-68). Jonson and Carew do not claim that the estates in their poems are paradise, but by using the sponte sua motif, they establish life on the country estate as an idyllic existence approximating paradise. In paradise, the land is characterized by her sponte sua. Adam and Eve did not need to work for their sustenance in the Garden of Eden. By praising the estates' natural abundance in this hyperbolic way, Jonson and Carew thereby present those estates as earthly paradises.

In New World narratives and Renaissance country-house poetry, we see an interesting set of correspondences. The land is portrayed as female and paradisial in both instances, with an emphasis on the pleasure that ownership of land brings. In fact, in Renaissance poetry, there is a frequent metaphorical triangulation between the female body, the sponte sua land, and paradise. We have already examined how in Carew's "Rapture," the female body becomes an Edenic garden, and how in Donne's "Love's Progress" and "Going To Bed," the female genitalia are equated with paradisial New World territories,
with an emphasis on the pleasure of these Edenic delights. This triangular metaphor is examined more fully in Chapter 2 on the female body as a paradisial garden, and in Chapter 3 on exploration narratives that figure the New World as both desirable mistress and Eden. At this stage, however, we need only be aware that a desirable piece of land and/or the body of a beautiful woman are frequently associated with paradise in Renaissance poetry.

Just as the poetic blazon follows a certain hierarchical order of movement on the female body, the country-house blazon also generally adheres to a pattern in its tour of the feminized estate. This movement usually takes us from the outer boundaries through the surrounding fields, woods, and gardens to the house itself. Specifically, the central point of the tour is inside the house—the great hall where a communal meal is taking place.

For example, Jonson begins "Penshurst" by discussing its exterior, but he mentions architecture only to make the point that Penshurst is not "built to envious show" like other houses, and that it "joy'st in better marks, of soil, of air, / Of wood, of water" (ll. 1. 7-8). He then takes us on a circuit of the estate's natural beauties. He basically describes Penshurst from its northern limit, the "Mount," to its southern boundary, "the river," presenting a bird's-eye view of the topography, and then gradually focuses on its central feature, the house. The movement inward is not an immediate course to its destination: like the anatomical blazon, the country-house blazon lingers on the estate's various beauties. Once inside the house,
Jonson describes the communal feast taking place in the hall.

Jonson's "Wroth" also moves inward from the surrounding fields to the house itself, although the landmarks of Durrants are not as detailed and easily mapped as Penshurst's. Jonson takes us through the woods, meads, river, fields, copses, meadows, and orchards before centering on the hall where "the rout of rural folk come thronging in" to feast with the lord and lady of the manor (1. 53). Carew's "Saxham" involves a comparable movement from the "gardens, orchards, walks" and brooks of the estate to the hall where all are welcome to eat and rest.

In "Wrest," Carew begins his excursion in the fields of the estate, admiring the fertile soil and aromatic air. He then moves from the perimeter of the estate toward the house, noting that it is not ostentatious, but "a house for hospitality" (1. 24). Once inside the hall, Carew praises the plentiful food and hospitality of his host and hostess. Rather than staying in the hall until the end of the poem however, he goes back outside, admiring the moat encircling the house and wandering through the gardens, orchards, and vineyards around the moat. Carew ends his poem in the garden, extolling the fruits of country life. While "Wrest" is somewhat anomalous because it does not end in the hall, this variation is rather minor, considering that the poem still ends on the same note as the other country-house poems—that is, Carew celebrates the bounty of the estate and its owner. Rather than conclude with the fruits of the estate on the table in the great hall, he praises the fruits in their original state in the gardens. Even though the poem does not terminate in the hall, the feast in the hall at Wrest Park is the center of the poem and of the poet's tour.
Marvell deviates from the inward movement established by Jonson's "Penshurst." Like Jonson's at Penshurst, Marvell's tour of Appleton begins with the exterior of the house which he praises for its sobriety and proportion, qualities which reflect its owner, Fairfax. Marvell, however, moves temporally as well as spatially around the estate. He first tells the "progress of this house's fate" or its history (1. 83). From the house, he goes into the gardens. Next, he travels to the river meadows before the flood, then to the river and the river meadows in flood, next to the woods, back to the river after the flood, and finally back to the gardens where he praises Maria. At the end of the poem, Marvell says "let's in" to the house, yet we never enter Appleton House at all (1. 775). There is no image of communal feasting in the hall at Appleton, although Fairfax's generosity to the poor is noted earlier (11. 65-72).

With the exception of "Appleton House," we can see a hierarchy in the praise of the estates' parts. The ensemble of relationships composing the topography and architecture of each estate is an implied chart of the chain of being. In general, the country-house poem moves from the untamed woods, rivers, and meadows to the tamed order of the cultivated fields, orchards, and gardens, then to the civilized household of the estate, with its ranks of people distinguished at the tables of the communal meal, to the head table of the lord and lady, and in the case of "Penshurst," even to the king himself who dined there once. There is a movement from untamed nature to tamed nature to the human order of the estate household with its many ranks of people. Throughout this movement, the harmony in this chain of being is
celebrated. The estate and its household live in harmony with each other, as do the members of the household with their master and each other. All relationships, natural and human, are characterized by hospitality which takes the form of fruitfulness. The *sponte sua* of the land mirrors the generosity of the family to its household and the household’s reciprocal generosity to its lord.

It is only logical that this hierarchical order culminates in the hall because it is here that the master "dwells" and presides over the communal feast. In the hall, the land’s bounty and the lord’s generosity are presented; the virtues of the estate and its owner are exemplified in the communal meal. In this sense, the hall is "the hub of the narrative and the axis of meaning" in the poem (Gill 15). Even when the hall is not the terminus of the poetic tour of the estate (as in Carew’s "Wrest"), it is nevertheless its center. After all, the hall is the center of activity in the house and on the estate, the place where nature’s abundance is consumed by the lord and lady and their guests. Moreover, the hall is often roughly at the topographical center of the walled perimeter of the estate. The hall is also "the mythical center of the *home*; for the hall is not merely a place where food is consumed, but one where a tradition of hospitality and feasting is maintained" (Wayne 85). That the poetic tour of the estate should culminate in the consummation of food in the hall is appropriate.

In this way, the hall is like the female genitalia of the anatomical blazon that operate as the "centric part" or destination of its tour of the body. Of course, the genitalia are located roughly at the literal center of the female body, but more importantly, they are
the center of the blazon's quest for sexual consummation. The genitalia inform the movement of the blazon and provide its culmination and meaning. The master of the "property" wishes to "dwell" in or "occupy" that part of the female body. The genitalia are thus the locus of fertility and consummation on the female body, as the hall is in country-house poetry. (In country-house poetry, however, there is generally no lacuna regarding its center, the hall.) I do not wish to imply that the communal feast is an erotic orgy, or that the hall is the genitalia of the body of a feminized house. Rather, I mean to show that the blazon moves and revolves around a center or destination, and in the case of the anatomical and country-house blazons, that center represents fertility and consummation.

In "Appleton House," Marvell does not provide an image of a hall or a communal meal, yet the poem still turns on the axis of the themes of fertility and consummation. The center of "Appleton House" is its young heiress, Maria. She is the culmination of the estate because the estate receives its beauty and fertility from her. Maria also signifies fertility and consummation because through her marriage, she will perpetuate the Appleton estate as well as the Fairfax family.

Every country-house poem aspires to show the architectural superiority of its estate compared with the ostentatious houses of the nouveaux-riche, the powerful noblemen of Elizabeth's and James' reigns. In this sense, the country-house blazon is like the lover/poet claiming the superiority of his mistress's simple beauty over gaudily-dressed women who only approximate beauty through artifice. However,
the poem is claiming not just the estate's architectural beauty, but its virtue of hospitality. According to Jonson and the other country-house poets, the new homeowners do not represent the values of a settled, responsible gentry, as do the Sidneys at Penshurst, the de Greys at Wrest, the Crofts at Saxham, the Wroths at Durrants, and the Fairfax at Appleton. These established families and their estates are praised for their manorial labor and hospitality or good "housekeeping," as opposed to the vain, ostentatious display of wealth of the "ambitious heaps." The claim of architectural superiority is really a claim for moral superiority.

For example, Jonson maligns those "proud, ambitious heaps" of the nouveaux- riches in "Penshurst" (l. 101). He celebrates Penshurst by a series of negatives: it is "not" "built to envious show / Of touch, or marble"; it does not "boast a row / Of polished pillars, or a roof of gold"; it "hast no lantern . . . / Or stair, or courts" (ll. 1-5). Rather, Penshurst "joy'st in better marks, of soil, of air, / Of wood, of water" (ll. 7-8). Jonson concludes that other "lords have built, but [Penshurst's] lord dwells" (l. 102). Sidney is actively and generously involved in the estate—it is his home—whereas the new lords build merely for show.

Similarly, Carew commends Wrest because the "pure and uncompounded beauties" of its "mansion" are "bless[ed]" with a "useful comeliness, / Devoid of art" (ll. 19, 20-21). He lauds Wrest's architecture because it is not a "pile" "of carved marble, touch, or porphyry." nor does it boast a "sumptuous chimney-piece of shining stone" or "Doric or Corinthian pillars" on "this structure's naked face" (ll. 22, 23, 25,
Wrest's "turrets" do not "threaten" the sky, nor does the house indulge in "outward gay embellishment" (ll. 48, 54). It is "a house for hospitality" whose design is "not fine, / But fit for service" (ll. 24, 56-57).

Even in their other country-house poems, "Wroth" and "Saxham," where Jonson and Carew do not focus as much on the architecture of the estates, they assert the simple, utilitarian style of the house that mirrors its owner's hospitality. In "Wroth," although Jonson does not describe the house at Durrants, he does distinguish it from the urban and court dwellings with their "proud porches" and "gilded roofs" (l. 15). In "Saxham," Carew demonstrates the estate's hospitality by noticing that the house has "no porter at the door / To examine or keep back the poor; / Nor locks nor bolts" (ll. 49-51). Saxham is accessible to all because its "gates have been / Made only to let strangers in" and are "untaught to shut" (ll. 51-52, 53).

"Appleton House" has the most to say about the moral and aesthetic superiority of its architecture. In fact, the first nine stanzas deal with Appleton's architectural/moral sense of proportion. Marvell establishes that "no foreign architect" designed "this sober frame," nor is the house adorned with stones and metals drawn from "quarries" or rich wood that "forests did to pastures hew" (ll. 2, 1, 3, 4). The design of the house is not so grandiose and high that it would "arch the brows that on [it] gazed" (l. 8). Appleton is not a new home built in the lavish continental style, and its owner is morally and environmentally responsible. Marvell then argues that a house should reflect its inhabitant: "Why should of all things man unruled / Such
unproportioned dwellings build? (11. 9-10). He uses nature as an example of dwellings proportioned to their inhabitants and concludes that man does not need "all this marble crust" (1. 21). Appleton House does follow the rules of proportion, however, and "humility alone designs / Those short but admirable lines" of the house (11. 41-42). Marvell concludes his discourse on architecture by celebrating Appleton's hospitality; instead of sumptuous interior decorations, "a stately frontispiece of poor / Adorns without the open door," and "the rooms within commends / Daily new furniture of friends" (11. 65-68).

Besides these architectural/moral evaluations, another standard motif is the mythic creatures that inhabit the estate. Usually, these figures are gods and goddesses associated with nature and fertility, and their presence blesses the land with fruit and happiness. Only Appleton House is not inhabited by mythological creatures. Maria Fairfax is the only "goddess" who bestows abundance on the Appleton estate. At Penshurst, however, Pan, Bacchus, satyrs, and sylvan creatures feast in the groves, and the Penates, or Roman household gods, dwell on its hearth. Pan, Sylvan, Comus, Saturn, Apollo, Hermes, and the Muses sport on the grounds of Wroth's estate. At Saxham, although there are no named deities, the seasons and the elements are personified in their bestowal of fruit on the estate. We have already looked at the role of the mythological figures in "Wrest," Amalthea, Ceres, Vertumnus, Pomona, Zephyr, Flora, and Bacchus. While the presence of mythological gods on the estate might seem to undermine my case for the estate's femininity, we need to realize that the gods in these poems primarily attend to the goddesses and impregnate the land.
After all, the feminine cannot yield fruit without the agency of the masculine.

The effect of these mythic figures and allusions is an idealization of the estate in the country-house poem. The poem does describe an actual English country-house estate, but that representation is not wholly realistic. Even if these estates do have bountiful harvests, the land is not literally the *sponte sua* Mother Earth, nor do fertility gods and goddesses really reside on the estate's grounds. We see a similar situation when the lover/poet blazons his mistress in that he idealizes her. She is a real woman with flaws and foibles, yet he compares her parts and virtues to those of goddesses and often concludes that she is divine. Both the anatomical blazon and the country-house blazon, then, often idealize their subjects, perhaps because it is the nature of praise to be hyperbolic.

William McClung observes that "a poet is more likely to write in praise of a man than of a building, the prospect of reward being more favorable, and country-house poets are strongly inclined to put in good words for the masters as well as for the domains" (131). In fact, Renaissance country-house poets are not the first to discover the advantages of praising a patron's estate. The country-house poem is an offshoot of a classical kind of poem about great men and their houses that begins with Homer's description of the palace and gardens of King Alcinoüs (Allen 191). Don Cameron Allen lists other classical poems in this panegyrical tradition by Vergil, Seneca, Statius, Martial, and Sidonius, among others. The great house as the mirror of its owner
is also the subject of continental poems prior to those written by Jonson, Carew, and Marvell, but the English poems "surpass their continental predecessors in skill and merit" (Allen 191). In the English country-house poem, the poet carefully weaves description, compliment, and didactic reflection in such a way that the plea for patronage is unobtrusive.

Even though this plea is not overt in the country-house poem, the need for patronage was nevertheless a pressing concern for Jonson and his contemporaries. Isabel Rivers explains that the early seventeenth century was "an uneasy period for the professional writer" because he had to "compete with the courtly amateur who moved at the centre of the court world while he hung on its fringes" (33). The professional writer had a difficult time making a living. His only options were print or the stage, neither of which was especially lucrative. Of the two, stage was more financially rewarding; many writers without other means of support were compelled to turn to it. Yet Jonson himself claimed that "of all [his] plays [he] never gained 2 hundred pounds" (qtd. in Rivers 34). The professional writer who published his work could hope to obtain payment only from the aristocrat to whom he dedicated his book. But there were not enough potential patrons, and this situation forced writers to compete for funding. This system of patronage "became an economic rather than social relationship" and it had "no continuity" (Rivers 34). Consequently, the professional writer was forced into "perpetual flattery and the exploitation of new patrons" (Rivers 34).
Some writers, such as Jonson, resented the indignity in the relationship between patron and poet, and Jonson was "perennially concerned with the manners and ethics of giving and receiving" (Rivers 35). Jonson did suffer from inadequate funding in his later years when he was ill and partly estranged from court, but by contrast with other writers, his rewards from patronage were lavish (Rivers 35). Jonson had almost continuous support from various patrons, including the Sidneys (Sir Robert Wroth was related to the Sidneys by marriage), and pensions from James and Charles (Rivers 35).

Despite the need for patronage that some of these country-house poets experienced, their poems are not necessarily desperate or sycophantic. The poems exhibit a sincere admiration for the estate and for the owner whose virtuous husbandry makes such an estate possible. The country-house poet establishes his own authority as assessor of this virtue by placing himself in the poem as the narrator/poet figure who visits the estate. He is the speaker of the blazon. The tone of the country-house poem is thereby immediate and colloquial; the poet gives a firsthand account of his experience as a guest.

For example, in "Penshurst," Jonson is one of the guests at the communal feast in the hall. He explains that he is "not fain to sit (as some, this day, / At great men's tables) and yet dine away" (11. 65-66). Apparently, Jonson had not been treated well by other hosts and was given less satisfying or less choice fare than that served at the head table (or at least he wishes to give that impression). He therefore was forced to go elsewhere for a full meal. But Jonson is impressed by the superior treatment of guests at Penshurst: "Here no
man tells my cups; nor, standing by. / A waiter, doth my gluttony envy" (11. 67-68). There is plenty to eat, and he is given everything he needs. In short, he is content: "There's nothing I can wish, for which I stay" (1. 75). Jonson is so well served that he feels as if he is lord of Penshurst: "all [that I desire] is there; / As if thou [Penshurst], then, wert mine, or I reigned here" (11. 73-74). Jonson is also familiar with the Durrants estate when he recommends country life "To Sir Robert Wroth." He does not deal with any generalized country landscape, but with the actual locale of Durrants in the poem, drawing upon his own experiences there as a guest.

Carew also places himself at Saxham and Wrest in his poems. At Saxham, he obviously has experienced its hospitality because he knows that all are "welcome" and that "There's none observes, much less repines, / How often this man sups or dines" (11. 40, 47-48). Carew also positions himself at Wrest. The title of the poem indicates he is writing his epistle poem from there—"To My Friend G. N., from Wrest."

Marvell, too, writes his poem from Appleton where he tutors Lord Fairfax's daughter, Maria. He strolls the Appleton estate and uses the landscape as a locus for contemplation and panegyric. However, Marvell is already Fairfax's employee and a resident of the estate; he therefore does not need to supplicate for patronage he already has. Or if Marvell wrote the poem after leaving Fairfax's employ, he was then quite gainfully employed, (first as a tutor to William Dutton, a ward of Cromwell's; then as Latin Secretary to the Council of State; and later as MP for Hull) and didn't need that kind of patronage any more (Donno, *Marvell* 14-15).
In every country-house poem, it is obvious that the poet has not only a personal experience with the estate, but a relationship with its owner. That relationship is generally poet and patron (in Marvell's case, he was Fairfax's employee). The blasonneur is not the owner of the property, but an admirer of another man's property. That admiration is not motivated by the poet's desire to own the property himself, for such possession is unlikely. (We should not take Jonson's comment about being lord of Penshurst as an expression of an actual desire to own the estate, but in the complimentary vein in which it was intended—that Jonson feels as well treated as Lord Sidney himself.) Rather, the praise is an implicit plea for patronage, comparable to the lover/poet's plea for his mistress's amorous "patronage" in the anatomical blazon.

The country-house blazon is still "the product of men talking to men about women" or feminized estates; however, it is a different type of male negotiation. The anatomical blazon often figures in the discourse of male rivalry for female property. Here, that relationship between men is not rivalry, but the dependence of the poet on another man's generosity. To elicit this generosity, the poet appeals to the owner's sense of pride by displaying his property for him in the blazon. The poet can praise the owner through his surroundings, without seeming sycophantic. And the master of the estate has the pleasure of seeing his possessions lavishly displayed, perhaps to impress others or for his own satisfaction, without putting himself in the somewhat arrogant position of praising his own property. Of course, the country-house poem is sometimes addressed to the estate
herself ("To Penshurst" or "To Saxham"), but the real audience is the owner of the estate. This celebration of the beauties of the estate ultimately reflects the virtue of her master. The land's sponte sua is seen as a response to the lord's own generosity. The poem also reminds the master of the estate to continue this good "husbandry," because as a member of the noble, landed class, he is obligated to care for his property and for those people who reside upon it.

Probably the only standard country-house poem that does not request patronage is "To Sir Robert Wroth." Although it is addressed to Sir Robert rather than to Durrants, the estate gets the praise, "partly for its beauty and productivity, partly for its maintenance of old English manorial society and its likeness to estates of the Golden Age" (McClung 138). Wroth himself is "praised only insofar as he bends to this rule, to 'strive to live long innocent,' with the implication that he has had experience of London high life" (McClung 138). Much of the poem derides the evils of modern life, particularly the court, war and trade, and Jonson continually urges Wroth to "let others" follow these vain pursuits (l. 67). Wroth does not come off very well in the poem. He seems to have no interest in anything but hunting, and his only redeeming quality for which he is praised is his innocence (McClung 138). Despite the doubtful husbandry of her owner, Durrants nevertheless embodies the virtues that Jonson praises. McClung concludes that the poem demonstrates that an estate "can be virtuous, excellent, or capable of inducing virtue, independently of its master; indeed it may be the active agent, and itself serve to improve the master" (139).
By displaying the property of the owner, the poet incites the envy and desire of other men. Again, we see the blazon stimulating male desire, but the poet does not want others to attempt to possess the estate. Rather, the poet establishes the estate and the owner's virtues as exemplary and calls for their emulation. He evaluates the estate in economic and moral terms. The estate is successful financially because it produces many commodities and is self-sufficient. The country-house poem attributes this economic success to the morality of the owner who adheres to the virtues of hospitality and good husbandry. The country-house blazon, then, does encourage an appropriation—not of the actual estate but of the virtues governing the estate. And in the case of "Wroth," Jonson is not asking for others to emulate Wroth, but for Wroth and others to emulate the virtues of Durrants.

By blazoning the merits of owner and estate, the country-house poet fulfills his own social and moral obligations. For instance, Jonson perceives his role as poet as an arbiter of virtue:

The praise of famous men was a business with Jonson. He exhorts them to noble conduct [as with Wroth], or praises them for it [as with Sidney], rejoices that they have brought back the Golden Age, compliments them on patronizing poets, laments the decay of the old nobility, and generally places himself in the position of artist and counselor to the realm. He felt that the poet's task was to discover 'the exact knowledge of all virtues, and their Contraries: with ability to render the one lov'd, the other hated, by his proper embattaling them' (McClung 132).

Marvell perceives his role as poet in a similar way when he judges Fairfax's resignation as leader of the victorious Commonwealth army and his retirement from public life to Appleton House. On the one hand, Marvell admires Fairfax's integrity in a time of political crisis. He
commends Fairfax for listening to his conscience and not satisfying his ambition: "For he [Fairfax] did, with his utmost skill, / Ambition weed, but conscience till" (ll. 353-54). But Marvell has difficulty as an arbiter of values. Although he sympathizes with Fairfax politically, he is uncomfortable with Fairfax's withdrawal from action and his rejection of political demands. Marvell gently urges him to leave his retirement several times in the poem:

And yet there walks one on the sod  
Who, had it pleased him and God,  
Might once have made our gardens spring  
Fresh as his own and flourishing (ll. 345-49).

Marvell also criticizes retreat from the world in the nunnery section. His dilemma is that he can understand the virtues of contemplation and of action, yet he cannot resolve the conflict between them. "Appleton House" represents Marvell's struggle to reconcile this conflict of values, for both himself and his patron Fairfax.

Although the country-house poet is in the seemingly less powerful position of supplicant, he is actually more powerful than he initially appears. It is the poet who appraises the quality of life at the country-house estate. As arbiter of virtue and as blasonneur, he is able to confer immortality on the estate owner in exchange for patronage. The male negotiations between poet and patron in country-house blazon are thus more complex than they seem. Both poet and patron wield power, one by virtue of his art, the other by virtue of his property. Rivers rightly argues that this transaction between patron and poet of livelihood for immortality is "one way for the poet to justify his acceptance of patronage" (34). The exchange suggests
the superiority of the poet to his subject, and it is the poet's "means of asserting his independence" and "surmount[ing] the exigencies of the historical and social situation [to] . . . join the company of Pindar, Horace, and Chaucer" (Rivers 34).

As we can see, the poetic blazon in both Renaissance anatomical and country-house poetry celebrates desirable feminized "property"—the attractive female body and the highly coveted estate. The possession of either property is prestigious and enviable because property represents its owner. Indeed, property plays a central role in the Renaissance concepts of self and society. The self was increasingly thought of in territorial or possessive terms, and the individual's place in society was beginning to be determined by private property (in addition to title and privilege). The rhetoric of the blazon participates in this acquisitive impulse because it presents the female body and the country estate as valuable commodities and as symbols of their owners' status and power.

The Heraldic Blazon in Country-House Poetry

The components and concerns of the heraldic blazon are not all that different from those of the poetic blazon. Both blazons detail the parts of a whole in their respective descriptive projects by following a hierarchical order, but more importantly, both celebrate feminized property. As in the poetic blazon, the female body and the country-house estate, as properties, represent the status and power of their owners in the heraldic blazon. The female body and estate, inscribed
in the language of blazonry, become heraldic emblems themselves.

We will first look at the heraldic blazon in Renaissance country-house poetry, because the tradition of heraldry is more apparent in this context than in anatomical poetry, and we can thereby more easily establish the terms of the entire discussion of the heraldic blazon. After all, the actual English Renaissance country-house was an heraldic symbol. Not only was the house covered with its owner's heraldic insignia, but the country-house estate, regardless of such heraldic decoration, was considered visible evidence of her owner's power, position, and pedigree (just as an heraldic shield is such a sign). The country-house poem is thus an heraldic blazon because it describes and celebrates the estate/shield.

In its heraldic context, the verb "to blazon" means to describe a coat of arms, and the noun "blazon" is such a description. The significance of the heraldic blazon derives from its necessity in medieval warfare and tournament competition. When engaged in battle, a knight was clad from head to toe in armor, and his face was hidden by his helmet visor; therefore, he could be identified only by the colors and design on his shield and armor, his coat of arms. The description of a coat of arms, or the blazon, became increasingly sophisticated at tournaments. In order to distinguish competitors, a "herald" would function at such tourneys as a sports commentator does today. A herald would blazon or call out the insignia of the participants, proclaim their titles, recite their victories, note their standings, and marshal the procession of competitors. These heralds exploited this pomp, and
in their role as "callers-out" of the trappings and triumphs of
tournament competitors, they created "techniques of describing (or
blazoning) these insignia in a precise technical language" (Allcock
9). The verb "to blazon" thereby became associated not only with the
act of description, but with proclamation and praise.

The language of blazonry depicts armorial bearings in a manner so
precise that they can be recreated without the originals. To this end,
the heraldic blazon uses a special terminology, derived largely from
Old English and Old French, to designate the designs, divisions,
markings, figures, colors, metals, and furs on the shield. The blazon
follows a standard scheme for the division of the shield into nine
named parts (although the shield's design is not necessarily in nine
literal parts). This division facilitates location of a design element
by reference to the part of the shield it occupies. These divisions of
the shield correspond, in part, to the human body (Eve 41). For
instance, the "honor point" in the upper central portion of the shield
is in a position relative to that of the heart in the body. The
"nombril" or "navel" point in the lower center of the shield is another
somatic allusion. A specific sequence is followed in delineating the
areas. In determining the left-and-right sequential designation, the
shield is imagined as seen from behind, that is, from the position of
the warrior who holds it. The dexter (right) of the shield is to the
left as we look at it, and the sinister (left) of the shield is to the
observers' right. The blazon regularly moves from the upper dexter
angle of the shield and runs consecutively to the lower sinister.
Not only is the shield described in sequence, but its design elements are noted in a particular order. First, the "field" or background of the shield is depicted, and its "tinctures" (colors, metals and furs) are named in order. If the field is divided, the type and character of division precede the tinctures. For example, an "impalement of arms" is a shield bisected by a vertical line with the husband's arms occupying the dexter half and the wife's arms on the sinister half. A shield might also be "quartered," or divided into parts, to combine the arms of several families on one shield. In principle, a shield bears the insignia of only one family; however, a patchwork of heraldic designs became increasingly common in the sixteenth century. The coat of arms thus changed from an instantly recognizable mark of identification to a family genealogy. Of course, there are also rules governing the division of the field to denote these familial particulars. Next, the principal "charges" (figures or designs overlaid on the field) are detailed and their characteristics and tinctures indicated. Then the lesser charges on the field are noted, followed by any lesser devices upon the principal charges. Specification of the border completes the blazon of the shield itself. The crest on top of the shield is then described, followed by the helmet on which the crest rests, the helmet designating the bearer's rank of nobility; after that the supporters (symbolic figures which flank the shield), if any. The motto may be given or omitted.

Although heraldry's roots are in the battlefield and tournament ground, its significance soon expanded beyond mere identification. Strict rules governed the granting of arms—only a sovereign could
authorize them (later the College of Heralds, empowered by the sovereign)—and the possession of arms became a matter of privilege. At first, only nobles, knights, and gentry could rightfully display arms, and practically all who held land bore arms. Heraldry became associated with property, power, and prestige; and coat-armor was regarded as a mark of gentility and a symbol of family honor, achievement, and history. Each family guarded its rights to and felt deep loyalty to its coat of arms. Hubert Allcock speculates that the coat of arms, an "artistic embellishment symbolic of the nobility of the possessor." is part of "a universal human desire . . . for a strong and unique identity [that] can be expressed by adopting a personal symbol" (7, 33). It became customary not only for families to display armorial bearings, but also for churches, universities, guilds, and cities to do so. As Allcock explains, "Although the ancient battle shield had disappeared, its image lived on, deeply ingrained in the imagination, tradition, and culture of European society" (7).

Considering the prominence of heraldic symbols in the Renaissance imagination, we can understand how English country-house estates became heraldic symbols themselves. The estates represent the prestige of a certain family, name, and property. While a coat of arms stands for "the house of" a particular family, the literal house of that family stands on the country estate. Like heraldry, the country-house estate represents the political and social estate of its owner. The term "estate," then, refers not only to a person’s property, but to his position and pedigree; his value or "estate" is gauged socially, economically, and politically. The country-house poem relies on these
complementary meanings of "estate," as does the heraldic blazon. 29

The country-house estate was not only a residence but also a symbol of the particular family who built, owned, and inhabited it. Ownership of a country house asserted power, and the setting up of a country house signaled arrival at a certain degree of status and income. By listing the functions of the country-house estate, Mark Girouard accounts for this competitive determination to build visible proof of one's prosperity and power:

It was the headquarters from which land was administered and power organized. It was a show-case, in which to exhibit and entertain supporters and good connections. In early days it contained a potential fighting force. It was an image-maker, which projected an aura of glamour, mystery or success around its owner. It was visible evidence of his wealth. It showed his credentials, even if they were faked. Trophies in the hall, coats of arms over the chimney-pieces, books in the library and temples in the park could suggest that he was discriminating, intelligent, bred to rule (3). Girouard explains that "the size and pretensions of such houses were an accurate index of the ambitions—or lack of them—of their owners" and that the kind of house built or renovated by a new owner "showed exactly what level of power he was aiming at" (3). Many country houses built in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were created by the powerful noblemen of Elizabeth's and James's reigns. These men had their bases of power at court and built flamboyant country houses in their home counties, but, as McClung qualifies, "these estates were not centers of power, on the model of feudal seigniory, but creations of it, made possible by the immense wealth gained from political and financial sinecures at court" (2). Some "magnates of the age" who indulged in architectural ventures include William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Elizabeth's policy maker and builder of
Burghley and Theobalds; his son Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Lord High Treasurer, and master of Hatfield House; Sir Christopher Hatton, whose house at Holdenby was one of the largest in England at the time; and Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, owner of Audley End (McClung 2).

Some of these men were poetically praised elsewhere, but their houses were not lauded. In fact, as we have seen, country-house poetry denigrates these edifices of the *nouveaux- riches*. The only estates which merit praise in country-house poetry are those which hold to traditional English manorial customs and hospitality. In the new, opulent country houses, poets saw a departure from manorial tradition and partially blamed modern architecture for the change (McClung 2). The new houses were no longer centers of economic activity on large estates; rather, landowners relied increasingly on income from rents instead of from the direct farming of their lands. The new estates were more showcases than working agricultural communities. Country-house poetry, however, values the old way of "housekeeping" by emphasizing the reciprocity between the exterior beauty of the estate and the inner virtue of its owner, between the bounty of the land and the largesse of the landowner. The estate is thus an heraldic symbol in macrocosm, a sign of the honor, prestige and heritage of the family who owned it.

This assertion of the affinity between the country-house estate and heraldry is strengthened by the ubiquitous presence of heraldic symbols in the architecture of the house itself. Insignia were not limited to a coat of arms, seal, or banner displayed within a great house: rather, they were frequently incorporated into the very facade. George Eve
relates the general scheme of heraldry for a house: "the principal position on the exterior was over the main entrance, and there the armorials of the owner were boldly displayed, arms of alliance and genealogical trees being reserved for the more intimate surroundings of the interior" (207). Eve also notes that "other parts of the exterior were ornamented with less elaborate insignia such as seemed to fit the spaces that offered themselves, badges being freely used in this way as well inside as out. Chimney stacks and other flat spaces were relieved with panels, and ridges and pinnacles were adorned with figures of heraldic significance in relation to the family of the house" (207).

Examples of armorial design incorporated into domestic architecture are many, especially the placement of arms over the entrance to the house. Such an heraldic display was a common practice, and many prominent country houses of the Tudor-Stuart era bear arms over their entrance portals and gatehouses, such as Penshurst, Hatfield, and Audley End.

Significantly, it is not just the owner's personal heraldry that could be found prominently on the exterior of the house, but also the royal arms. Even the most humble of country houses often displayed the royal insignia, but this gesture was merely "a loyal convention, not an assumption of a greater dignity than its builder ever earned or claimed" (Nicolson 70). It was simply a sign of allegiance to the monarch. However, the reasons are more complicated with the great houses. Maurice Howard explains that such a display of royal heraldry may have been "mere deference, politic in a dangerous age." or more likely, it may "emphasize the direct link between the owner's social status (sometimes newly acquired) and the means to express that status"
If the house is a sign of its builder's power, the display of royal heraldry not only lays claim to a respectable pedigree for the owner, but also pays allegiance to "the royal magnanimity whose control of offices and honors and their consequent revenues ultimately made the great house possible" (Howard 42).32

For example, the display of royal heraldry at Penshurst is directly related to the dependence of the Sidney family fortunes on the Tudor monarchy. The estate was a gift from Edward VI, whose arms can be seen above the main entrance to the King's Tower, surmounted by an inscription placed there by Sir Henry Sidney in 1558, presumably the date of the completion of the Tower addition. The inscription tells of Edward VI's gift of Penshurst to Sir Henry Sidney's father, Sir William Sidney, in 1552. Through the arch of the Tower, the portal of the hall is visible across the court, and this archway also bears a coat of arms, the crest of the Sidneys. Both the Tudor and Sidney families are represented in the exterior heraldic design of Penshurst—the royal insignia appropriately primary, on the main entrance to the house, and the Sidneys' secondary, on the interior portal to the hall, the center of the house and of family life.

This display of royal and personal heraldry demonstrated the Sidneys' allegiance and indebtedness to the monarchy, but also helped to legitimize their newly acquired social status. The Sidneys were not the original owners of Penshurst, although Jonson gives that impression in "Penshurst." However, the Sidneys were not placing their heraldic devices on their additions to the manor to make it seem as if they had always owned the estate; rather, they were trying to "enforce the
illusion that they were a family of rank at least as old as the estate, and therefore legitimately entitled to it" (Wayne 102). In fact, Sir Henry Sidney went so far in "foisting that illusion as to have a false genealogy drawn up in support of the same claim" (Wayne 102).

Sir Henry Sidney's actions are not unusual for an age haunted by the question of legitimacy. It was fashionable for Elizabethans to create impressive, although not necessarily true family genealogies for themselves. Many "self-made" Elizabethans were obsessed with gaining coats of arms as a way of establishing their nobility or social worth, often to match or validate the status their new-found wealth provided them. For example, Shakespeare was determined to obtain a family coat of arms, and his prestige and revenue as one of the era's leading playwrights eventually enabled his father, John Shakespeare, to acquire an heraldic symbol, which was, of course, transferable to his heirs. Such an heraldic recognition doubtless satisfied Shakespeare's desire to "validate" his family's status. Similarly, the strategic display of royal heraldry with the familial at Penshurst helped to establish and validate the Sidneys' pedigree and property rights.

The wealth of shields, crests, beasts, and initials adorning country houses testifies to the heraldic significance of the houses themselves. And if we consider these houses heraldic symbols or architectural coats of arms, we might logically expect to find them emblazoned with mottoes. Of course, the many coats of arms displayed within and without any country house often bore mottoes, and mottoes alone were used in domestic and architectural decoration. Nowhere is a motto more prominently displayed, however, than at Castle Ashby. The
house boldly announces itself as an heraldic symbol by the noticeable presence of its motto along the facade parapet. The inscription spells out in enormous fretted stonework letters the verse from Psalm 127, "Nisi Dominus custos custodiverit domum frustra vigilat qui custodit eam. Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum in vanum laboraverunt qui aedificant eam. 1624."

translated "Unless the Lord watches over the house, those who guard it watch over it in vain. Unless the Lord builds the house, those who build it labor in vain."

"1624" was the year of the parapet's completion. The south side of Castle Ashby, built in 1625-35 to close the courtyard, also has a lettered balustrade on both the facade and interior courtyard. The facade balustrade reads, "Dominus custodiat introitum tuum."

and on the inside courtyard, the text is "Dominus custodiat exitum tuum."

translated "May the Lord watch over your entrance." and "May the Lord watch over your exit." There are several reasons for the use of this Psalm verse, besides announcing the piety of the house's inhabitants. A text with the words "Nisi Dominus" is appropriate because it is the heraldic motto of the Compton family, the builders of Castle Ashby. The inscription is also significant because it puns on "house," referring to the actual building, Castle Ashby, as well as to the family who constructed it, the house of Compton. According to the verse, the protection and edification of both houses will fail without God's help. The Compton motto alone, "Nisi Dominus," is a reminder of man's dependence on God in all endeavors. The pun on "house" is important because it is a means by which the country-house estate presents itself as an heraldic sign in macrocosm. The physical house stands for the house of the
family who built it, just as a certain heraldic design visually represents the "house of" a particular family. And the fact that the family heraldic motto is part of the inscription on the house lends credence to the argument that the country-house estate is, in a sense, an architectural coat of arms.

Armorial devices were also abundant on the interior of the country house. According to George Eve, interior decorative heraldry "found its first application in the actual shields, which were hung on the walls of the great halls of mediaeval strongholds, [and] was closely followed by the similar use of the more ornate ceremonial ones and continued in the tapestries and embroidered hangings which were the wall coverings of the halls and chambers" (211). The practice of hanging shields, weapons, and armour in the hall arose because it was where the lord and his retainers would assemble to prepare for battle in times of danger. Arms and armour were mounted in the hall in peacetime so that their whereabouts could be readily checked, for weapons were valuable as well as dangerous (Jackson-Stops 46). As the country house became less of a defensive fortress and more of a family residence in the early sixteenth century, the custom of displaying arms in the hall continued, but its purpose changed from security to decoration. Gervase Jackson-Stops observes, "the display of heraldry as well as martial trophies became one of the most persistent conventions in the decoration of halls, surviving centuries of changing tastes and styles" (46). The mounted coats of arms also served as a sort of genealogical gallery for the family who owned the house. In Penshurst's hall, a screen bears family heraldic badges: the Dudley
emblem of the bear and ragged staff (adopted by Henry Sidney after his marriage to Mary Dudley in 1551) and the Sidney badge of the broad arrow. The hall screen at Bramshill is even more impressive; ninety-two shields crowd the screen, presenting the heraldry of the Cope family and its connections. Bramshill's screen served as a monumental pedigree of ancestors, with spaces left open for descendants. Similarly, the halls at Appleton House, Hatfield House, and Knole, to name a few, contain carved screens or panelling incorporating the heraldic devices of their owners and their relations and allies.

The principal position for heraldic decoration for the interior of the house was usually over the fireplace in the hall, the center of the house. The heraldic motif was often continued in other interior decoration. For instance, ornate molded plaster ceilings were the rage in late Tudor/early Stuart decor, and their designs included heraldic devices, beasts, mottoes, flowers, vines, and scrollwork. We also see heraldic decoration of the main interior staircases, especially in the early Stuart era. Newel posts were often carved with the crest or supporters of the family arms, continuing the display of heraldry first encountered in the hall. Heraldic decoration was also prominent on furnishings. From a 1601 inventory of Hardwick Hall, we know that furniture was relatively sparse by modern standards in the country house at the time, even in a house as grand as Hardwick. Nevertheless, those tables, benches, chests, chairs, beds, desks, and cupboards were massive and often carved, inlaid, or painted with their owner's coat of arms. Decorative textiles such as tapestries, draperies, linens, cushions, pillows, and bedcovers were also ornamented with heraldic
This enthusiasm for armorial display was not a passing fad. For centuries, the heraldic motif was the prominent design for interior and exterior domestic decoration. However, the degree to which personal, familial, and royal heraldry was displayed within and without these country houses may seem rather excessive to us. Richard Marks accounts for this proliferation of domestic heraldic design by reminding us that "from the sixteenth century the increasing accumulation of personal possessions by the well-to-do opened new fields for armorial decoration" (77). Indeed, heraldry became an increasingly important part in all branches of artistic activity, but especially in domestic architecture. Moreover, pride in ownership and family could be announced by the ubiquity of heraldic symbols on the country house as a way of equating house and self. The hyperbole and pride in ownership to which the whole age were prone were never so apparent as in the display of heraldry both within and without the country house.

Finally, in trying to understand the heraldic symbolism of these English country houses, we should note the Tudor-Stuart delight in cerebral sport or "devices." It is not surprising that an age so fond of emblems and other devices would choose to incorporate them into their architecture. The English country house was an heraldic symbol, a text to be read or deciphered, and a visual representation of an abstract ideal. The house stood for the aspirations, values, and achievements of the family who possessed it. Sir John Summerson astutely describes this heraldic symbolism in English country-house architecture as "the craving to objectify some symbolic or genealogical
idea" in the architecture (38). Summerson calls this "craving" an "essential aspect of the Elizabethan genius," an impulse which seeks to unite the visual with the abstract, to which he sees analogies in their poetry. Summerson's comment about the correspondence between architecture and poetry is important here, because it reminds us of the significance of heraldry in Renaissance country-house poetry.

If the country-house estate is an architectural coat of arms, then the poem which describes and celebrates the country-house estate must be an heraldic blazon. Although the description of the estate in Renaissance country-house poetry does not use heraldic terms or call the estate a shield, heraldic symbolism indirectly informs the country-house poem. The poem recognizes the country-house estate as an emblem of her owner.

Although the description of the estate is not as technically precise and exact as the blazon of an heraldic shield, it contains a degree of accuracy and specificity. The particular estate is identifiable in the poem, alongside such motifs of _sponte sua_, hospitality, and architectural/moral evaluation. The poem provides geographical coordinates as the narrator takes the reader on a guided tour of the estate, and although the poem might not present an exact map, it is reasonably accurate. The estate is at least distinguishable from other estates, the very reason blazons of shields emerged in the first place—to identify owners of certain armorial bearings. Each poem presents a strong sense of the particular place and includes details and locales unique to that estate. Jonson is perhaps the most zealous in this regard, noting the major landmarks by name at
Penshurst: the Mount, Sidney's and Lady Leicester's oak trees, the Gamage copse, Ashore's and Sidney's copses, the Medway River, and, of course, the house itself. Marvell also refers to specific places at Appleton—the distinctively styled house and military gardens, the convent ruins, the meadows, the Wharfe river, and the woods. Although Jonson does not refer to Durrants' landmarks or to the estate itself by name in "Wroth," we nevertheless sense that a particular estate is being described, not just any generalized place. Carew also does not mention locales by name at Saxham and Wrest, but he does name the estates themselves in the poems as well as provide accurate details about their landscapes, such as the moat encircling the house at Wrest.

As does the heraldic blazon of a shield, the country-house poem divides the estate into parts in order to describe and praise it. In order to facilitate description, the poem follows a certain order around the estate, just as the heraldic blazon follows a certain order of the parts described on the shield. As we have seen, although the pattern of description varies from one country-house poem to another, a general plan emerges. The poem moves from the outer boundaries of the estate through its natural features towards the house, and the central point and/or terminus of this tour is the great hall, the literal and mythic center of the house and the estate. In the hall, the country-house poem takes us to a communal feast, which represents the consummation of our host's generosity as well as the estate's bounty.

The country-house poem praises not only the place, but the person who owns the estate, just as an heraldic shield represents property and person. To reinforce the nobility of the owner, the country-house poet
often refers to the history of the estate and, more importantly, of the family who owns it. The country-house poem often is a genealogy of the family, just as an heraldic shield represents pedigree with its patchwork of familial designs. For example, in "Penshurst," Jonson tries to associate the Sidney heritage with the estate. He refers to trees, groves, and other features named for Sidney family members in order to make it seem that the family is as old and established as Penshurst, although the Sidneys did not acquire the medieval estate until the mid-sixteenth century.

Marvell is the country-house poet most concerned with history. He establishes the Fairfax genealogy in "Appleton" when he relates the origins of the estate as a convent and describes the way it came into the possession of the Fairfax and de Vere families. Marvell focuses too on the future of the Fairfax family in Maria, the heiress of Appleton. In fact, Marvell is so seemingly caught up in establishing the worthiness of the Fairfax line that he suggests that Maria's spouse should be "a Fairfax for our Thwaites," equating Maria with her ancestor, Isabel Thwaites, whose story is told earlier in the poem (l. 748). It is unlikely that Marvell is suggesting in-breeding here. (Maria Fairfax married George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, in 1657). He associates Maria with Isabel because of their virginity and their potential fertility as mistress of Appleton. More importantly, Marvell's comment shows his respect for the Fairfax family and his interest in the perpetuation of its noble line. (We should note here, however, that Marvell does not see "nobility" in the same way the Sidneys, for instance, would see it, considering that Fairfax led the
Although not all country-house poems specifically blazon the history of the family and the estate, the country-house poem normally associates the place with its owner and his family. The estate owner might not be mentioned by name (Carew mentions neither de Grey at Wrest nor Crofts at Saxham by name), but there is always a reference to the master of the estate in the poem. Moreover, the estate itself is almost always named in the poem, and the very name of the property denotes its owner. As mentioned earlier, the concept of the self was increasingly defined through territorial terms and private property in the Renaissance. The country-house poem operates as an heraldic blazon because it too signifies a certain individual, family, and property.

The Heraldic Blazon in Anatomical Poetry

Although the heraldic blazon is not as prevalent as the poetic blazon in Renaissance anatomical poetry, it is nevertheless an important type of feminine compliment. There are several significant instances of the female body being blazoned in heraldic terms, usually the face as a shield. This "heraldry in her face" identifies her pedigree, but it also indicates that her body, like an heraldic shield, represents a certain family, name, or property. The female body is thus a symbol of her owner's status as well as his property herself. Once again, the heraldic blazon demonstrates the intersection of rhetoric, gender, power, and property in Renaissance poetry.

In Sonnet 13 of Sidney's Astrophil and Stella, Stella's face is blazoned as the heraldic shield of Cupid. 39 Astrophil recounts the
contest between Cupid, Jove, and Mars to determine "whose arms the fairest were" (1. 2). Jove and Mars both display admirable shields and crests, but Phoebus judges Cupid the winner because "on his crest there lies / Stella's fair hair," and his shield is emblazoned with Stella's face: "her face he makes his shield, / Where rose gules are borne in silver field" (11. 9-11). Her hair would logically be the crest if her face is the shield, because the heraldic crest tops the shield. But the inscription of Stella's face is not as complete as a normal blazon would be: all of the parts of her face are not mentioned. The "rose gules" refer only to her rosy cheeks and lips, and the "silver field" to her skin. Even though this heraldic description of Stella's face seems more evocative than precise, that is not the case. "Rose gules" in "silver field" is a full depiction of the Devereux family arms—"argent, a fesse, gules in chief three torteaux"—or three red discs on a silver background (Duncan-Jones 359). This reference to the Devereux arms is just one of Sidney's many allusions to Penelope Devereux Rich, for whom Stella in some sense stands, in Astrophil and Stella. In this context, the lady's face as a shield shows her beauty and pedigree. Stella is a Devereux. However, the face/shield also reveals the association of Stella and Cupid since her image graces his shield. She is the symbol of Love.

We also see a concern with genealogy in Spenser's April eclogue in The Shepheardes Calender, in which Hobbinol recounts Colin's "blaze" of the "worthy praise" of Queen Elizabeth, or "fayre Eliza" (11. 43. 44, 34). Spenser emphasizes the heraldic colors of Queen Elizabeth's face, which is subtly likened to an heraldic shield in that "The Redde rose
medled with the White yeare, / In either cheeke depeincten liuely chere” (ll. 68-69). The red and white roses are those of the Lancaster and York families, whose enmity was ended by Henry VII’s victory at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485. Henry VII began the Tudor dynasty, and Elizabeth was the last Tudor to sit on the English throne. By describing Elizabeth's cheeks as red and white roses, Spenser refers to both her Tudor lineage and her Petrarchan beauty.

Fulke Greville's _Caelica_ also invokes red and white roses in his blazon of Queen Elizabeth's face as an heraldic shield, but his references to heraldry are more explicit than Spenser's. In poem 81, Greville describes Elizabeth as "a Virgin" who is sitting under the canopy of a throne, and "in her face" are "the red and white Rose quarter'd" (ll. 1, 2). The description of the colors of red and white being "quartered" refers to the practice of quartering a shield or dividing it into sections to accommodate the arms of family alliances by marriage and political affiliations, here the York and Lancaster families. On one level, the shield of Elizabeth's face praises her as a sovereign Tudor monarch. She represents the peace the Tudors brought to England by uniting the warring factions of the York and Lancaster families. Elizabeth is also praised on a personal level for her beauty and virginity. Red and white are the traditional hues associated with the female face in Petrarchan compliment, and the roses refer to the Petrarchan tradition of locating roses and other flowers in the woman's face. The rose is also one of Elizabeth's personal heraldic devices to represent her status as the Virgin Queen (Strong, _Portraits_ 105). The poem, then, not only celebrates Elizabeth's ancestry and political
background, but praises her beauty and virginity.

In these examples of the female face as an heraldic shield, the rationale for such a blazon is to establish the woman's pedigree and beauty. The heraldic blazon is a form of feminine compliment which also lauds the relative power and autonomy of both Stella and Elizabeth. However, being the object of an heraldic blazon can have potentially dangerous consequences. For example, Lucrece's face is likened to an heraldic shield in *The Rape of Lucrece*, with the emphasis on the colors of red and white being blended in her face. "This heraldry in Lucrece's face" is responsible for setting the tragedy in motion (l. 64). As we discussed earlier, Lucrece's body is the subject of her husband Collatine's poetic blazon in a competition among men praising the respective virtues of their wives, but that blazon is also heraldic. The rosy blush and milky complexion of her face are the alternating "red and white" colors on the "silver" field of a shield, which bears "stars" (her eyes) as its charges (ll. 11, 61, 13).

Nancy Vickers examines the heraldic blazon as part of the discourse of this rape and shows the way Lucrece's body figures the rivalry between Collatine and Tarquin. She first looks at the shield/face as a "martial image," since Lucrece's rape is depicted as Tarquin's siege of her walled city/body (Vickers, "Blazon" 105). As a literal shield, Lucrece's body "deflects blows, prevents direct hits, and constitutes the field upon which the battle may be fought" (Vickers, "Heraldry" 181). Regarding Lucrece's shield/face as an heraldic image, Vickers argues that the competition between Collatine and Tarquin is similar to the heraldic contest among Cupid, Jove, and Mars in *Astrophil and*
Stella ("Blazon" 104). The competitive display of arms here, however, is dangerous. The narrator chides Collatine for not only foolishly publishing his wife’s virtue in his blazon, but unwisely displaying his own heraldic arms, making them vulnerable to usurpation ("Blazon" 105). The narrator puns on Collatine’s "arms," both his physical limbs and his heraldic insignia, as being jeopardized by his blazon: "Honor and beauty, in the owner’s arms. / Are weakly fortress’d from a world of harms (11. 27-28). Collatine cannot protect Lucrece’s "honor and beauty" from harm in either his bodily or heraldic "arms."

Lucrece’s face is thus not her shield, but her husband’s. A woman assumes her husband’s heraldic denomination and colors when she marries, and her own family arms are often subsumed into his design for their sons (Fox-Davies 441-46). Male insignia are important because it is primarily via the male line that titles and property are inherited. Read as an heraldic image, Lucrece’s body is the medium for the passage of Collatine’s name and property to his sons, and once she is raped, she becomes "a polluted medium" which threatens the family honor, name, and property succession with bastardry (Vickers, "Blazon" 105). In a sense, then, Tarquin’s crime is "the wearing of another man’s coat of arms," which Vickers reminds us was "not only punishable by death in the England of the 1590s but also by attaintment" ("Blazon" 105). "Attaintment," or the punishment of marking or scarring of an heraldic shield for scandalous behavior, contaminated the honor of an entire family. Attaintment was also prescribed for a variety of other crimes, including rape and "too much boasting" of oneself in "manhood and martial acts" (Rothery 37). Therefore, Tarquin not only usurps
Collatine's arms by raping Lucrece, but also taints his own family heraldry. Consequently, the Tarquins are banned from Rome.

Vickers' argument is compelling, but she needs to account for the fact that heraldic arms must be prominently displayed because that is the very reason for their existence. Heraldic insignia are meant to be shown off. So why would it be wrong for Collatine to blazon his shield? To answer that question, we must consider two points. First, Collatine is foolish to be so open in the presence of Tarquin, whose family was known for treachery. The Argument tells us that Tarquin's father, Lucius Tarquinius, murdered his own father-in-law, and then usurped the kingdom, "contrary to the Roman laws and customs." In the Argument, we also learn that Lucius Tarquinus, along with his sons, began to besiege Ardea (Collatine is also part of this invading army). Obviously, the Tarquins are known for taking the property of others, so it is not surprising that Tarquin covets and seizes Collatine's "shield." Significantly, then, it is not so much the actual display of Collatine's arms that is wrong, but the circumstances of that display. Collatine should have been more wary in the presence of the treacherous Tarquin. He should have recognized the riskiness of his blazon of Lucrece in such company.

The other reason that Collatine's blazon is foolish is that Lucrece's face is not literally his shield. She is his wife, not a coat of arms to be put on display. If Collatine's blazon is unwise, it is because of the merchandising implications of the poetic blazon. Collatine "should not praise what he purposes not to sell." He boastfully enters Lucrece in a contest testing the chastity of his
fellow warriors' wives, a competition of dubious merit that practically prostitutes their wives. It is as if Collatine is offering his wife's "wares" for sale when he blazons her virtue and beauty. Of course, Collatine did not intend to tantalize Tarquin, but the blasonneur must always be aware of the blazon's potential duplicity. An unscrupulous audience can transform the blazon from praise to promotion of a property, regardless of the blasonneur's intentions. Of course, there is always a risk in displaying anything that one cherishes; the danger for theft is always present. When these implications of the poetic blazon are considered in conjunction with the fact that arms were frequently coveted and usurped, we can see the foolishness of Collatine's blazon, both poetic and heraldic.

The heraldic display of the female body, like the display in the poetic blazon, often hinges upon the issue of sexual possession. The Rape of Lucrece uses heraldic imagery for Lucrece's body consistently throughout the text because heraldic competition, in part, motivates the male rivalry which leads to her rape. However, not all Renaissance texts are as extensive in their heraldic imagery for the female anatomy. Many texts use various puns on heraldic terms to describe the female body—with erotic connotations.

For example, in "To the State of Love, or the Senses Festival," John Cleveland imagines embracing a beautiful woman: "I now empale her in mine arms" (l. 28). In one sense, he means that he encloses her body in an embrace, but Cleveland imagines more than a hug. "Impalement" refers to sexual penetration; he fantasizes about coitus. Cleveland also puns on the heraldic meaning of "impalement" and
"arms." His "arms" are his heraldic shield or coat of arms. To "impale arms" means to join the designs of two heraldic shields together into one shield divided vertically by a pale, as in marriage when the wife's heraldic insignia are incorporated into her husband's shield. Cleveland thereby envisions not only sexual union, but a legally sanctioned marital union which impales her in his arms.

Carew uses the same pun in "A Rapture." In an effort to ennoble his own persuasion to love, he claims that "Honor" is a term coined "by greedy men, that seek to enclose the common, / And within private arms impale free woman" (11. 3, 19-20). He tries to convince Celia that honor is a sham and that these other lust-filled men want only to seize possession of her body through this ploy. As in Cleveland's poem, the impalement of woman within private arms refers not only to the sexual act, but to the heraldic combining of arms through marital union.

The issue of private property is important to Carew's "Rapture" too. In the Renaissance, when a woman married, her husband received all her land and possessions. Marriage was often an economic transaction in which the husband acquired his wife's property and control of her person, for she too was a property whose deed of title was transferred from father to husband. Carew thus compares the unlawful seizure of the female body as one's private property (outside of marriage) to what he considered the deplorable practice of enclosure of the common lands at the time. The system of enclosures, in effect, seized for personal gain that land which was meant for the common welfare. Carew thereby implies that these greedy men have no right to enclose female "land" or property in their arms, and he warns Celia
about their intentions to take her freedom. Ironically, Carew's intentions are not any different from those of the greedy men. He too wishes to possess Celia sexually as his private property, and the rest of his poem is an erotic invitation in which he stakes a claim to her body through a titillating blazon. Like the greedy men, Carew sees her body as a desirable tract of land, and he describes her anatomy as a paradisial garden he wishes to "occupy" and "deflower."

The language of heraldic blazonry is used to inscribe the female body to various ends in Renaissance poetry. Sometimes the heraldic blazon praises the woman's beauty and pedigree. At other times, heraldry is used to make witty sexual innuendos. But most significantly, Shakespeare demonstrates the potentially disastrous consequences for the female body as heraldic symbol in The Rape of Lucrece. Whatever the purpose behind the heraldic blazon of the female anatomy, its result is the same; the woman is displayed as an emblem of her patriarchal lineage or male owner. Consequently, as a signifier of masculine power, the female body becomes an object of male rivalry.

The blazon, either poetic or heraldic, is the essential ordering principle in both Renaissance anatomical poetry and country-house poetry, but, as we have seen, the use of the blazon is not a neutral act. It has sexual and economic implications for the female body and the country estate. The blazon is used as a method of masculine appraisal and appropriation of these feminized properties. Moreover, the blazon establishes these properties as signs or emblems of the status of their owners. Besides their common rhetorical structure, the
genres of Renaissance anatomical and country-house poetry are also united through the issues of gender and power. Both types of poetry rely on the metaphor of the female-as-land and the land-as-female, a metaphor which is not only present in poetry but pervasive in Renaissance thought.
NOTES

1 All quotations from Marvell's poetry are from Andrew Marvell: The Complete Poems, ed. Elizabeth Story Donno, New York: Penguin, 1983.

2 Renaissance poets parody this kind of praise in the mock blazon. For instance, Sidney uses conventional descriptions for the wrong parts of the body, thus producing a grotesque mutant in Mopsa in the Arcadia. Her forehead is "jacinth-like," her cheeks opal, her eyes "bedecked with pearl," and her lips "sapphire blue." Robert Greene renders the blazon absurd in Menaphon: "Thy teeth like to the tusks of fattest swine. / Thy speech is like the thunder in the air: / Would God thy toes, thy lips, and all were mine." In Sonnet 130, Shakespeare eschews the conventions of poetic blazonry and inverts the metaphors he uses to praise the lady. His mistress's eyes are "nothing like the sun," as are the eyes of the typical blazon mistress. The fact that the blazon is widely parodied testifies to its popularity.

3 Roslyn Lander Donald considers this question at length in "'Rhetorical Courtings': The Blazon in Elizabethan and Stuart Poetry, Its Conventional Patterns and Contexts," (Diss. U of Texas at Austin, 1974). The questions she considers about the blazon's genre and origin are valuable, but I disagree with her conclusions about its development in Renaissance poetry. She contends that the purpose of the blazon changed from praise to titillation from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century, yet she overlooks the many sixteenth-century erotic blazons. I believe that the blazon has always had both encomiastic and erotic implications as the display of the female body.


5 Medieval rhetoricians, such as Geoffrey de Vinsauf in Poetria Nova and Matthew de Vendome in Ars Versificatoria, consider the blazon, but do not call such because the term did not come into use until the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, they are obviously discussing what we now call "blazon" when they refer to the formula for describing a beautiful woman. They usually call it effictio, the physical description of a person, as opposed to notatio, the description of a person's internal attributes. Medieval rhetoricians limit the formula
to praise of the female body, as do most contemporary rhetoricians. They also advocate the descending order of the catalogue.


14 Female characters usually blazon their own bodies to men and occasionally blazon the bodies of the men they intend to seduce; these two types of female blazon thus often raise questions about aggressive female sexuality. For a discussion of Renaissance attitudes toward this overt feminine sexuality and sexual expression, see Carroll Camden, The Elizabethan Woman (Houston, New York, and London: Elsevier, 1952); Ian Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980); and Linda Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance (Urbana and Chicago: U of Illinois P, 1984). The least common type of female blazonneur is one who displays the body of another woman, but the circumstances of such blazons are often peculiar. For example, Britomart presents Amoret in the beauty contest following the tournament for the girdle of chastity in Book 4 of The Faerie Queene; however, Britomart is not represented as a female blazonneur since she hides her gender behind her armor. The others at the contest believe Britomart is a male knight. An inversion of this
situation occurs in the Arcadia when Pyrocles, disguised as the female Zelma, blazons Philoclea in "What Tongue Can Her Perfections Tell."

15 In Literary Fat Ladies, Patricia Parker examines other examples of women blazoning their own bodies in Shakespeare, including Olivia's teasing self-inventory to Cesario (Viola in disguise) in Twelfth Night (1.5.245-49) and Katherine's naming of her own body parts in her English lesson in Henry V (3.4). Parker concludes that the woman itemizes and merchandizes herself in the blazon, in some cases unwittingly (130-32).


18 See Gallo, pp. 162-87, on the history of head-to-toe description.


See Allen for a list of some continental poems that praise the patron's estate, including Francisco Berni's "In Descrizione della sua Casa" and Theophile's "La Maison de Sylvie." p. 196 n15.


A. C. Fox-Davies "hesitate[s] to follow practically the whole of heraldic writers in the statement that it was the necessity for distinction in battle which accounted for the decoration of shields" (12-13). He contends that "shields were painted and decorated, and helmets were adorned with all sorts of ornament, long before the closed helmet made it impossible to recognise a man by his facial peculiarities and distinctions" (Fox-Davies 13). Instead, Fox-Davies attributes heraldic design to an "underlying principle of vanity" (13). See A Complete Guide to Heraldry (1st ed. 1909), revised by J. P. Brooke-Little, London: Bloomsbury Books, 1985.


This mania for domestic building confined itself to edifices raised by Elizabeth's wealthy subjects, usually her own courtiers and advisors. Elizabeth built no palaces of her own, opting to reside in the palaces of her father and grandfather. But unlike her father, she did not feel threatened by her subjects' display of wealth and power in their houses, nor did she feel compelled to seize those estates for herself. Rather, many of her courtiers built magnificent houses to accommodate her on her royal progresses. Elizabeth was able to wield power by traveling throughout her realm, and her courtiers were able to cull royal favor and consequently more power by entertaining her during her visits to their houses. We should note that these royal visits were at the great expense of the country-house owners themselves.

Heraldic devices can be found in just about any exterior space that lends itself to decoration. For example, at Great Cressingham Manor, built around 1545, the upper story wall is covered with tracered panels, each panel containing a device, either a monogram composed of two crossed J's and a capital E joined by an intricate knot, or a hand clasping a falcon. The initials are those of the owner, John Jenny, and his wife, Elizabeth, and the hand with the falcon is the Jenny crest. At Hampton Court (later a royal palace, but originally the country house of Cardinal Wolsey), not only is the entrance surmounted by a cartouche of the Wolsey coat of arms, but the
path to the entrance is flanked by heraldic beasts carved in stone and placed on pillars. Elizabeth Talbot, better known as Bess of Hardwick, displayed her coat of arms flanked by stags in the stonework parapet three stories above the entrance to Hardwick Hall (1590–97). Between 1603 and 1608, Thomas Sackville added gables crowned by the sentinel leopards of his family crest to the front of Knole. At about the same time (1611), the heraldic lions of Robert Cecil were perched in stonework on the parapet of Hatfield House.

Some scholars suggest that even the shape of these houses shows allegiance to the sovereign. They claim that houses in the shape of an H or an E, both popular styles of the time, were designed to praise the monarch, Henry, Edward, or Elizabeth. In English Country Houses Open to the Public (New York: Scribner's, 1951), Christopher Hussey claims that the E-shaped house was "popularly associated with Queen Elizabeth" (54). In The English Country House, A Grand Tour (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown, 1985), Gervase Jackson-Stops similarly maintains that the E-shaped plan was "developed as a compliment to the Queen" (24). Other scholars disagree about the political significance of the architectural layouts. In The English Country House (New York: Scribner's; London: B. T. Batsford, 1936), Ralph Dutton argues that the H- and E-shaped houses were "unlikely" to have been "built out of compliment to the Tudor sovereigns, as these plans were almost the only known alternatives to the 'hollow square,' which remained equally popular" (31). Dutton speculates that "the theory might be more easily substantiated" if houses "had ever been built on the more complex plan of an M" for Mary (31). In The Early Tudors at Home 1485–1558 (London: Allen Lane, 1976), Elizabeth Burton concurs, contending that while "romantic tradition" sees the layouts as "a Tudor invention to flatter the Tudor sovereigns," such a connection is not feasible since "no 'M's for Mary remain or are recorded," and "both the H and E plans had been developing before the Tudor dynasty" (79). In more recent scholarship (English Manor Houses, London: Robert Hale, 1983), Brian Bailey states that the E-plan existed "long before Queen Elizabeth I, with whom that architectural idea is so often and so wrongly associated" and concludes that the H- and E-shaped plans emerged because of their "pleasing symmetry" (135, 132). Any correspondence between architectural layout and royal initial is purely coincidental.


Initials are not, strictly speaking, heraldic devices, but they play an important role in domestic design. After all, initials have an effect similar to heraldic insignia; they identify an individual and announce that individual's ownership of the house. For example, Malcolm Airs, in The Making of the English Country House 1500–1640 (London: Architectural Press, 1975), tells of John Thorpe's fantasy to build a house in the shape of his initials. Thorpe designed a house in the form of an I and a T, and wrote beneath the plan: "Thes 2 letters
I and T / Ioyned together as you see / Is mete for a dwelling howse for mee / Iohn Thorpe" (Airs 3). The house was never built, but we can see here the owner's interest in equating the domicile with himself. Perhaps this desire to associate or define the self with one's property accounts for the profusion of heraldic devices on domestic architecture. The placing of heraldic insignia or initials on one's house, or any property, is also a way to declare possession.

An owner's initials are perhaps most prominent at Hardwick Hall, built by Bess of Hardwick. Hardwick Hall is H-shaped, because the layout was fashionable at the time, and because the H plan echoes "Hardwick," her maiden name and the name of the house itself. She also signed the house with her initials, E.S. for Elizabeth Shrewsbury, and crowned them with her countess's coronet in fretted stonework along the parapet. But she was not content with only one set of her initials; all six towers along the parapet are emblazoned with her initials on all four sides of each tower. Their effect is even more impressive and ostentatious because this one decoration contrasts sharply with the rest of the house's austere, yet ambitious exterior of glass windows.

35 Castle Ashby was begun in 1574, but the pierced letter balustrade, an early seventeenth-century fashion, was not added until 1620-24.

36 The inscription balustrade on Castle Ashby, a late Tudor/early Stuart development, was not anomalous, but it was evanescent in its popularity. In English Homes Period III—Vol. II, Late Tudor and Early Stuart, 1558-1649 (London: Country Life; New York: Scribner's, 1927), H. Avray Tipping explains that the use of letters and numbers instead of balusters for parapets prior to Castle Ashby can be seen in embryonic state at Hardwick Hall where Bess's initials crown the towers, and at the south front of Hatfield House where the date of its completion, 1611, is carved in stone above the entrance (xviii). Tipping relates that "its large use in the shape of texts and mottoes" was introduced by the Howards—by the Earl of Northampton at the house at Charing Cross, afterwards known as Northumberland House in 1605, and by the Earl of Suffolk at Audley End between 1603 and 1616 (xviii). Other inscription balustrades adorn Temple Newsam, where such verses in English were set up by Sir James Ingram at about the same time as Castle Ashby (c. 1630); the 1620 wing of Felbrigg Hall where the parapets of the three bays are pierced with the motto "Gloria Deo in Excelsis,"; and somewhat later (c. 1660), the gatehouse at Skipton Castle. Sir Nikolaus Pevsner does not believe these openwork inscriptions to be of English origin. In The Buildings of England (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981), Pevsner claims that the idea for such inscriptions is probably French, citing its occurrence in the church at La Ferte Bernard in 1535-44 (22: 141). We also see the lettered balustrade in 1831 at the neo-Tudor Harlaxton Manor. Bailey calls Harlaxton Manor "a caricature of Tudor building" because of its excessive Tudor ornament and frippery, such as turrets, cupolas, gables, oriel, balustrades, arcades, terraces, and transoms (233).
As the central hearth of the medieval manor house gradually disappeared (because of its inefficiency and excessive smoke), the fireplace became more common in the sixteenth century, even for smaller rooms, and almost every room had a fireplace. Furthermore, as Dutton explains, "early in the reign of Elizabeth the chimneypiece came to be considered the dominant feature of a room, surmounted by a richly carved overmantel of heraldic design" (33). Naturally, the fireplace in the hall was the most important hearth in the house, and most prominent Tudor-Stuart houses display familial or royal arms over the fireplace there (and over the fireplaces in other rooms). We also see variations on the motif of the coat of arms over the hall chimneypiece. But even when different designs ornament the overmantel, heraldry is still included in a lesser scale, because the overmantel remained an important decorative space associated with armorial display. For instance, the overmantel at Lyme Park (c. 1600) consists of three tiers of carved oak, the bottom two each graced with a coat of arms. The top tier depicts the original house of Lyme Park. The country house stands here as an heraldic symbol of the Legh family, the owners of Lyme Park, because the replica of the house is displayed in a place usually reserved for the family coat of arms.

The newel posts of the staircases of Hatfield House, Temple Newsam, and Blickling Hall are crowned by heraldic beasts and figures, and the panels of the staircase balustrades of Castle Ashby and Ham House are carved with coats of arms. But no staircase can match Knole's (1605-8). Jackson-Stops describes Knole's staircase as "one of the first in England to be conceived as a room in its own right, worthy of an ambitious architectural scheme and not merely a means of passing from one floor to another by the most convenient route" (68). Its newel posts are carved with leopards holding shields with the Sackville arms. The painted decoration on the outer walls of the staircase includes a trompe-l'oeil version of the balustrade, complete with the Sackville leopards glaring menacingly at their newel post counterparts. This armorial pattern is repeated in the window at the landing where the Sackville coat of arms is glazed onto the glass.

All quotations from Sidney's Astrophil and Stella are from Sir Philip Sidney, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 1989). All subsequent quotations from Sidney's poetry and prose are from this edition.

All quotations from Greville's Caelica are from Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville, 2 vols., ed. Geoffrey Bullough (London and Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1939).

All quotations from Cleveland's "To the State of Love, or the Senses Festival" are from The Metaphysical Poets, ed. Helen Gardner (Harmondsworth and New York: Penguin, 1982).
CHAPTER II
"Things greater are in less contained": Woman as Microcosm of the World

In order to understand the female body/land metaphor in anatomical and topographical poetry, we must consider the Renaissance system of correspondences of which it is a part, the microcosm/macrocosm theory or the body/world interchange. In the early Renaissance, the universe was perceived as an orderly, harmonious system of hierarchies. In the middle of this chain of analogies was man, who was a microcosm or little world, similar in every respect to the macrocosm or larger world. Even man's anatomy corresponded with the order of the universe. His four bodily humors were associated with the spheres of the four elements, and his body parts related to the zodiacal signs. Many diagrams of man's relation to the Ptolemaic universe portray him as the center (the earth) of its concentric spheres. Man could apprehend his universe by knowing himself, by using the proportions of his own body. This idea of man summing up the universe in himself had a strong hold on the Renaissance imagination, and it influenced anatomical and topographical poetry; however, in these poetic genres, the body/world interchange is actually feminine.
While there have been many studies of the Renaissance system of correspondences, notably those of E. M. W. Tillyard and Leonard Barkan, and although the body has been a metaphor for comprehending the world throughout history, that body has been seen as either neuter or "indisputably male" (Michie 7). Few critics have fully considered a female body/world interchangeable. For instance, Barkan, who surveys the body as image of the world and carefully establishes that he means the physical human body, not mankind in general, overlooks the gender of the body on his examining table. Although Barkan points to a few examples of the female body as metaphor, he does not acknowledge the significance of sexual difference to his study. Anatomical and topographical poetry, however, necessitates gender awareness because the anthropocentric microcosm in those poetic genres is "indisputably" feminine.

This chapter considers this Renaissance system of female macrocosm/microcosm correspondences, one not necessarily in opposition to the "established" male body/world interchange, but complementary to it. I am not suggesting that the man as microcosm of the world imagery has ever been wholly feminine. Indeed, as Barkan has shown, poets, philosophers, artists, and thinkers throughout history have equated this imagery with a male or androgynous body. Nevertheless, the female body has its own tradition of metaphorical significance. Susan Rubin Suleiman explains that western culture has long considered the female body not only "a flesh-and-blood entity" but "a symbolic construct" (2). Helena Michie concurs, arguing that "women become both metaphors for
the unknowable, and metaphors for metaphor, their bodies figures of figuration," and she reminds us of the long philosophical tradition that "links women with metaphor and rhetoric" (7). Anthropologists such as Claude Levi-Strauss and Gayle Rubin also view women as "signs" or "tokens" of culture (Michie 7). As Gayatri Spivak succinctly puts it, "The discourse of man is in the metaphor of a woman" (qtd. in Michie 7). However, Elizabeth Spelman emphasizes the equally long, complex tradition identifying woman with the body and the physical, as opposed to language and the intellectual (110).

This association of woman and body is perhaps more immediately recognizable since it stems from female generativity. The female body is thus simultaneously language and body, the metaphorical and the physical.

I am greatly indebted to the aforementioned modern theorists because their observations about the significance of the female body allow me to examine somatic metaphor in Renaissance poetry in a different way. I am able to investigate the *feminine* metaphor in Renaissance poetry by using Barkan's categories—body as cosmos, body politic, and body as architecture—with attention to its erotic and political implications. I add a fourth category, which Barkan does not consider but would have been forced to if he had seen the significance of gender to his study. That category is the female body as land. By "land," I do not mean the cosmos or some general notion of the world, but actual physical land, topography, or geographical territory. This category is crucial because it is a primary link between anatomical and topographical poetry.
The Female Body as Cosmos

We should define "cosmos" before looking at some of its feminine manifestations in Renaissance poetry. "Cosmos" is the universe or world in the largest sense, encompassing all existence—the earth, the heavens, the sun, the moon, the planets, the stars, all creation. The predominant concept of the cosmos in the Renaissance was the Ptolemaic universe, which places the earth, and consequently mankind, at its center, as opposed to the heliocentric Copernican universe (proposed in 1543). The Ptolemaic universe was envisioned as a set of concentric spheres. The Earth, combined with Water, is the center, above which are the spheres of Air and Fire, and beyond, in ascending order, the spheres of the moon and the six planets, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. Above the planets are the Circle of the Fixed Stars marked with the signs of the zodiac: the Crystalline Sphere; the Primum Mobile, which imparts motion to all the spheres within it; and the Empyrean or highest heaven.

The new heliocentric cosmography of Copernicus, Galileo, Brahe, and Kepler challenged this geocentric Ptolemaic universe, and there was substantial resistance to and confusion about the new theories. As Donne laments in "An Anatomy of the World: The First Anniversary,"

[The] new philosophy calls all in doubt,
The element of fire is quite put out;
The sun is lost, and th'earth, and no man's wit
Can well direct him where to look for it (ll. 205-8).
He concludes that "all coherence [is] gone" (l. 213). Despite Donne's skepticism about the changes in cosmography, the "new philosophy" presented an orderly, viable concept of the universe that gradually undermined the geocentric universe. However, the Ptolemaic world view continued to influence Renaissance thought.  

As Barkan has shown, there are more examples of a male or androgynous body linked to the cosmos than a female body/cosmos association in Renaissance art and literature. This imbalance can be attributed to the possibility that male imagery was considered more appropriate for signifying such a large, powerful concept as the cosmos. Renaissance thought was very hierarchical in its ordering of things, and man was regarded as superior to woman. Nevertheless, there are several important instances in which the cosmos is feminized or the female body is described cosmographically in English Renaissance poetry. The use of the female body/cosmos metaphor can be divided into two categories. The first category is the tradition of feminine compliment. The woman's body is described on a cosmic plane and praised as embodying the universe. This cosmic compliment derives from the Petrarchan blazon tradition which likens her eyes to suns or stars, and assigns heavenly or divine qualities to her body. The second category is another form of feminine compliment, but the praise is not so much personal as it is political homage to Queen Elizabeth. Her leadership gave rise to a greater perception of a feminine ordering principle, and so we see more instances of a feminized cosmos in literature and art.
It is common in Renaissance poetry to praise a woman by comparing her to the heavens. Her eyes are likened to suns or stars, her head to a celestial orb or globe, her voice to the music of the spheres, her skin to moonlight, her breasts to spheres or planets, and all the excellencies of her body to the constellations. Sometimes she is even named "Cosma," "Celia," or "Stella" to emphasize her celestial beauties. This Petrarchan blazon of a heavenly woman is so familiar that Shakespeare eschews these worn-out metaphors in Sonnet 21, complaining about the falsity and overuse of "heaven itself for ornament," the "proud compare / With sun and moon," and with "all things rare / That heaven's air in this huge rondure hems." He also protests against such "false compare" in Sonnet 130, claiming that his "mistress's eyes are nothing like the sun."

Despite Shakespeare's invectives, the comparison of the female body with the heavens and the cosmos persisted—but not always with purely panegyrical intentions. Sometimes the association moves beyond praise when the lover tries to encompass the mistress-as-cosmos in his arms. Although the lover could not appropriate the actual cosmos as his own, he could attain a mastery over the universe through science. Knowing and naming the parts of the cosmos gives him power. Similarly, he could control the body of his beloved through a blazon of cosmic compliments. These witty and often erotic comparisons of a woman's body to the cosmos are much more interesting than the conventional Petrarchan forms. Moreover, these clever variations exhibit a greater understanding of the science of cosmography than do their Petrarchan counterparts.
For example, Cleveland compares the female body to "the Universe" in an extended conceit, and he seems more aware of the Ptolemaic system than the Petrarchan poets who make only general references to the sun and stars. He uses his scientific knowledge to create some wonderful, erotic conceits reminiscent of Donne's. In "To the State of Love, or the Senses Festival," Cleveland's speaker tries to seduce the woman by asking her:

Is not the Universe strait-lac't,
When I can clasp it in the Waste?
My amorous fouls about thee hurl'd,
With Drake, I compass in the world.
I hoop the Firmament, and make
This my Embrace the Zodiack.
How would thy Center take my Sense,
When Admiration doth commence
At the extrem Circumference (11. 31-39).

He cleverly compares his embrace of the mistress, an encompassing of her waist, to Sir Francis Drake's circumnavigation of the globe in 1577-80. Just as Drake knew the world through his voyage which circled the earth, Cleveland's speaker knows the limits of his "Universe" or lady through his hug. He even calls his arms "Loves Compasses" that measure and contain her girth (1. 29). But the woman is not just the globe. Cleveland's lover "hoop[s] the Firmament," and by making his "Embrace the Zodiack," he equates her body with the concentric spheres of the Ptolemaic universe. He also associates his arms with the zodiacal sphere so that he becomes part of her cosmos.

Cleveland concludes his cosmographical conceit with a seductively witty question, echoing Donne's "Love's Progress." He asks how her "Center" (the "centric part" of her cosmos, as Donne calls her genitalia) would react if his "Admiration." or sexual attention.
would "commence / At the extream Circumference" of her spheres. The circumference or outermost sphere in the Ptolemaic system is the heavenly sphere, which is sometimes equated with the woman's face. Thus, the lover asking if he should begin his progress at her face with a kiss and then move to her "centric part," which Donne's speaker claims is the "part" all men "love." In fact, in the next stanza, Cleveland's speaker does kiss her lips, and he makes it clear that the kiss is "but a preludious bliss" (l. 66). The object of his "game" is having their "bodies join," and "embraces do but draw the [battle] Line" before the "storming that must take her in" (ll. 72, 70, 68, 69). Her "extream Circumference" also suggests her clothes. Perhaps Cleveland's lover wants to work from the outside in, taking off her clothing piece by piece, sphere by sphere, until he gets to her center, similar to the plan for "dis-covering" the woman in Donne's "To his Mistress Going to Bed."

We see a similar connection between female clothing and the outer cosmic sphere in Edmund Waller's "On A Girdle," when he claims the mistress's girdle "was my heaven's extremest sphere" (ll. 5). Like Cleveland, Waller equates the belt looping her waist with the outermost Ptolemaic sphere girding the cosmos—the heavens. Her body is the cosmos if her clothes encompass the spheres. He argues that although her waist is "narrow," "yet there / Dwelt all that's good, and all that's fair" (ll. 9-10). Waller's speaker rejects the real cosmos for possession of his lady's body: "Give me but what this ribbon bound, / Take all the rest the sun goes round!" (ll. 11-12).
Of course, Cleveland and Waller are indebted to Donne's observations on the woman's girdle in "To his Mistress Going to Bed." Donne's speaker commands that the first item his lady remove be (naturally) her outermost garment, her girdle. He tells her to "Off with that girdle, like heaven's zone glistening, / But a far fairer world encompassing" (ll. 5-6). Again, the girdle is the "heaven's zone," the outermost Ptolemaic sphere encircling her body/cosmos. Both Waller's and Donne's lovers envy the girdle encompassing her waist: they, too, want to embrace her body-as-cosmos in their arms. However, while Waller's speaker is seemingly content with removing only one item of her clothing, Donne's speaker urges his mistress to strip completely. He wants her to take off every one of her concentric spheres of bejeweled, starry clothing so that he can get to the "centric part" of her universe. Donne's lover travels through each concentric sphere of her Ptolemaic universe to get to her body as earth, particularly to her genitalia as America.

In "Love's Progress," Donne rejects cosmographical conceits for the female body in favor of topographical ones. He explains his rationale for his "progress" upon the terrain of the female body: although men may "Search every sphere / And firmament, our Cupid is not there" (ll. 27-8). There is no celestial body named for Cupid. Instead, he "dwells" with Pluto "underground," and "men to such gods, their sacrificing coals / Did not in altars lay, but pits and holes" (ll. 29-32). Donne's lover concludes that:

Although we [men] see celestial bodies move Above the earth, the earth we till and love:
So we her airs contemplate, words and heart,  
And virtues; but we love the centric part (11. 33-6).

Through this argument, Donne's speaker urges men not to search for love in some celestial firmament, but to see that love is in the "pits and holes" of the female body as earth. He tells men to "till" her earth, and not to be distracted by her cosmic charms of "airs," "words," "heart," and "virtues." He then embarks on his journey upon her body to her "centric part." In "Going to Bed," Donne's lover begins this progress at the outermost sphere of her universe, her bejeweled girdle or heavenly zone, and works his way inward to her center, America. Yet in "Love's Progress," he does not travel through the concentric spheres of her universe at all. He immediately begins on earth so he can reach her "India," or genitalia, more quickly. In "Going to Bed" Donne had to contend with her clothing (and her apparent objections) en route to her America, and in "Love's Progress," his task is not any easier. Even though this journey is supposedly a better route to her "centric part," he still faces obstacles, namely the beauties of her naked body.

Donne again uses Ptolemaic cosmography in an erotic way in "The Sun Rising," but he does not praise the woman in cosmic terms. Rather, the lover and his mistress become the center of a Ptolemaic universe through a witty confrontation with the sun. The speaker chastizes the "unruly sun" of the Copernican universe for disturbing their lovemaking by shining into the room where they lie (1. 1). He argues that the sun is not the center of the universe and challenges its power. Its beams are not "so reverend, and strong" because he "could eclipse and cloud them with a wink" (11. 11, 13). Moreover,
his lady's eyes rival the sun; her "suns" "blind" the sun (1. 15). He claims the world is "contracted" into their bed, and that "She's all states, and all princes, I" (11. 26, 21). The world "in one bed lay." and the sun now revolves around them: "This bed thy centre is, these walls, thy sphere" (11. 20, 30). Donne thus transforms the Copernican universe into the Ptolemaic cosmos as the lovers supplant the sun as the center of the universe. Of course, his "new" cosmography does not propose that the female body is the entire universe. She is the earth ("all states" and "both th' Indias of spice and mine"), which is the center of the cosmos, and her body is ruled by Donne's lover as "all princes" (11. 21, 17).7

The female body—as-cosmos is not always erotically suggestive; often, such images are politically resonant. The rule of Queen Elizabeth was no doubt the inspiration for many instances of a feminine cosmic ordering principle in Renaissance poetry. After all, she was a female authority as Queen of England. In The King's Two Bodies, Ernst Kantorowicz explains that Renaissance political theory identified two bodies for the monarch, the "body natural" and the "body politic."8 But in The Queen's Two Bodies, Marie Axton shows that the reign of a queen modifies this somatic metaphor for the political state.9 Elizabeth as monarch embodies the realm in her "body politic," but since her "body natural" is female, she incarnates England as female. Stevie Davies rightly concludes, "the terminology of power, and the whole meaning of power in the state, is translated by the gender of the ruler" (31).
It is not unusual for monarchical power, wielded by either a king or a queen, to be praised as extending to the world or cosmos. That is the case in John Norden's *A Christian Familiar Comfort*, in which the state of England is compared to the heavens, and the Queen and her Council to the primum mobile, within whose compass any other motion must be contained. The image of Elizabeth possessing cosmic power or embodying the cosmos can also be seen in royal portraits and engravings. For instance, Elizabeth encompasses the cosmos in the frontispiece to John Case's *De Sphaera Civitatis* (1588), which adapts the Ptolemaic universe to the state of England represented by the Queen (Plate II). The frontispiece visually renders Norden's metaphor, depicting the cosmic spheres inscribed with the usual symbols of the sun, moon, and planets, and with the moral virtues of the Queen. Around Immovable Justice at the center revolve Copiousness of Material Things, Eloquence, Clemency, Religion, Fortitude, Prudence, and Majesty. Beyond, in the Circle of the Fixed Stars, are the officers of the Court of the Star Chamber, Nobles, Heroes, and Councillors. Above all, in the position of Primum Mobile, looms the Queen embracing the cosmos in her arms. But Elizabeth is not just the Prime Mover; she is the entire cosmos. Her face, encircled by her crown, hair, and ruff, patterns the concentric circles and radiating lines of the Ptolemaic cosmos. The position of the spheres relative to her head and upper body suggests a full skirt, equating the Queen's body natural/body politic with the cosmos. Besides appending this "feminist frontispiece," Case argues for female rule so as "to justify the prominence enjoyed by some
women in affairs of state" at the time, including Elizabeth, Catherine de Medici, and Mary Queen of Scots (Ian Maclean 60).

Elizabeth's cosmic power is also illustrated in the iconography of her portraits. In the Ditchley portrait (1592), in which the Queen stands triumphantly upon a map of England, Roy Strong notices that her left earring is a jeweled armillary sphere (Cult 154) (Plate III). An armillary sphere is an old astronomical instrument composed of rings representing the positions of circles of the celestial sphere, and was one of the Queen's personal emblems (Yates, "Elizabeth" 61). Strong speculates that its iconographical significance could be an argument for Elizabeth's deserving a celestial diadem in addition to her earthly crown, thereby signifying her cosmic dimensions and power (Cult 154).

In the Rainbow portrait (1600), Frances Yates sees another symbol of Elizabeth's cosmic importance. On the left sleeve of her dress is a celestial sphere with the zodiacal band. The sphere is above the head of a serpent whose coiled body also graces her sleeve. Yates argues that the celestial sphere figures Elizabeth's "sublime" or cosmic power (Astraea 217). The snake also has cosmic significance as a symbol of eternity or the universe (Roche 1179). Besides cosmic power, the celestial sphere and the snake symbolize wisdom. John N. King notes that the serpent "gained currency as a symbol for the queen" and her wisdom (236). Yates traces the Queen's glorification in this painting to Cesare Ripa's Iconologia (1593), in which "Intelligenza" or Wisdom is a woman holding a serpent in one hand and a celestial sphere in the other (Astraea 216-18).
Perhaps the Renaissance work that most extensively associates Elizabeth and the feminine with the cosmos is *The Faerie Queene*. Davies calls the poem "a feminized epic," because not only are many of its central characters women (Una, Belphoebe, Britomart, Amoret, Florimell), but the imaginative landscape of Faery Land is ruled by a queen, Gloriana, who commissions the quests of her knights in the order of Maidenhead (33). Most of the poem's action is initiated directly or indirectly in the court of the Faerie Queene. Gloriana is the Primum Mobile of the Faery Land cosmos; it is in her compass that any motion must be contained, and from her that any motion is originated. However, Gloriana herself remains curiously absent from the poem, except for a fleeting apparition to Arthur (1.9.13-15).

The poem is also "a feminized epic" because of its feminine ordering principle or Prime Mover outside the poem, Queen Elizabeth (for whom Gloriana stands). The poem is dedicated to the Queen and allegorically named for her because Spenser sees her as "charging" him, her "knight," with his quest to write an epic in her honor. Like the Red Cross Knight, Spenser is "Vpon a great adventure . . . bond, / That greatest Gloriana to him gaue, / . . . To winne him worship, and her grace to haue, / Which of all earthly things he most did craue" (1.1.3). Spenser explains his sense of servitude in Sonnet 33 of the *Amoretti*, in which he expresses concern that he does "Great wrong . . . / to that most sacred Empresse my dear dread, / not finishing her Queene of faery, / that mote enlarge her liuing prayses dead" because he is preoccupied with Elizabeth Boyle, the mistress of his sonnets and his future wife. He feels obliged to the Queen.
He needs her good will for his inspiration and success so he invokes her as the foremost of his Muses in the proem to Book 1. He calls her a "Goddess heavenly bright" and begs her to "raise [his] thoughts too humble and too vile" (1, Proem, 4). Spenser also identifies the Queen as his audience when he asks her to "heare" the "argument" of his poem (1, Proem, 4).

Elizabeth is not only the impetus behind the epic, but a force throughout the poem. Spenser fashions several female characters to mirror her. In a prefatory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, Spenser explains that Gloriana and Belphoebe represent the Queen:

In that Faery Queene I meane glory in my generall intention, but in my particular I conceive the most excellent and glorious person of our soueraine the Queene, and her kingdome in Faery land. And yet in some places els, I doe otherwise shadow her. For considering she beareth two persons, the one of a most royall Queene or Empresse, the other of a most vertuous and beautifull Lady, this latter part in some places I doe expresse in Belphoebe.

He also identifies Gloriana and Belphoebe as allegories of Elizabeth in the poem itself. In the proem to Book 3, he tells the Queen that in his epic, there are "in mirrours more then one her selfe to see" (3, Proem, 5). She may choose either Gloriana or Belphoebe as figures of herself, "in th'one her rule, in th'other her rare chastitee" (3, Proem, 5). Spenser is referring to the doctrine of the queen's two bodies, the body politic and the body natural, in the characters of Gloriana and Belphoebe respectively.

Other female characters also represent Queen Elizabeth: "in some places els, I doe otherwise shadow her." In Book 5, Queen Mercilla, who reigns in a court dedicated to peace, presides over the trial of Duessa, an episode that is an allegory of Elizabeth's condemnation of...
Mary Queen of Scots. Mercilla represents Elizabeth's justice and mercy. Another example of an allegorical Queen Elizabeth is Britomart, the female knight and heroine of Chastity in Books 3, 4, and 5. Britomart's union with Artegall will eventually lead to birth of Elizabeth in the genealogy of Faery Land.

But The Faerie Queene is "a feminized epic" not only by virtue of its titular queen, its many female characters, and its relation to Elizabeth. The poem contains several visions of a feminine cosmic order. In Book 4, Concord, who sits at the entrance to the Temple of Venus, is described in cosmic dimensions. She is flanked by Love and Hate, whom she keeps in balance. Not only does she control these opposite forces in the world, but she also oversees the cosmos. Concord encompasses heaven, the outermost Ptolemaic sphere, and ensures that the world as center of the cosmos remains unmoved. She also keeps the spheres of the elements in check:

By her the heauen is in his course contained,
And all the world in state vnmoued stands,
As their Almighty maker first ordained,
And bound them with inuiolable bands;
Else would the waters overflow the lands,
And fire deuoure the ayre, and hell them quight,
But that she holds them with her blessed hands (4.10.35).

This description of Concord conveys conventional philosophical ideas derived from Boethius and expanded by Spenser in "Hymn in Honour of Love," where a more neo-Platonic version is given (Roche 1179).

Another example of Spenser's female cosmography is the blazon of Belphoebe in Book 2 where her body is described on a cosmic plane. This association of virgin and cosmos belongs to the tradition of feminine compliment. However, we must remember Belphoebe's
allegorical significance as the Virgin Queen. She stands for Elizabeth as "a most vertuous and beautifull Lady." or her mortal body. Belphoebe/Elizabeth is "borne of heauenly birth" (2.3.21). Her face is a "heauenly pourtraict," her eyes are "two liuing lamps [that] did flame, / Kindled aboue at th'heauenly makers light," and her voice is "heauenly musicke" (2.3.22-24). In sum, Belphoebe is a "glorious mirrhour of celestiall grace" (2.3.25). She also embodies the natural world. Her cheeks "the vermeill red did shew / Like roses in a bed of lillies shed, / The which ambrosiall odours from them threw" (2.3.22). Her hair is decked with "sweet flowres" and "flourishing fresh leaues and blossomes" (2.3.30). Like Diana, she wears "hunters weed" and "girlands greene," and makes her home in "the flouring forrest" (2.3.21, 28, 30). Belphoebe/Elizabeth represents both the heavens and the earth; she has cosmic power.  

Both of the Queen's allegorical counterparts are associated with the cosmos. Gloriana as the Primum Mobile, and Belphoebe as a virgin cosmos. The most important vision of Spenser's feminine cosmography, however, does not deal directly with Queen Elizabeth. That moment comes in Book 6 with Calidore's glimpse of the pastoral dance of Venus's handmaids and the Graces around Colin Clout's beloved on Mount Acidale. Calidore sees Colin piping merrily before him while:

An hundred naked maidens lilly white,
All raunged in a ring, and dauncing in delight.

All they without were raunged in a ring,
And daunced round; but in the midst of them
Three other Ladies did both daunce and sing,
The whilster the rest them round about did homme.
And like a girlonde did in compasse stemme;
And in the middest of those same three, was placed
Another Damzell, as a precious gemme,
Amidst a ring most richly well enchaced.
That with her goodly presence all the rest much graced
(6.10.11-12).

Many dismiss this interlude as biographical intrusion. Spenser openly used the pseudonym "Colin Clout," and the central "Damzell," identified as Colin's beloved, is most likely Spenser's wife, Elizabeth Boyle. But the episode is not just biographical: its placement in the epic signals its importance. The dance comes in Canto 10 near the end of Book 6. Canto 10 is a crucial section in all five previous books because it often contains a significant allegory or the climax of the book. But more important is the vision's position in the whole scheme of the epic. At the end of Book 6, the pastoral dance would have been at the very center of the epic originally envisioned in twelve books. For the sake of symmetry, it is only appropriate that Spenser places his vision of a gynocentric universe at the center of his epic.

The vision suggests a feminized cosmos in the concentric circles of the dancing maidens and Graces around the central "Damzell." Moreover, the central "Damzell" is identified as the center of the cosmic spheres. She is "placed in the firmament," and "through the bright heauen doth her beams display, / And is vnto the starres an ornament, / Which round about her moue in order excellent"
(6.10.13). Davies defines the cosmic implications of this dance: "the feminine in Colin's vision, circle within circle, centering inwards to the most sacred lady of all, figures the mystery of the All," the mystery of the cosmos (40). It is appropriately enigmatic
that Calidore's approach dispels this cosmic vision and that "things passed none may now restore" (6.10.20). The vision of the feminized cosmos is shattered by a male intrusion, yet it is the piping of the male Colin that provides the music of its spheres.\(^\text{13}\)

Although the center of this feminized cosmos is Colin's beloved, the significance of Queen Elizabeth is still asserted. The praise of this other Elizabeth is remarkably similar to the praise Spenser gives to the Queen. This central maiden is cherished for her:

```
Diuine resemblaunce, beauty soueraine rare,
Firme Chastity, that spight ne blemish dare;
All which she with such courtesie doth grace,
But quite are dimmed, when she is in place.
She made me often pipe and now to pipe apace (6.10.27).
```

We might even think for a moment that this central damsel is Queen Elizabeth/Gloriana until Spenser denies that reading with his apology to Gloriana for her displacement. Spenser praises both his wife and his queen for their divine nature, beauty, chastity, and courtesy, as well as for providing the impetus for his "piping" or poetry.

Besides the similar compliments Spenser gives to both Elizabeths, the cosmic dance of the Graces around a damsel in *The Faerie Queene* recalls another Spenserian dance which features Queen Elizabeth, the pastoral dance in the April eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender*\(^\text{14}\). Hobbinol sings Colin's "laye" which portrays the Queen as the central damsel of a musical tribute by Calliope and the other Muses.\(^\text{15}\) The three Graces dance around the Queen to this divine music. Colin admires the entertainment, but believes that the dance "wants . . . a fourth grace, to make the daunce euen," so he suggests that "rowme
to my Lady [the Queen] be yeuen: / She shalbe a grace, / To fyll the fourth place, / And reigne with the rest in heauen" (ll. 113-17). He then calls upon the "shepheards daughters, that dwell on the greene" to "hye . . . there apace" to join in this adoring dance around Eliza (ll. 127, 128). In Colin's song, Queen Elizabeth becomes the center of a feminine cosmic dance comparable to the dance on Mount Acidale.

We also see a circle of women around the Queen in the April eclogue's woodcut (Plate IV). The Muses encircling the Queen are clothed, not naked women as in Calidore's vision. The woodcut also does not show the Graces or the other damsels. However, to the far right of the Queen and her circle in the woodcut is a shepherd playing his pipe, Colin Clout. His pastoral piping is "the music of the spheres" of the feminine cosmos in the April eclogue and its woodcut, as well as on Mount Acidale. Spenser reprises the feminine cosmic dance from *The Shepheardes Calender* in Book 6 of *The Faerie Queene*; however, on Mount Acidale, Spenser replaces the Queen with Colin's beloved as the center of this female cosmos.

Spenser acknowledges this displacement in an allusion to the Queen's prominence in the April eclogue. Immediately after Calidore's intrusion and Colin's explanation of the dance, Colin (the pastoral Spenser) breaks into the narrative and apologizes to Gloriana (Queen Elizabeth) for her temporary displacement from the center of his poetry. He lauds the Queen as "Sunne of the world, great glory of the sky" and begs her "pardon" (6.10.28). He tries to excuse himself on the grounds of proportion. He has "sung" her "many layes" "in all his dayes," and now he only wishes "to make one minime
of [her] poore handmayd" (6.10.28). Obviously, one of the "layes" that Spenser dedicated to her is the April eclogue. He promises that that he will "place [the] praise" of the other Elizabeth "vnderneath [Gloriana's] feete" (6.10.28). In this way, Spenser cleverly reasserts the Queen's prominence in his female cosmography.

Elizabeth Boyle may be the center of the cosmos on Mount Acidale, but Queen Elizabeth is its Primum Mobile. Moreover, the vision of the feminine cosmos on Mount Acidale is quickly dispelled by the approach of Calidore. Colin's beloved does not reign for long.

This praise of Queen Elizabeth as cosmos is related to the tradition of feminine compliment. After all, she was a woman and a monarch; her mortal body was inseparable from her body politic. Even politically motivated accolades never forgot Elizabeth's gender. Mary Luke explains, "The homage normally paid a king became a more personal act, emphasized now by the fact that the monarch was a woman, and an attractive one at that" (57). The paeans to the Queen often draw upon the terminology of courtly love language and compliment. Admired for her intelligence, education, and political acumen, Elizabeth was also adored as a queen of love, a mesmerizing mistress who subdued men's hearts. Her magnetism was only intensified by her vows of allegiance to eternal virginity. She was infinitely desirable, yet untouchable. Flattery, flirtation, and excessive adulation of the Queen were the norm. Elizabeth herself encouraged such praise of her body natural for her body politic, but not just to satisfy her ego. Her femininity and virginity were important to her policy of political Petrarchism.16 The
complimentary association of Elizabeth's body with the cosmos, then, establishes her authority as England's Prime Mover, whose own movement is ordained by God.

The Female Body as Body Politic

The obvious starting point, then, in any consideration of a feminized state or body politic in the Renaissance is Queen Elizabeth. The queen's body had tremendous metaphorical significance. Leonard Tennenhouse observes that Elizabeth's body was "thoroughly inscribed within a system of political meaning," her "female body natural" standing for the body politic (102). We should note here that Elizabeth was not the first (or the last) English monarch whose physical body was associated with the body politic. Kantorowicz discusses at length the Renaissance political theory that equates the monarch's human body with the body politic. Yet with Queen Elizabeth, the somatic metaphor is modified. Not only did she as sovereign embody England, but England was incarnated as female. This transformation officially took place with her coronation in 1559. Her mortal body was invested with the corpus republicae mysticum in this "political sacrament" (Miller 68). Furthermore, the association of the Queen's body with the state was legally mandated. Tennenhouse explains that for legal purposes, it was necessary "to endow the Queen with two bodies... The body politic was supposed to be contained within the natural body of the Queen" (102).

Elizabeth herself insisted upon identifying her body with her realm. In her speeches, she claimed that as queen she "gives birth
to, nurtures, and loves her nation with a deeply personal love, as of mother to her children" (Davies 31). Her rule was matriarchal, although she was a Virgin Queen. She argued in a 1558 speech to Parliament that she did not need to marry and bear children because she was mother to her subjects, and that although after her death her people might have many stepmothers, they should never have "a more natural mother than [she] meant to be unto [them] all" (qtd. in Montrose, "Shaping Fantasies" 80). Elizabeth perceived herself as both England (mother-country) and mother to England (her subjects or "children"). Most importantly, in the minds of most Elizabethans, the state and the monarch were bound to one another. Consequently, there are many instances in Renaissance literature and iconography of this metaphorical interchange between Elizabeth and England.

The queen's body was the most significant official symbol of the state; therefore, royal portraits were crucial to the display of English power (Tennenhouse 105). In some portraits, Elizabeth is depicted with some sort of representation of England, usually a map, so that the connection between the Queen and England, and the power of both, is never in question. For example, in the Ditchley portrait, the elaborately attired, bejeweled Queen stands on a map of England (Plate III). But her figure is out of proportion with the map: she is much larger. She looms over England, covering most of the map, except for the southernmost counties, with her body and voluminous dress. Apparently, the rest of the map does not have to be seen because Elizabeth herself embodies England.
Even when the bond between Elizabeth's body and the body politic is not represented in such territorial terms in her portraits, this connection is still apparent. Tennenhouse refers to those portraits "where the surface of her body was ornamented with the wealth of the state" (104). Indeed, in practically every portrait, the Queen is regally dressed and bedecked with jewels. In her Coronation portrait (1559), Elizabeth sits stiffly in a dress embroidered with gold and silver threads and trimmed in ermine and jewels, and she holds a gem-encrusted scepter and orb. A chain of pearls and precious stones keeps her cloak in place, and she wears a jeweled crown and many rings. In the Armada portrait, she is similarly if not more opulently garbed, signifying her glorious victory over the Spanish Armada depicted in the windows behind her (Plate I). She wears an elaborate dress studded with jewels, with a large gem tied up in a knot at the apex of her inverted triangular bodice, signifying her virgin knot. She wears many strands of pearls, and pearls ornament her hair, ears, and ruff. A bejeweled diadem rests behind her on a table. The Queen's lavish display of her person in her portraits thereby testifies to the riches of her powerful nation.

Strong also sees the somatic bonding of queen and state in her portraits' "imperial theme" that "reflects the position taken up by the monarchy to justify its omnipotence over Church and State" (Portraits 22). He points to iconographic symbols of imperial power in many of Elizabeth's portraits: pillars as a backdrop to suggest England's expanding empire; her grasping of a scepter and a terrestrial globe or orb of rule; and even the crown of the Holy
Roman Emperors, suggesting "the return to imperial Christianity free from papal shackles" (Strong, Portraits 22; Yates, Astraea 44).

(Again, Elizabeth was not the first—or the last—English monarch to utilize these imperial symbols in royal portraiture. For instance, her father, Henry VIII, was also very image-conscious and was frequently portrayed symbolically in paintings, tapestries, etc.)

Tennenhouse rightly concludes that Elizabeth "wanted her subjects to know they were admiring England's power in gazing upon her image" (104). The Queen (or any Renaissance monarch for that matter) understood herself as deriving power from being the object of the public gaze. The power of the monarch and the state was asserted through the display of the monarch's body. Elizabeth thus presented herself in person frequently and opulently. The entire object of her many progresses and processions was to display her royal power to her people. Her image was also highly visible in coinage, poetry, stage, and art.

Elizabeth's own response to the royal portraiture industry is the most compelling evidence of the bond between the queen's body and the body politic. In 1563, she issued a proclamation regulating royal portraiture to prevent debased images of herself (Tennenhouse 104). This proclamation was not necessarily vanity. Strong explains that exhibiting a portrait of the Queen in one's house was "a pledge of loyalty" to her and to the state (Portraits 8). Portraiture regulation was needed because an "assault on Elizabeth's personal iconography constituted an assault on the body politic itself" (Tennenhouse 104).
The association of the female body and the body politic is not limited to Queen Elizabeth. We see many instances in Renaissance iconography and literature of a feminized body politic that does not necessarily stand for any historical queen. In fact, England had been considered female long before Elizabeth ascended the throne. England or Britain has been represented by the mythological figure of Britannia or Albion since the days of Roman rule when Britannia's profile graced their coins (Corbett and Lightbown 37). In fact, it is common for countries, continents, commonwealths, nations, states, cities, and other political units to be considered female, probably because of the archetype of Mother Earth. This gendering is reinforced by Latin terminology; respublica and patria are feminine. Philippa Berry rightly surmises that "it seems to have been precisely this similarity of gender that led Elizabeth to be more closely identified with the state... than any male Renaissance monarch" (67).

The feminization of the body politic continued in James's reign. Like Elizabeth, James I described his relationship to his kingdom in familial terms, although he focused on his patriarchy and husbandry (Henry VIII and his propagandists actually started this figure). James's 1597 treatise on kingship, The Trew Law of Free Monarchies, is full of patriarchal arguments: "as the Father of his fatherly duty is bound to care for the nourishing, education and vertuous government of his children, even so is the king bound to care for all his subjects" (qtd. in Goldberg 3). If James's subjects were his children, his kingdom was his wife. Addressing his first English
parliament. James declared, "What God hath conjoyned . . . let no man separate. I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is my lawfull Wife; I am the head, and it is my Body" (qtd. in Goldberg 3). Coins of James' reign proclaim the same marriage vow to his kingdom in the motto, "Quae Deus Coniunxit Nemo Separet" (Goldberg 3).

The feminization of the body politic is a common phenomenon, and we see many instances of the female body/political state metaphor in English Renaissance poetry. For example, Spenser uses this metaphorical interchange in The Faerie Queene. Book 5 deals with the workings of justice, represented by Artegall, in a predominantly feminine body politic. Spenser provides us with several different figures of female rule in Britomart, Radigund, and Mercilla. (Artegall is a knight in the service of yet another queen, Gloriana.) Spenser does not depict Britomart's and Radigund's female bodies through political metaphor; instead, he examines the political power they embody as women. His treatment of female rule has a fascinating resonance in an epic addressed to a virgin queen. He praises the proper female authority of Britomart as just and loving, while he denigrates the improper Amazonian rule of Radigund as unscrupulous and tyrannical. Spenser distinguishes between the two women as rulers by depicting their relationship to justice embodied by Artegall. Radigund subverts justice by unmanning Artegall and other men as her captive thralls. Britomart rescues Artegall and liberates him and the others from the "womanish attire" in which the Amazons clothed them. After slaying Radigund, Britomart reigns as princess over the Amazon tribe.
changing all that forme of common weale,
The liberty of women did repeale,
Which they had long usurpt; and them restoring
To mens subjection, did true Iustice deale:
That all they as a Goddesse her adoring,
Her wisedome did admire, and hearkned to her loring
(5.7.42).

Britomart’s action as a female ruler is understandable in the context
Spenser creates. In her ethos, the subjection of men to women
debases men and thereby denies women good husbands, whereas if there
is "true Iustice," the subjection of women to men exalts them both
(at least in Faery Land). Ironically, it is Britomart, the "warlike
Maide," who forces the Amazons to submit to male rule, just as she
will ultimately yield herself to Artegall in marriage.

Although Spenser is not concerned with Britomart’s and Radigund’s
corporeality as political emblem, he does see Mercilla’s body as a
metaphor for the political state. Mercilla is an allegorical mirror
for Queen Elizabeth as she presides over Duessa’s trial (Mary Queen
of Scots) in Book 5. More importantly, Mercilla exhibits the same
self-awareness as Elizabeth: in order to wield power, both queens
control and display their bodies to the public gaze. They recognize
themselves as embodiments of their realms. Spenser details
Mercilla’s regal presentation to her subjects. The depiction of the
enthroned Mercilla almost seems like a description of one of
Elizabeth’s royal portraits. Draped in the cloth of state, Mercilla
"sate on high, that she might all men see, / And might of all men
royally be seene" (5.9.27). In her "royall rich estate," she was
"Admyr’d of many, honoured of all" (5.9.33). Her carefully directed
self-presentation has its desired effect because "kings and kesars at
her feet did them prostrate," and Artegall and Arthur approach her in awe and pay her homage (5.9.29).

Mercilla's glorious display of her person, however, contradicts the norm in *The Faerie Queene* (Krier 211). Usually, women whose bodies are displayed to the gaze of others (such as Serena with the cannibals), or those women who display their own bodies (such as the nymphs cavorting in the fountain in the Bower of Bliss) are either victimized by the greedy eyes of their beholders and/or given over to concupiscence themselves. But here, Mercilla's lavish display of her person has no such erotic implications. The queen presents herself as an icon of her realm.²¹

Spenser also deals with the female body/political state metaphor from a different angle in Book 5. Besides creating politically significant women, he feminizes countries. The Low Countries, France, and Ireland are depicted as Belge, Flourdelis, and Irena, three damsels-in-distress who are rescued by Gloriana's knights. In Book 5, Cantos 10 and 11, Arthur saves Queen Belge whose realm has been usurped by a pagan giant. Geryoneo (Spain) has slain almost all of her seventeen sons (the provinces of the Low Countries) and has set up an idol (Catholicism) in her land. Arthur kills Geryoneo, destroys the idol, and restores Belge to her rule. This episode demonstrates the oppression of the Low Countries under Spanish rule and the horrors of the Inquisition in a Protestant country. Arthur stands for English participation in the Dutch wars under Leicester.

In Book 5, Canto 11, Sir Burbon (Henri de Navarre) is beset by a mob while trying to rescue his betrothed Flourdelis (France) from
Grantorto (Catholicism), who has wooed her away from him. Artegall (England) tries to help Burbon, but in the fray, Burbon gets rid of the shield given him by the Red Cross Knight. Artegall asks him why he discarded his shield, and Burbon explains that he had acquired too much enmity through it, but might pick it up again later. Artegall chastizes him for compromising his honor. When they finally save Flourdelis, she rejects Burbon until Artegall shames her for breaching her troth. This episode retells contemporary French history. Henri de Navarre was named king of France by Henri III. Navarre was Protestant, but altercations about his faith and the long delay in crowning him led him in 1593 to espouse Roman Catholicism. He was finally crowned in 1594 as Henri IV. Elizabeth had sent troops to support his cause in 1589 and 1591.

Spenser also uses allegory to interpret current events in the Irena episode in Book 5, Canto 12. Artegall liberates Irena (Ireland) from the tyrant Grantorto, who represents Catholicism in Ireland, or perhaps a Catholic leader, either the pope, the King of Spain, or the rebel leader Desmond. Artegall stands for Lord Grey de Wilton, who was sent to Ireland as Lord Deputy in 1580.

These allegories allow Spenser to make political commentary. The damsels-in-distress fit neatly into the romance, and the political observations do not intrude on the narrative (although these allegories are rather workmanlike and unimaginative, compared with those in earlier Books). In Britomart, Radigund, and Mercilla, Spenser is able to consider the issue of female rule and to compliment and instruct Queen Elizabeth in her duties. Other poets,
However, depict the state-as-female or the female-as-state for reasons other than political allegory. Sometimes, portrayals of a feminized body politic or a politicized female body revolve around the sexually charged issue of possession or control of the state.

Perhaps the most well-known example of the sexual possession of a politicized female body is *The Rape of Lucrece*. Shakespeare develops two political conceits to signify the rape: Lucrece as city-state and as country. The more detailed conceit is rape as the invasion of a city-state. Lucrece's body is a "sweet city" conquered by Tarquin (1. 469). Spurred to action by Collatine's blazon of Lucrece, Tarquin is an invading army on the move: "his beating heart, alarum striking, / Gives the hot charge" (11. 433-34). "His drumming heart" leads his march to his first objective, her breasts, where he will "make his stand / On . . . the heart of all her land" (11. 435, 438-39). Tarquin attacks her breasts, "whose ranks of blue veins . . . his hand did scale, [and] / Left their round turrets destitute and pale" (11. 440-41). Like a "rude ram," he batters her "ivory wall" (1. 464). Tarquin feels no remorse, however, and continues his assault. His hand "upon her breast" feels her "distress'd" heart, the "poor citizen" of her city-body (11. 463, 465). Her rapid heartbeat incites his desire "to make the breach and enter this sweet city," that is, to rape her (1. 469). But Tarquin does not enter her without notice. He summons her to a discussion of terms with a "trumpet" "parley" (11. 470, 471). Lucrece demands to know "under what color he commits this ill." or the pretext for his raid. "Color" also suggests the banners of an invading army. He replies
that the colors of her own beautiful face, displayed in Collatine's
blazon, warrant her rape, and he restates his intentions: I have
"come to scale / Thy never-conquered fort" (11. 482-83).
Negotiations break down, and Tarquin prevails in his conquest.

Although the body as a fortress under siege is also an
architectural metaphor, Shakespeare emphasizes the political and
military significance of Lucrece's body as two different city-
states. On the one hand, she is Rome. Brutus laments, "Rome herself
... doth stand disgraced" by Lucrece's violation and suicide (1. 1833).
While the tragedy dishonors Rome, it also has political
repercussions. Brutus seizes the moment to call for the banishment
of the Tarquins from Rome; he wishes to "chase" them "from forth her
fair streets" (1.1834). Rome, too, has been violated by the
Tarquins. The Argument reports that Tarquins usurped Rome when
Tarquin's father killed his own father-in-law and "contrary to the
Roman laws and customs, not requiring or staying for the people's
suffrages, had possessed himself of the kingdom." Tarquin's rape of
Lucrece as a "sweet city" parallels his father's rape of Rome.
Neither "requir[ed] or stay[ed] for the people's suffrages" in their
taking of the city.

In a plea for revenge, Brutus "show[s Lucrece's] bleeding body
through Rome /... to publish Tarquin's foul offense" (11. 1851-
52). This display of her mutilated corpse to the public gaze recalls
Antony's presentation of the murdered Julius Caesar's body in Julius
Caesar (3.2.169ff). Both spectacles function as macabre blazons that
incite men to action. However, in the case of Lucrece's corpse, the
language of blazonry is more explicit, continuing the association of her body with Collatine's heraldic shield from the beginning of the poem. The "pallor and bloodiness" of Lucrece's body in death replace the "unmatched red and white" of her body in life (Vickers, "Blazon" 108). While Tarquin appropriated Lucrece's body after Collatine's blazon, this gruesome display invites the Romans to seize control of the female body politic of Rome. The Argument concludes that the sight of her corpse "so moved" the Romans "that with one consent and a general acclamation the Tarquins were all exiled, and the state government changed from kings to consuls." Collatine and Brutus are the new Roman republic's first consuls (Vickers, "Blazon" 98).

Lucrece's tragedy recalls the fall of another city due to the illegal sexual possession of a woman—Troy. Shakespeare includes a lengthy description of Lucrece, after her rape, contemplating a tapestry of Troy's destruction. Some see this section as a digression to allow time to elapse in order for the messenger to get to Ardea and Collatine to return home. But surely, even with this need for time, Shakespeare would not discourse for over 200 lines (lines 1366-1568) about a tapestry unless it is relevant to the narrative. Lucrece sees parallels in the tapestry to her own situation. Both Troy and Lucrece suffer from the "heat of lust," and she "feelingly . . . weeps Troy's . . . woes" (11. 1473, 1492). Curiously, Lucrece identifies not with Helen as rape victim, but with Troy as pillaged city. In fact, she mentions Helen only once in her entire 200-lines-plus contemplation of the tapestry, and that is to blame "Helen's rape [for] the city to destroy" (1. 1369). Richard
Lanham astutely argues that Lucrece "takes it on herself to reenact the whole poem" and "plays all the parts" in the siege of Troy (107): "So Lucrece, set a-work, sad tales doth tell / To pencill'd pensiveness and color'd sorrow; / She lends them words, and she their looks doth borrow" (11. 1496-98). Lucrece concludes that she is a betrayed, besieged city like Troy; as Priam trusted Sinon, "So did I Tarquin; so my Troy did perish" (1. 1547).

The other political conceit Shakespeare uses for the rape involves a country or territory. Coppelia Kahn notes that Lucrece's breasts are not simply "soft, womanly flesh" but are also "depicted in legal and political terms" ("Rape" 56):

Her breasts like ivory globes circled with blue,
A pair of maiden worlds unconquered,
Save of their lord no bearing yoke they knew.
And him by oath they truly honored.
These worlds in Tarquin new ambition bred,
Who like a foul usurper went about
From this fair throne to heave the owner out (11. 407-13).

Lucrece's rape is figured as Tarquin's usurpation of Collatine's land and "fair throne." Kahn explains the political and economic motives behind the rape: "It is Collatine's proprietorship which provokes Tarquin's desire to rape Lucrece" ("Rape" 56). Men want what other men possess, especially when they boast of their goods in the blazon, as Collatine does. Sexual desire is thus not the only motivation for rape. The sight of Lucrece's bosom breeds lust and "new ambition" in Tarquin (1. 411). Kahn views his ambition as imperial, arguing that Lucrece "becomes an image for two fields of . . . conquest, the expanding Roman empire and the New World," and Tarquin is "a rival power who would snatch the newly won territory from its rightful
possessor" ("Rape" 57). She argues that the competition for female flesh mirrors the rivalry for New World territory among England, Spain, and other nations, as well as the ancient Roman quest for empire. According to Kahn, Shakespeare condemns the imperialistic violation of territories in his depiction of Lucrece's bleeding corpse as a plundered territory: "In two slow rivers, . . . the crimson blood / Circles her body in on every side, / Who like a late-sack'd island vastly stood / Bare and unpeopled" (ll. 1738-41).

While I agree with Kahn that the language of imperialism informs the imagery of Tarquin's actions and that Lucrece is depicted as a usurped territory, I believe that the invasion and conquest of the city-states of Rome and Troy are Shakespeare's primary metaphors for Lucrece's rape. There is little evidence, beyond the reference to her breasts as "maiden worlds," to indicate such condemnation of imperial ventures (in the New World or the Roman Empire) on Shakespeare's part. Unlike Spenser, Shakespeare seems less interested in political commentary and more intrigued by metaphor—that is, depicting the illicit sexual possession of the female body in political/military terms.

The Female Body as Architecture

Tarquin's siege of Lucrece's fortress demonstrates yet another metaphor for the female body. A woman's body is often described in architectural terms in Renaissance poetry, representing a variety of constructions and buildings. This metaphor has precedents in architecture itself. Although there were no buildings shaped as a
female body, human bodily proportions were frequently the basis for architectural construction in the Renaissance. Barkan explains that architects "unif[ied] their buildings either by literally copying the body['s frame] . . . . or by abstractly emulating its harmonic laws" (117). The body served as a model because of the unity of its features, that is, "the fact that the body with outstretched limbs can describe a perfect circle or square" (Barkan 136). Since men and women have essentially the same bodily proportions, the human body as architectural measure was androgynous. However, when we look at the human body/architecture metaphor in Renaissance poetry, gender is usually distinguished. There are many examples in Renaissance poetry of the male body being associated with architecture, but there is also a significant number of instances in which the female body is described architecturally. This discussion focuses on the most common uses of the female architectural metaphor in Renaissance poetry: the body as temple; the body as palace or great house; and the body as fortress or walled city.

Women's bodies are often compared to temples, altars, and religious monuments in Renaissance poetry. This association is no doubt due to the fact that men "worship" the beauty and virtue of women in their hyperbolic poetry. We have noted that women are perceived as heavenly creatures or goddesses, so it is only logical that their bodies are praised as temples, altars, or religious monuments. (Less frequently, men invert the metaphor and depict their own bodies as shrines to their goddesses.) This idea of the
body-as-temple has Biblical precedent. In I Corinthians 6:19, Paul preaches that the body is a temple of the Holy Spirit: "Do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you?" What Renaissance poets do, then, is transmute the Pauline image of the body-as-Christian-temple to the female body-as-temple in their religion of love. The female body is thereby made sacred.

The Faerie Queene often associates the female body with temples and religious monuments. We have seen how Belphoebe is a microcosm of heaven in her blazon in Book 2, but she is also praised as a temple. Her legs are "two faire marble pillours . . . / Which doe the temple of the Gods support," creating the picture of a classically-styled marble building with pillars (2.3.28). This "temple" could be the rest of her body, drawing upon the Pauline image of the body as temple of the Holy Spirit. However, Belphoebe is a pagan temple "of the Gods," so a more appropriate anatomical correspondent is her genitalia. After all, that is the terminus of the ascent of her leg pillars. But Spenser means no disrespect; he celebrates Belphoebe's virginity. She represents Elizabeth as well as the pagan goddess of virginity, Diana. Belphoebe's body is Diana's temple, and Spenser logically locates the sanctuary of her heavenly virginity in her genitalia. Belphoebe-as-temple is visited by worshippers paying homage: "all the people decke [her leg pillars] with girlands greene" (3.2.28). They do not worship all of the gods, however. The people "honour [Belphoebe] in their festiuall," and green is a color often associated with Diana and virginity (2.3.28).
Belphoebe's status as both goddess and her own temple is reminiscent of another feminized temple in The Faerie Queene, the Temple of Venus in Book 4. Although the temple is not described as a female body, its architectural center is a female body around which all activity proceeds; that is, an altar with a life-like statue of Venus stands in the middle of the sanctuary, encircled by a hundred marble pillars, a hundred smaller altars aflame with sacrifice, and a hundred damsel priests attending a hundred burning caldrons. (Belphoebe almost seems like a statue in her blazon.) In fact, Venus' statue is so realistic that "in shape and beautie [it] did excell / All other Idoles" (4.10.40). It is even "Farre passing that, which by surpassing skill / Phidias did make in Paphos Isle of yore, / With which that wretched Greeke, that life forlore / Did fall in loue" (4.10.40). Spenser is referring to a story related by Pliny in which Praxiteles on Cnidus (not Phidias on Paphos) made a statue of Venus so attractive that a youth fell in love with it (Roche 1179). Venus is covered with a veil in this statue because as some have speculated, she is portrayed as a hermaphrodite. Nevertheless, her femininity infuses her temple, and her body functions as its architectural and spiritual axis.

The other temple in The Faerie Queene is feminized too, the Temple of Isis in Book 5. While the temple is not portrayed as a female body, its description as a "goodly building . . . / Borne vpon stately pillours" is similar to Belphoebe's legs supporting her "temple of the Gods," the inviolate sanctuary of her genitalia (5.7.5). As in Venus's temple, the Temple of Isis has a life-like
statue of Isis in the middle of its sanctuary. Some say that the statue comes to life, and in fact, Britomart dreams of such a vivification of Isis when she slumbers in the temple. Once again, the female body is the architectural and spiritual center of the temple dedicated to a pagan goddess.

Although the House of Holiness in Book 1 is technically not a temple, nor is it described in somatic metaphor, it, too, is a holy place with feminine associations. The House of Holiness is presided over by a woman, Coelia (Heavenly Spirit), and her three daughters, Fidelia (Faith), Speranza (Hope), and Charissa (Charity). We should also keep in mind that in Book 1, Una and Duessa represent the Church of England and the Catholic Church of Rome respectively. While Una and Duessa’s bodies are not described architecturally as literal churches or temples, these female characters are allegories of the two churches as religions. (The Bible, too, uses the image of the church as the spouse of Christ.) Moreover, their bodies are important in representing the religions. For instance, in Book 1, Canto 8, Duessa, who has been hiding her true self in various guises, is stripped, revealing her as a “loathly, wrinckled hag” with “mishaped parts” (1.8.46). Her filthy, ugly body is emblematic of the corrupt Catholic Church. On the other hand, Una is decorously clad and extolled for her purity and goodness. Even the satyrs recognize her beauty as emblematic of her virtue, and they “worship her as Goddess of the wood” (1.6.16).

The female body is explicitly compared to a religious monument in Book 6. Serena is in the clutches of the salvage cannibals, who have
stripped her naked and prepared her for a ritual sacrifice in anticipation of savoring her flesh. The cannibals blazon her body lasciviously and hungrily: "with their eyes the daintest morsels chose" as they "hallow[ed] on every part" of her body (6.8.39, 40). Their mouths water at the same time as they view her with "lustfull fantasies" (6.8.41). Spenser conflates the tradition of the poetic blazon and the sacrifice of Serena on the altar of male concupiscence in order to demonstrate the dangers of the female body being the object of the male gaze. Here, Serena is dismembered in the cannibals' blazon as they prepare to literally carve her into parts.

Not only is Serena bound as the sacrifice on their pagan altar, but she too is an altar. In the cannibals' blazon of Serena's flesh, "her tender sides" and "bellie white and clere" appear to them "like an Altar [which] did it selfe vprere. / To offer sacrifice diuine thereon" (6.8.42). This perceived similarity between her torso and an altar is a result of their idea of the female body as suitable sacrifice to the gods, or "sacred threasure, / Vowed to the gods" (6.8.43). Serena's "goodly thighes" are also described in architectural terms; they are "Like a triumphall Arch. and thereupon / The spoiles of Princes hang'd, which were in battel won" (6.8.42). Her thighs create an arch when they join at the crotch, but such an arch also marks the entry to a city or a building, in this case, her genitalia. Serena has been successful in defending her chastity because the "spoiles of Princes" which she "won" "in [amorous] battel" were "hang'd" or displayed upon her arch. She has prevented men from entering the inner sanctuary of her genitalia. Once again,
the female body is endowed with heavenly or sacred qualities and, by
the cannibals, with tasty, tender flesh too!

At the last second, Serena is rescued by Calepine, who rushes in
and prevents the salvage priest from plunging a knife into her
breast. Theresa Krier rightly argues that Calepine's rescue of
Serena "reflects Spenser's wish to rescue the beloved woman from the
intense publicity of the Petrarchan sexual gaze, since this gaze
risks the appropriation of the woman by the male imagination" (115).
However, this rescue is not without complications: the scene places
Calepine as another voyeur of Serena's body. Calepine had been
searching for Serena, but because it is dark, he does not recognize
the damsel-in-distress. He sees only "a woman spoyled of all attire,"
that is, a naked female body upon which he, like the cannibals,
"spies" (6.8.48). As Calepine unties her from the altar, Serena is
mortified by her nakedness and does not speak to him despite his
entreaties. Nighttime hides her nakedness and her identity, and it
is only daybreak that "made her known to him at last," a
"discouer[y]" that is both "bad and good"—"bad" in the sense that
the naked Serena is once again exposed to the male eye, yet "good"
because Serena and Calepine are reunited (6.8.51). Spenser's choice
of the word "discover" is significant here because it refers to both
Calepine's recognition of Serena's identity and to the state in which
he finds her, that is, dis-covered. The naked Serena is displayed
and devoured by greedy eyes twice—by the cannibals and by Calepine.
Interestingly, however, the narrative breaks off before Calepine
"discovers" Serena the next morning—perhaps for the sake of Serena's
modesty or perhaps because Spenser does not wish to emphasize Calepıne's own unwitting voyeurism.

Naturally, a lover/poet using an architectural metaphor would want to compare his mistress's body only to the most grandiose buildings. We have seen some instances of the heavenly female body likened to a temple and other religious constructions. But the female body is also associated with secular buildings, particularly towers, palaces, and great houses, because they signify opulence and power. The woman is often complimented for her "nobility," so her body should represent that status. The comparison of the female body to a palace or house probably derives from the familiar topos of the mortal body as the "mansion" of the soul.

The neck as an ivory tower is one of the most common female architectural metaphors in Renaissance poetry. The image is not of Petrarchan origin, although Petrarchan poets use it frequently; rather, the metaphor comes from Solomon's blazon of his bride in the Song of Songs, in which he praises her neck as being "like an ivory tower" (7:4). (The metaphor has a military cast when Solomon lauds her neck as "the tower of David, / built for an arsenal, whereon hang a thousand bucklers, all of them shields of warriors" in 4:4.) An ivory tower is a suitable metaphor for the female neck because it emphasizes the creamy skin and long, slender shape. The image is also apt because it suggests a turret crowning the palace or stately building of her body. The metaphor imparts to the female body a sense of royalty and power, and countless Renaissance blazons use the
image. A well-known instance is Spenser’s *Epithalamion*, in which the bride’s body is blazoned as a palace and her neck as a regal tower:

> Her snowie necke lyke to a marble towre,  
> And all her body lyke a pallace fayre,  
> Ascending vppe with many a stately stayre,  
> To honors seat and chastities sweet bowre (ll. 177-80).

The bride’s body-as-palace is the residence of “honor” and “chastitie” which dwell in her mind. ("Chastities bowre” is also often a euphemism for the female genitalia in topographical anatomy.)

In Sidney’s *Astrophil and Stella*, Astrophil likens Stella to a luxurious palace or “Queen Virtue’s court” in Sonnet 9, but he locates the palace in her face (ll. 1). The "front" of her face-palace is "built of alabaster pure," and "gold is the covering of that stately place," referring to her white complexion and blonde hair (ll. 3-4). Stella’s mouth is a “red porphyr” “door” with a “lock of pearl” through “which sometimes comes forth her grace,” Queen Virtue (ll. 5-6). Her cheeks resemble "porches" of "marble, mixed red and white," and her eyes are "windows" of black marble "through which [Queen Virtue] looks o’er the world" (ll. 8-10).

The female body is sometimes identified as a great house, in some cases as the residence of Love. For example, in "Rosalind’s Description" from *Rosalind*, Thomas Lodge claims "her neck [is] like to a stately tower," but this tower is the prison of the castle "where Love himself imprisoned lies" (ll. 21-22). From this tower, Love keeps "watch for glances every hour / From her divine and sacred eyes," or windows (ll. 23-24). In "Elegy 9: The Autumnal," Donne personifies Love as a monarch who "sojourn[s] everywhere, / In
Progress" (1. 19-20). Love, like an English Renaissance monarch, visits the great houses of his subjects on a royal progress. He always returns to his primary residence or palace—this woman's "autumnal face"—because "here dwells he [Love]" (1. 19). Her face is Love's "standing house" or main dwelling (1. 20).

Thomas Randolph develops a fuller picture of the woman as a house in "To his well Timbred Mistresse," another minor, yet interesting poem that is relevant here. The speaker, a woodcutter-turned-poet, builds an architectural conceit out of the blazon. Perhaps to make the image somewhat plausible, he begins the enumeration at the woman's legs, working up to her hair:

Her leggs are heart of Oak, and columns stand
To bear the amorous bulk; then Muse command
That Beech be work'd for thighes unto those leggs,
Turn'd round and carv'd, and joyned fast with pegs.
Contrive her belly round, a dining roome,
Where Love and Beauty will a feasting come,
Another story make from waist to chin
With breasts like Pots to nest young sparrows in:
Then place the Garret of her head above,
Thatcht with a yellow hair to keep in Love.
Thus have I finisht Beauties master prize
Were but the Glasier here to make her eyes.
Then Muse her out-words henceforth cease to raise
To work within, and wainscot her with praise (11. 7-20).

Her column legs remind us of Belphoebe's pillar legs, and her hall or "dining roome" can be either her abdomen or womb. Love and Beauty feast there because that is where she bears fruit. Her head is the residence of Love, as we saw in Lodge's and Donne's architectural metaphors, and her window eyes are similar to Stella's in Sidney's Sonnet 9. Finally, Randolph's blazon ends conventionally by praising her virtue, phrased here as panelling the interior of her house.
The inverse of the metaphor, the house-as-female, is not always true in Renaissance poetry. For example, the buildings in country-house poetry are not described as female bodies. The land of the estate is feminized, not the architecture. The house and its master are connected, but in moral rather than physical terms. The house is significant only as evidence of the master's virtue exhibited in its utilitarian architecture. Certainly, poets occasionally refer to the houses with feminine pronouns, but they do not develop the house-as-female-body metaphor. Jonson and Carew describe architecture at some length in their poems, but they "only begin to suggest the possible connections between house and body" (Barkan 144).

Only Marvell in "Appleton House" creates an image of the house as a female body in the nunnery passage. Marvell first tells us that the nunnery "gave . . . birth" to the present-day Appleton House (1. 85). He explains this virginal birth by alluding to the dissolution and redistribution of church properties—that "virgin buildings oft brought forth" country houses like Appleton during Henry VIII's reign (1. 86). Locked in the cloister of Nun-Appleton, "the blooming virgin" Isabel Thwaites awaits being plucked from the clutches of the nuns by her fiance, William Fairfax (1. 90). The hortus conclusus of the convent, whose walls "restrain the world without" and "inclose that wider den / Of those wild creatures called men," figures the bodies of the nuns and their militant chastity—a perpetual virginity they wish to impose upon Isabel (11. 99, 101-102). Fairfax's rescue of Isabel represents a violation of the nuns' female cloister. He besieges the convent and wears down their defenses of wooden saint
barricades, holy-water deluges, "chain-shot" rosaries, cannon-like lungs, and their "harpest weapons," their tongues (ll. 250-56).

Despite the nuns' attempts to defend their virginal fortress, "Young Fairfax through the wall does rise" and bears away Isabel (1. 258). Fairfax's breach of the convent walls also figures Isabel's own loss of virginity in their marriage.

The most famous anthropomorphic houses in Renaissance poetry are located in Faery Land. Spenser creates about forty-five dwellings in his mythic landscape, including houses, castles, cottages, gardens, huts, caves, bowers, hermitages, and sea lairs. Of these places, approximately thirty are architectural, not pastoral. (By "architectural," I mean those dwellings which are constructed as closed shelters, as opposed to "pastoral," open-air places such as gardens or bowers.) And of these buildings in Faery Land, the majority are inhabited by women and are thereby associated with their residents; however, the buildings themselves are not necessarily identified as female bodies.  

For instance, while the Castle Joyeous, a place of libidinous desires in Book 3, is not portrayed as a female body, it is strongly identified with its female owner Malecasta. Spenser's description of the castle is quite similar to his depiction of the castle's lady. In both cases, outward appearances belie inner wantonness. On the outside, the castle is "stately" and "goodly edifyde" (3.1.20). It is "plaste for pleasure nigh" a forest, and "faire before the gate [is] a spatious plaine, / Mantled with greene, [which] it selue did spredde wyde" (3.1.20). Spenser tells us that "long were it to
describe the goodly frame, / And stately port of Castle Joyeous," yet he gives us nothing in what he does describe of the exterior of the place to put us on our guard (3.1.31). However, the castle's interior is excessively luxurious and decadent. Its "inner rowme" is covered with a series of erotic tapestries. C. S. Lewis points out that Spenser "is fond of describing pictures or tapestries," and that "he usually puts such artefacts in places which he thinks are evil," such as here in Castle Joyeous or in Busirane's castle (326). The tapestries are only one of many elements in Castle Joyeous designed to provide an atmosphere conducive to the enjoyment of sensual pleasures (Frantz 247). The "inner rowme" is filled with "many beds," "all . . . full of Damzels, and of Squires, / Dauncing and reueling both day and night, / And swimming deepe in sensual desires" (3.1.33, 39). The castle's stately external appearance is thus inconsistent with the den of sensual pleasures inside.

Similarly, Spenser initially describes Malecasta as he would any other respectable lady of Faery Land: "a Ladie faire, / Whose soueraine beautie hath no liuing pere, / Thereto so bounteous and debonaire, / That neuer any mote with her compaire" (3.1.26). She is praised as "a woman of great bountihed, / And of rare beautie" (3.1.41). However, this first impression of Malecasta is from one of the knights of lechery guarding her castle. Obviously, he is an unreliable judge of character. Spenser qualifies this praise of Malecasta. She is seated on a sumptuous bed in the inner room as if it were her throne, but more importantly, Spenser emphasizes that she only "seemd" a woman of beauty and that her eyes betrayed her
They were "wanton," "ill signes of womanhed," and "did roll too lightly, and too often glance, / Without regard of grace, or comely amenaunce" (3.1.41). Like her home, Malecasta's appearance is deceptive; her lady-like demeanor hides her inner wantonness.

Any discussion of anthropomorphic dwellings in The Faerie Queene would, of course, be incomplete without a consideration of the Castle of Alma, or the House of Temperance, in Book 2. Although the castle is not figured as a female body and is thus technically an exception to my thesis, the passage nevertheless warrants discussion here because of the castle-body's strong identification with its mistress and because it is the prime example of somatic/architectural metaphor in the entire epic. The piece is an extended allegory of the human body and temperance, the parts of the castle corresponding to the parts of the body, and Alma is the rational soul that keeps the body temperate and healthy (Lewis 337). Considering the dominant presence of Alma who governs the body as well as Spenser's fondness for the female body as metaphor in his "feminized" epic, we might logically expect the castle-body to be female; however, its gender is strangely ambivalent. In fact, Spenser tells us that the castle's proportions are both masculine and feminine:

The frame thereof seemed partly circulare,
And part triangulare, o worke divine;
Those two the first and last proportions are,
The one imperfect, mortall, feminine:
The other immortall, perfect, masculine
And twixt them both a quadrate was the base (2.9.22).
Thomas P. Roche, Jr., cites Sir Kenelem Digby's 1644 plausible interpretation of this passage: the "part circulare" is the mind, the "part triangulare" is the body, and the "quadrate" is the four humours by which the mind and body are connected (1126 n22). The circle represents unity and the triangle diversity, qualities usually associated in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance with the masculine and the feminine respectively (Roche 1126 n22).

But Spenser does not continue this male/female division of the mind and body in his description of the castle. While he describes the head of a man (the castle's "porch" or face is covered with "a wandring vine" and an "yuie twine," or a beard and moustache), the body is not female—nor male for that matter (2.9.24). In Arthur and Guyon's tour of the castle, the genitalia are conspicuous by their absence (Miller 168). Alma takes the knights to the "centric part" of the castle-body where wastes are voided, and we might expect an allegory of the genitalia here, considering we are in the right area of the body for such an allegory. But the genitalia are omitted as are any references to the body's ability to reproduce. The castle-body is curiously neuter. Spenser perhaps obscures the castle-body's gender because his allegory does not pertain to sexuality. Instead, he wishes to show the workings of the temperate soul in the human body, regardless of gender. His emphasis, then, is not so much on the human body but on the rational and moderate control of the body. Yet we might wonder why Spenser misses the opportunity to discuss sexual temperance in this logical context (of course, he does consider this issue elsewhere in his epic).
Perhaps the most ubiquitous architectural metaphor is the female body as walled city or fortress. Indeed, the equation between female body and city is ancient. This image of woman as a besieged town derives from the medieval allegory of the castle of the body, in which the human body is a citadel attacked by opposing forces, as seen in such works as the medieval morality play The Castle of Perseverance, Le Roman de la Rose, and Spenser’s House of Temperance. In the case of the female body as fortified city (as we saw in The Rape of Lucrece), the battlements, turrets, and walls symbolize the defense of her citizen chastity; and the siege, invasion and violation of the female city stand for its endangerment and penetration by outside, masculine forces. Such a penetration can be sexual or emotional. This comparison between the war of love and the war of arms played out on the battlements of the woman’s body is quite common in Renaissance poetry.

Besides The Rape of Lucrece, Marlowe’s Hero and Leander is the Renaissance poem which uses the metaphor of the female body as besieged castle most extensively. Leander first uses the metaphor in his argument to persuade Hero to yield her virginity:

> Who builds a pallace and rams up the gate
> Shall see it ruinous and desolate.
> Ah simple Hero, learne thy selfe to cherish;
> Lone women like to emptie houses perish (1.239-42).  

His persuasion wears her down, and Hero invites him to her tower, which is both her residence and a representation of her virginal body. In fact, the description of Hero’s and Leander’s tryst reads like the storming of a castle. However, Leander’s conquest of Hero’s
body/castle is made easy by her eagerness to admit his entrance:

As he had hope to scale the beauteous fort
Wherein the liberall graces lock'd their wealth,
And therefore to her tower he got by stealth.
Wide open stood the doore, hee need not clime,
And she her selfe before the pointed time.
Had spread the boord, with roses strowed the roome,
And oft look't out, and mus'd he did not come.
At last he came: 0 who can tell the greeting
These greedie lovers had at their first meeting.
He askt, she gave, and nothing was denied.
Both to each other quickly were affied (2.16-26).

Even though Hero welcomes Leander, she is still torn by her conflicting desires to yield to Leander and to protect "her name and honour" as Venus's nun (2.35). This meeting of the lovers thus does not lead to sexual consummation. "Sweet kisses / Are th'only crownes of both their blisses" (2. Argument).

Leander leaves Hero's turret after their night together and returns home, but the sight of her turret across the Hellespont only fuels his desire for her. Again, Hero's cloistered tower figures her virginal body to which Leander seeks entrance. He acts upon that desire by plunging into the Hellespont and swimming towards her tower on the opposite shore. After being delayed by Neptune's homoerotic embraces, Leander arrives on shore and presents himself, completely naked, at Hero's door. She is startled and runs inside, with Leander in pursuit. He then proceeds to attack her fortress/body which she coyly defends. Hero clearly wants him to make love to her, but at the same time she is anxious and frightened. She "lets him whisper in her eare, / Flatter, intreat, promise, protest, and sweare" as he "greedily assayd / To touch those dainties" of her body (2.267-70).

But she does not succumb to his parleys outside her fort: "every lim
did as a soldier stout, / Defend the fort, and keep the foe-man out" (2.271-2). Leander tries to "scale" the "rising yv'rie mount" of her breast, which is likened to "a globe" "with azure circling lines empal'd." but "he toyld in vaine / Till gentle parlie did the truce obtaine" (2.273, 275, 274, 277-8). The siege of Hero's castle is momentarily transformed here into the conquest of a globe "by which love sailes to regions full of blis" (2.276). Hero's anatomy is both architectural and topographical. (The Rape of Lucrece has a similar conflation of architecture and topography in the representation of Lucrece's breasts as the turrets of a walled city and as globes.)

Although Leander ostensibly agrees to a truce, he tries yet another tactic to gain entrance to Hero's body-castle. He "sighs" his "breathless" passion in her ear, and this tactic "prevail'd" (2.280, 281). With little warning, he surrounds her:

         with small ado,
     Inclos'd her in his armes and kist her to.
     And everie kisse to her was as a charme,
     And to Leander as a fresh alarme,
     So that the truce was broke, and she alas.
     (Poor sillie maiden) at his mercie was (2.281-6).

But Hero is not distraught by this turn of events. She plans to turn traitor to her virginity and to surrender her body-castle to him anyway. Yet she does not want Leander to think she actually desired such a defeat in the war of love, so she feigns reluctance:

        Treason was in her thought,
    And cunningly to yeeld her selfe she sought.
   Seeming not woon, yet woon she was at length.,
   In such warres women use but halfe their strength (2.293-6).
The actual act of consummation is not depicted in the architectural metaphor of Hero as fortress. Instead, Marlowe again reverts to topographical metaphor. He equates sexual possession of the female body with plucking fruit from the garden of the Hesperides, an act which was the last of the Labors of Hercules:

Leander now like Theban Hercules
Entred the orchard of th' Esperides,
Whose fruit none rightly can describe, but hee
That puls or shakes it from the golden tree (2.297-300).

Like this final Herculean task, Leander's seduction of Hero was arduous, but ultimately successful.

George Chapman's completion of Hero and Leander continues the metaphorical equation of Hero's body and her fortified tower. Although Hero welcomed the conquest of her castle, she suffers the consequences of her loss of virginity the next morning. When "her maidenhead, her vowes. Leander [are] gone," she is besieged and "ransacked" by "strange thoughts" "in th' expugned fort / Of her chast bosome" (3.200, 225, 223-4). Leander had "made Mars his Cupid, and after having "Swum to her Towers, dissolv'd her virgin zone, / [and] Lead in his power," he let "Confusion / Run through [Hero's] streets" (3.211-5). She is a conquered city in which anarchy reigns, but she is not just any fallen city. Chapman identifies Hero as:

Th' Iberian citie that wars hand did strike
By English force in princely Essex guide,
When peace assur'd her towres had fortifide;
And golden-fingred India had bestowd
Such wealth on her, that strength and Empire flowd
Into her Turrets; and her virgin waste
The wealthie girdle of the Sea embraste (3.204-10).
Chapman is referring to the Earl of Essex's infamous plunder of the gold-enriched Spanish port of Cadiz in 1595. By comparing Hero to Cadiz, Chapman demonstrates both sides of the architectural metaphor—female body as walled city, and walled city as female body.

The metaphor of the female body as fortress under male siege is so ubiquitous—and perhaps well worn—that some Renaissance poets, such as Sidney and Donne, modify the terms of the siege by reconsidering the gender roles. For instance, Astrophil and Stella begins conventionally enough. In Sonnet 12, Stella's body is a vigilantly guarded castle to which Astrophil lays amorous siege. He wants to storm her "citadel" heart and gain her love, but he despairs because she is "so fortified with wit, stored with disdain, / That to win it, is all the skill and pain" (11. 12-14). Sidney uses a more complicated military metaphor in Sonnet 29. Stella is a nation, and her heart is her capital city. She is endangered by the powerful presence of Love, so "like some weak lords, neighboured by might kings, / To keep themselves and their chief cities free," she allows Cupid to keep arms in every part of her body except her heart (11. 1-2). This way, her capital city remains autonomous and "her heart escapes" Cupid's clutches, but her coastal areas are occupied (1. 9). Her "eyes / Serve [Cupid] with shot, her lips his heralds are, / Her breasts his tents, legs his triumphal car, / Her flesh his food, her skin his armour brave" (11. 9-12). In despair, Astrophil has "giv'n up" his siege of her citadel heart because he has become a "slave" to Cupid's invading army (1. 14). Because he has looked at Stella's outward beauty, he is captured by love for her.
Later in the sonnet sequence, Sidney reverses the male and female roles in the battle of love. In Sonnet 36, Astrophil is the besieged citadel and Stella the attacker, and this role reversal continues throughout the sequence. Because men are rarely fortresses under attack in Renaissance poetry (since women are infrequently aggressors in love), Sidney is able to revitalize a well worn motif. However, Stella is not actually the wooer; she conquers Astrophil because he falls in love with her, not because she actively pursues him. For instance, in Sonnet 36, Astrophil asks why she mounts a "new assault" on his "conquered, yelden, ransacked" heart (ll. 1, 2). He describes himself as a territory long occupied by the invading Stella:

Wherefore long since, through my long battered eyes,
Whole armies of thy beauties entred in;
And there, long since, love, thy lieutenant lies,
My forces razed, thy banners raised within (ll. 3-6).

Even though his citadel is vanquished, Stella makes "new war" upon him with "sweet strategems" (ll. 8, 11). Apparently, Astrophil relishes her victory at the same time he deplores it. But more importantly, we learn that Astrophil really did not ever even put up a fight against her: his "soul . . . at [her] . . . foot did fall" (l. 12). If he is defeated, it is because he surrendered to her in the first place, not because she attacked him. Astrophil also refers to himself as a city "overthrown" by Stella in Sonnet 40 (l. 8), and in a similar metaphor in Sonnet 81, he voices his concern about being totally ruined by love for her. He "hope[s]" that she will "begin with piteous eye / The ruins of her conquest to espy," and he wonders if she will "take time, before all wracked be" (ll. 1-4). Although
Sidney has seemingly reversed the gender roles of the siege metaphor, he nevertheless keeps the man in the dominant position, in that Astrophil controls the terms of his own supposed "defeat" in love, a defeat which is actually perceived by Astrophil as a victory.

Besides Sidney's variation on the body as fortress, Donne also modifies the metaphor in Holy Sonnet 14. The speaker compares himself to a town overrun by the enemy and to a bride kidnapped and forcibly betrothed to her enemy. Both metaphors rely on the male speaker's assuming the vulnerable female body as his own. In the octave, he feminizes himself as a "usurped town" occupied by Satan, and he asks God to "batter" his heart to retake the town (11. 5, 1). He (as she) is an already conquered town that calls for yet another siege and conquest by a different male invader. But Donne's speaker objects to God's present approach: "As yet, you but knock, breathe, shine, and seek to mend" (11. 2). He advocates a violent storming-in, begging God in a series of ironies to destroy his heart-as-fortress in order to rescue him from evil. So that Donne-as-city "may rise and stand," he asks God to "o'erthrow" him and "bend / [His] force, to break, blow, burn, and make me new" (11. 3-4). He tries to aid God by "labour[ing] to admit" Him into his heart-as-city, but "Reason." God's "viceroy," has been captured by the enemy (11. 6, 7).

In the sestet, Donne transforms the metaphor from "usurped town" to damsel-in-distress forcibly wed to an unwanted suitor, Satan. This transition between metaphors is actually slight, considering that women are often portrayed as besieged cities and that war metaphors are frequently used to represent courtship and seduction.
Donne as damsel-in-distress now calls to God like a woman to her true lover, proclaiming his love for God and bewailing his "betrothal unto [God's] enemy" (1. 10). In another oxymoronic plea, he begs God to "divorce," "untie," and "break that knot" that binds him to the devil, and asks God to "imprison" him Himself (1. 11, 12). He paradoxically claims that unless God "enthral[s]" him, he "never shall be free" (1. 13). Donne concludes with a shocking oxymoron, pleading with God to "ravish" him so that he can be "chaste" (1. 14). His desire to be raped is the same desire to be a town conquered by the "three-personed" army of God (1.1).

Holy Sonnet 14 thus demonstrates the traditional relations of power between the genders—the dominant masculine and the vulnerable feminine—in an untraditional way. The male speaker assumes female form (architecturally and bodily) in order to be the object of a violent siege from two different male forces.

The Female Body as Land

Renaissance poetry is filled with images linking land, nature and the earth with the female body, yet it has only been fairly recently, with the rise of feminist criticism and the interest in the body in literature, that the metaphor has received detailed examination. Kolodny, for example, looks at the feminization of America in New World narratives and American pastoral literature. Parker explores the female body terrain in her study of the blazon as the rhetoric of property in Cymbeline, New World narratives, and eighteenth-century prospect poetry. Hugh Honour considers feminized allegories of
America and the other continents in Renaissance art. Nancy Vickers, Catharine Stimpson and Coppelia Kahn discuss the bond between woman's body and land in The Rape of Lucrece. E. A. M. Colman, working in the tradition of Eric Partridge, compiles Shakespeare's bawdy, including terms which equate the female body and land. All of these studies, however, assume that their readers are aware of the tradition of the female body/land metaphor in Renaissance literature, when, in fact, this may not be the case. Of course, the idea of feminine land is archetypal, but its inverse, the topography of the female body, might be less familiar territory to readers. Therefore, this section provides an overview of the female body/land interchange in Renaissance poetry, which not only serves in retrospect as the discursive background for the aforementioned specialized studies, but also illuminates the affinities between anatomical and topographical poetry in my study.

The following survey does not aspire to be comprehensive in its examples of the female body/land equation in Renaissance poetry, for they are manifold. However, it provides the general categories of the metaphor as it is used in Renaissance poetry: (1) the female body as garden or paradise; (2) the female body as earth—womb/soil, and womb/mine; (3) the female body as landscape, or topographical anatomy; and (4) the female body as locale of actual places, or geographical anatomy. While the categories occasionally overlap, variations on the metaphor can be distinguished. We can also see how these variations present woman's body as a territory open to man's appropriation. She is a garden to be deflowered; a field to be
plowed, sown, and harvested; a mine to be stripped of its gems and metals; and a lush landscape to be explored, conquered, and mapped.

The female body is frequently compared to a garden in Renaissance verse. This metaphor originates from two sources, the Bible and Petrarch. In the Song of Songs, Solomon equates his bride’s body to an enclosed garden or hortus conclusus in his praise of her chastity:

A garden enclosed is my sister, my bride,  
a garden locked, a fountain sealed.  
Your shoots are an orchard of pomegranates  
with all choicest fruits.  
henna with nard,  
nard and saffron, calamus and cinnamon,  
with all trees of frankincense,  
myrrh and aloes,  
with all chief spices (4:12-14). 37

The bride's body is a private garden whose fruits and spices are reserved for her husband; her horticultural charms belong to him. The bride also perceives her body as an enclosed garden and offers herself to her bridegroom: "Let my beloved come to his garden, / and eat its choicest fruits" (4:16). Eating the fruit of her garden is a metaphor for sexual intercourse (a common metaphor in Renaissance poems), and her husband accepts her invitation:

I come to my garden, my sister, my bride,  
I gather my myrrh with my spice,  
I eat my honeycomb with my honey,  
I drink my wine with my milk (5:1).

This notion of the chaste female body as a hortus conclusus has many manifestations in Renaissance literature, as Stanley Stewart has shown. 38 I therefore do not need to cover the same ground as Stewart, although I do keep in mind the essential notion of the
"enclosure" of male-owned property in relation to the female body-as-garden.

The metaphor of female body-as-garden is also indebted to the Petrarchan tradition which equates a woman's features with flowers and fruits in order to praise her. The sum of these comparisons creates a garden. The female body is variously called a garden, bower, bank, flower bed, or orchard; and the location of this horticultural area in her body also varies. Sometimes the garden is only one part, often her lips, cheeks, or bosom; and those parts are usually praised as roses, cherries, apples, or lilies. At other times, the garden is her face or her entire body. For example, Campion contends that "There Is A Garden in Her Face," whereas Spenser finds a fragrant garden in his mistress's entire body in Sonnet 64 of the Amoretti.

Implicit in this horticultural praise is the desire to appropriate the female body. The lover/poet wishes to deflower his mistress and to pluck her fruit, or, at the very least, he desires a kiss, which is expressed in similar terms. For instance, in "There Is A Garden In Her Face," Campion celebrates her face as the garden "where roses and white lilies grow" and "wherein all pleasant fruits do flow" (11. 2, 4). He is especially attracted to her cherry lips, because he wants to kiss her or to taste that fruit. Yet he laments that he cannot "come nigh" those cherries "Till 'Cherry ripe themselves do cry'" (11. 17, 18). He must wait until his mistress grants his desire to taste her cherries.
It is not just any garden the lover/poet wishes to occupy and deflower. She is the most perfect and beautiful garden of all—paradise. Many Renaissance poets, such as Campion, identify their garden mistress as a "heavenly paradise." The quest for sexual union is thus often co-terminus with the quest for paradise in Renaissance poetry. We need to keep in mind, however, that this paradisial female body is a private garden. The woman is considered the exclusive domain of one man. In short, she is the hortus conclusus of the Song of Songs whose fruit and flowers are reserved for her beloved. The derivation of the word "paradise" reinforces this sense of female enclosure. "Paradise" comes from the Greek paradeisos and the old Persian païridæza, both of which mean "enclosed park" (OED).

The quest for paradise via sexual union with the female body, however, is often fraught with anxiety. Many lovers in Renaissance poetry wonder if they will ever breach the walls of her garden because of her adamantly preserved chastity as a Petrarchan mistress. Many lovers also fear that their possession of paradise, once gained, may lead to their exile or incite others to occupy her body. In other words, we see here the Renaissance obsession with cuckoldry, an anxiety that permeates the literature. Men fear that other men want—and will take—what they possess. Or they worry that women, having opened themselves to their advances, will now open themselves to the advances of other men. They fear that the female body as paradise might become common land once her walls are initially broken. A sampling of Renaissance verse illustrates this male anxiety, as well as the "impossible, self-contradictory
position" in which it places female sexuality (Baker 13). In many cases, the woman's body is "at once the earthly garden of sexual delights and the forbidden pleasure that, once tasted, exiles man from heavenly bliss" (Baker 13).

Greville's poem 38 from Caelica is a useful starting point in discussing this male ambivalence toward female body as both a desirable and destructive force. Moira Baker contends that in Caelica, an unusual collection of secular love poems and penitential lyrics, the woman's body is at once paradise and the reason for the male speaker's banishment from Eden (11). Although some critics do not see Caelica following a specific storyline, Baker views it as a sequence tracing the speaker's "dialectical search for love," in which he moves from frustration with idealized Petrarchan love, to cynical rejection of human love and sexuality, to despair about the redemption of the world (13). I hesitate to ascribe such cohesiveness to Caelica, considering that it addresses, besides Caelica, at least two other mistresses and Queen Elizabeth. Nevertheless, Baker is right to identify one male voice who struggles with the idea of human and divine love throughout the poems. In poem 38, after wooing his beloved through Petrarchan persuasions, the speaker beds her: "Caelica, I overnight was finely used, / Lodged in the midst of paradise, your heart" (ll. 1-2). He enjoyed all of the Edenic delights of her body, expressed in the plucking and deflowering terms implicit in the Petrarchan blazon: "Of every fruit and flower I had part" (1. 4). But instead of a morning-after celebration of paradise gained, the speaker is angry because he is
now banished from her garden. Caelica's body causes his exile from Eden because, having had sexual intercourse with her, he has "tasted" "Those sweetest fruits . . . down in shadows hidden" (1. 6) or her genitalia, which are figured as the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil forbidden to Adam and Eve (Baker 12):

But curious knowledge, blown with busy flame,
The sweetest fruits had down in shadows hidden,
And for it found mine eyes had seen the same,
I from my paradise was straight forbidden (11. 5-8).

The speaker laments being jilted by Caelica after their lovemaking for reasons unclear to us and perhaps to him too. He blames "Rumor" and "Honor" (11. 9, 11). But by conflating his rejection with Genesis, the speaker identifies the female body as both the terrestrial paradise and the cause of his exile from Eden. The woman's genitalia, in particular, are "the conduit of sin and death" (Baker 13). Baker explains that in this "ambivalence toward female sexuality, Greville echoes one of Judeo-Christian tradition's most characteristic disfigurations of the female body, Tertullian's famous diatribe against women: 'Do you not know that you are Eve? . . . You are the devil's gateway: you are she who first violated the forbidden tree and broke the law of God'' (13).

The speaker's misogyny becomes more cruel once the mistress rejects him: "While that fine soil which all these joys did yield, / By broken fence is proved a common field" (11. 13-14). The woman's body, initially figured as the garden of Eden, now becomes an enclosed pasture in which other men's cattle graze because of a "broken fence." This breach is her broken hymen, or the loss of her
virginity in their sexual relations. Greville demonstrates here the Renaissance unwillingness to admit a middle ground for female sexuality. Woman is either the exclusive property of one man, or the common possession of many men. She is either chaste mistress or duplicitous whore. Greville's speaker is beset by two contradictory images of woman. She is both the paradise of joys whose enclosure he seeks to maintain, and the deceptive temptress who opens her garden/body to other men. Ironically, the speaker does not realize his own duplicity in making her available to other men through his display of her body parts elsewhere in Caelica.

Donne also uses the metaphor of "paradise gained" for sexual intercourse in "Elegy 7: Nature's Lay Idiot." However, the woman is not initially paradise. She is imbued with Edenic attributes only when the lover bestows them upon her by sexual penetration. Coitus does not lead to paradise lost, but to its creation. Donne presents the lover as one who has made of his mistress "a blissful paradise" through "amorous delicacies" (ll. 24, 23). Her "graces and good words" are his "creatures," and instead of plucking her fruit and picking her flowers, he has "planted knowledge and life's tree" in her body (ll. 25, 26). However, before he could create Eden, he had to claim her as his own, and this possession is expressed in topographical terms (221). He "severed" her "from the world's Common" and made her his private property by having "inlaid" her or planted on her land (ll. 21, 22) (Frantz 221). In an inversion of Greville's complaint about paradise turning common land, here common land becomes paradise.
Yet Donne’s lover fears the loss of his enclosure, lamenting that "strangers" shall "taste" her paradisial fruits (1. 27). He wonders if their sexual relations only "chafe wax for others' seals" (1. 29). He questions whether he heats and melts wax for others to imprint their seals of ownership on his mistress. The application of an heraldic seal on the female body through coitus is a common Renaissance metaphor, used, for example, in Sidney's "What Tongue Can Her Perfections Tell" and in Donne's "To his Mistress Going To Bed." Donne's speaker fears that he arouses her for the sexual consummation others will have, just as Greville's speaker believes he breaches the fence of his mistress's garden only to enable others to enter. Both Greville's and Donne's lovers misconstrue female sexuality—and perhaps their own sexuality as well.

Carew's "Rapture" also perceives the female body as paradisial garden. The lover invites Celia to "Loves Elizium," an erotic garden where they can make love, but in the course of the poem, the locus for their tryst shifts from the garden to Celia's own body. Her body becomes his "delicious paradise," and he is the "empty bee" who will "rifle all the sweets that dwell" there and "swell / [his] bag with honey, drawn forth by the power / Of fervent kisses from each spicy flower" (11. 60, 59, 60-62). He will literally "deflower" her hortus conclusus, starting with her lips and bosom:

I'll seize the rose-buds in their perfumed bed,  
The violet knots, like curious mazes spread  
O'er all the garden, taste the ripened cherry.  
The warm firm apple, tipped with coral berry  
(11. 58, 63-66).

The speaker's exploration of her garden continues below her breasts:
Then will I visit with a wandering kiss
The vale of lilies and the bower of bliss:
And where the beauteous region doth divide
Into two milky ways, my lips shall slide
Down those smooth alleys, wearing as I go
A tract for lovers on the printed snow;
Thence climbing o' er the swelling Apennine,
Retire into thy grove of eglantine (ll. 67-74).

His route from her "vale of lilies" between her breasts ("the bower of bliss") and across her belly or "the swelling Apennine" takes him to her genitalia, where he will "retire" into her "grove of eglantine," or pubic hair. Once he arrives there, he promises to "distill" all the "sweets" he has "ravished" into "one sovereign balm" and "then bring that great elixir to thy hive" (ll. 75, 77, 78). He is a bee sucking her body's sweets, but he uses the metaphor inconsistently. Celia is not only the garden, but the hive. The "great elixir" is the nectar he collected from her garden, but now the suggestion is that the elixir he brings to her hive is his semen.

Despite the arrogance with which Carew's speaker asserts his ownership of Celia's paradisial body (he claims that his hand is "enfranchised"), he is nevertheless concerned about the loss of Eden. As discussed in Chapter 1, Carew's speaker is very aware of the possibility of usurpation. He refers repeatedly to "greedy men," "jealous ears," "observing spies," "envious eyes," and "rivals," all of whom he perceives as encroaching upon his territory (ll. 19, 100, 101, 102, 104). His blazon of her garden/body is thus an assertion of ownership. Although in an effort to win over Celia, he claims that he is unlike those "greedy men" who seek to "enclose the common, / And within private arms impale free woman." that is precisely what
he does to Celia (11. 19–20). He "entwines" her in his thighs, legs, and arms—and in his blazon (11. 79–80). Celia, at first common property, becomes his private garden, but the poem demonstrates that Carew's lover fears its reversion—that other men will break his pale around Celia and make her common land again. Thus, the lover refers constantly to having protect his valuable property by encircling her in his arms. He vows to Celia that honor commands him to "fight / With rivals" who dare to threaten her (11. 156–57). And yet for all of his talk about preventing other men from usurping Celia, Carew's lover ends by wistfully wondering why honor prevents women from becoming whores! (11. 164–66).

Marvell tries to elude this problem of "paradise lost" in his celebration of solitude in "The Garden." He specifically excludes women and sexual love from his garden. Although gardens are "loci classici for romantic dalliance, pastoral, libertine, even scriptural," Marvell avoids these associations by dismissing red and white in favor of green: "No white nor red was ever seen / So am'rous as this lovely green" (Colie 158) (11. 17–18). In the emblematic language of colors, red and white stand for female beauty and, in a larger sense, for "the whole world of love and the flesh" (Colie 159). Green represents the verdant solitude of the garden. Marvell also rejects the pastoral lovemaking of the female-body-as-paradise poems in the tree carving passage. In pastoral love, trees are conventionally carved with ladies' names, but Marvell thinks this act of "fond lovers" is "cruel" (1. 19). Curiously, his perception of cruelty stems not from any environmental concern about harming the
trees, but that the trees are denied their own names in these
carvings: "Fair trees! wheres'e'er your barks I wound, / No name
shall but your own be found" (ll. 23-24). Marvell goes on to discuss
Daphne and Syrinx, those girls of myth who are turned into trees to
avoid capture by amorous gods. Rosalie Colie concludes that the:
girls have been invoked only to be dismissed, disembodied, into
trees. 'Trees' are here literally what the poet loves—their
asexuality relieves him of the psychological problems laid on by
girls, real or imaginary; their mode of procreation, without sex,
is the only one contemplated in the poem. Quite literally this
poet can say, 'My love is a garden enclosed' and mean exactly
that: unmetaphoring (160).

In his hortus conclusus, Marvell enjoys its sensual delights, just as
a lover revels in his mistress's bodily paradise, but as Colie
remarks, the flora is "more amorous than red or white, than ladies"
(161). The garden is erotically alive, offering itself sponte sua:
Ripe apples drop about my head;
The luscious clusters of the vine
Upon my mouth do crush their wine;
The nectarine, and curious peach,
Into my hands themselves do reach;
Stumbling on melons, as I pass,
Ensnared with flowers, I fall on grass (ll. 34-40).

Colie contends that the garden plants behave "shamelessly" and
"entwine themselves" around the poet, pulling him down to the ground
in a fall reminiscent of pastoral lovers who lie down on the flowery
earth to make love (161, 163).

Marvell concludes that Eden or the "garden-state" was more
"happy" "While man there walked without a mate" (ll. 57-58). In
short, "Two paradises 'twere in one / To live in paradise alone" (ll.
63-64). He determines to recreate in his garden the bliss of
paradise before Eve was taken from Adam's rib (overlooking the fact
that Adam asked God for a partner in paradise). Yet even Marvell cannot retain paradise because he "computes its time" (1. 70). His garden is usurped not by other men, but by the force of time. Marvell's only option, faced with this threat, is the same he offers to his coy mistress in a different context—**carpe diem**.

Of course, any discussion of paradise lost in Renaissance poetry would not be complete without a consideration of Milton, yet **Paradise Lost** is not fraught with such sexual anxiety. Milton does not identify Eve as Adam's paradise, but both she and the Garden of Eden are designated Adam's domain. Book 4 describes Eden as a "delicious paradise" or hortus conclusus belonging to Adam (4.132). Around Eden, "The verdurous wall of Paradise up sprung: / Which to our general Sire gave prospect large / Into his nether Empire neighboring round" (4.143-45). Adam is given the power of the male gaze or "prospect" of the landscape from on high. He also possesses Eve. In Book 4's portraits of Adam and Eve, Milton tells us that Adam represents "absolute rule" while Eve is "subjection" (4.301, 308). It is her obligation to "yield" to Adam because he was made "for God only, she for God in him" (4.310, 299). Satan usurps both Eden and Eve when he breaches the walls of paradise. Of course, Milton does not present the cause of Adam's exile from Eden as coitus with Eve. Their lovemaking is depicted as one of the innocent delights of life in paradise. It is only after the Fall that their lovemaking becomes an erotic act that seals them together in sinfulness. Rather, the cause of the Fall is Satan's temptation that compels Eve to eat the forbidden fruit, as well as Adam and Eve's own weakness. Indirectly,
however, Adam's love for Eve leads to his banishment from paradise. He partakes of the forbidden fruit offered by Eve because of his "Bond of Nature," or his physical and emotional union with her (4.956). Adam tells her that "Our State cannot be sever'd, we are one, / One Flesh: to lose thee were to lose myself" (4.958-59). They are united in her creation from one of his ribs, and they have also united their bodies in lovemaking. Adam loses paradise because he chooses to do so in order to remain with his beloved Eve.

Considering the land's archetypal femininity as the great mother, it is not surprising that the reproductive functions of the female body are described through agricultural metaphor in Renaissance poetry. Both soil and womb are procreative vessels planted with male seed which they nourish and bear forth as fruit. Agricultural terms used in relation to the female body, such as "planting," "sowing seeds," "tillage," "plowing," and "crops," are charged with sexual meaning, and good "husbandry" means fathering many children with one's wife. Both land and women, when plowed, seeded, and cultivated, are expected to "yield" fruit, sponte sua, in a display of maternal benevolence. Land and women are both considered easily manipulated resources of commodities for the use of man.

There are countless allusions to the female womb as soil in Renaissance poetry, and these metaphors carry with them the notion that the female body is fertile planting ground awaiting impregnation. For instance, in the sonnets, Shakespeare uses the metaphor to convince the young man to marry and have children as one
way to achieve immortality. By reiterating that every woman is fertile earth, Shakespeare’s persona wards off the young man’s possible objection that no woman would be interested in bearing his children. The logic is that every woman, just like every tract of land, is ripe for plowing, planting, and harvesting. Every woman is ready to yield progeny, sponte sua, to her husband. In Sonnet 3, Shakespeare’s speaker confronts the young man with the question, “For where is she so fair whose unear’d womb / Disdains the tillage of thy husbandry?” (11. 5-6). An “unear’d womb” means unplowed land or a virginal womb, and “the tillage of thy husbandry” puns on the husband’s sexual tilling and planting the soil of his wife’s womb with semen. The speaker demands to know what maiden would be so foolish as to refuse this young man as a husband. He not only flatters the young man into thinking himself irresistible, but he also makes him feel guilty for not marrying. If the young man does not have children, he will “beguile the world” and “unbless some mother,” or deprive some woman of the blessing of motherhood (1. 4). Again, the implication is that every woman desires motherhood and marriage. Apparently, the young man is obligated to the world and to womankind to have children. In Sonnet 16, Shakespeare’s speaker again encourages the young man to fatherhood by telling him basically the same thing—that there are many women who would be more than willing to marry him and bear his children: “And many maiden gardens, yet unset, / With virtuous wish would bear your living flowers” (11. 6-7). We once again see the image of the female body as a garden, but in this case, the garden is not yet planted with
flowers. She is virgin soil.

Shakespeare modifies this agricultural metaphor when the speaker suggests to the young man another way to attain immortality—through poetry. In Sonnet 15, he does not offer the young man more "uner'd wombs" or "maiden gardens" for planting. Instead, he presents his poetry through botanical metaphors. The human life cycle is like that of plants: "men as plants increase, / Cheered and check'd even by the self-same sky, / Vaunt in their youthful sap, at height decrease, / And wear their brave state out of memory" (11. 5-8).

Although the speaker does not refer explicitly to the female body here, we can assume that humans as plants grow from the seeds planted in their mothers' wombs. This is the same imagery that he uses to convince the young man to beget a child as a remembrance of himself. Here, however, Shakespeare advocates poetry, not progeny, as a way to defeat time: "And all in war with Time for love of you, / As he takes from you, I ingraft you new" (11. 13-14). Like two plants grafted together, the young man will live on in the poem.

Although Shakespeare is the preeminent voice of the immortalizing power of poetry in many of his sonnets, he undercuts poetry's effectiveness against time in Sonnets 16 and 17. In Sonnet 16, the speaker urges the young man to use "a mightier way" to "Make war upon this bloody tyrant Time" (11. 1-2). He claims that his "rhyme" is "barren," and that the young man would "fortify" himself better by planting "maiden gardens" (11. 4, 3, 6). By calling his rhyme "barren," he equates his poetry with the female body and the soil as wombs. His verse, like an infertile womb, cannot bear the fruit of
the young man, but the maiden gardens can. In the war against Time, he privileges progeny over poetry, and the fecundity of the female body over the barrenness of his verse.

Shakespeare is not as doubtful about his poetry in Sonnet 17. He believes that the combination of poetry and progeny can immortalize the young man: "But were some child of yours alive that time, / You should live twice, in it and in my rhyme" (ll. 13-14). The presence of the young man's child would prevent others in the future from doubting the young man's beauty described in the poetry, and poem and child would reinforce each other. However, he still describes his poetry as a soil incapable of giving life; he calls his verse "a tomb" which "hides" the young man's "life" (ll. 3-4).

Donne also uses the female body as soil metaphor in his Elegies, but less conventionally than Shakespeare's argument for marriage and fatherhood. Shakespeare expresses the male expectation that the female body/soil be planted with seed and bear fruit. Donne, however, uses the metaphor as an erotic jest. For instance, in "Elegy 2: The Anagram," a witty, tongue-in-cheek blazon praising Flavia's extreme ugliness, Donne's speaker makes virtues of her unattractive features. She is an "anagram" because she possesses desirable traits, but they are located in the wrong parts of her body: "Though all her parts be not in th' usual place, / She hath yet an anagram of a good face" (ll. 15-16). For instance, Flavia has features as white as ivory and as black as jet (as does the conventional Petrarchan mistress), but her eyes are white and her teeth are black (l. 4). The speaker manages to find some merit in
this Picasso-esque portrait of a Petrarchan mistress, however. He claims that the ugliest women are usually the most fertile. He has heard this from the "best husbands" who "say" that "beauty is barren oft," but "there is best land, where there is foulest way" (11. 35-36). Again, we have a pun on "husband" as both spouse and farmer. (We might wonder how these "husbands" know which type of "land" is most fertile unless they have personally experimented with the soil.) The implication is that beautiful women are infertile because they have been "overcultivated," whereas unattractive women have not been "plowed" as frequently and are therefore the more arable soil.

Although Donne's speaker seemingly advocates sexual intercourse with an ugly woman (at least if a man is interested in planting in fertile ground), he contradicts that endorsement in "Elegy 8: The Comparison." "The Comparison" is similar to "The Anagram" in that it blazons an ill-favored woman; however, "The Comparison" is two blazons fused together, one of the speaker's attractive mistress, and the other of his friend's homely mistress, hence the comparison (or rather the contrast). In "The Comparison," there is no virtue in ugliness. Sexual intercourse with the beautiful woman is an alchemical combustion and creation of gold:

    like the chemic's masculine equal fire,
Which in the limbeck's warm womb doth inspire
Into th' earth's worthless dirt a soul of gold,
Such cherishing heat her best loved part doth hold
(11. 35-38).

This image of attaining gold through coitus is similar to the idea of the female womb as a mine of precious gems and metals. Sex with the other mistress, however, is repulsive. Donne's speaker compares her
mons veneris to a bald Mount Etna: "like to that Etna / Where round about the grasse is burnt away" (11. 41-42). The burnt volcano complements the other, non-topographical metaphors for her genitalia, the "mouth of a fired gun" and "hot liquid metals newly run / Into clay molds" (11. 39, 40-41). The speaker concludes that coitus with the homely woman is a "harsh and violent" "act" "As when a plough a stony ground doth rent" (11. 47, 48). Female ugliness here has no redeeming virtue of fertility.

The metaphor is also an erotic jest in "Elegy 3: Change."

Donne's speaker contends that women are inherently fickle; they are "hot, wily, [and] wild" and unable to "be bound to one man" (11. 12, 13). He tries to reconcile himself to this propensity in his mistress through the metaphor of the female body as land: "Who hath a plough-land, casts all his seed corn there, / And yet allows his ground more corn should bear" (11. 17-18). He tries to convince himself that it is "by nature" that other men till and sow his mistress/land (1. 21). The lover then realizes his own liberty. If he can "allow her change," he can "change as oft as she" (1. 26). He again phrases his understanding through the analogy of the female body as land: "to live in one land is captivity," but "to run all countries, [is] a wild roguery" (11. 29-30). Because it is unwise to love "any one" or "every one," he will move from woman to woman, as waters move from land to land to "kiss one bank, and leaving this / Never look back, but the next bank do kiss" (11. 28, 33-34).

The metaphor of the female body as arable soil also appears in "Sappho to Philaenis," the erotic letter attributed to Donne and
frequently grouped with the Elegies. However, the circumstances are different from the usual male lover/speaker who addresses his mistress in the Elegies. A female speaker, Sappho, praises her lesbian lover's body as paradisial. She encourages their union and discourages Philaenis from allowing a male lover to "rifle all the sweets" of her paradise. Sappho tells Philaenis:

Thy body is a natural paradise,
In whose self, unmanured, all pleasure lies,
Nor needs perfection; why shouldst thou then
Admit the tillage of a harsh rough man? (11. 35-38)

Philaenis, as a "natural paradise," is "perfect" and therefore does not need to be "manured" and "tilled" by a "harsh rough man," that is, penetrated and planted with male seed to bring her garden to fullness of "pleasure." Obviously, Sappho cannot plant her lover with seed, but she argues that she does not need to do so. She refers here to the Renaissance idea that a woman can be perfected only by sexual union with a man, and until then, she falls short of full womanhood (Smith 454 n12). This idea informs many persuasions to love in Renaissance poetry, particularly those that draw upon the metaphor of the female body as soil. Like the earth, the female body supposedly can come to fruition only when planted with seed.

Besides bearing fruit, the female soil also produces precious metals and gems which ripen in her womb. In Paradise Lost, Milton explains the Renaissance notion that the sun's rays fathered precious stones in the ground:

Th' Arch-chemic Sun so far from us remote
Produces with Terrestrial Humor mixt
Here in the dark so many precious things
Of color glorious and effect so rare (3.609-12).
In *Comus*, Milton also refers to this idea, adding that unless the gems are mined, they will encrust the inside of the earth's surface so that its subterranean inhabitants will learn to bear sunlight:

```
th' unsought diamonds
Would so emblaze the forehead of the Deep,
And so bestud with Stars, that they below
Would grow inur'd to light, and come at last
To gaze upon the Sun with shameless brows (11. 732-36).
```

Significantly, Comus uses this idea of the necessity of mining the earth as an argument against female virginity. He encourages his lady to "be not coy" and "hoard" her virgin treasure (11. 737, 739). By analogy, the female body is a mine, and that treasure-trove is in her womb or vagina. The implication is that the female should not "hoard" her treasure, but should rightfully "yield" it to the male.

Indeed, there are many allusions in Renaissance poetry to the female body as a mine of precious stones and metals, and to the earth as a female repository of treasure. As Carolyn Merchant explains, the Renaissance imagination "perceived a direct correlation between mining and digging into the nooks and crannies of a woman's body" (39). But there are mixed responses to the morality of mining the female earth or the female body. Spenser argues against mining by claiming that the earth is mutilated by such digging. In Book 2, Canto 7, of *The Faerie Queene*, greedy Mammon violates "Grandmother" Earth to obtain precious metals:

```
Then gan a cursed hand the quiet wombe
Of his great Grandmother with steele to wound,
And the hid treasures in her sacred tombe,
With Sacriledge to dig. Therein he found
Fountaines of gold and siluer to abound (2.7.17).
```
exploitation of the earth's mineral wealth is a sacrilege and "an act of matricide" (Davies 94). The female earth is mortally wounded by man's excessive greed.

In a scene reminiscent of Spenser's Cave of Mammon, Milton also depicts mining as a violation of Mother Earth in Book 1 of Paradise Lost. Mammon is one of the devils in Hell who leads "a numerous Brigad" "with Spade and Pickax arm'd" to dig for gold (1.675-76). This crew "ransack'd the Center, and with impious hands / Rifl'd the bowels of thir mother Earth / For Treasures better hid" (1.686-88). They "Op'n'd into the Hill a spacious wound / And digg'd out ribs of Gold" (3.689-90). From this gold, the devils erect Satan's palace of Pandemonium in Hell. Not only is Milton decrying mining's destruction of the feminized environment, but he is alluding to the ancient idea that the root of evil is the gold that men stole from the earth when the golden age ended (Hughes, Milton 228). He claims that men were "by [Mammon's] suggestion taught" to rape the earth of its treasure (1.685). That is why Milton calls the gold found by Mammon and his cohorts "precious bane" or valuable evil (1.692). The "ribs of Gold" they obtain also refer to Eve, who is "precious bane" dug out of Adam's side (Abrams 1429 n3).

Milton again expresses his disapproval of mining in Book 6 of Paradise Lost in the sexually charged description of Satan's invention of artillery. Satan's crew dug into the soil and saw:

Th' originals of Nature in thir crude
Conception; Sulphurous and Nitrous Foam
They found, they mingl'd. and with subtle Art.
Concocted and adjusted they reduc'd
To blackest grain . . .
Whereof to found thir Engines and thir Balls
Of missive ruin (6. 511-19).

Ironically, the "pregnant" earth "yields" to Satan the materials to make their phallic cannons, those "hollow Engines long and round /
Thick ramm'd, at th' other bore with touch of fire / Dilated and infuriate shall send forth / From far with thund'ring noise . . . /
Such implements of mischief" (6.483, 484-68).

Despite these arguments against digging into the female earth, mining is often considered acceptable male behavior in relation to the female body. This sort of mining is justified by the same argument Comus offers—that a woman should not "hoard" her treasure, but should share it liberally with her lover. For instance, in "To his Mistress Going to Bed," Donne's lover refers to her genitalia as "my mine of precious stones," located in America, which he wants to "discover" through coitus (11. 29, 30). The entire poem is an argument to seduce her into "yielding" her treasure to him. He sanctions his search for gems and metals because the sexual exploration of the New World or the female body can benefit a kingdom or a man: "How blest am I in this discovering thee!" (1. 30).

Donne also establishes a correlation between sex and mining in "Love's Progress." The speaker advises men to dig into the "pits and holes" of the female body (1. 32). Once they arrive at her "centric part," he promises that they will find an "India" of riches (11. 36, 65). However, he warns that there are two openings or "purses" there and to take care to head towards the "exchequer" (11. 92, 94).
Donne creates a more extensive mining conceit in "Love's Alchemy." The speaker describes men as miners who "dig" in women's body-mines, looking for "centric happiness" (her genitalia are defined as her "centric part" in "Love's Progress"). He has done his share of digging, perhaps not as "deep" as others (with the sexual implications of "deep" penetration into her mine), but he still has not found the "hidden" gold:

Some that have deeper digged love's mine than I,
Say, where his centric happiness doth lie:
I have loved, and got, and told,
But should I love, get, tell, till I were old,
I should not find that hidden mystery (11. 1-5).

The lover concludes that perhaps this quest for gold or the philosopher's stone of alchemy is just "imposture," but he realizes the value of the quest itself (1. 6). Alchemists and treasure-seekers enjoy "dream[ing] a rich and long delight" (1. 11). Similarly, men continue to mine in the hopes of discovering "centric happiness" or true sexual pleasure.

Carew, too, identifies the female body as a repository of treasure. In "The Complement," the lover locates the site of those "heaps of treasure" "within that Christall round" of her "belly," or her uterus (11. 39, 40, 37). To "reach" her womb, he must dig into her mine or vagina. The lover claims her treasures are "so rich that for the least of them. / A King might leave his Diadem" (11. 41-42).

In "A Rapture," Carew's persona is equally libidinous about her riches. He orders that "no curtain there, though of transparent lawn," be "drawn" in front of her "virgin-treasure," that is, her genitalia (11. 31, 32). He wants her treasure dis-covered: her
"rich mine, to the inquiring eye / Exposed" (ll. 33-34). He wants her naked. This way, her "mine" "shall ready still for mintage lie," and the lover "will coin young Cupids" with her (ll. 34, 35). He will make coins out of her precious metals, and the "mintage" of her "treasure" is a euphemism for sexual intercourse and conception.

Some mining metaphors for the female body are less lascivious, although they still draw upon the idea of the female genitalia as an abundantly rich mine. For example, in Donne's "Epithalamion Made at Lincoln's Inn," the speaker calls the virgins attending the bride "Daughters of London" who are "our golden mines, and furnished treasury" (ll. 13, 14). He could mean that these maidens brought large dowries with them to marriage, but "mines" also has a sexual sense. These girls possess virgin-treasures.

Donne uses the female body-as-mine metaphor in a less overtly sexual way in "Elegy on the Lady Markham." He calls her grave "her limbeck, which refines / The diamonds, rubies, sapphires, pearls, and mines. / Of which [her] flesh was" (ll. 23-25). Donne draws upon Petrarchan metaphors. Her "flesh" or parts of her body would no doubt have been praised as "diamonds, rubies, sapphires, [and] pearls" in her lifetime. Now those gems are recommitted to the womb of the earth in her burial, and the earth will "refine" those gems. The Lady Markham's body, because of its lode of precious stones, is a mine itself, being put back into the mine from which it came.

Whether it is used erotically or not, the metaphor of the female body as mine draws upon the archetypal femininity of the earth which yields treasures from its womb, as well as modifies the Petrarchan
image of the female body as an amalgam of jewels. If she has ruby lips, sapphire eyes, golden hair, and alabaster breasts, she is a mine of precious metals and gems. Naturally, this mine is usually located in her genitalia, considering that sex is the treasure all men "dig" for according to Donne's "Love's Alchemy." The female is expected to yield her wealth to the male explorer. In order to search for this buried treasure in the female body, however, the lover/explorer must know the lay of the land.

The contours of the female body are often described as a landscape in Renaissance poetry not only because of the archetypally feminine earth, but because of the similarity of surfaces. Her breasts resemble hills or mountains with a valley in between; her lactating nipples seem to be fountains or springs; her stomach and back are lily fields and rolling pastures; her buttocks and the curves of her hips are hills and slopes; her hair is a thicket or forest; her cheeks resemble rose gardens; her veins are streams or rivers; etc. The female landscape is often the site for the male search for her hidden treasure-mine, and the poetry is either an account of this treasure hunt or a treasure map with the temptations and obstacles marked for others embarking on similar journeys.

Our tour of the female terrain is conducted on the same principle organizing most expeditions on the female body. We follow the descending route to our destination, her genitalia. We have already encountered her face, which resembles a paradisial flower garden with its rosy cheeks, cherry lips, fragrant breath, and lily-white skin.
Moving beyond these temptations, we come to her bosom, "the heart of all her land." The breasts are the most frequently mentioned body part in topographical anatomy, because their shape suggests the contours of the landscape more than any other body part. We should also remember that besides the face, the breasts are one of the few body parts not completely covered by the Renaissance costume for women. Naturally, what can be seen (i.e., her face and breasts) is mentioned more often than what cannot be seen. Moreover, even the very shape of the clothes guides our journey to her centric part. The bosom is the base of an arrow formed by the inverted triangular bodice which narrows to its apex at her genitalia.

Even if other body parts are not described topographically in a particular poem, the female breasts almost always are described as mountains or hills covered with snow because of the skin's prized ivory hue, and the veins are azure rivers branching down the slopes of those hills. There is also usually some reference to the mammary glands' lactation. The breasts are either "milky" hills; or springs, fountains, or streams of nectar flow from the hilltops. Although the breasts are snow-covered, spring flowers, berries, rosebuds, or other reddish pink flowers bloom at her nipples.

There are many topographical comparisons in relation to the female bosom, but perhaps more than any other male lover in Renaissance poetry, Carew's persona is especially enamoured with breasts. In Carew's many poems on the female body, the lover focuses on the breasts as part of a lush terrain that he wishes to explore and enjoy. Indeed, a sampling of just some of Carew's poems reveals
this obsession. In the blazon "In praise of his Mistris," her "Hills of Milk with Azure mixd" "swell" on her land (11. 13, 14), and in "Upon a Mole in Celia's Bosom," her breasts are "two twin-sister hills" (11. 8, 16). In "A Prayer to the Wind," the lover wishes he were the wind so he could "Range about those Ivorie hills, / From whose every part distills / Amber dew, there spices grow. / There pure streams of Nectar flow" (11. 13-16). In "A Song," the speaker himself is "climbing those faire hills" and those "downy mounts of snow," and in "To one that desired to know my Mistris," he stakes his claim against usurpers by land squatting, or "dwell[ing] upon her hills of snow" (1. 8). In "The Complement," Carew's amorous speaker praises the breasts' lactation: "those mountains / Hill'd with snow" have "milkey fountains, / (Suger'd sweete, as sirropt berries) [which] / Must one day run through pipes of cherries" (11. 31-34). He also rhapsodizes about her bosom in "On a Damaske rose sticking upon a Ladies breast"; it is a "sacred land" where a rose was "transplanted" by his mistress. Carew's speaker envies the idyllic life of the rose in her bosom garden:

O happy thou that in that garden rests.
That Paradice betwenee that Ladies breasts.
There's an eternall spring; there shalt thou lie.
Betwixt two lilly mounts, and never die.
There shalt thou spring amongst the fertile valleyes
By buds like thee that grow in midst of Allys (11. 6-10).

While Carew's persona is particularly fixated on the female breasts, he is not an anomaly in Renaissance poetry.

Many lovers also often comment upon the "valley" between the female breasts, a passage which leads to her genitalia. Carew's speaker observes that "from those hills descends a valley" and warns
that "all fall [there], that dare to dally" ("In praise of his Mistris," 11. 17, 18). In fact, many blasonneurs do "dally" at her breasts. As we discussed in Chapter 1, many blazons do not progress lower than her breasts because "here the imagination speaks better than words." Yet some brave souls do make their way through the strait between her breasts en route to her "centric part," but they are not always in a rush to get there. They often take time for exploration of her landscape along the way.

For example, Sidney’s "What Tongue Can Her Perfections Tell" from the Arcadia is probably the most copious blazon of the female anatomy, but it does not explore only a topographical anatomy. The lovesick Pyrocles combines topographical, cosmic, and jeweled features in Philoclea. She is at once a landscape, the heavens, and seemingly all gems; all "there with strange compact doth lie" (1. 125). Consequently, although his blazon heads towards her genitalia, there is treasure everywhere in her gem-encrusted body, and these riches distract him from progressing to her "centric part." Pyrocles not only imbeds the course with these obstacles, but he sometimes delays our progress by giving confusing directions. Although he is not a wholly efficient guide to Philoclea’s terrain as Donne’s lover is in "Love’s Progress," his inadequacy nonetheless increases his titillation as he dallies in her different locales.

Pyrocles begins conventionally at her hair, "fine threads of finest gold, / In curled knots man’s thought to hold" (11. 3–4). He disentangles himself from the maze of her hair, because her forehead calls to him, siren-like, "'In me / A whiter beauty you may see'"
Her forehead, which is "more white than snow," sets off her arched eyebrows, which are the crescents of the moon, and her eyes, which are "black stars" in their "spheres" (11. 7, 15). Her cheeks are rosy dawn, "Aurora-like new out of bed," as well as a "fresh queen-apple" (11. 24, 25). Her nose, chin, and ears are another "lover's maze" made of "pure ivory" (as opposed to the golden labyrinth of her hair), and once again, the unwitting may "stray" in those "incirclets" of blood coursing through her ivory face (11. 32, 27, 33, 31). Pyrocles' confusing advice at this point really does not help the situation:

In whose incirclets if you gaze  
Your eyes may tread a lover’s maze,  
But with such turns the voice to stray.  
No talk untaught can find the way (11. 31-34).

If we get lost here, Pyrocles warns that we may be stranded on the "tip" of Philoclea's ear (1. 36).

If we avoid this error, we arrive at her "ruddy lips," which Pyrocles assures us none "can miss" (1. 37). Her lips are signified by all the conventional Petrarchan images, "rubies, cherries, and roses new" (1. 39). Inside her lips are a "double row" of "precious pearl," a "sweetly-fenced ward, / Her heavenly-dewed tongue to guard" (11. 42, 43-44). Her neck is the "sumptuous tower" that holds up "the pleasant work" of her face (11. 49, 47). But he cannot linger here for long because:

So good a say invites the eye  
A little downward to espy  
The lively clusters of her breasts,  
Of Venus' babe the wanton nests (11. 51-54).
Her breasts are not only Cupid's bowers, but "pommels round of marble clear, / Where azured veins well-mixed appear, / With dearest tops of porphyry" (11. 55-57). Once again, topography is conflated with gemology. But as we near Philoclea's genitalia, Pyrocles uses more topographical metaphors. For instance, between her breasts "a way doth lie" that "leads unto the joyous fields / Which only still doth lilies yield; / But lilies such whose native smell / The Indian odors doth excel" (11. 58, 61-64). He is alluding here to the fragrant spices of the East Indies. Considering that the Indies are often associated with the female genitalia, we might be surprised that we are only at Philoclea's waist. It seems as if we should be at our destination after so much traveling.

Pyrocles realizes that many men get sidetracked and stop at this point in the journey; they "doth waste / [their] . . .  lives until it [the waist] be embraced" (11. 65-66). Yet he continues his exploration. The next landmark is her ribs, which we are cryptically told that we "may . . . see, and yet not see" (1. 67). Although the rib cage is not usually considered an especially erotic body part, he warns that "in these delights the wand'ring thought / Might of each side astray be brought" (11. 71-72). The unwary might be tempted to slide down her ribs to go exploring her back. He promises that her navel will keep us on course, yet it, too, is a maze or "curious circle" (1. 74). We know that we are nearing her centric part because the navel is also described as "a dainty seal of virgin wax / Where nothing but impression lacks" (11. 75-76). Philoclea's body is identified as yet-to-be-claimed territory open to all comers.
We finally reach the object of our journey, "Cupid's hill" or Philoclea's *mons veneris*, which is described as "a hill most fit for such a master, / A spotless mine of alabaster" (ll. 79-80). But, having at last arrived, Pyrocles does not allow us to stay: "Loath, I must leave his [Cupid's] chief resort" (1. 84). He laments that "the best things still must be forgotten" (1. 86). Whether it is inability, decorum, or titillation that motivates this lacuna, our expectations are thwarted, and we expect the blazon to end here. But the catalogue moves inexorably downward, the excitement and anticipation now gone. Her thighs are enticing: "two sugared flanks, [that] / Lift up their stately swelling banks / That Albion cliffs in whiteness pass" (ll. 88-91). But it is unlikely that we will travel through this thigh channel back to her genitalia.

Pyrocles goes on to describe her knees, calves, ankles, and feet in non-topographical metaphors (body parts which are, quite frankly, anti-climactic), and once again, we logically expect the blazon to stop at her feet. However, we switch directions and move upwards to her back, shoulders, and arms. Our hopes that we will return to Cupid's "chief resort" are renewed, only to be quickly dashed. Pyrocles bewails his own ineffectiveness in charting the course on Philoclea's terrain: "Ah, woe is me, my woes renew! / Now course doth lead me to her hand" (ll. 120-21). The journey ends with her hand, which is depicted as "warm snow, moist pearl, soft ivory" with "sapphire coloured brooks, / Which conduit-like, with curious crooks, / Sweet islands make in that sweet land" (ll. 126-29). Her hands are yet another maze of "curious crooks" in which we get lost, and we
wind up at the amethyst tips of her fingers. Pyrocles conventionally ends his blazon with a compliment to her virtue, the "guest which dwells within" her body/land, and he reiterates the inexpressibility of "her perfections." Yet, judging by his copious blazon, the only "perfection" he could not "tell" was her genitalia.

In Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, Venus has no such inhibitions in her topographical blazon of her own body. Although her blazon is not as detailed as Philoclea's, Venus does not skip over her genitalia. In fact, she emphasizes that area. She begins her blazon after "infol[ing]" Adonis in her arms (1. 225). To prevent him from "struggl[ing] to be gone," Venus invites him to be a "deer" in her enclosed "park," which is her body or "the circuit of this ivory pale" (11. 227, 230, 231). Although she tells Adonis to "feed where thou wilt," Venus does not actually relinquish control of him. She does not want him to stray, so she guides him to specific grazing areas to lead him down her body to her genitalia—and to keep him there. She first invites him to feed "on mountain, or in dale," that is, on her breasts and in the valley between them (1. 232). She also desires to be kissed, encouraging him to "graaze on" her lips (1. 233). Venus is as eager to satisfy Adonis as she is to be satisfied by him. She tells him that if he finds "those hills" "dry" (her breasts or lips; the referent is unclear), he should "stray lower, where the pleasant fountains lie" (11. 233, 234). She directs him here to her genitalia, the "fountains" referring to her vaginal secretions in her aroused state. Venus assures Adonis that there is plenty of "relief" or pasture "within this limit" of her park; she
can satisfy his hunger for a long time (1. 235). She again directs his attention to her lower parts, her "sweet bottom grass and high delightful plain" (1. 236). The pasture and plain are her back and belly, and the "sweet bottom grass" is her pubic hair (Colman 185). She refers to her genitalia too when she boasts about her "round rising hillocks, [and] brakes obscure and rough," or her buttocks and pubic hair (1. 237). Venus's desire is obvious; she wants Adonis to make his way across her park to her genitalia. Despite the tantalizing offer, Adonis only "smiles as in disdain" (1. 241).

When read in light of Venus' topographical offers, Marvell's religious pastoral poem, "Clorinda and Damon," takes on erotic significance. Like Venus, Clorinda is the aggressor, inviting the coy Damon to make love to her. He is not a deer who will graze in her female pastures; instead, Clorinda describes pastoral locales in which Damon's flock can feed and where they can enjoy a romantic tryst. Of course, Clorinda may be talking just about the landscape, yet the descriptions of these trysting places are quite suggestive of the female body. The site of their potential lovemaking shifts from rural landscape to Clorinda's own body as she blazons "pastures, caves, and springs" in an effort to entice Damon (1. 20). She first asks him to drive his flocks to "a grassy scutcheon . . . / Where Flora blazons all her pride" (ll. 3-4). Ostensibly, this "scutcheon" is a meadow where she "aim[s] to feast [Damon's] sheep" and where she will gather flowers for his "temples" (1. 5). Here, the goddess of flowers depicts in a meadow her armorial insignia. Considering that heraldry is often used to blazon a lady's face and that her face is
likened to a garden of flowers in Petrarchan compliment, this area could also be Clorinda's face which she wants Damon to kiss. He rejects her offer, however, reminding her that "Grass withers; and the flowers too fade" (1. 7). She then suggests they "seize the short joys" in an "unfrequented cave," which she claims is "Love's shrine" (ll. 6, 7, 8). While an actual den, the cave is also Clorinda's "cool bosom," presumably the area between her breasts (1. 11). Damon turns down this site too, contending that it is "virtue's grave" (1. 10). Her final suggestion for a trysting place is "Near this [the cave/bosom], a fountain's liquid bell / Tinkles within the concave shell" (ll. 14-15). This spring is most likely her genitalia, but Damon spurns this offer too. He explains to Clorinda that these trysting places or parts of her anatomy "once had been enticing things," but now he has given these up to worship Pan. Damon somehow manages to convert Clorinda quickly, and the pastures, caves, and fountains now echo with music in praise of Pan, as the pursuit of pastoral love gives way to pastoral religion.

This depiction of the female genitalia as a hill or recess with bubbling springs and surrounded by a thicket is used by other Renaissance poets to represent the pudenda. For example, Nashe identifies the *mons veneris* as a hill with a fountain in "The Chois of Valentines." Tomalin has heeded the warning in "Love's Progress." To reach her centric part more quickly, he starts at Francis's feet and works his way up her body. Her legs, knees, and thighs are not described topographically, but when he reaches her private parts, he sees:
A prettie rysing wombe without a weame,
That shone as bright as anie siluer streame;
And bare out lyke the bending of an hill,
At whose decline a fountaine dwelleth still.
That hath his mouth besett with uglie bryers
Resembling much a duskie nett of wyres (11. 109-14).

The hill refers to the mound of fatty tissue in the female pubic region, the fountain to vaginal secretions, and the briars to her pubic hair. Tomalin believes that "heauen, and paradize are all but toyes, / Compared with this sight" of her genitalia, and determines to "pluck" the "fruites of loue" from this hill and grove (ll. 106-7, 119, 118). Unfortunately, he runs into an obstacle—not in his progress upon her body when most men err—but when he arrives at her genitalia. He cannot maintain his erection, having spent himself in contemplation of Francis's paradisial "delights" (l. 126).

Spenser inverts the mount of Venus metaphor in The Faerie Queene by describing the land anatomically. Venus's mount in the Garden of Adonis is portrayed as the female mons veneris:

Right in the middest of that Paradise,
There stood a stately Mount, on whose round top
A gloomy grous of mirtle trees did rise,
Whose shadie boughes sharpe steele did neuer lop,
Nor wicked beasts their tender buds did crop,
But like a girlond compassed the hight,
And from their fruitfull sides sweet gum did drop,
That all the ground with precious deaw bedight,
Threw forth most dainty odours, & most sweet delight
(3.6.43).

Spenser sees the grove or forest as pubic hair, and the aromatic moisture running down the trees suggests the fluids secreted from the vagina. In a sense, the entire "Paradise" of the Garden of Adonis is a female body, and the mount of Venus in its center ("centric part") represents its fertility. This particular site is not the womb where
life is propagated, however. The "pleasant arbour" of the mount of Venus is where Venus and Adonis make love, and where Cupid and Psyche beget Pleasure (3.6.44). Instead, Spenser identifies the entire Garden of Adonis as "the first seminairie / Of all things, that are borne to live and die" (3.6.30). Thomas P. Roche, Jr. explains that "in Spenser's time, small pots of fast-growing herbs were called gardens of Adonis," and "contemporary references show that the phrase applies to any place of great and rapid fertility" (1152 n 29).

Milton's description of Eden in Paradise Lost echoes this passage in Spenser. Eden is a "delicious Paradise" that:

Crowns with her enclosure green,
As with a rural mound the champaign head
Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
Access deni'd; and over head up grew
Insuperable hight of loftiest shade,
Cedar, and Pine, and fir, and branching Palm,
A Silvan Scene, and as the ranks ascend
Shade above shade, a woody Theatre
Of stateliest view (4.132-41).}

Eden's topography resembles the female mons veneris; however, Milton's intentions are not erotic. He sees Eden as a hortus conclusus breached by the interloper Satan. Although Milton does not develop the metaphor of paradise as a female body to any great extent, he does perceive Eden as feminine. He often uses female pronouns to refer to the place, and there is a maternal femininity in his description of Eden's sponte sua.42

While the female genitalia are often described as a mounded thicket with bubbling "sweet springs of Venus," very few Renaissance poets graphically describe what occurs when the lover-poet reaches
her "centric part." After all, the poets intend to be witty, not crude. They revert to common euphemisms for intercourse—plucking fruit, picking flowers, mining gems, planting seeds, breaching garden walls, etc. Another frequent metaphor for coitus focuses upon vaginal moisture. For instance, Donne’s lover is "sailing towards her India" or her genitalia in “Love’s Progress." He is a merchant ship that will pull into her harbor and load up with her treasure. The lover here intends to take something away from the woman’s body in the act of coitus—perhaps her virginity—but then, if it is her virginity he takes, such a treasure can only be taken once, if we follow the metaphor literally. In “A Rapture,” Carew makes this visit to her port/genitalia more explicit and perhaps more physically accurate. He likens the penis’s penetration of the vagina with a boat coming into a channel and unloading its freight at the port:

Yet my tall pine shall in the Cyprian strait
Ride safe at anchor, and unlade her freight:
My rudder with thy bold hand, like a tried
And skillful pilot, thou shalt steer, and guide
My bark into love’s channel, where it shall
Dance, as the bounding waves do rise or fall (11. 85-90).

The unloading of freight is a more accurate metaphor for coitus in that the penis ejaculates its semen into the vagina. In "The Complement," Carew also sees the route to her genitalia as a sea passage, but he makes no mention of delivering or receiving freight. Her thighs, "Alablaster rocks [that] doe rise / So high" out of the water, are "like Sea-markes to some happy land" or her vagina (11. 43-44, 45). Carew’s persona celebrates the joys of such a voyage in a witty rhyme: "Happy are those eyes have seene them [her thighs], /
More happy they that saile betweene them" (ll. 47-48).

Despite his euphemistic portrayals of intercourse, Carew is one of the few Renaissance poets to relate the events upon reaching the female genitalia in what we might consider graphic terms. He discusses the breaking of a virgin's hymen in "On the Green Sickness." In the Renaissance, green sickness was an illness affecting unmarried girls that could supposedly be cured by the physical delights of marriage (Fraser 51). Carew's lover compares the acquisition of a kingdom to the sexual possession of a virginal female body, and asks the woman to "Create" him "Monarch" of her "free Elective State," her "empire of love and beautie," and her "unpossest / Chast virgin kingdome" (ll. 10-12). This monarchy would entitle him to "Surround with Circling Armes" her body as his "beautious Island" (ll. 13, 14). He then describes taking her maidenhead rather graphically, referring to the blood lost with the breaking of her hymen: "with amorous Charmes / Mixt with thie flood of Frozen snowe / In Crimson streams Ile force the redd Sea flowe" (ll. 14-16). The frozen snow suggests that the woman is cold to the speaker's advances and does not desire to have sexual relations with him. Nonetheless, he promises to force the breaking of her hymen. His aggressive seduction verges on rape.

The terrain of the female body is not always described in such generic terms. After all, if one is charting the course of a voyage, it is essential that names be given to the landmarks. The general layout of the land is not enough to lead other travelers or to
retrace the route oneself. Consequently, many descriptions of the female body as land name actual places in her body parts. Her anatomy is a map of a desirable territory open to male exploration—metaphors which no doubt derive from England's concurrent interest in New World exploration, surveying and mapmaking.

As we have seen, Donne's "Love's Progress" locates various geographical places in the woman's anatomy. These landmarks are route markers for other men to reach the desired New World territory, "her India" or genitalia. Her lips are "the Islands Fortunate," the old name for the Canary Islands west of Gibraltar (1. 51). Her breasts are the towns of "Sestos and Abydos" on the opposite shores of "the strait Hellespont," made famous by Marlowe in Hero and Leander (11. 60-61). Her navel is "her fair Atlantic navel," a pun on "naval" (1. 66). The lover-traveler identifies the destination of his voyage; he is "sailing towards her India" or genitalia (1. 65). Her pudenda are the East and West Indies because they were considered places of great treasure. (This association of the female genitalia with the riches of the Indies goes back to the idea of the womb as a mine of precious stones, metals, and minerals.) It also establishes the sexual possession of the female body as a conquest of territory. Of course, we should not take Donne's landmarks literally. One cannot trace this route from England (presumably his starting point) to India on an actual map. Donne merely associates various places with her anatomy based on their applicability as metaphors, not because he wants us to follow an exact navigational chart.
One of the most extended versions of geographical anatomy is in Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* (3.2.80-145), but the object is not to appropriate the female body sexually. Instead, the blasonneur wishes to dispossess himself of the unsolicited attention of a woman. Antipholus and Dromio of Syracuse are discussing the fat kitchen wench Nell, who has mistaken Dromio of Syracuse for her own betrothed, Dromio of Ephesus. This mistaken identity is just one of a series of comic confusions between the boys from Syracuse and their Ephesian twin brothers, and it offers a comic perspective on one of the play's themes, the proper hierarchy of male and female in marriage. Paul's letter to the Ephesians is crucial to this play set in Ephesus, but here wives do not submit to their husbands (Parker, *Ladies* 18). Women such as Adriana and Nell threaten the hierarchy of the sexual sphere by dominating their men, but as in all Shakespearean comedies, these subversions of authority are righted with the reunions at the end of the play.

Dromio of Syracuse comes running to his master, panic-stricken, because Nell has tried to get him in her clutches. He fears that she has made him a "woman's man." and he is "besides himself" at the prospect of being "claimed" in marriage (3.2.77, 78, 82). Considering Nell's domineering manner as well as her mistress Adriana's shrewish control of her husband, Dromio's fear of marriage is warranted. More importantly, he is threatened by the extent to which Nell "laid claim" to him (3.2.140). Not only does she know his name, but she exhibits her familiarity with his body in a blazon of his birthmarks. Dromio reports to Antipholus that Nell:
call'd me Dromio, swore I was assur'd to her, told me what privy
marks I had about me, as the mark of my shoulder, the mole in my
neck, the great wart on my left arm, that I, amaz'd, ran from her
as a witch. And I think, if my breast had not been made of
faith, and my heart of steel, / She had transform'd me to a
curtal dog, and made me turn i' th' wheel (3.2.140-47).

He feels his body is "possessed" by Nell as a witch or blasonneur.
but he counteracts her claim by usurping her power as blasonneur. By
blazoning Nell, Dromio reasserts his own identity and independence,
and undermines her authority. She becomes a body displayed and
dismembered in Dromio and Antipholus' jocular blazon. Any anxiety
about being owned by a woman is allayed by the male bantering about
the would-be bride's obesity.

Nell is so fat that "she is spherical, like a globe," and Dromio
claims he "could find out countries in her" (3.2.114, 115). This
joke sets the two on a witty geographical anatomy lesson. Antipholus
questions Dromio as to the location of countries on her globe, and he
answers with obscene or crude jests. There is no specific order to
the countries about which Antipholus asks; the countries do not
proceed from north to south or from east to west on a globe. One
cannot "connect the dots" on Nell to trace any one route. Moreover,
there is no descending pattern to the body parts Dromio mentions,
although the blazon does end with her genitalia. Antipholus first
asks Dromio to find Ireland, which he locates "in her buttocks . . .
by the bogs," and "Scotland" is "by the barrenness, hard in the palm
of the hand," anatomical analogies to the terrain of those countries
(3.2.116-18, 119-21). The "barrenness" in her hands also refers to
the calluses on the palms of a kitchen drudge (Evans 93 n120).
"France" is "in her forehead, arm'd and reverted, making war against
her heir," referring to the Catholic resistance to Protestant—later—turned—Catholic Henry IV (3.2.122-24). The image of an "arm'd and reverted" forehead also suggests that Nell's hairline is receding due to venereal disease (Evans 93 n123). Dromio looks for "England" in her "chalky cliffs" of Dover or her teeth, but because he finds "no whiteness" there, he locates England "in her chin, by the salt rheum that ran between France and it"; that is, the English channel is nasal mucus! (3.2.125-29). Antipholus then asks for "America, the Indies" (3.2.133). He, as well as the audience, probably expect Dromio to point to Nell's genitalia since that is often the site of wealthy New World territories. However, Shakespeare heightens the comedy of the situation by having Dromio put America and the Indies "upon her nose, all o'er embellish'd with rubies, carbuncles, sapphires, declining their rich aspect to the hot breath of Spain, who sent whole armadoes of carrects to be ballast at her nose" (3.2.133-37). Her nose with its multicolored pimples and boils reminds him of the proverbial jewels of America and the Indies, and Spain is depicted as exploiting those treasures. Antipholus's last question is designed to prompt the lewd response that Dromio avoided the last time. He asks for "Belgia, the Netherlands" ((3.2.138). Dromio puns on the Low Countries in a reference to her genitalia. He claims that he cannot find "Belgia, the Netherlands," because he "did not look so low" (3.2.138, 139). Nell's genitalia would be of no interest to Dromio, who finds her repulsive.

Although Shakespeare locates the Indies and America on Nell's nose, Renaissance poets place those desirable New World territories
in a variety of locales on the female body. For example, Astrophil claims the wealth of the Indies is contained in Stella's entire jewel-like body in Sonnet 32 of *Astrophil and Stella*. In fact, she exceeds the Indies. Astrophil argues that "no Ind's such treasures hold" as does Stella, and as evidence, he points to the "ivory, rubies, pearl and gold / that . . . show her skin, lips, teeth and head so well" (ll. 12, 10-11). Sidney is alluding to the precious metals and stones of the West Indies in his version of the Petrarchan mistress as an amalgam of gems.

Spenser's Sonnet 15 of the *Amoretti* is similar to Sidney's Sonnet 32. Spenser, too, associates the Indies with his lady's bejeweled body. He asks "tradefull Merchants" why they "do seeke most pretious things" and "both the Indias of their treasures spoile" (ll. 1-3). Their "toyle" is "in vaine" because they need not "seeke so farre" (ll. 1, 4). Spenser claims that his "loue doth in her selfe containe / All this worlds riches that may farre be found" (ll. 5-6). He provides evidence for his boast, locating various gems in her body parts in a Petrarchan blazon: sapphire eyes, ruby lips, pearly teeth, ivory forehead, golden hair, and silver hands.

Donne is particularly fond of associating the riches of the New World with the female body. As we have seen, in "Love's Progress," the lover is "sailing to her India" and in "To His Mistress Going to Bed," he contends that he "discover[s]" "America," "my mine of precious stones," through coitus with his mistress. However, Donne does not always use the metaphor in the context of an imperial conquest of the feminized territory and not always in an erotic way.
Frequently, he uses the Indies comparison to praise the value of a woman. For example, in "The Sun Rising," Donne equates the Indies with the lady. The lover argues with the sun that he and his mistress in their bed are the world, and that the sun should therefore revolve around them. To prove his assertion, he tells the sun to "look, and . . . tell me / Whether both the Indias of spice and mine / Be where thou left'st them, or lie here with me" (ll. 16-18). He draws attention to the different resources of the Indies. The East Indies were known for their spices, and the West Indies for their gold and other such treasures. The lover is merely equating his mistress with the great proverbial treasures of exotic new lands.

Donne again alludes to the respective resources of the East and West Indies in "To the Lady Bedford." The poem was written on the occasion of the death of a woman close to Lady Bedford, probably her cousin Lady Markham. He praises both ladies as the paired Indies and appreciates the "richness" of knowing both of these women: "She was all spices, you all metals; so / In you two we did both rich Indies know" (ll. 33-34). Apparently, the deceased woman is the East Indies (spices) and Lady Bedford the West Indies (metals).

Donne also uses the Indies metaphor in his poems about the deceased Elizabeth Drury in order to praise her as a rich treasure, and the metaphor gets increasingly elaborate with each successive poem. In "A Funeral Elegy," Donne's encomium of Elizabeth is simple yet powerful. He mourns that "the two Indies [are] in one tomb" "join[ed]" (l. 6). Her body contains the treasures of both the East and West Indies. In "An Anatomy of the World: The First
Anniversary,” however, Donne argues that the Indies received their gold and spices from Elizabeth’s body:

She whose rich eyes, and breast
Gilt the West Indies, and perfumed the East;
Whose having breathed in this world, did bestow
Spice on those isles, and bade them still smell so
And that rich Indy which doth gold inter.
Is but as single money, coined from her (11. 229-34).

This idea of Elizabeth as a source of treasure is expanded to even more hyperbolic proportions in “The Second Anniversary.” Donne not only locates the riches of the East and West Indies in Elizabeth’s body, but the rest of the world’s treasures as well:

She, in whose body . . .
The western treasure, eastern spicery,
Europe, and Afric, and the unknown rest
Were easily found, or what in them was best (11. 226-29).

Donne tops even that panegyric by then claiming that:

. . . when we have made this large discovery
Of all in her some one part, then will be
Twenty such parts, whose plenty and riches is
Enough to make twenty such worlds as this (11. 231-34).

Elizabeth’s body contains enough riches to fill twenty more worlds.

In Shakespeare’s The Merry Wives of Windsor, Falstaff sounds remarkably like Donne in his praise of Mistresses Page and Ford. But he is not merely celebrating the value of these women when he compares them to rich New World regions. He first describes Mistress Page as “a region in Guiana, all gold and bounty” (1.3.69). Falstaff, however, is greedy and decides to win the love of both women. He describes his two-timing intentions as trading with two rich New World territories: “I will / be cheaters to them both, and they shall be / exchequers to me. They shall be my East and West / Indies, and I will trade to them both” (1.3.69-72). Falstaff thus
sees himself as the overseeing officer of both "treasuries." Of course, in addition to his greed, he uses the Indies metaphor with lascivious intent (Frantz 234).

Shakespeare also alludes to the Indies in relation to Anne Bulken at her coronation in Henry VIII. A gentleman-onlooker comments that "Our king has all the Indies in his arms, / And more and richer, when he strains that lady" (4.1.45-6). The onlooker's comment is more than just a praise of the new queen as a great treasure. Henry's "straining" or embrace of Anne is an imperial act by which he gains the riches of the Indies "and more." "Straining" has a more erotic meaning than just an embrace (Colman 216). Through coitus with Anne, Henry receives her treasures—another reference to the female genitalia as a mine—and sexual intercourse becomes an imperial act.

This chapter began by discussing the ways in which the female body is described as the cosmos, the body politic, and architecture in Renaissance poetry. Significantly, however, there is nothing inherently or archetypally feminine about the universe, the state, or buildings to necessitate these metaphors. These metaphors for the female body are simply convenient and useful. But in the case of the female body/land metaphor, the land is female. The generativity of the female body and the land establishes an undeniable bond between them. The result of this archetypal/biological bonding between women and land is that both women and land become patriarchal territories. The feminine is possessed by the masculine—in Renaissance anatomical and country-house poetry, and in Renaissance England itself.
NOTES

1 See, for example, the engraving "Man as microcosm" in Robert Fludd's Utriusque Cosmi Historia (1617-19) in which man's outstretched limbs span the spheres of the elements and the planets.


3 One might think that Barkan meant to include the landscape in his section on man as cosmos, but it is apparent from his examples that by "cosmos," he means the universe, not the earth. He considers the metaphysical and intellectual notions of man's "world," not the natural environment.

4 The images of the female-body-as-land in Renaissance poetry have never been gathered together and systematically examined. Many critics have recognized the metaphor, but no one has surveyed its use. Others, notably Kolodny, have only looked at the inversion of the metaphor, the land-as-female.


7 Donne uses the metaphor for the purpose of eulogy in the Anniversaries. He equates the subject of his eulogy, Elizabeth Drury, with the cosmos. The poems deal with not one cosmos, but the two worlds that she represents, the old world which existed during her life, and the new world created by her memory. Donne focuses on her virtue rather than her female body as the world or cosmos; nevertheless, a feminine principle orders the cosmos. See O. B. Hardison's The Enduring Monument: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice (Chapel Hill : U of North Carolina P, 1962), pp. 173 ff.


11 See Merritt Y. Hughes, "Virgilian Allegory and The Faerie Queene," PMLA 44 (1929): 696-705. Hughes (among other critics) argues that Belphoebe's sudden advent in Book 2 is patterned upon Venus's appearance to Aeneas as a virgin huntress in the Aeneid (697). The scene also recalls Dido's first appearance to Aeneas in the Aeneid (Hughes 698).

12 In Book 1, Canto 10, the Red Cross Knight goes to the House of Holiness where Contemplation leads him up a mountain and grants him a vision of the New Jerusalem that he will enter one day as St. George, the patron saint of England. The Red Cross Knight is restored in strength and rejoins Una in their journey to her native land. In Book 2, Canto 10, Arthur and Guyon read the chronicles of Briton and of Fairy Land in the House of Temperance. Book 3, Canto 10, resolves the story of the miser Malbecco and his young wife Hellenore. (Book 3, Canto 10, is not as crucial as other Canto 10s, but we must remember that Book 3 was revised to lead into Book 4. We might consider Books 3 and 4 as one book.) In Book 4, Canto 10, Scudamour relates how he won Amoret in the Temple of Venus, the dramatic climax of Book 4. In Book 5, Canto 10, Arthur rescues Belge, who has come under the usurping power of a pagan giant, an important allegory in the Book of Justice.

13 See Krier's Gazing on Secret Sights: Spenser, Classical Imitation, and the Decorums of Vision (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1990), pp. 232-40, on male intrusion versus male accessibility to female society on Mount Acidale. See also Philippa Berry's Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), especially pp. 79-82, for her idea that the Mount Acidale dance figures the ambiguous status of male courtiers in relation to the gynocentric court of Queen Elizabeth. Berry argues for the significance of Elizabeth as a woman not separated from other women, but associated with them, especially in the circle of maids of honor who attended her.

14 The pastoral dance on Mount Acidale follows a pattern in The Faerie Queene itself. There are several other pastoral dances centering around a woman. In Book 1, Canto 6, Una is encircled by a singing, dancing group of satyrs and fauns (1.6.13-14). And in Book
6, Canto 9, just one canto prior to the Mt. Acidale dance, Calidore sees Pastorella as the central damsel of a pastoral dance (6.9.8).

15 All quotations from Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579) are from Selincourt.


17 Roy Strong explains that the reason we see southern England on the portrait's map is to indicate the Ditchley estate in Oxfordshire (Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I [Oxford: Clarendon P, 1963], 75). The Queen's feet rest upon that site because the portrait commemorates the 1590 Accession Day Tilt given by Sir Henry Lee, Master of the Armoury, at his home in Ditchley.

18 Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown explain that in *Britannia* (1585), William Camden notes the personifications of Britannia on Roman coins (The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550-1660 [London, Henley and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979], 155). Camden observes that on "the coined pieces bearing the stamp of Antoninus Pius and Severus, Britaine is pourtraied sitting upon rocks in womans habit" (qtd. in Corbett and Lightbown 155). The 1600 edition of *Britannia* includes illustrations of these coins. The portrayal of Britannia seated on a rock is also in William Rogers' frontispiece to the 1600 edition of *Britannia* and is the source for the Albion frontispiece to Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*.


20 The feminized body politic is especially apparent in the 1553 Catholic morality play, *Respublica*, in which England is presented as a widow suffering from the social evils of the Reformation.

21 Mercilla's royal self-display differs, too, from Lucifera's preening in the House of Pride in Book 1, Canto 4. Lucifera is another "mayden Queene" who "shyned in her Princely state" (1.4.8, 10). She, too, sits on high, but she does so because "for earth she did disdayn" and "for lowly she did hate" (1.4.10). Lucifera wants no part of those she considers "beneath" her; instead, she vainly gazes at "her selfe-lou'd semblance" in a mirror (1.4.10). She displays herself to the gaze of others in her royal state so that they can admire her and so that she can haughtily distance herself. (She also displays herself to her own gaze in the mirror.) Excessive pride motivates Lucifera's self-display, not titillation. Her
procession in a gilded carriage drawn by six beasts on which her evil counselors are mounted is yet another parody of regal dignity. Moreover, Lucifera has no right to rule; she "vsurpe[d]" her throne "with wrong and tyrannie" (1.4. 12). Mercilla, on the other hand, uses her lofty vantage from her throne to rule benevolently. She is attended by wise and good counselors, and she does not hesitate to reach out to those who request her help.

22 The male or androgynous body is also often compared to a temple, altar, or religious monument in Renaissance poetry. Some prominent instances are from George Herbert's The Temple: "The World," "Man," "Sion," and "The Altar." Of course, the title of the collection itself draws upon the architectural imagery used by St. Paul. Architectural imagery is basic to the entire Bible, so it is not surprising that Herbert the catechist uses the same.


24 "To my well Timbred Mistresse" by Thomas Randolph quoted in Donald, "Rhetorical Courtings," p. 49.

25 A summary of Faery Land's male-inhabited and female-inhabited locales (both architectural and pastoral) is helpful here. Female residences include the court of Gloriana*, the Cave of Error (1.1), Abessa and Corceca's house* (1.3), the House of Pride (1.4), the House of Holiness* (1.10), the Castle of Medina* (2.2), Phaedria's island (2.5-6), the court of Philotime (2.7), the Garden of Proserpina (2.7), the House of Temperance* (2.9), the Bower of Bliss (2.12), the Castle Joyeous (3.1), Cymoent's sea bower* (3.4), Belphoebe's forest bower* (3.5), the Garden of Adonis* (3.6), the witch's cottage (3.7), Slander's cottage (4.8), the Temple of Venus* (4.10), Radigund's castle (5.5), the Temple of Isis* (5.7), Mercilla's court* (5.8-9), Belge's castle* (5.10), Briana's castle* (6.1), Mount Acidale* (6.10), and the court of Nature* (7). Male residences, or those ruled by both men and women, are Archimago's hermitage (1.1-2), Orgoglio's castle (1.8), the Cave of Despair (1.9), the Cave of Mammon (2.7), Proteus' sea palace (3.8; 4.11), Malbecco's castle (3.9), the satyrs' camp (3.10), House of Busirane (3.11), House of Care (4.5), the Hairy Carl's cave (4.7), Timias' hermitage* (4.8), Corflambo's castle (4.8), Castle of the Strand (4.11), Dolon's castle (5.6), Aidus' castle* (6.2-3), Turpine's castle (6.3-4), Salvage Man's shelter* (6.4), the cannibals' camp (6.7), Meliboe's hut* (6.9-10), and the Castle of Bellamour and Claribell* (6.12). In enumerating Spenser's locales, we can see that the majority, 25, is "female," and 20 are "male" or inhabited by both sexes. There is also a good/bad correlation. I have marked with an asterisk those places which are "good," that is, they are inhabited by virtuous characters. While there are female places associated with evil, the majority of female places is good (15 out of 25), and the majority of male or androgynous places is evil (15 out of 20).

27 The castle-body in medieval allegory is not gendered. The forces battering the body/castle often stand for vices that Everyman (both men and women) must resist, and the allegory is about temperance or virtuous fortitude.


29 All quotations from Chapman's completion of Hero and Leander are from Donno, Minor Epics.

30 Sidney also uses the female body as a besieged fortress in a 1581 entertainment he devised for Queen Elizabeth and in which he participated, "The Four Foster Children of Desire." Courtiers tried to possess the Fortress of Perfect Beauty, an allegorical structure identified with both the queen's body and England. The two-day assault consisted of speeches, spectacles, mock combats, barrages of flowers, and cannonshots of sweet water and powder. For an account of the entertainment, see "A Declaration of the Triumph showed before the Queen's Majesty and the French ambassadors on Whitsun Monday and Tuesday" in Appendix A, Sir Philip Sidney, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford and New York: Oxford UP. 1989), pp. 299-311.

31 The metaphor of female body as walled city is so commonplace that it is parodied in Renaissance poetry. In "Elegy 2: The Anagram," Donne presents a witty version in a mock blazon of the ugly Flavia. When the speaker gets to denigrating her face, he claims it "guard[s]" her as "that dirty foulness guards, and arms" "Belgia's cities" when "the round countries drown" them (ll. 43, 42, 41). He is referring to the attempts by surrounding countries to inundate the Belgian cities, but here the attempts fail because of the mounds of refuse that act as a city wall. Flavia's face is a wall of trash that protects her city/body from amorous invasion. Donne also parodies the metaphor in "Elegy 8: The Comparison," another mock blazon. Once again, when the speaker gets to deriding her face, he claims that her "tanned skin's lamentable state" is "Like sun-parched quarters on the city gate" (ll. 32, 31). "The Comparison"'s analogies are even more gross than "The Anagram"'s unflattering metaphors. Here, her tanned skin (then considered unattractive) is like the quartered bodies of malefactors impaled on the city's gate.

32 Annette Kolodny, The Lay of the Land.

33 Patricia Parker, Literary Fat Ladies.


Campion, "There Is A Garden In Her Face," from Hollander and Kermode.


Shakespeare also uses the metaphor of the female body as soil in the context of adultery and illegitimate birth. For example, in A Lover's Complaint, the lady explains that she "could say, 'This man's untrue,'" because she "knew the patterns of his foul beguiling" and because she had "heard where his plants in others' orchards grew" (11. 169-71). His "plants" are his illegitimate children whom he has conceived in "others' orchards," the "orchards" referring to either other men's wives or to just other women in general. Illegitimate children are not only called "plants" in "others' orchards," but "crops." For instance, in All's Well That Ends Well, Lavatch the clown jokes about his being cuckolded and thereby saddled with another man's children: "He that ears [i.e., plows] my land spares my team [i.e., Lavatch's penis], and gives me / leave to inn the crop" (1.3.44-45). In Antony and Cleopatra, Cleopatra's illegitimate son by Caesar is also called a "crop" by Agrippa who reminds us that Caesar "ploughed" Cleopatra, "and she cropped" (2.2.227).

There are other instances in Renaissance poetry where land is described through the metaphor of the female body. Chapter 1 examines the feminization of the land in country-house poetry, and Chapter 3 discusses a similar gendering of the New World in...
exploration narratives and New World poetry. Besides these genres, there are not many other prominent examples of the land-as-female in Renaissance poetry. Because of the archetype of the earth as a great mother, it is assumed that the land is female, and a feminine pronoun or name is often casually used to indicate the earth's gender.

43 Of course, not all sailing voyages on the female body are lascivious. Many poets rely on the Petrarchan motif of the lover who is a bark tossed upon the tempestuous sea of love and seeking a comforting port in his mistress. For example, Spenser sees love as a voyage upon a stormy sea to "the happy shore" of his mistress in Sonnet 63 of the Amoretti, but he is not explicit in his sexual topography (1. 5). He describes his mistress only in general land terms. She is "the happy shore, / in which [he] hope[s] ere long for to arryue" (11. 5-6). Her land "seemes from far" to be "fayre soyle" and "fraught with store / of all that deare and daynty is alyue" (11. 7-8). Like Carew in "A Rapture," Spenser is also sailing a "barke" towards port, but he does not identify that harbor as her genitalia (1. 4). He only comments that "Most happy he that can at last atchyue / the ioyous safety of so sweet a rest" (11. 9-10).
CHAPTER III

"O my America, my new found land": Documents of Exploration and Colonization of a Female New World

In the previous chapter, we saw that land is often a metaphor for the female body in Renaissance poetry. The inverse of the metaphor, the land as female, is prevalent in another form of literature at the time—the English accounts of the discovery, exploration, and settlement of the New World. In these New World narratives, we see the sexual and imperial consequences for female territory opened to male exploration. The feminine "yields" to the masculine.

This metaphor of the land-as-female is a crucial part of the narratives' promotional campaign for New World imperialism. Annette Kolodny, Patricia Parker, Leo Marx, and others have recognized the feminization of America as propaganda in the expeditionary reports, particularly in Hakluyt's collections. Kolodny explains the way the metaphor could be so central in different types of Renaissance literature, that is, in poetry and in New World documents:

Gendering the land as feminine was nothing new in the sixteenth century... What happened with the discovery of America was the revival of that linguistic habit on the level of personal experience: that is, what had by then degenerated into the dead conventions of self-consciously 'literary' language, hardly attended to, let alone explored. Suddenly, with the discovery of America, became the vocabulary of everyday reality (8).
What she does not specify is that the metaphor was also renewed in literary language. The image of the land-as-female in poetry was no longer a moribund convention, but one with new life and significance. References to the New World, America, and other new found lands, all personified as female, abound in the poems of the time, as do the metaphors of voyaging, discovery, mapping, and conquest. The art reflects the spirit of this age of English discovery and colonization of the New World.

That English Renaissance poetry should capitalize upon this "new" and culturally significant metaphor of the land-as-female is understandable, for art reflects and shapes the culture which produces it. But why should expeditionary documents, so vital to English efforts in the New World, resurrect this linguistic convention? There are several reasons. Kolodny suggests the psychological value of the archetypal Mother Earth, that there was "a need to experience the land as a nurturing, giving maternal breast because of the threatening, alien, and potentially emasculating terror of the unknown" (9). She speculates that by making "the new continent Woman was already to civilize it a bit, casting the stamp of human relations upon what was otherwise unknown and untamed" (Kolodny 9). These psychological motives combined with "historical accident," or the "discovery of a new continent [at a time of] political oppression and upheaval in Europe . . . which drove men to new surroundings" (Kolodny 146, 154). Although Kolodny resorts to gender stereotypes in characterizing the female land and the male explorer, she is right to argue that the metaphor made the New World
attractive to potential explorers, merchants, and colonists. Christopher Columbus was the first to feminize the New World when, in one of his journals, he describes the landscape as a female breast. Yet Columbus' journals do not use the metaphor as extensively as the later English expedition narratives do. The land-as-female metaphor was particularly effective as imperialist propaganda at a time when England was behind its continental competitors in the race for New World territories and markets.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, England was especially eager to expand its dominions in the New World. The English wanted to stimulate trade, increase profits, and gain an empire. To these ends, they needed to attract investors, seafarers, merchants, and colonists. The New World accounts served as publicity for these English imperial and mercantile endeavors, and one of the tools of the promotional campaign was the feminization of the New World. To understand these political and economic motives for the metaphor in the narratives, we need to look at the circumstances surrounding this surge of English voyaging. Why was England so enamoured with the New World and so intent on expansion and trade at this time, considering that Columbus had discovered America more than a half century previously? We must also examine the way in which Hakluyt's collections of New World literature functioned as propaganda for English voyaging, and, more importantly, the way in which the individual accounts of English expeditions hinge upon the metaphor of the land-as-female.
English Imperialism and the Hakluyt Collections

England produced little New World travel literature until after the mid-sixteenth century when it finally launched its own major New World expeditions (Parks, "Travel" 98-100). The English were rather slow to dispatch expeditionary fleets, although they had sponsored some voyages in the wake of Columbus' discovery, for example, John and Sebastian Cabot's 1497 Newfoundland expedition and William Hawkins' 1530 Brazil voyage. But these early enterprises were haphazard and had no immediate results, at least on a national scale (Penrose, Tudor 5). It was not until Elizabeth's reign that national interest awakened fully to the possibilities of transoceanic voyaging. Until then, exploration of the Western hemisphere and the Orient had been dominated by the Spanish and Portuguese.

Historians have proposed many reasons for England's delay in its quest for empire. Charles Nowell reminds us that when Columbus was discovering America, England was "slowly recovering from a series of national misfortunes." the Hundred Years War with France and the civil Wars of the Roses (113). The wars were followed by the domestic troubles of the Tudor monarchs. Henry VII (1485-1509) ended the civil strife, but needed to establish his rule and to replenish the treasury. He was in no position to waste much in ventures across the ocean. Henry VIII (1509-1547) had only a sporadic interest in discovery, yet he did substantially increase the number of ships in the Royal Navy (but not for exploration). The reigns of Edward VI (1547-1553) and Mary I (1553-1558) were too preoccupied with pressing domestic troubles—the struggle for power during Edward's minority.
and the religious conflict during Mary's tenure—to permit any concerted national effort to acquire New World territory.

In Elizabeth I's reign (1558-1603), England became a power at sea, but even then, the nation was not as successful at colonization as its competitors. Nowell speculates that had England not been so committed to get-rich-quick schemes and privateering raids on Spanish shipping, the nation might have had "a more solid foothold" in America before Elizabeth's death in 1603 (121). Hostilities with Spain, even after the defeat of the Armada, also drew upon English resources of ships, men, and money that could have been used for New World ventures. As it was, England did not have a successful permanent colony until 1607, with the settlement at Jamestown, Virginia (after the failed attempts of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia in the 1580s and 1590s).

The key reason behind England's delay in New World exploration was its self-imposed trade limitations until the mid-sixteenth century (Parks, Hakluyt 4). The English economy, based on the production and export of wool and cloth, was fairly strong, but it depended largely on continental merchants and ships for transporting and trading its goods (Parks, Hakluyt 4). Of course, the English did travel; individually, they went to the Crusades and wandered about Europe and Africa, but collectively, they kept to nearby coasts. It is not surprising, then, that England took small part in the initial New World ventures, considering its limited mercantile interests. England was also relatively uninterested in the discoveries of other nations. Having little business in foreign waters, the English did
not need much knowledge of the discoveries, and their voyages prior to 1550 often used geographical information supplied by foreign pilots (Parks, *Hakluyt* 5). Consequently, English interest in geography was slow to develop (Crone 10).4

Ironically, what finally provides the impetus for colonization is that which the English had delayed for so long, overseas trade (Penrose, *Tudor* 6). During Edward VI's reign, several influential men promoted English voyaging—Sebastian Cabot, the scholar John Dee, and John Dudley, the real ruler of England during Edward's minority. They wanted to find a northeast passage to the Orient, so they used their influence on London's mercantile community to convince them of the benefits of expanded trade, especially the export of English wool to new markets. As a result, the first English joint-stock company formed in 1553 to sponsor such voyages, "The Merchant Adventurers of England for the Discovery of Lands, Territories, Isles, Dominions, and Seignories Unknown," or the Muscovy or Russia Company (Penrose, *Tudor* 6). This mercantile syndicate was the precursor to many other English joint-stock enterprises. Prominent among the later companies were the English East India Company and the Virginia Company, both important in the colonization of America. Mercantilism initially spurred English ventures in the New World, and mercantilism continued to be crucial to English imperialism.5

With Elizabeth's accession, expeditions seeking land and trade abounded. Ventures were led by Gilbert, Raleigh, Hawkins, Drake, Davis, Frobisher, Amadas, and Barlowe, to name several. Not all of these voyages were sponsored by mercantile companies, but all had a
common objective, profit. Profit could be gained through plunder of new lands or of foreign shipping, through new trade routes and triangles, or all of the above. Certainly, plunder and piracy were lucrative, but the English realized that their mercantile interests were best served through colonization. If England wanted to establish new trade routes and gain commodities in the competitive New World market, it had to establish bases of operation in the New World, hence, colonization. The motives of mercantilism and imperialism were thus united in the initial English attempts at exploration and colonization of the New World.6

As English ventures in the New World increased, particularly in the post-Armada years, the nation "developed to perfection a special variety of . . . literature—the collection of accounts of travels and voyages" (Penrose, Travel 312). (England was not the first to form such collections; other countries had their own compilations.)7 David B. Quinn contends that, ironically, this English New World literature would prove a more "original" and valuable contribution than their actual endeavors in the New World; their sphere "was not so much in action as in discussion" (World 3: 1). Quinn perhaps makes this curious judgment because of his fascination with the historical documentation—that is, the New World travel literature itself—and not with the actual expeditions. Yet there is definitely merit in Quinn's pronouncement. The English travel collections are an amazing accomplishment in their detail and scope. In a long series of reports, pamphlets, and collections, the English discussed, "with much variety but also much repetition," why they should get
involved in the commerce and settlement of the New World (Quinn,
World 1: 1). Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas are the most
influential English compilers of these accounts, but Hakluyt is their
originator. Purchas expanded and published Hakluyt's works
posthumously in Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrims in
1625. For our purposes, Hakluyt's own collections are more
significant in light of their relation to post-Armada nationalism.

The first edition of Hakluyt's magnum opus, The Principall
Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation, made a
timely appearance in 1589, the year after the Armada, and was no
doubt intended to proclaim national pride. Its story of England's
rise to maritime power, recounted in eyewitness reports of voyages,
expeditions, and sea battles, provides a "swelling prologue to the
conflict with Spain" (Parks, Hakluyt 131). Principall Navigations
(and its greatly augmented second edition in three volumes in 1598-
1600) is a notable addition to the late sixteenth-century English
literature that trumpets national glory, including Holinshed's
Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland (2nd ed. 1587), Stow's
Survey of London, Camden's Britannia, Shakespeare's history plays,
and Spenser's Faerie Queene. However, Principall Navigations not
only celebrates England, but encourages the expansion of England.
Hakluyt's collections are "the very papers of empire" (Blacker 1).

On one level, Hakluyt was an historian or, at least, a publisher
of popular travel literature that was consumed rapaciously by English
readers at the time. More importantly, Hakluyt was an advocate of
New World imperialism and mercantilism. J.H. Parry, E.G.R. Taylor,
George B. Parks, and others contend that one of Hakluyt’s principal reasons for "ferreting out and publishing narratives of voyages was to make available the best and latest information on trades and places which Englishmen might profitably exploit" (Parry 4). 11

It is perhaps difficult to see Hakluyt as propagandist because the first-hand narratives in his collections seem relatively untouched. Hakluyt made no attempt to compact the material as a continuous narrative, instead allowing the sources to speak for themselves (Parry 4). Nor did he append to his collections any "lengthy appeals to national pride or even to commercial cupidity" (Quinn, Colonists ix). Yet, according to Quinn, Hakluyt "did not object to tampering in detail with the texts," and he sometimes suppressed material that might be impolitic to print ("Hakluyt’s Use" 252). Quinn also contends that Hakluyt edited many texts to make them more effective as propaganda, calling this revision "the Hakluyt formula" (New England 55). The formula eliminates details of the journey to the New World to make the trip seem relatively easy and quick (Quinn, New England 55). In general, there is a "reticence about the course and economics of the voyage" (Quinn, New England 55). The landings are made "vivid and interesting," "even at the cost of . . . suppression" (Quinn, New England 55). The narratives are "strong in human interest," the explorers and Indians emerging as "vibrant" characters even "though they are lightly sketched" (Quinn, New England 55). The Indians are "treated not just as ethnological specimens but as lively human beings with whom effective contacts can be made"; they are rarely presented as threats to the English plans
for colonization (Quinn, *New England* 55). The pattern also lists the land's natural resources and emphasizes how their exploitation could be economically advantageous (Quinn, *New England* 55). In short, Hakluyt was sure to publish texts that were "well written, easy to read, and free of wearisome detail" (Quinn, *New England* 55).

Quinn's argument for the Hakluyt formula is compelling, but the question of how much or little Hakluyt modified the texts has yet to be definitively answered. Even Quinn acknowledges that it is difficult to show to what extent Hakluyt revised certain narratives (New England 66-67, 214n2). In order to see Hakluyt's propagandist agenda more conclusively, we should look at his Discourse of the Western Planting and extrapolate his announced propagandist motives there to his later collections.

Hakluyt presented the Discourse to Queen Elizabeth as an appeal for investment in Raleigh's first Roanoke colony in 1584. Its object is expressed in the section, "Certain reasons to induce Her Majesty and the state to take in hand the Western Voyage and the planting therein." As a whole, the Discourse is an argument for colonial expansion and a glowing prospectus of America. Hakluyt the historian briefly outlines the English movement overseas before Elizabeth's reign and then urges her to complete the work; this movement was "begun at the charges of King Henry the Seventh, . . . followed by King Henry the Eighth, . . . and left, as it seemeth, to be accomplished by" Elizabeth (qtd. in Parks, Hakluyt 88). But his inducements do not appeal only to the Queen's pride. He is careful to show that America could produce every commodity then drawn by
England from Europe by including an impressive list of fifty-four "commodities," both staple and rare. He draws upon his growing collection of authorities on American fruitfulness so that all the attractions of America are enticingly displayed. More importantly, he is sure to point out that these commodities could be had for little or nothing. Hakluyt also lays out instructions for a complete colonial program in the Discourse, imagining twenty-four occupations which would exploit the fifty-four commodities, and forecasting the needs of potential colonists. The Discourse of the Western Planting is an important document because it outlines Hakluyt's own colonial theory. It reveals his political arguments for colonization, his practical ideas for its implementation, and his firm belief in the potential of the New World as a successful commercial enterprise. The Discourse, written relatively early in Hakluyt's long career, announces his lifelong imperial and mercantile intentions that are borne out in his collections.  

We have hitherto been considering Hakluyt's collections primarily as a whole, but by looking at the individual texts, we can see how the collections function as propaganda in the most obvious way. The individual papers are promotional tracts. Quinn has identified some of their propagandist devices in "the Hakluyt formula," notably the suppression of maritime detail and irrelevant chronological material, as well as the concentration on the economic advantages of exploiting the land's natural resources. These omissions and emphases are most likely Hakluyt's modifications of the texts. However, one aspect of the narrative formula that Quinn does not mention is the gendering of
the land as female. That is because the metaphor is not Hakluyt's addition, but an original element of the texts.

The New World as Mother, Virgin, and Mistress

There are many references to the land as female in New World narratives. Indeed, the very names of the places are often feminine—Virginia, Carolina, Maryland, America, etc. But the references are more than just the archetypal use of a female name or pronoun to signify the earth or nature. Even from the very first expeditions, the land is explicitly personified as a woman. Moreover, the lure of the New World is equated with the desirability of a woman. Yet we must be aware of the implications of this sexually appealing publicity. If the New World is figured as female, the act of discovery and possession of the land becomes a male act, or an "exercise of masculine power over a frail and vulnerable feminine" (Kolodny 23). The female land becomes the object of the male gaze in the New World narratives; thus, the metaphor encourages exploitation of feminized territory.

We need to recognize that different types of femininity converge in the New World reports. The sense of the female land is complex. The new found land was experienced at once as Mother, Virgin, and Mistress—with all the confusions inherent in such a response (Kolodny 150). This fusion of the maternal, virginal, and erotic aspects of femininity signifies "the total female principle of gratification" that the New World offered (Kolodny 4). Whether or not these narrative writers were wholly conscious of the sexual
implications of their portrayal of a female New World amenable to all male desire is unclear, although certainly the formulaic quality of these narratives suggests such complicity.\textsuperscript{14}

We should also keep in mind that this conflation of maternal, virginal, and erotic femininity parallels the same multiplicity of female identities that Queen Elizabeth embodied. The Queen was simultaneously experienced as Mother, Virgin, and Mistress, an oxymoronic persona that she herself encouraged. For example, in a 1559 speech to Parliament, Elizabeth presented herself as virgin, mother, and wife in response to a petition for her marriage:

\begin{quote}
Yea, to satisfie you, I have already joyned myself in Marriage to an Husband, namely the Kingdom of England. And behold . . . . the Pledge of this my Wedlock and Marriage with my Kingdom (qtd. in William Camden 29).
\end{quote}

At this point, she withdrew her coronation ring from her finger, held it up for all to see, and then continued her argument:

\begin{quote}
And do not . . . . upbraide me with miserable lack of Children: for every one of you, and as many as are Englishmen, are Children and Kinsmen to me . . . . And to me it shall be a full satisfaction . . . . if when I shall let my last breath, it shall be ingraven upon my Marble Tomb, 'Here lieth Elizabeth, which Reigned a Virgin, and died a Virgin' (qtd. in William Camden 30).
\end{quote}

Besides fashioning herself into this paradoxical amalgam of maiden, wife, and mother, Elizabeth also encouraged the pretense of admiration and attention from her courtiers as lovers. She never tired of sporting with love like Venus, although she vowed perpetual virginity as a votaress of Diana. Elizabeth was beyond the reach of her admirers; she was the "physical incorporation of the literary icon" of the Petrarchan mistress (Forster 127).
Since there have been many studies of Elizabeth's maternal, virginal, and erotic transformations of power, I need not repeat that material here. But what is new and interesting is how New World writers sometimes displace their concerns about the Queen's femininity in their reports of a female land. From the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, her parliaments and councillors urged her to marry and produce an heir. Her life of "single blessedness" was worrisome to a nation in need of a legitimate heir. Also, the political nation, composed of all men, sometimes found it frustrating or even degrading to serve a prince who was merely a woman. Many courtiers and New World writers expressed a self-contradictory attitude toward her virginity. While they praised Elizabeth's virginity (as they had to as her subjects), they expressed their disapproval of her perpetual virginity by displacing it in the conquest of lands that had yet their maidenheads. Several New World reports addressed to the Queen get entangled in this confusing web of the Elizabethan feminine. The writers encourage the virgin queen of their mother country to take and marry a seductive virgin land and plant her with colonies. Virginity is viewed as both admirable and exploitable.

Even reports written after Elizabeth's reign contend with the complexities of the land's femininity. We see a frequent conflation of the maternal, virginal, and erotic land in New World reports, and all of these variations of the feminine are perceived as amenable to masculine desire. The reports all invite the exploitation of the female land, whether she be Mother, Virgin, or Mistress.
On one level, the New World is presented as the archetypal benevolent mother. This image is particularly effective, considering that New World adventurers were often seeking a new mother country for colonists. Christopher Columbus is the first explorer to perceive the New World as female. In his journal, he describes America as "a land to be desired, and, seen, it is never to be left" (qtd. in Kolodny 11). He elaborates on the qualities of the land like a man blazoning the beauties of a woman: "It was a thing of wonder to behold those valleys and those rivers and fair springs of water, and the lands suited for growing bread, for raising stock of all kinds . . . . , for gardens, and for everything in the world that a man could desire" (qtd. in Jane 101). But Columbus is not simply praising natural beauty; he is appraising the ability of the land to produce food and support colonies. In the narrative of his third voyage, he compares the land to a female breast: "the other hemisphere resembles the half of a pear with a raised stalk . . . like a woman's nipple on a round ball" (qtd. in Cohen 218). His perception of the female land is filial. He celebrates the maternal quality of the land, as womb of generation and breast of sustenance, because he is considering the land's ability to be a mother country to settlers.

This idea of the maternal bounty of the New World is crucial to subsequent English expedition reports. Nearly every account lauds the natural abundance of the land, and this tribute sounds similar to the paean to the estate's plenitude in country-house poetry. Of course, fertility and abundance are not necessarily inherently female.
elsewhere in the same treatises, we impute femininity to those qualities in the context of the English New World narratives. For example, Sir John Hawkins' 1564 account of a voyage to Guinea and the Indies of Nova Hispania claims that there is a "marvellous store" of fruit, roots, beasts, and fowl, and that these "commodities . . . are more then are yet known to any man" (Burrage 125, 126). Sir Francis Drake praises the bounty of California in 1579, claiming that it is "a goodly country, and fruitfull soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the use of man" (Burrage 171).

Virginia especially receives a great deal of praise for its natural resources because it was the primary site for early English exploration and colonization efforts. Of course, there is a certain irony in that "Virginia" is praised for her maternal bounty. Sir George Peckham's True reporte of the late discoveries by Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1583) tells of Virginia's "great plentie" of minerals and precious stones, her "great store of Beastes, Byrdes, and Fowles," and the "fertillitie of the soile" (Quinn, World 3: 51). To testify to the abundance, Peckham lists the beasts, birds, fish, trees, fruits, metals, stones, and other resources. Similarly, Arthur Barlowe's report of his and Philip Amadas' 1584 excursion to Virginia lauds the land's "plentie" and "incredible abundance," a bounty so rich that he thinks "in all the world the like abundance is not to be found" (Burrage 228-29). Thomas Hariot also recounts the "plentie" and "abundance" of Virginia in his 1588 A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia, and John White provides accompanying illustrations of the region's flora and fauna (Quinn, World 3: 154).
Newes from Virginia (1610) by Richard Rich is yet another example of such a tribute. He lavishly praises Virginia's natural abundance in a prefatory poem:

There is no feare of hunger here,  
for Corne much store here growes,  
Much fish the gallant Riuers yield,  
tis truth, without suppose.  
Great store of Fowle, of Venison,  
of Grapes, and Mulberries,  
Of Chestnuts, Walnuts, and such like,  
of fruits and Strawberries,  
There is indeed no want at all.

Virginia is still praised in similar terms in 1622 in Edward Waterhouse's A Declaration of the State of the Colony . . . in Virginia. Waterhouse describes the land as "abounding with as many naturall blessings, and replenished with as goodly Woods . . . full of Deere and . . . other beasts for mans sustenance; and the Seas and Riuers . . . full of excellent fish of diuers sorts" (3).

New England also merits praise of her bounties. John Brereton's 1602 account of "northern Virginia" (actually New England) celebrates the "great abundance" and "great plenty" of the land, and he too enumerates her fruits, fowl, shellfish, and animals (Burrage 335, 332). In his 1603 expedition report, Martin Pring gives a similar list of New England's bounties, her trees, fruits, crops, beasts, fowl, and fish (Burrage 345).

The maternal bounty of the land is duly praised in nearly every New World account, and the praise is often substantiated by copious lists of natural commodities to be found there. The words "plenty," "abundance," "bounty," "store," "fruitfulness," and "fertility" are often repeated in these accounts, joined with the adjectives "great,"
"marvelous," and "incredible."\textsuperscript{16} We are frequently told that there is more than enough for man's sustenance and that there is "no want at all" in the New World. These paeans to the land's abundance all sound the same, and the invitation to exploit the resources is implicit in all the lists. We can also see an affinity between the praise of these new found lands in the tracts and the celebration of the native soil in country-house poems. Both types of panegyric see the maternal land as generously providing an "inexhaustible store" of food, and they blazon her many bounties.

The New World is also viewed as a beautiful virgin, although it is paradoxical to be both mother and virgin.\textsuperscript{17} Moreover, even the New World's virginity is contradictory. In some instances, the New World is a maiden who awaits the coming of her bridegroom. This virgin bride is sometimes presented decorously; she is given the respect befitting a potential wife and mother. But not always. America is also often perceived as an overeager virgin. This amorous maiden beckons and invites explorers to take possession of her many delights. She encourages the taking of her maidenhead. In some cases, she even begs for impregnation. Often, the issue of marriage becomes obscured, as the land practically seduces the explorers, or at least that is the view of the relationship put forth by the male promoters. In the case of the amorous virgin, the reports make it seem as if it is practically the explorers' obligation to take the land's proffered virginity. These titillating "invitations" had their effect, as evidenced by the many English explorers, merchants, and colonists who came to the New World.
It is important to note that this amorous virgin, no matter how erotic or seductive, is still a virgin. The narratives rarely present the New World as a brazen whore. Such imagery would hardly be enticing propaganda. After all, virgins were considered preferable as brides and virgin territories "never possessed by any Christian prince" as colonies. However, even though America is ostensibly a virgin, the reports often present the Indians as her former lovers who did not or could not appreciate her beauty and worth. For instance, James Rosier's *A True Relation of Virginia* (1605) portrays the land as a virgin whose charms had hitherto been enjoyed only by the Indians:

>a land, whose pleasant fertility bewraieith it selfe to be the garden of nature, wherein she only intended to delight hir selfe, having hitherto obscured it to any, except to a purblind generation, whose vnderstanding it hath pleased God so to darken, as they can neither discerne, use, or rightly esteeme the unualuable riches in middest whereof they live (Quinn, *World* 3: 378).

Technically speaking, Virginia is not a virgin if she has already shared herself with the Indians. But the New World's past relationship with the Indians does not present a problem to her virginal status because she was not possessed by "any Christian prince," as so many letters of patent point out in their instructions to explorers. The Indians' possession of the female land is viewed as inconsequential to English imperialism.

There are several New World narratives that get enmeshed in these conflicting notions of the female land's virginity. For example, in *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtifull Empyre of Guiana* (1596), Sir Walter Raleigh exhorts Queen Elizabeth to undertake a conquest of Guiana, emphasizing the country's virginal desirability:
Guiana is a Countrey that hath yet her Maydenheade, neuer sackt, 
turned nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not been turned, 
nor the vertue and salt of the soyle spent by manurance, the 
graues have not been opened for gold, the mines not broken with 
sledges, nor their Images puld down out of their temples. It 
hath never been entred by an armie of strength and never 
conquered and possessed by any Christian Prince (96).

Such metaphors have a "peculiar resonance" in the context of an 
appeal to Elizabeth (Montrose, "Shaping Fantasies," 79). Raleigh 
essentially encourages his virgin queen to commit a rape of a maiden 
land, but his enthusiasm for such an endeavor is contradictory. He 
is "at one and the same time, for the unspoiled quality of this world 
and for the prospect of despoiling it" (Montrose, "Shaping Fantasies" 
79). Raleigh is in the potentially dangerous position of both 
praising virginity and calling for the exploitation of such virginity 
to the Virgin Queen. We might wonder if Raleigh would use such 
metaphors to represent the plantation of Virginia, which had been 
named by and for Elizabeth.¹⁹

Guiana is also perceived as a desirable maiden by Laurence 
Keymis, Raleigh's delegate, in A Relation of the Second Voyage to 
Guiana (1596). However, Keymis claims that Guiana herself begs for 
colonization: "Here whole shyeres of fruitfull rich groundes lying 
now waste for want of people, doe prostitute themselues vnto vs, like 
a faire and beautifull woman, in the pride and flower of desired 
yearaes." The land's conquest is not a rape, but a union invited by 
the land herself. At least, that is Keymis' version. Although it is 
not specified if this union would be marital or illicit, the female 
land is seen as the wooer of the male explorer.
George Chapman also presents Guiana as a virgin in his prefatory poem to Keymis' tract, "De Guiana, Carmen Epicum," but she is not so much seductive as she is suppliant. Guiana "kiss[es] the hand" of "faire England" and "bow[s] her mightie breast" to her, with:

... every signe of all submission making,
To be her sister, and the daughter both
Of our most sacred Maide: whose barrennesse
Is the true fruite of vertue (11. 20-25).

This "barrennesse" enables England to "get, / Beare and bring forth anew in all perfection" and thereby to "become her [Guiana's] father, mother, and her heire" (11. 25-26, 29).

Keymis' and Chapman's representation of the relationship between Guiana and England is certainly oxymoronic. On the one hand, Keymis claims that virginal Guiana begs to be won by the male explorers and colonists of England and invites the taking of her own maidenhead. She desires to be a wife or mistress to masculine England. But Chapman sees the maiden Guiana being wed to the "sacred Maide" of England (now feminized and associated here with her ruler, Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen) through the agency of Raleigh, who will come forth "Bridegroome-like," and his men will with "their glad feet on smooth Guianas breast," "take Hymens lightenes in hand, / And fill each wome with honor'd progenie" (11. 24, 156, 164, 173-74). Two maidens are married to each other through one bridegroom, Raleigh, but it is Raleigh's men will impregnate Guiana. Guiana also wants to be both sister and daughter to England. Consequently, England is simultaneously sister, virgin, mother, father, heir, master, conqueror, and bride to the maiden Guiana. R. V. Young calls their relationship a "polymorphous perversity" (43).
Like Raleigh and Keymis, Chapman holds two notions of virginity at once. He praises virginity in the paradoxical statement— "barrennesse / Is the true fruite of vertue"— in deference to his Queen's virginity, yet he values and encourages the loss of Guiana's virginity, a maidenhead which she herself offers. Chapman also promotes England's own "loss" of virginity by becoming mother country to the colony Guiana. Raleigh, Keymis, and Chapman struggle here with the language of Elizabethan imperialism that is ironically figured as a masculine act of conquering and possessing a virginal female land. Certainly, the use of the image of the land as a virgin inviting her own seduction/marriage must be all the more politic in an age of a Virgin Queen.

Perhaps the political situation with the Queen was not as problematic as these convoluted oxymorons suggest, for certainly Elizabeth (as well as her successors) was not adverse to gaining territory in America. We should also remember that the first English territory to be settled in the New World was named "Virginia" for and by Queen Elizabeth, the idea of the land as a female virgin informing the choice of appellation. Despite the potential political problem of the image of the New World as a virgin eager to be won, English expedition reports consistently use the metaphor, both during and after the reign of Elizabeth, and with similar confusions of the maternal, virginal, and erotic aspects of the female land. 20

For instance, in New English Canaan (1632), Thomas Morton encourages settlement in New England by portraying the territory as a
virginal bride yearning for her bridegroom:

Like a faire virgin, longing to be sped,
And meeete her lover in a Nuptiall bed,
Deck'd in rich ornaments t'advance her state
And excellence being most fortunate,
When most enjoy'd, so would our Canaan be
If well employ'd by art and industry
Whose offspring, now shewes that her fruitfull wombe
Not being enjoy'd, is like a glorious tombe,
Admired things producing which there dye,
And ly fast bound in darck obscurity.
The worth of which is each particuler,
Who list to know, this abstract will declare (Force 2: 10).

Unlike Raleigh with Guiana, Morton does not call for the rape of virginal New England; instead, he invites prospective bridegrooms to take New England as their wife and to "enjoy" "her fruitful womb." Indeed, even the land is portrayed as eager for such a union. In short, Morton views the maiden New England as a desirable prospect for marriage and motherhood, that is, colonization. Significantly, both Raleigh and Morton see female virginity as a necessarily expendable state, a maidenhead to be taken by force or in the consummation of marriage. For Morton, virginity is "an excellence being most fortunate / When most enjoyed." Yet New England is a peculiar type of virgin. Her "fruitful womb" is already "producing" "admired things . . . which there dye, / And ly fast bound in darck obscurity." New England is already pregnant, but cannot bring her offspring to life without the agency of a husband. Paradoxically, she is both virgin and expectant mother.

Morton refers to the land as a desirable virgin several other times, but less decorously than in the prologue. The prospective bride is not described as simply "deck'd in rich ornaments," but in a more titillating way. In fact, the second book of the tract is
entitled a "description of the bewty of the Country with her naturall indowements" (Force 2: 41). Morton rhapsodizes that:

when [he] had more seriously considered of the bewty of the place, with all her faire indowments, [he] did not thinke that in all the knowne world it could be parallel'd. For so many goodly groues of trees; dainty fine round rising hillucks: delicate faire large plaines, sweet cristal fountaines, and cleare running streames (Force 2: 41-42).

By using sensuous language to describe the female land, Morton tantalizes his gentlemen readers with "her naturall indowements." Although he is ostensibly depicting the terrain by noting hills, valleys, plains, rivers, and lands for possible settlement sites, these topographical details suggest the curves and contours of the female body. We can clarify Morton's innuendos by consulting similar terms in Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis. The "dainty fine round rising hillucks" that Morton describes suggest the female breasts or buttocks. Venus invites Adonis to explore her "round rising hillocks" in an extended metaphor of her body as a park (1. 237). Similarly, the "delicate faire large plaines" could refer to either a woman's belly or back, again used by Venus to entice Adonis to roam her "high delightful plain" (1. 236). Morton's "sweete cristal fountaines, and cleare running streames" are also very sensuous, and suggestive of the secretions of the vagina. We should note, too, that Morton's description essentially follows the route of a typical erotic blazon of the female body, ending with her genitalia.

Once again, we see the sexual and economic implications of the blazon. Through his blazon, Morton offers the female land to other men and invites them to exploit her virginity through her polygamous marriage with many settlers. A feminized New England is made the
object of the male gaze, and this display incites the desire of men to "deflower" and "occupy" her. In fact, Morton acknowledges his intention to display New England to the gaze of others in his "Epistle to the Reader." He contends that others "have laboured to keepe . . . the Reall worth of that eminent Country concealed from publike knowledge," but he has "in this discourse layd open" the territory (Force 2: 5-6). Although he initially presents New England as a bride in need of a groom, Morton eroticizes the female land in a tantalizing blazon of her parts. His praise of her beauty turns into an appraisal. Morton merchandizes her commodities by advertising them through the blazon. He promises to "declare" the "worth" of her "each particuler," as if New England were some sort of a mail-order bride offered to gentlemen readers back in England.

E. W. Gent's *Virginia: Richly and truly valued* (1650) also uses the maternal, virginal, and erotic aspects of the female land as propaganda. Gent repeatedly identifies Virginia as a maiden throughout his narrative; she is an "excellent Virgin," "a Virgin Countrey, so preserved by Nature," "this amorous Virgin," our most glorious and happy Mayden," and "the incomparable Virgin" (Force 3: 19, 27, 42, 50). But he is not just playing on the name "Virginia." Her soil is "virgin and unexhausted," and "her unwounded wombe full of all those Treasuries" because it is "unwounded by the Plough-shares" (Force 3: 11, 50, 19). Curiously, Virginia's womb is not empty, as we would expect of a virgin; rather, she is "full" of "Treasuries." She is not necessarily pregnant, however. In the context of the metaphor, Gent means only to show that Virginia's loam
has not been plowed or overcultivated.

Gent's emphasis on the land's virginity is an implicit invitation to take her maidenhead, and his enthusiasm is akin to Raleigh's duplicity regarding Guiana. Gent celebrates Virginia's maidenhead at the same time he advocates its despoilation. When Virginia is planted with seed, presumably that of the male colonists, Gent promises that her soil will be "courted" by "gentle winters," and that "warne springs" will "marry [the seed] to perfect Masculine Ripeness" (Force 3: 11, 46). The sun "heere casts his auspicious Beames, and . . . courts the bosome of this his particular favourite [Virginia], hastening and disposing its wombe for ripe productions, which salute him in an absolute perfection" (Force 3: 27). These metaphors seem a bit strange in an appeal to potential colonists to plant the female land. It sounds as if male settlers must compete with the masculine sun to impregnate Virginia. However, as Carolyn Merchant explains, in the Renaissance, "the marriage and impregnation of the female earth by the higher celestial masculine heavens was a stock description of biological generation in nature. The movement of the celestial heavens produced semen, which fell in the form of dew and rain on the receptive female earth" (16). Merchant quotes Copernicus from On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres (1543) to show that sunbeams were also viewed as semen: "Meanwhile, the earth conceives by the sun and becomes pregnant with annual offspring" (16). What Gent is doing, then, is fusing the archetypal idea of Mother Earth with an erotic invitation to male colonists to sow the virgin land.
Gent focuses on Virginia's breasts too: "The Rivers . . . every way glide in deepe and Navigable Channels, betwixt the breasts of this uberos Countrey, and contribute to its conveniency, beauty and fertility" (Force 3: 11). She is "rich-bosomed" (Force 3: 19). He emphasizes these maternal, life-giving parts of the female body (the womb and the breasts) because he plans to "discouer in this excellent Virgin a disposition ingrafted by Nature to be Mother of all those excellencies" (Force 3: 19). Like Raleigh and Morton, Gent sees a natural, necessary progression from virginity to motherhood in the female life cycle, whether she be a woman or a tract of land. He encourages the taking of Virginia's maidenhead so that she can be impregnated and thereby maternally provide for new settlers.

Virginia should not remain a virgin land forever.

Although Gent perceives Virginia as a potential mother, he infuses the virgin land with eroticism and sensuality. Virginia will "satisfy the most voluptuous of wishes" and make the colonists "wanton with the luxury" of her bounties (Force 3: 21, 50). Gent invites colonists to "inhabit this amorous Virgin" (Force 3: 27). Her beauty is "delectable," and she "suifers no addresse to be made unsatisfied" (Force 3: 11, 46). Gent does the inviting by claiming that Virginia desires her own impregnation. Moreover, he represents coitus with Virginia as not just a function of reproduction, but as erotic satisfaction. (We might wonder how Gent knows that this virgin can fulfill such "voluptuous" desires!)

Even though Gent portrays Virginia in this titillating way, he is not necessarily calling for her rape. He explains that Virginia has
"long held downe her head in the lownesse of a desperate condition" and that "she sate desolate [in] . . . neglect and poverty" (Force 3: 50). The reason for her "desperate condition" is that she "hath suffered the imputation or injury of sterility by a non-complacency in its Savage Amourists, the abundance of perfection having put them into a satiety or incapacity of enjoyment" (Force 3: 47). Of course, Virginia is not really a virgin if she has already shared herself with the Indians. But like most New World propagandists, Gent disregards these former "Amourists" who could not appreciate her. Virginia is seeking new "Amourists" upon whom to bestow "her Dowry," and she decides to "vouchsafe the honour of her Embraces" upon the English (Force 3: 50). The use of the word "dowry" is important because it explains that Virginia is not necessarily seeking her own seduction, although Gent certainly gives us that impression at times. Rather, she desires marriage (albeit polygamous) to the English explorers and motherhood of a new English colony.

Gent creates a variety of appeals to masculine desire in his propaganda. He wants his gentlemen readers to see Virginia as a virgin bride, dutiful wife, fruitful mother, seductive mistress, and damsel-in-distress all at the same time, and he continually emphasizes the female land's amenability to satisfying all their desires. Gent uses these gendered terms to demonstrate the many economic advantages of settlement in Virginia and to encourage the exploitation of her natural resources.

Not every promotional tract encourages exploitation of the New World. Some see America as a virgin violated by the Spanish and in
need of succor. Young points to the 1582 Latin poem by Stephen Parmenius that calls for the rescue of a female America raped by the Spanish. "De Navigatone . . . Humphri Gilberti. . . Carmen" (41). (Parmenius, an intimate of Hakluyt, wrote the poem in praise of Gilbert and his proposed exploration of Newfoundland just as the expedition was supposed to be getting underway. The poem was intended as publicity.) America is personified as a distraught woman addressing her "sister England" ("soror Anglia"), reminiscent of Guiana's supplication to her sister England in Chapman's "Guiana" (246). America is distressed that the Spaniards' insatiable appetite for gold drove them to violate her ground. Once again, the vaginal orifice is equated with a mine shaft: America has been raped of her treasure by the Spanish. She complains too about the Catholicism foisted upon her and urges the English to save her. America concludes her plea by offering England what the rapacious Spaniards wanted, "the wealth and tribute of the godlike earth" ("diae telluris opes et munera." 314). In this context, she is not inviting her rape: rather, she submits willingly to coitus with a new master. Strangely, however, America's new master is her "sister England."

The Spanish are not the only ones seen as rapists of female America. By the mid-seventeenth century, when England had settled more New World territory, some writers lament the despoilation or rape of the land. The English settlers themselves are viewed as rapists. For example, John Hammond's 1656 "Leah and Rachel, or, the Two Fruitfull Sisters Virginia, and Mary-land," realizes the impact of the sexually-charged invitations to take the maidenhead of the New
Hammond complains that Maryland "hath been deflowred by her own Inhabitants, stript, shorne and made deformed" (Force 3: 21). Of course, any settlement requires one to master the land and to transform virgin territory into useful sites, such as farms, villages, and roads (Kolodny 7). Inherent in such a transformation is the exploitation of natural resources. But those who responded to the promise of the virginal New World now faced the consequences of their actions. Hammond recoils "in horror from the meaning of the manipulation of a naturally generous world" (Kolodny 7). He recognizes that New World propaganda encourages exploitation of the land by drawing upon the idea of exploitation of women. Both the land and women are victims of masculine aggression and appropriation.

Hammond's realization about the effects of this New World propaganda is flawed, however. He does not direct a lengthy tirade against the inhabitants of Maryland for despoiling her, as we might expect of an environmental activist. Instead, he creates the sense that Maryland invited her own rape, that "its extraordinary goodnes hath made it rather desired then envied, which hath been fallall to her (as beauty is often times to those that are endued with it)" (Force 3: 22). The blame is shifted onto the female land herself, when actually the fault lies not in Maryland's beauty, but in the promotional blazon that displayed her beauty. The blazon incites male desire and invites appropriation of the female body beheld in its gaze. As Parker points out, Hammond's logic about where to place the blame for this rape "recalls the promotional tracts themselves, in which the land described is said, in a barely disguised gendering,
to 'invite' all comers, when it is the promoter who is doing both the displaying and the inviting" (Ladies 141).

The Female Land as Object of the Male Gaze

Parker's observation about New World promoters as "displayers and inviters" is important because it identifies their status as activators of the gaze. The land is a female body displayed by men in order to entice other men to appropriate such a territory. The land-as-female is presented by male propagandists to an audience of predominantly "gentlemen readers" in England to encourage their investment and involvement in New World ventures. The variations of femininity—the maternal, virginal, and erotic—are not necessarily inherent qualities of the land, but those that male promoters impute to the land in order to attract their gentlemen readers. New World promoters identify and respond to the land as a woman in order to compel their readers to act the same way. Such behavior would fulfill the goals of their propaganda; readers would take advantage of the maternal, virginal, and erotic "offers" of the female land.

A certain formulaic response emerges in the descriptions of the promoters' encounters with the femininized New World. This response of the promoter/explorer to the land parallels the behavior exhibited by the Renaissance lover/poet in his encounter with a desirable woman. The explorer and the poet approach the land and the lady in a similar way. Both explorer and poet record their initial awestruck reactions at the sight of her beauty and then try to praise her. The panegyric takes the form of superlatives and, ultimately, disclaimers
about the "inexpressibility" of her beauty. But that praise is also an appraisal. The explorer and the poet capture her beauty in the blazon, which has proprietary and promotional implications. It signals the blasonneur's possession of the lady or the land. By naming her parts, the blasonneur publishes his knowledge of her body and thereby claims ownership of her. This enumeration of her parts also entices other men, as we will see in examining the elements of this formula in the New World reports.

A central element in these narratives is the sense of wonder and delight that the explorers express upon viewing the new found land. Wayne Franklin observes that "at the heart of the discovery narrative stands the ravished observer, fixed in awe, scanning the New World scene, noting its colors and shapes, recording its plenitude and its sensual richness" (22). Stephen Greenblatt concurs with Franklin, explaining that wonder is "the central figure in the initial European response to the New World, the decisive emotional and intellectual experience in the presence of radical difference" (Marvelous 14). The sight of this beauty, however, does not immediately trigger action to appropriate the female land. This rapture is a moment of stasis. The explorer is temporarily suspended before the incredible beauty as he fixedly gazes upon her.

This reaction to beauty is typical in Renaissance poetry. The beautiful woman as spectacle is a frequent motif, and the rapturous paralysis of her beholder is a common reaction to the initial sight of beauty. The woman's "visual presence tends to freeze the flow of action in moments of erotic contemplation" (Parker, Ladies 65). For
instance, the sight of the beloved leads to "astonishment and stonification" in Petrarchan lyrics, and there are many "potentially suspending moments of centripetal gaze" in The Faerie Queene (Parker, Ladies 65). In the context of New World narratives, however, we need to keep in mind those instances in Renaissance poetry when moments of rapturous suspension, once overcome, cause the gazer to act upon his desire to appropriate the female body. (Not all admirers of female beauty necessarily take such action once they regain their wits.) After all, that is the intention of New World promoters in displaying the female land to male gaze; they want to compel other men to act upon the desire provoked by the sight of such beauty.

An important example of male rapture, desire and appropriation caused by the sight of female beauty—both a woman's body and a feminized land—is in Paradise Lost. Satan's similar reactions and actions towards Eden and Eve provide an important foregrounding for this discussion of ravishment in New World narratives. Satan's initial voyage to Eden in Book 4 is comparable to a New World expedition. The explorer Satan arrives in Paradise (which Milton explicitly feminizes in his lush descriptions), and he is amazed by the incredible beauty of the place before him: "with new wonder now he views / To all delight of human sense expos'd / In narrow room Nature's whole wealth, yea more, / A Heaven on Earth" (4.205-8). He is so taken by the scene that "still in gaze, at first he stood" transfixed until "at length [his] fail'd speech [he] recover'd" (4.356-7). Recovering from his ravishment, Satan renews his desire to "conquer . . . this new World" (4.391).
But in order to conquer Eden, Satan must conquer Eve by tempting her with the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. In Book 9, Satan "spies" on Eve in her bower, just as he initially viewed Eden "with secret gaze" (9.424). But when Satan approaches Eve, "such Pleasure took the Serpent to behold / This Flow'ry Plat, the sweet recess of Eve," that the charm of her garden and especially her own beauty:

```
overaw'd
His Malice, and with rapine sweet bereav'd
His fierceness of the fierce intent it brought:
That space the Evil one abstracted stood'
From his own evil, and for the time remain'd
Stupidly good, of enmity disarm'd.
Of guile, of hate, of envy, of revenge (9. 455-56, 460-66).
```

Satan manages to recover from this ravishment, too, because "hot Hell . . . always in him burns," and he chastises himself for being "transported to forget / What hither brought" him to Eden (9.467, 474-75). He then proceeds to tempt Eve.

Interestingly, in his appeal to Eve's vanity, Satan uses the same notion of the gaze leading to ravishment—but this time the rapturous gaze does not impede him, but propels his machinations. He lauds Eve for being the object of a universal centripetal gaze. Satan asks her not to be "displeas'd that [he] approach[es] her thus, and gaze[s] / Insatiate" upon her (9.535-6). He claims that not only he but "all things living gaze on" her, and that her "Celestial beauty" is "adore[d]" and "with ravishment beheld, there best beheld / Where universally admir'd" (9.539-42). Satan's flattery is successful, allowing him to engage Eve in further conversation and eventually enabling him to manipulate her into eating the forbidden fruit. Ravishment is only a temporary, surmountable obstacle for would-be
exploiters of beauty.

Many New World explorers report a similar astonishment upon seeing the land's beauty, and they often use the word "ravished" to describe that feeling. For example, in "A Briefe and true Relation of . . . Virginia," Brereton tells of his company's delight upon first viewing the land: "comming ashore, we stood a while like men ravished at the beautie and delicacie of this sweet soile" (Burrage 335). George Percy, in "A Discourse of the Plantation of the Southern Colonie in Virginia" (1606), is similarly "ravished by the first sight" of the land (Quinn, World 5: 268). In "Nova Britannia" (1609), Robert Johnson also recounts the ravishment of his companions at the sight of a river in Virginia: "they were so ravisht with the admirable sweetnesse of the streame, and with the pleasant land trending along either side, that their ioy exceeded" (Force 1: 11). Rosier probably gives one of the most extensive descriptions of ravishment and its effects on his company:

The excellencie of this part of the River, for hir good breadth, depth, and fertile bordering ground, did so ravish us all with variety of pleasantness, as we could not tell what to commend, but only admired . . . and we all concluded . . . that we should never see the like River in every degree equall . . . . For the farther we went, the more pleasing it was to every man, alluring us still with expectation of better, so as our men, although they had great labour rowed long and eat nothing . . . yet they were so refreshed with the pleasant beholding thereof, and so loath to forsake it (Quinn, World 3: 377).

Rosier's attraction to the land reads much like a man stunned by a woman's beauty, a man so desirous of her "alluring" charms that he is "loath to forsake" her.

The repeated use of the word "ravished" in relation to the female landscape in these accounts is significant. According to the OED,
the word "ravish," as well as "rapture," "rapine," "rapt," and "rape," all have the same Latin root, *rapere*, which means "to seize, to take by force, or to rob." In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English, the word "ravish" has several meanings: "to carry away a woman by force, sometimes implying subsequent violation," "to rape a woman," "to spoil or corrupt," "to transport with the strength of some feeling," and "to fill with ecstasy or delight" (OED).

"Ravished" is thus used in New World narratives to indicate the explorers' feelings of being overcome or carried away by emotions of joy and delight. The beauty of the new found land has "robbed" them of their senses, and the gendered terms of New World exploration have momentarily shifted in the explorers' accounts of their ravishment.

The object of the male gaze is no longer less powerful than her beholder. The female land ravishes the male explorers; the explorers do not (yet) ravish the land. The land's beauty empowers her to rob the explorers of their senses, placing her in the traditionally male position of "rapist." The land is also able to stop their voyage upon her terrain—but only briefly. The land's ravishing power is overcome when the explorers recover from their initial awe and assume the dominant position of blasonneur.

After recounting their moments of suspension, the explorers then try to put into words the beauty that ravished them. However, they claim to be speechless before the strangeness, beauty, and abundance of the New World. They struggle with the rhetorical problem of how to describe a country that is "beyond compare." Consequently, their narratives seemingly break down; that is, they often resort to an old
rhetorical topos—disclaimers that paradoxically express the inexpressibility of the beauty.\textsuperscript{24} They also rely on superlatives and comparisons to known territories to depict this new land, but their efforts always bring them back to the fact that the New World is a paragon. For example, in \textit{Discourse of the Western Planting}, Hakluyt quotes John Ribault's account of Virginia, in which Ribault not only piles up the superlatives, but acknowledges the inability of even the superlatives to portray the land: "Wee ... viewed the Contrie, which is the fairest, frutefullest, and pleasauntest of all the world .... And the sighte ... is a pleasure not able to be expressed with tongue" (Quinn, \textit{World} 3: 76). Rosier also resorts to superlatives, with a disclaimer about their inadequacy, in \textit{A True Relation of Virginia}: "I would boldly affirme it to be the most rich, beautifull, large and secure harbouring river that the world affoordeth .... The beauty and goodnesse whereof I can not by relation sufficiently demonstrate" (Burrage 384, 386).

The problem of the inexpressibility of great beauty is common for lover/poets too. Many paeans commence with the poet protesting his unworthiness and inability to praise the woman's beauty adequately. Indeed, there are many Desdemonas in Renaissance poetry who "paragon description and wild fame" and who "excel the quirks of blazoning pens." For example, Sidney begins and ends the blazon of Philoclea in the \textit{Arcadia} by questioning the ability of anyone to express her beauty: "What tongue can her perfections tell / In whose each part all pens may dwell?" This "inexpressibility" does not prevent him from writing an extremely copious blazon of her body, however.
Similarly, in New World narratives, "th' essential vesture of creation / Does tire the ingener" (Othello 2.1.64-65). The writers are taken aback by the "unnameable excess" of the New World, yet they still find language to encompass her plenitude and beauty (Parker, Ladies 148). Although the female New World is initially presented as beyond "the quirks of blazoning pens," the promoters nevertheless capture her in the blazon. Wonder gives way to linguistic appropriation of the land. Indeed, the blazon is a central strategy in these works (Parker 141). Most expeditionary reports contain lists of the natural resources found in America to attest to her abundance. Such lists include animals, trees, fowl, fruits, vegetables, herbs, roots, fish, shellfish, precious stones, and minerals, as the promoters seemingly try to name every type of flora and fauna encountered on their expeditions. Sometimes the inventories are supplemented with descriptions, and they compose practically the entire narrative. Not all lists of commodities are incorporated into the narratives; often, they are appended to the ends of the accounts, with clearly defined titles of their own, and divided into various categories. Such titles usually refer to the items as "commodities," "merchandise," or "profits" "yielded" by the New World. For example, Rosier appends such a list at the end of True Relation of Virginia, entitling it "A Brief Note of what Profits we saw the Country yeeld in the small time of our stay there" (Quinn, World 3: 380). Other notable appended lists of commodities are Hakluyt's inventory in Discourse of the Western Planting and Pring's catalogue in "A Voyage . . . for . . . Virginia."
In one sense, the lists are the explorers' attempts to be scientific and reportorial in their accounts. They try to catalogue and describe all the various flora and fauna encountered on their journeys. They assimilate the exotic to their own culture by comparing these New World creatures and plants to those with which they are already familiar from home. They assign names to the flora and fauna, and in the instance of Hariot's *A briefe and true reporte* of Virginia, his lists are accompanied by John White's meticulous maps and drawings. However, these catalogues—for all their aspirations to the reportorial and scientific—are still propaganda for New World ventures. These lists are actually blazons that incite their gentlemen readers to colonizing action. Just as the lover/poet blazons the parts of the woman's body in order to praise her, so does the explorer/promoter with the land. But the blazon does more than praise the plenitude and beauty of the New World. The act of naming the parts of the lady of the landscape is a claim of ownership to the property. The blazon is an acquisitive rhetoric exercised over a feminine entity, in this case, the New World. The female New World is also advertised in the promotional tracts; her bounties are offered to all comers in the blazon. Although the New World is ironically portrayed as beyond the reach of language and description, she is yet "set forth to the gaze in a form that also carefully controls" her (Parker, *Ladies* 148). The New World is simultaneously dominated and promoted in the blazon.

As Franklin notes, "Quick gain, long-term profit, even settlement all are implicit in such lists. The idea of use, of exploitation.
lurks everywhere in the discoverer's paean to American nature" (23). Indeed, the natural resources itemized in these blazons are called "commodities," another buzz word in New World accounts. Many promoters refer to the New World's bounties as "commodities," "merchandize," or "profits," including the Hakluyts, Rosier, Hariot, Peckham, and Strachey. The word "commodities" obviously shows the attitude of these reporters and explorers towards the natural resources of the New World. That which is "commodious" is meant to be used. These blazons of the New World are inventories of stock or merchandise, and as Hakluyt notes in his list of commodities in Discourse of the Western Planting, these goods could be obtained practically for free. The potential for profit in the New World was tremendous. The New World blazons praise, appropriate, and publicize the property as well as appraise its profit potential.

The New World blazon shares more than just sexual and economic implications with the poetic blazon. Although the New World blazon does not follow a particular hierarchical movement in its praise of the land's parts (each has its own idiosyncratic movement), there is nevertheless a sense of order imposed by the blasonneur. He does not randomly describe the landscape, but organizes the information in a meaningful way by distributing it into parts, that is, in a blazon. For instance, in Hariot's blazon of Virginia's "commodities" in A breve and true report, he is careful to distinguish three parts: (1) "The first part of Marchantable commodities"; (2) "The second part of such commodities as Virginia is known to yeeld, for victuall and sustenance of mans life," subdivided into those commodities that
are "sowed and husbanded" and those that grow "naturally or wilde"; and (3) "The third and last part of such other things as are behovefull for those which shall plant and inhabite to know of, [such as building materials,] with a description of the nature and manners of the people of the Countrey" (Quinn, Colonists 49, 54, 64). Within each of these major sections, Hariot describes various subsets of commodities, emphasizing their abundance and economic worth.

Of course, one could argue that Hariot is merely trying to organize his material, and that his categories do not compose a blazon. Not every New World writer is as detailed and organized as Hariot in his treatment of the land's resources. However, Hariot's report (as well as other New World accounts) is a blazon because the fertility of the female land is its center. As in the blazon in Renaissance anatomical and country-house poetry, the New World blazon turns on the axis of the themes of fertility and consummation. Granted, there is no discernible movement toward a destination representing fertility and consummation (such as the female genitalia and the great hall in anatomical and country-house poetry), but there is a focal point to the New World blazon. The locus of fertility and consummation is the soil of the female land, which is persistently associated with the womb in the New World blazon.

Indeed, the soil of the female land is given a tremendous amount of attention in New World narratives. The soil's fertility ensured the production of the commodities praised in the New World blazon; consequently, the soil was tested by the explorers. Each expedition was expected to plant certain European grains and vegetables to make
certain that the land was amenable to English seed, and just about every New World narrative recounts or refers to these simple soil tests (Quinn, New England 14). The explorers would plant various seeds and wait to see if their efforts took root and sprouted. (Of course, such experimentation was rather haphazard. The expeditions stayed only a relatively short time in the area and usually only in the warmer spring and summer months.)

Such a sowing experiment is related in Pring's 1603 account in "A Voyage . . . for . . . the North part of Virginia":

According to our instructions giuen vs in charge before our setting forth, we pared and digged up the Earth with shovels, and sowed Wheate, Barley, Oates, Pease, and sundry sorts of Garden Seeds, which for the time of our abode there, being about seven Weeks, although they were late sown, came up very well, giving certaine testimonie of the goodnesse of the climate and of the Soyle (Quinn, World 3: 361).

In a 1607 account of Virginia, Gabriel Archer also describes his company's agricultural efforts, but their method is unscientific:

All our garden seedes, that were carefully sowne prosper well, yet we only digged the ground half a [foot?] deep, threw in the seedes at randome carelessly and scarce rakt it (Barbour 1: 100-01).

In "A True Reportory of the Wrack and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates" (1610), William Strachey relates that his company's testing of the soil showed it to be fertile, and he then admonishes that "no rumour of the poverty of the Country [be told] as if in the wombe thereof there lay not those elementall seedes, which could produce as many faire births of plenty, and increase, and better hopes, than nay land" (Quinn, World 5: 291).

Once again, these accounts sound alike. The soil is found to be fertile and is duly praised. Not every New World narrative recounts
such testing, but from the number of reports that refer to and praise
the soil as "fat" or "lustie," we can assume that soil experiments
were most likely done. Certainly, planting seeds to test the soil's
fertility is necessary when one is considering establishing colonies
in a new territory; however, it is also a highly sexual act. The
sowing of the earth has an archetypal association with sexual
intercourse, and this fact does not go unrecognized by the New World
narratives. The female soil of the New World is impregnated with the
seeds of the male explorers. America-as-desirable-virgin will
thereby give birth to new colonies. She will be a new mother
country. Hence, the phrases often used in reference to New World
colonization in the narratives—"planting new colonies," "western
planting," and "plantations"—become sexually charged.  

These sowing experiments are somewhat problematic if we consider
that in enticing other men to impregnate the New World with colonies,
the explorer/promoters impregnate her first. However, we should not
press too hard here on the metaphor of the female land, or on the
contradictory logic of the blazon that both possesses and promotes
her. The New World promoters need to guarantee the fertility of the
virgin land they offer in their reports. We should also keep in mind
that their invitations to marry and impregnate this vast female land
are sent out in multiples. The colonization of the New World will be
a polygamous marriage; she will be "occupied" by many settlers.

This planting of the New World is even more enticing because the
female land—whether mother, wife, virgin, or mistress—is portrayed
as agreeable to such designs. The land is repeatedly said to "yield
naturally" of her commodities; she is submissive to male desire. She is often portrayed as dutiful and tractable, even eager. Franklin points out that "'yielding' is, in fact, the prime act of the American continent [in these texts], the passive action by which the New World signifies its amenability to European desire and design" (107). For example, Hawkins in "The voyage to Guinea, and the Indies of Nova Hispania" (1564) tells that "the ground yeeldeth naturally" in "great store" (Burrage 125). Hariot proclaims Virginia's "soyle so fertile, and yeelding such commodities" (Quinn, World 3: 154). In "Nova Britannia" (1609), Johnson rejoices that

the land yeeldeth naturallie for the sustentation of man, aboundance of fish, both scale and shell: of land and water fowles, infinite store: of Deere, Kaine and Fallow, Stags, Coneys, and Hares. with many fruits and rootes good for meate (Force 1: 11).

Even Johnson's subtitle encourages the land's impregnation or "planting" which will render a good yield: "Offering Most Excellent fruities by Planting in Virginia. Exciting all such as be well affected to further the same."

The Richard Hakluyts also discuss the "yielding" land. They consider not only what the land now renders, but what "husbandry" can make the land provide in the future, all in the interest of increasing the stock or "yield" of commodities from the New World. For example, Hakluyt the Elder in "Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage intended towards Virginia" (1584-1585) instructs the colonists: "The soile and climate first is to be considered, and you are . . . to see what commoditie by industrie of man you are able to make it to yeeld, that England doth want or doth desire" (Quinn,
World 3: 66). Hakluyt the Younger is similarly concerned with the New World's potential productivity. In Discourse of the Western Planting, he lists the fertile soil as the first of his "reasons to induce her Majestie and the state to take in hande the Western voyage and the plantinge there": "The soyle yeldeth and may be made to yelde all the several commodities of Europe, and of all kingdomes, domynions and Territories that England tradeth with, that by trade of marchandize cometh into this Realme" (Quinn, World 3: 118).

Obviously, the "yielding" land is another significant word in New World narratives, as it is in Renaissance country-house poetry. In both contexts, "to yield" means to bring forth fruit, as in the maternal image of the earth. However, as we discussed in the context of country-house poetry, the word "to yield" in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English has other, sexually suggestive meanings which are applicable here: "to offer, present to view, or exhibit," "to give oneself up, surrender, submit, as to a conqueror," and "to give in payment, to render as due, or to pay tribute to" (OED). The notion of a "yielding" land thus supports the image of a female America willing and eager to be taken, married, and "planted." A "yielding" female land suggests her pliability and acquiescence to male domination. Significantly, however, we must remember that it is the male perception of female yielding.

Besides the sexual implications of a yielding female land, the motif of sponte sua also informs these New World narratives, as it does country-house poetry. The land gives man everything in abundance that is needed for his sustenance without industry or
effort on his part. This life of ease and plenty in the New World is attractive propaganda for colonization, and many of these reports highlight this feature of the female land. Colonists are told that they do not need to exert much effort to feed themselves, and that they will have a surplus to trade. For instance, in 1585, Barlowe notes that "the earth bringeth forth all things in abundance . . . without toil or labour" (qtd. in Wright, 109). Similarly, Edward Hayes comments that "the ground bringeth forth, without industrie, Pease, Rose, Grapes, Hempe, besides other plants, fruits, herbes and flowers, [that] . . . demonstrate sufficiently the fertility . . . of that soile" in his "Treatise, conteining important inducements for the planting" (1608) (Quinn, World 3: 177). In A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia (1615), Ralphe Hamor is also astonished by the land's generosity: "I my selfe know no one Country yeelding without art or industry so manie frurites" (22). Morton recognizes the amazingly fertile, yet virgin soil in New English Canaan—"Natures wonder, her rich store, / Ne'er discovered before"—and he hyperbolically portrays a lake that "presents" "multitudes of Fish" "to fitt thy dish," reminiscent of the self-sacrificing fish in country-house poems (Force 2: 69).

Not only do New World narratives and country-house poetry praise the land's sponte sua, but so does Renaissance New World poetry. The Ovidian motif of sponte sua enjoys a resurgence in all types of Renaissance topographical literature. For instance, Drayton's praise of Virginia's sponte sua in "Ode to the Virginian Voyage" (1606, 1620) sounds like a New World promotional tract. He celebrates
Virginia as the place:

Where nature hath in store
Fowl, venison, and fish,
And the fruitful'st soil
Without your toil
Three harvests more,
All greater than you wish (11. 25-30).

In "The Battle of the Summer Islands," Waller describes the sponte sua of the islands also known as the Bermudas:

That happy island where huge lemons grow,
And orange trees, which golden fruit do bear.
The Hesperian garden boasts of none so fair;
Where shining pearl, coral and many a pound,
On the rich shore, of ambergris is found.
The lofty cedar, which to heaven aspires,
The prince of trees! is fuel for their fires (11. 6-12).

Marvell praises the "Bermudas" in comparable hyperbolic terms, claiming that God is the source of the earth's sponte sua there:

[God] . . . makes the figs our mouths to meet,
And throws the melons at our feet,
But apples plants of such a price,
No tree could ever bear them twice.
With cedars, chosen by his hand,
From Lebanon, he stores the land,
And makes the hollow seas, that roar,
Proclaim the ambergris on shore.
He cast (of which we rather boast)
The gospel's pearl upon our coast (11. 21-30).

In the context of New World promotions and poetry, the sponte sua motif is applied to the new found land, and in country-house poetry, to the native soil. In all these topographies, the sponte sua land is feminized and said to "yield naturally" and plentifully of her body. The narratives and the poems make it seem as if there is practically no work involved at all in obtaining sustenance, either in the New World or on the English country estate. The female land gratifies all the needs and desires of her male owner; and fertility.
fruition, and submission are thereby gendered as specifically female traits. Through the motif of *sponte sua*, we can see the connection between topography and the female anatomy.

Besides signifying the plenitude of the female land, the *sponte sua* motif is also important in these narratives because it identifies the New World as Paradise. As Drayton concludes in "Ode to the Virginian Voyage." Virginia must be "Earth's only paradise" because any land that provides so abundantly without the effort and industry of man must be Eden (l. 24). Indeed, the *sponte sua* motif has long been recognized as a crucial part of the myth of Paradise or the Golden Age in the Renaissance. For example, various Renaissance poetic depictions of Paradise emphasize this spontaneous, bountiful giving of the garden of Eden. Marvell's "The Garden" extols this "wondrous life," although he is a bit sardonic:

Ripe apples drop about my head:
The luscious clusters of the vine
Upon my mouth do crush their wine:
The nectarine, and curious peach,
Into my hands themselves do reach:
Stumbling on melons, as I pass.
Ensnared with flowers, I fall on grass (ll. 33-40).

And, of course, Milton's depiction of Eden in *Paradise Lost* draws upon the *sponte sua* motif in its lush landscape:

Thus was this place,
A happy rural seat of various view:
Groves whose rich Trees wept odorous Gums and Balm,
Others whose fruit burnishi with Golden Rind
Hung amiable, Hesperian Fables true,
If true, here only, and of delicious taste:
Betwixt them Lawns, or level Downs, and Flocks
Grazing the tender herb, were interpos'd
Or palmie hillock, or the flow'ry lap
Of some irriguous Valley spread her store,
Flow'rs of all hue, and without Thorn the Rose:
Another side, umbrageous Grots and Caves
Of cool recess, o'er which the mantling Vine
Lays forth her purple Grape . . . (4.246-60).

The descriptions of the *sponte sua* New World in the promotional accounts are similar to these poetic descriptions of Paradise; moreover, the New World accounts frequently use the actual terms "paradise," "Eden," and "The Golden Age" in reference to the land. America is perceived as Paradise Regained.

For example, in his account of his voyage to Virginia in 1585 with Amadas, Barlowe views Virginia as Paradise. His impression of the Indians living there and the land's *sponte sua* suggests an idyllic existence:

We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the Golden Age. The earth bringeth forth all things in abundance as in the first creation, without toil or labour" (Burrage 236).

In "Observations . . . of the Southern Colonie in Virginia" in 1607, George Percy also specifies that Virginia is "a most pleasant Garden," so pleasant that his company was reluctant to leave "this Paradise" (Tyler 7, 16). John Smith, however, identifies both Virginia and Massachusetts as Paradise. In "The Proceedings of the English colony in Virginia" (1607–1612), Smith exclaims "what a paradise this is to inhabit" (Quinn, *World* 5: 345). He also calls Massachusetts "the Paradise of all those parts" in "A Description of New England" in 1616 (Force 2: 15).

Raleigh in "Newes of Sir Walter Raleigh. With the true Description of Guiana" (1618) also claims that Guiana is so beautiful and bounteous that "no Nation in the world could exceed it" (Force 3: 23). He concludes that Guiana then must be "a very Paradise" because
it is "so excellent in all perfections and beauties . . . everything in Generall so absolute and full of fruitfull promise, that more cannot be by man desired" (Force 3: 27). He corroborates his claim by drawing on his own experience as an explorer:

For mine own part I dare assure you, that in my life time I neuer saw or tasted more strange, more delicate, and more pleasant fruits, then heere we may continually gather in most infinite aboundance (Force 3: 27).

Furthermore, explains Raleigh, "to describe the goodlinesse thereof, . . . [the] comlinesse . . . the pleasantnesse . . . the variety . . . were to draw a Landskip of that excellent perfection, which no Art could better, hardly imitate. For truely hitherto to mine eye this Countrey hath appeared a very earthly Paradise" (Force 3: 28).

Morton arrives at a similar conclusion about New England in New English Canaan. He decides that there was on earth no equal to New England—"I did not thinke that in all the knowne world it could be parallel'd"—and he concludes, like Raleigh, that the land must be Paradise: "The Lande to mee seeme[s] paradice, for in mine eie, 'twas Natures Master-peece: Her cheefest Magazine of, all where lives her store" (Force 2: 41, 42).

Promotional tracts continue to identify the New World as Paradise well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1650, Gent argues that Virginia may "entitle her self to an affinity with Eden, to an absolute perfection above all but Paradize" in Virginia richly and truly valued (Force 3: 50). George Alsop makes a similar claim for Maryland in "A Character of the Province of Maryland" in 1666:

The Trees, Plants, Fruits, Flowers, and Roots that grow here in Mary-Land, are the only Emblems and Hieroglyphicks of our Adamitical or Primitive situation . . . they need not look for
As late as 1717, Robert Montgomery calls South Carolina "our future Eden" and "Paradise with all her Virgin Beauties" (Force 1: 4. 6).

This persistent identification of the New World with Paradise is not surprising. Besides their commercial, religious, and political hopes, many explorers and settlers yearned for an earthly paradise, and the seemingly infinite riches and possibilities of the New World satisfied that desire (Kolodny 4). However, in some cases, this equation of the New World and Paradise is more than just hyperbole. As A. Bartlett Giamatti, Louis B. Wright, and others have explained, many explorers believed that the New World was actually Eden. Giamatti reminds us of the long search for paradise on earth, not necessarily the timeless desire for an idyllic state of eternal bliss and repose, but the search for the actual Eden:

Just as Pliny, Plutarch and Strabo had said they knew where the place was located, so also the Middle Ages and Renaissance flourished with maps and treatises describing its position, now east, now west, now on an island, now behind or upon a mountain— but always remote, always inaccessible (4).

The belief that Eden was a place that still existed on earth persisted throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance. Many explorers believed that by sailing across the Atlantic they might find Paradise. Columbus was the first explorer to think he found Eden. In the narrative of his third voyage, Columbus claims that "the earthly Paradise lies here" (Cohen 221). And, as Giamatti reminds us, Columbus "was certainly not the last man to search" (4). No doubt the discovery of a bountiful New World convinced many that
they had found the Golden Land.

Regardless of whether the New World is literally or metaphorically Paradise, this association of the New World with an easeful life of riches, fruitfulness, and happiness is commonplace. Moreover, we cannot underestimate the significance of the femininity of this paradisial New World. Paradise, the female body, and the New World (or any desirable land) are part of a metaphorical triangle that informs not only these promotional tracts, but also English Renaissance poetry. For example, Donne's lover rhapsodizes in "To his Mistress Going to Bed" that his mistress is "America, my new found land" (l. 27). The equation of America and Paradise is common in the Renaissance, and that is undoubtedly what the lover has in mind when he fantasizes about sexual intercourse with his mistress. He "discovers" America/Paradise in her female genitalia. The location of Paradise or the New World in the female pudendum is the same idea examined in Chapter 2—that the sexual possession of the female body (the occupation of her vaginal orifice as mine shaft) is like gaining the Indies with its paradisial treasures.

As we have seen too, the delights of the entire female body are often compared to a paradisial garden in Renaissance anatomical poetry, for example, in Carew's "A Rapture." Carew claims that the woman's body is a "delicious paradise," and his entire description of her body-topos is Edenic (1. 60). Many other Renaissance poets make similar claims that women's bodies are paradisial gardens. But even when her garden-body is not explicitly identified as Paradise, the whole Petrarchan tradition of extolling the mistress as a garden
partakes of this metaphorical triangulation because Renaissance poetry resorts to superlatives in praising feminine charms. It is implicit in the superlatives that her female garden-body is so beautiful that it must be Paradise, the pinnacle of natural beauty.

The idea of Paradise and the female body informs Renaissance country-house poetry too. The estate is a paradisial garden as well as a desirable woman. As discussed in Chapter 1, the land of the estate gives sponte sua, identifying itself as both maternal and paradisial. The land's femininity is also charged with a subtle eroticism in the poem's lush and enticing blazon of the landscape.

The tripartite metaphor of the land-as-female-as-paradise is a significant feature of Renaissance thought. Paradise was regarded as an accessible place in the Renaissance—or at least potentially accessible—and many Renaissance explorers believed that they could discover the real Eden or the terrestrial Paradise in their travels. But if this idyllic place could not be found, one could find an existence approximating Paradise in the New World, on one's own estate, or through love and sexual consummation with a woman. All of these places—the New World, the country estate, and the female body—are feminized territories and thereby "yield" sponte sua to masculine appropriation and desire. This female gratification of all masculine desires is integral to the myth of Paradise in the Renaissance.
NOTES


2 We cannot call all documentation of the New World "literature." Not all of the materials in Hakluyt are travel narratives: also included are charters, instructions to agents, letters patent, legal records, enemy reports, letters, account books, logs, itineraries, etc. George B. Parks reminds us that Hakluyt's documents are "historical materials first, but they add up to a national record, which has been called by Froude 'the prose epic of the modern English nation'" ("Tudor Travel Literature: A Brief History," The Hakluyt Handbook, Series 2, vols. 144-145, ed. David B. Quinn, [London: Hakluyt Society, 1974]: vol. 144, 97-132, p. 103).

3 Henry VII's reward of ten pounds to John Cabot upon his return from Newfoundland testifies to his frugality. Besides this measly gift, the fact that Cabot returned emptyhanded from barren Newfoundland certainly did not encourage other Englishmen to voyage to the New World. There was no profit to be gained on either end of the journey.

4 For some sixty years after 1492, "not a single geographical work of any importance was published in England to record . . . English interest in the new age or in the science that was expanding to account for it" (Parks, Hakluyt 5). Parks cites some minor English works on geography during those years, but claims it was not until the mid-sixteenth century that the English showed any true interest in geography (Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages, New York: American Geographical Society, 1928. rpt. 1930, p. 4). William Cunningham's 1559 treatise on mathematical geography, The Cosmographical Glassee, conteyning the pleasant Principles of Cosmographie, Geographie, Hydrographie, or Navigation, is the first substantial English work on the subject. Although Glassee is an academic rather than practical tract, it marks the beginnings of the English study of geography. For support of Parks' generally correct

English cartography was also relatively slow to emerge, compared to its continental competitors. Several substantial maps were produced in medieval England (Matthew Paris' maps of the British Isles, the Gough map, another map of Britain based on the Gough map, and numerous local maps and plans), but it was not until the late sixteenth century that English cartography flourished. See Zacher, pp. 2253-54, 2464-66, on medieval English maps. The growth of English cartography in the latter half of the sixteenth century is discussed in Chapter 4 of my study.

5 These companies were not as successful as we might think. Charles Nowell explains, "A natural assumption might be that these trading enterprises created wealth in England by tapping new sources of commerce. But the facts fail to bear out the assumption. Since the companies all existed for private profit and thought of nothing but their own gain, they tried always to organize monopolies that froze trade and killed off competition. The merchants adventurers, as these overseas traders were called, proved no unmixed blessing" (The Great Discoveries and the First Colonial Empires [Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1954], 117-18). Despite these problems for the merchant companies, the incentive of potential profit remained constant in New World exploration and colonization. The propagandist narratives of the New World bear out this fact.

6 Later English colonies were founded for other reasons, such as escaping religious or political persecution, or planting the "true faith" in the New World. However, the initial English enterprises in the New World were based on imperial and mercantile motives.


8 Hakluyt and Purchas were not the first in England to compile travel literature. Important prototypes are Peter Martyr's De Orbo Novo (the first part published in 1511) and Richard Eden's 1555 translation of Martyr's work as The Decades of the New World or West India, which made available in English an account of the voyages of Columbus and his followers. See Parks' "Tudor Travel Literature," pp. 98-99, for other Tudor travel literature translated into English.
9 Hakluyt was involved in New World propaganda even earlier than the post-Armada period. He published his first collection of New World tracts in 1582, Divers Voyages, touching the discoverie of America. This work was American propaganda at a time when the Northwest Passage had not been found (after Frobisher's three unsuccessful searches from 1576 to 1578), and when the English were frustrated with the American enterprise altogether.


11 Boies Penrose contends that the timing of the publication of Hakluyt's collections shows their promotional nature (Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620 [Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1952], pp. 312ff). He compares Principal Navigations to other nations' travel collections and notices that not only are Hakluyt's "more complete than any that had preceded them; they also had a purpose in view, in that they were propagandist pleadings for the creation of a greater England overseas" (Penrose, Travel 312). Penrose corroborates his argument by pointing out that in the case of many other nations, "travel literature followed expansion" (Travel 312-13). He cites examples of Portuguese and Spanish chronicles published after their countries' holdings in the New World were already established. For instance, the "chronicles of Barros, Castanheda, and Braz Albuquerque were published when Portuguese power was even beginning to decline, while Oviedo y Valdes produced his history after Mexico had been conquered and when Pizarro was already in Peru" (Penrose, Travel 313). Hakluyt's activity, however, "took place on the eve of the formation" of the English East India Company (1600) and the settlement at Jamestown (1607) (Penrose, Travel 313). Penrose does grant that Linschoten was a "very active force in Holland," but dismisses him as propagandist because "his advocacy of a Dutch empire is hardly patent in his writings" (Travel 313). Yet Penrose does not acknowledge that the French sixteenth-century travel collections also precede their empire, and that the Italians published travel collections, but did not have an empire.

12 We cannot test the effectiveness of Hakluyt's Discourse because it was never published. Parks speculates that the document was probably read by a few of the expansionists in Elizabeth's court (probably Raleigh, Walsingham, and Leicester), but it was never mentioned by Hakluyt or his contemporaries (Hakluyt 97). Parks notes the irony that this "great statement of English imperialism" was "consigned to the archives" until only recently (Hakluyt 97).

13 Virginia and Maryland are named for Elizabeth I, the Virgin Queen, and Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I, respectively. Carolina and America are named for men, but the names are translated into the feminine variants. Carolina is the feminine version of
Charles I's name, and America is the feminine of Amerigo Vespucci, the Italian navigator. Names of countries and states usually have a feminine ending, as does the Latin word for country, patria.

14 Quinn recognizes the Hakluyt formula, but others, notably Wayne Franklin, also notice the formulaic quality of the reports. While Quinn examines this narrative pattern as Hakluyt's revisions to the texts, Franklin regards the formula from a rhetorical/linguistic perspective, apart from the question of Hakluyt's editing altogether (Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers: The Diligent Writers of Early America Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 1979).


17 The image of America as a virgin is extremely persistent and widespread. America is perceived as a virgin not only in New World narratives, but in allegorical illustrations of the continents. See Chapter 4 for the maiden America in Renaissance art and cartography.

18 For instance, Queen Elizabeth's letter of patent gave Sir Humphrey Gilbert the "liberty" to "discouer searche fynde out and vewe such remote heathen and barbarous landes countries and terrytories not actualye possessed of any Christian prince or people" (The Voyages and Colonising Enterprise of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, ed. David B. Quinn, 2 vols. Series 2, vols. 83-84 [London: Hakluyt Society, 1940]: Vol. 84: 261).

19 Robert Johnson notes Elizabeth's identification with Virginia: "According to her selfe, and the condition of her sexe, she named the Countrey Virginea" (The New Life of Virginea. London, 1612. Facsimile. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd.; New York: Da Capo P, 1971. N. pag.). Phillipa Berry goes so far as to argue that Raleigh's aim to colonize Virginia and Guiana "can be read as a desire to achieve a metaphoric political control over Elizabeth, as 'Lord and Governor of Virginia' (the title he was granted in 1585)" (Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen [London and New York: Routledge, 1989], 149). Berry's theory about Raleigh's displaced political/erotic desires is intriguing, but speculative. Moreover, for Raleigh or any other courtier to call for Elizabeth's loss of virginity in the 1580s and 1590s was rather moot. Elizabeth was well past her childbearing years by that time.
20 Many New World narratives after Elizabeth's reign use the metaphor of America as a desirable virgin, and these invitations to take her virginity resemble Raleigh's praise of Guiana's maidenhead. These metaphors persist because English patriarchal, Protestant society expected all women to marry and to have children. Female virginity was considered a dubious and unnatural way of life, not a virtue to be permanently maintained.

21 For an account of the exploitation of the New World by the Spanish, see Tzvetan Todorov, The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Harper and Row, 1984). Although Todorov reports sexual attacks on Indian women by conquistadores and Cortes's taking his Indian interpreter La Malinche as his mistress, there is little to suggest that conquest of the New World was depicted in such extraordinarily sexual terms among the Spanish as among the English. The only exception Todorov notes is the clerical defender of the Indians, Bartolome de las Casas, who says that the land must be seized "from the power of those unnaturally fathers [the conquistadores] and given to a husband [the clergy] who will treat her with the reasonableness she deserves" (171).

22 I use the Latin text and translation of Parmenius' "De Navigatione" in R. V. Young's article. "'O my America, my new-found-land': Pornography and Imperial Politics in Donne's 'Elegies','" South Central Review 4, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 35-48.

23 Parker calls Paradise Lost "a text which mediates between the realm of the male gaze and the moment of 'wonder' before a feminized New World; for Satan's whole voyage to Eden, and voyage upon Eve, brings with it all the associations of an Exodus to this Earthly Paradise or New Canaan, a voyage with a purpose not just to wonder at but also to colonize it" (Ladies 148).


25 Raleigh, Hariot, Rosier, Johnson, Smith, Peckham, Hayes, Barlowe, Pring, Brereton, and Rich are just some New World promoters who include catalogues of natural bounties in their reports.

countreys, rivers, bayes, capes, or headlands, as if they had been the first finders of these coasts; which injury we offered not unto the Spanyards, but left off to discover when we approched the Spanish limits" (Quinn, Gilbert 388). Apparently, the naming of the parts of the landscape indicates ownership of the territory, a proprietary privilege to which the French were not entitled, according to Hayes.

27 Other sowing experiments are recounted by Barlowe, Brereton, Rosier, Archer (1602 narratives of Gosnold's voyage to New England), and in the anonymous "A Plaine Description of the Bermudas" (1609).


32 See Greenblatt's Marvelous Possessions, pp. 78-79, for a discussion of Columbus' belief that he found the Earthly Paradise.
CHAPTER IV

"Discription of the . . . earth with her partes known": Surveying and Mapping the Female Land

Renaissance Anatomical Cartography

Considering that New World documents perceive the land as female, we might expect Renaissance cartography to regard the land similarly. In fact, there are several Renaissance maps of land formations in the shape of a woman's body—but the land is not the New World. Rather, these "anatomical maps" depict Europe. One of the earliest of these "cartographical curiosities" is a 1537 map of Europe in the form of a woman's body made by Joannes Bucius (Johann Putsch) (Bagrow 219). Gillian Hill explains that this map became well known through versions which appeared in Sebastian Munster's Cosmography between 1544 and 1628 and in Heinrich Bunting's 1581 Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae, or Travels According to the Scriptures (39) (Plate V). All of the versions are basically the same. The female body encloses Europe, with west at the top of the map. Spain is the crowned head, Italy the right arm in which she holds Sicily, the orb of rule, and Denmark the left arm, in which she grasps a scepter. Her breasts are the Alps. Eastern Europe forms the skirt of her dress, the hem of which runs northward from Greece. A
slightly different version is the 1598 anonymous engraving of "Het Spaens Europa" in which the countries correspond to the same aforementioned body parts except that Britain, rather than Denmark, is her left arm in which she holds a sword, not a scepter (Plate VI).

These anatomical maps are visual signs of the female body/land metaphor, but because the woman's body absorbs a whole continent, the maps are reduced to relative geographical insignificance. Instead, they symbolize various contemporary political ideas, ranging from Spanish domination and tyranny of late sixteenth-century Europe to identification of Queen Elizabeth's virgin body with England's body politic. These maps of a feminized land are not all that common in the Renaissance, however. They are merely "cartographical curiosities," as Hill calls them.

Surprisingly, despite the prevalence of the image of the female land in New World narratives, there is only one example in cartography of the New World shaped as a female body, and that map was executed more than two centuries after the initial New World explorations (Hill 41). In 1761, Vicente de Memije depicts the Spanish Empire (including the Americas) as a queen in a large symbolic map, Aspecto Symbolico del Mundo Hispanico (Plate VII). The top of the map is the east; there, the queen's crown is inscribed with the names of the parts of Spain, while above her head a dove spreads light and peace from Rome. The Americas lie across her body, with Mexico at waist level, and shipping routes to and from the west form the folds of her skirt. In her left hand she holds the Spanish flag whose pole roughly constitutes the equator.
The geographical contours of the New World are not distorted into female curves in Renaissance cartography, and for several reasons. First, detailed maps of the New World were relatively rare and therefore valuable in the Renaissance. The east coast of North America from Newfoundland to Florida was mapped fairly well in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but little accurate surveying or mapping of the interior or west coast took place before the mid-eighteenth century (Lister 109). With cartography trying to account for the proliferation of contemporary explorations and discoveries, there was no time for whimsy or allegory (whereas a continent such as Europe with already clearly defined borders would perhaps be more open to fanciful representation). The world was literally expanding, and cartography had to accommodate the changes. Exploration and acquisition of new territories mandated accurate maps and a more scientific approach to cartography. Exact maps were especially necessary because, as Norman Thrower observes, a discovery is not really made unless it is recorded with sufficient accuracy so that the place can be visited again (Maps and Man 48).  

Maps of the New World were not fancifully altered also because, at the time, a map of a new land functioned as a negotiable document or deed of title to the property. William Cunningham explains in The Cosmographical Glasse (1559), a map is "a discription of the face, and picture of th' earth, with her partes knowne." As such a depiction and publication of female parts, the map is a visual blazon, and we have seen the consequences of displaying one's property to greedy, would-be usurpers. Publication invites theft.
For example, after hearing Collatine's blazon in which he makes "known" Lucrece's "partes," Tarquin "voyages upon" and steals that land by raping Lucrece. Similarly, in the New World, the possession of a map of a new territory is a claim of ownership. Only someone who has voyaged upon the feminized land knows her parts well enough to blazon/map them.

Consequently, detailed maps of the New World were often zealously guarded. Spain was especially concerned with protecting its territories and trade routes. Lloyd Brown notes that none of the original maps or charts made by the great Spanish explorers were allowed to be engraved or printed (8). These documents were deposited for safekeeping in the archives of Seville, and only a limited number of copies were made for trustworthy Spanish captains (Brown 8). Spain even guarded the maps of its own country in order to prevent invasion. In Philip II's Spain, Pedro de Esquival's great cartographic survey of the Iberian peninsula was kept in manuscript, locked in the Escorial as "a secret of state" (Helgerson 357). Obviously, some Renaissance governments feared illegal appropriation of their maps and charts and thus limited public distribution to protect their territories. Consequently, it is unlikely that one would publish a map of any still-negotiable New World territories, even if it was distorted, for fear of inviting usurpation.

A Female America in Renaissance Cartographic Decoration and Art

Even though America is not shaped as a female body in Renaissance anatomical cartography, the continent is nevertheless figured as a
woman on many Renaissance maps. Hugh Honour relates that female mythological figures representing the four continents (Europe, Asia, Africa, and America) are often decoratively placed on Renaissance maps, usually in small vignettes in the blank spaces or corners, or on title cartouches (Golden Land 85). According to Honour, one of the first appearances of the allegorized continents is on the title-page of Abraham Ortelius' 1570 world atlas, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (Golden Land 85). America is a recumbent woman with bow and arrows and feathered hat, holding a severed head in her hand. A later instance in Willem Blaeu's world map of 1606-7 shows Europe receiving homage and gifts of natural plenty from a young, exotically-dressed maiden America (Shirley 276). This vision of America, which "condensed the exoticism, [fertility,] beauty and ferocity . . . [of the New World] in a single image," persisted in the European consciousness well into the nineteenth century (Honour, European Vision 16).

Honour expertly traces this feminized incarnation of America in cartography and art from the Renaissance to the present; therefore, I need not cover the same ground, but I will look at the highlights of his study that pertain to the Renaissance vision of America. Honour believes the first image of a female America in painting is the 1574 Giovanni de' Vecchi fresco at the palace at Caprarola near Rome (Golden Land 85). The frescoed room contains maps and portraits of Columbus, Vespucci, Magellan, and Cortes as well as allegories of the continents. America is fully clothed, holding a cornucopia of abundance and accompanied by a parrot. The personification of the
continents is based on Roman prototypes for the allegorical representation of cities (Honour, *Golden Land* 85). A more distinctive personification of America emerges in 1575 with Etienne Delaune's engravings of the continents (Honour, *Golden Land* 85). He portrays America as naked, except for her feathered headdress, and holding a bow (Plate VIII). She crouches in a hunting position, with a quiver of arrows at her side. An exotic, long-necked animal, possibly a llama, reclines submissively next to her.

Honour shows that later versions of America also use the huntress motif. In 1581, Flemish printmaker Philippe Galle depicts America as a nude Amazon with long hair flowing beneath her feathered headdress (Honour, *Golden Land* 87). A human head dangles from her hand as she treads on a severed arm (Plate IX). She is armed with a spear and bow and arrows, and a parrot follows her. Also in 1581, another Flemish printmaker, Jan Sadeler, portrays a similar America in his engraving from a drawing by Dirk Barendsz (Honour, *Golden Land* 87). America is a woman wearing only a feathered headdress (Plate X). She holds an arrow in her hand and sits beneath a tree in which parrots perch. The Sadeler figure of America was very popular and was copied on plates and tankards well into the seventeenth century (Honour, *Golden Land* 87).

Variations on America as a fierce, exotic huntress continued into the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Theodor Galle's late sixteenth-century engraving shows Amerigo Vespucci "discovering" an unclothed America who sits on a hammock (Honour, *Golden Land* 89) (Plate XI). Strange animals, including a tapir and sloth, prowl in
the forest around her, and cannibals eat their meal in the
background. Crispijn de Passe's early seventeenth-century engraving
of America follows in this representational tradition (Honour, Golden
Land 88) (Plate XII). America is nude, except for her feathered
headdress, fig leaf loincloth, necklace, and ankle bracelets. She
holds a bow in one hand and a severed head in the other as she
reclines beneath a tree. Parrots perch on the tree's branches, and
other exotic animals, including a leopard, a snake, and a peacock,
rest at her feet.

Some artists portray a less fierce America. In 1594, Maarten de
Vos envisions America as an attractive naked girl with an elaborate
coiffure crowned by a feathered hair ornament, a refinement of the
more rustic feathered headdress (Honour, Golden Land 89). She
daintily rides sidesaddle on an oversized armadillo and carries an
ax, bow, and quiver of arrows (Plate XIII). Honour believes that
America's armadillo is an attempt to create a single image comparable
to that of Europa on her characteristic bull (Golden Land 89). The
armadillo represents the exotic animals found in the New World. De
Vos' depiction of America decorated a triumphal arch for a festival
in Antwerp in 1594 and was immediately distributed in prints and
other decorative items. De Vos' image of America was still used over
a century later in various decorations (Honour, Golden Land 89).6

The image of America as a fierce, exotic huntress astride an
armadillo is fairly standard in art after the late sixteenth
century.7 She is similarly represented in ballets, festivals, court
entertainments, and masques. Curiously, Honour fails to recognize
the significance of this recurring iconography of America as a bare-breasted, feather-capped huntress who menacingly wields bow and arrows. He merely remarks that she is an Amazon (Honour, *European Vision*, 16). More particularly, however, America is a Diana (or Artemis) figure. Like Diana, America is a vigilant huntress; nearly every picture of America shows her armed with bow and arrows. Like Diana too, she resides in the forest. However, America's prey does not seem to be the animals. She often carries a severed head, a reference to the human sacrificial practices of some New World natives. Also like her prototype, America has befriended the animals. In almost every engraving, map, and painting that Honour discusses, America is accompanied by a submissive, exotic animal, usually an armadillo or a parrot. Her communion with nature is also signified by her frequent depiction as a rustic woman holding a cornucopia of her natural plenty. Most importantly, America is figured as a virgin like Diana. Her long, flowing hair is emblematic of her virginity, as is her bare-breastedness. (Her almost total nudity, feathered headdress, and jewelry parallel the costume of some native American women.) Significantly, America is portrayed as a virgin in New World narratives and in Renaissance art and cartography—so it is not surprising that anatomical and country-house poetry use this popular female body/land metaphor. However, in America's visual incarnation, she seems less eager to be possessed by the European explorers. Like Spenser's Belphoebe, America is a fierce virago, not a submissive maiden.
Mapping England: Queen Elizabeth's Body

So far we have investigated how the land, particularly America, is portrayed as female in Renaissance maps, map decorations, and other, non-cartographic art. We now examine the inverse of the visual metaphor—the female body's association with land and maps in non-cartographic Renaissance art. This visual metaphor is most apparent in portraits and other representations of Queen Elizabeth. She is continuously depicted with maps, globes, and other geographical symbols, more than any English monarch before or after her. As we discussed earlier, Renaissance political theory equates the mortal body of the monarch with the body politic of the state. In the case of the Queen, the state is feminized. We have looked at the somatic equation of monarch and state in Elizabeth's portraits that show her as the glorious incarnation of her realm. But the bond is more than that between monarch and state. The land of England depicted in maps also stands for Elizabeth and the state in her portraits. The monarch's body, the body politic, and the land/map are all interchangeable representations of England.

This connection between a nation and its geographical map may seem rather obvious to us. Indeed, we take for granted the influence of cartography on our own perceptions of place—so much so that we are perhaps no longer conscious of our own cognitive mapping and how that ability gives us not only a sense of place, but of identity. However, in the Renaissance, maps were just emerging as a way of thinking about one's country or nation (Tyacke, Introduction 18). The first detailed national maps of England were not made until the
late sixteenth century, with Christopher Saxton's 1579 atlas of the
English counties and his 1583 national map of England and Wales. Of
course, England had been mapped before, but never so well by her own
countrymen. Richard Helgerson persuasively argues that Saxton's maps
represent the first time that the English had "effective visual and
conceptual possession of . . . [their] physical kingdom," and they
provided the impetus for an English school of map-making (327).
Without maps, contends Helgerson, the English could not accurately
visualize or think spatially about the country to which they belonged
(327). Instead of envisioning the geographical outline of their
country as a sign of national identity (as we might today), they
relied on the monarch as a symbol of their nation (Helgerson 327).
But with the proliferation of national maps in the late sixteenth
century, England witnessed the development of a cartographically-
shaped consciousness of national power and identity (Helgerson 328). 8

We have considered the Ditchley portrait in terms of its somatic
metaphor of the Queen as the realm of England: now we must look at
the portrait in its cartographic context (Plate III). The map of
England on which Elizabeth stands is a symbol of the Queen, the
political nation, and the land itself. But Peter Stallybrass sees
more in the symbolism of the Ditchley portrait. He argues that the
state and the island of England in the map are like the Virgin
Queen. Sexually, politically, and geographically, England/Elizabeth
is a virgin or a hortus conclusus, an enclosed garden walled off from
enemies (Stallybrass 129). Elizabeth enclosed her own body through
her vow of virginity. The state remained inviolate by her refusal to
marry and thereby to ally with the country of her husband (many of her suitors were foreigners); and by England's defense against the invasion force of the Spanish Armada. The land of England maintained its virginity because of its geographical enclosure as an island.

Stallybrass also sees a resemblance between the Ditchley portrait and the "Het Spaens Europa" map of Europe as female. He believes the queen in the map is Elizabeth, and he points to the fenced island under her left arm which he takes to be England defending her "body" from enemies, the Spanish Armada in particular. The objective against the Spanish was to prevent invasion, thereby keeping the virgin land inviolate. What the Ditchley portrait and the "Het Spaens Europa" map share is "the conjuncture of imperial virgin and cartographic image, which together constitute the terrain of Elizabethan rule" (Stallybrass 129). In both instances, the female body is "an emblem of the perfect and impermeable container and hence a map of the integrity of the state" (Stallybrass 129).

The Ditchley portrait is also important in the persistent association of Elizabeth with cartography because the map on which she stands is patterned on Saxton's 1583 map of England and Wales, a project in which the Queen was interested. Saxton emblazoned her royal arms on his map, just as the painter placed the queen's body on the Saxton-like map of England in the Ditchley portrait. Of course, Elizabeth was not the only monarch to have her insignia imposed on maps. It was common to emblazon maps with the heraldic emblem of the monarch regnant as a sign of royal possession of that territory. The heraldic arms of patrons who sponsored cartographic projects are also
often included on the maps, but less prominently than the royal insignia. Edward Lynam explains that Saxton and his successors relied on "patrons for their work and livelihood, and that for the next two hundred years the seats and coats of arms of influential persons who paid for the map were engraved on nearly all maps printed for public sale" (British Maps 22). But we cannot underestimate the significance of Elizabeth's arms on Saxton's map. The positioning of the queen or her emblem on the Saxton map of England announces that this is her map, produced by the exercise of her power over her nation; it also claims that the land in the map belongs to the queen. Most importantly, it demonstrates that the map, the land, and the queen's body are all interchangeable national symbols of England.

Elizabeth appears too on the frontispiece to Saxton's atlas of England and Wales. Wielding scepter and orb, the Queen is enthroned and flanked by the figures of Geography and Astronomy, who hold a globe and an astrolabe respectively. Her royal arms (so prominent on all of Saxton's county and national maps) form the portico above her head, and beneath her throne are verses celebrating the accomplishments of her reign. In fact, the Queen's image composes the entire frontispiece: the page bears no title, nor is there a reference to either Saxton or to his patron, Sir Thomas Seckford. By her domination of the title-page, Elizabeth is shown as Saxton's patron (although Seckford actually financed the project). The title-page also demonstrates the ideological association of the Queen with the maps (Harley 38). Elizabeth is a symbol of Britain, just as Saxton's maps represent British territory.
The frontispiece to Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612, 1613, 1622) also connects Elizabeth's body with the land and the map of England (Plate XIV). In the engraving, the female personification of Britain, Albion, presides on her island throne. She is a long-haired maiden draped in a cloak which exposes her left breast. Her garment is decorated with rivers, trees, mountains, and towns in a map-like design. Around her neck is a triple row of pearls, and pearls dangle from her ears. She holds a scepter and (instead of an orb) a cornucopia of fruit and flowers. She is seated on a mound under an arch inscribed "Great Britaine," and behind her the sea stretches to the horizon with ships and sea monsters moving across it. Elizabeth is associated with England and its map here because this depiction of Albion is reminiscent of the Virgin Queen. Not only do Albion's iconographical details suggest Elizabeth, but the entire frontispiece is comparable to the Ditchley portrait in layout and feeling (Corbett and Lightbown 37). The position of Albion on her isle surrounded by the sea is like Elizabeth on her island of Britain in the portrait: both women encompass the islands with their bodies. Also, the backgrounds of the portrait and the frontispiece both have a feeling of "mapness." The Queen stands on a map, and Albion's ocean with ships and sea creatures recalls a conventional Renaissance map which often incorporates such figures in its waters. The map design of Albion's robe is similar to the topographical signs in Saxton's atlas of England, for which Elizabeth granted him a coat of arms. And, of course, Albion's exposed breast, flowing hair and pearls are traditional signs of virginity. Once again, Elizabeth's female body
is joined, through cartographic metaphor, with the land of her realm.

The conjunction of Elizabeth's body and cartography represents not only English nationalism, but imperialism. One of the primary items of imperial iconography in the Queen's portraits is the orb of rule, a sphere surmounted by a cross representing monarchical power and justice (Strong, Portraits 22). (The orb is not exclusive to Elizabethan iconography; other monarchs, before and after Elizabeth, hold the orb as a sign of imperial power.) The sphere suggests the globe of the world, so that when Elizabeth holds the orb, it symbolizes both her royal sovereignty and her universal power. Even though she did not literally rule the world, it was common to praise her by extending her power to such proportions. Elizabeth often grasps the orb of rule in her portraits. Some prominent instances are the 1559 Coronation portrait, the 1569 painting by Hans Eworth of "Queen Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses," and William Rogers' engravings "Eliza Triumphans" and "Queen Elizabeth as Rosa Electa" (c. 1560-1600). She even holds the orb in her depiction on the coins of her reign (Stenton, frontispiece).

Elizabeth is often depicted, too, with a terrestrial globe to illustrate her imperial power. On the frontispiece to Hymne (1584) by George de la Mothe, a laudatory poem in the Queen's honor, Elizabeth holds an orb of rule and is seated on the globe of the world between the sun and the moon, with rays emanating from her head (Strong, Portraits 105) (Plate XV). As in the Ditchley portrait, her voluminous dress almost entirely conceals the globe so that her body itself becomes the globe. De la Mothe's frontispiece celebrates
Elizabeth's aspirations to imperial power.

As the Ditchley portrait enlarges the national map, the frontispiece to *Hymne* distorts the size of the globe in relation to the Queen's body so that the metaphorical interchange between the two entities is clear. Usually, however, the terrestrial globe is more in proportion to Elizabeth's body in the portraits; it is sized more like the standard, "beach ball" globe used today. For example, in the Armada portrait, a small globe functions as an imperial orb of rule (Plate I). Elizabeth clutches the globe in her right hand, as she would the orb, yet her imperial hand extends to grasp all of North America. This gesture of New World appropriation prefigures the Elizabethan imperialism exhibited in the 1603 edition of Emery Molyneux's 1592 terrestrial globe by Jodocus Hondius. Hondius places the Queen's heraldic arms assertively across the continent of America on his globe (Hale 21). The positioning of the Queen's hand over the New World in the Armada portrait is just as deliberate as the royal insignia on the Molyneux/Hondius globe. The entire portrait attempts to establish Elizabeth as a "mighty empress with . . . universal pretensions," and the globe is just one of the imperial symbols in the portrait (Strong, *Cult* 154).

Other portraits that include globes are not as blatant in displaying Elizabeth's imperial designs. In the Sieve portrait (c. 1580), she is celebrated as "a Roman vestal virgin destined for imperial greatness," but her imperialism is understated (Strong, *Cult* 11). The Queen, garbed in a black costume patterned in a Roman style, and carrying a sieve (a symbol of virginity), dominates the
portrait, but over her left shoulder is a globe in the background (Plate XVI). The globe is turned so that we can see the east coast of the Americas, the Atlantic Ocean, and the west coasts of Europe and Africa, including part of the British Isles. We can also see English ships, bound on voyages of discovery, sailing the ocean on the globe. The Sieve portrait praises Elizabethan imperialism, but less ostentatiously. The Queen is not clutching the globe as she does in the Armada portrait, yet the round shape of the sieve in her left hand does suggest a globe or orb.

We might be tempted to attribute Elizabeth's frequent depiction with maps and globes in Renaissance art wholly to the female body/land metaphor. The rule of a feminized land by a queen was probably an attractive correspondence to artists who equated the monarch and the realm in their panegyrics to Elizabethan rule and the new nationalism. However, the reason for the association of Queen Elizabeth and cartography has less to do with her femininity than with her royalty. Maps and globes were (and still are) spatial emblems of power and property. Only the monarch could rightly be shown as embodying the map of England or its imperial territories, regardless of the monarch's gender. Yet there are not as many cartographic signs in the portraits of the male English Renaissance monarchs who preceded and followed Elizabeth (Henry VIII, Edward VI, James I, and Charles I) as there are in her portraits. This relative absence can be explained not only by the pervasive female body/land metaphor in Renaissance thought, but by the fact that maps and globes were particularly in vogue during Elizabeth's reign. It was during
her royal tenure that English cartography and globe-making began to flourish. Despite the popularity of cartography and globes in the Queen's iconography, then, such images were motivated more by politics than gender. The association of the monarch's body (regardless of gender) with maps and globes is important to the national identity because it is an outgrowth of the Renaissance political theory that equates the monarch's body natural with the body politic. The monarch's body, the body politic, the map, and the land are all national symbols.

Science and Metaphor: Renaissance Cartography and Surveying

In considering the prevalence of the female body/land metaphor in Renaissance maps and art, we should not be surprised that anatomical and country-house poetry often uses cartographic and surveying metaphors to describe their feminized properties. Maps were ubiquitous in Renaissance England. The English took great delight in maps, "beautifying their halls, parlors, chambers, galleries, studies, or libraries with them" and "reproducing them in tapestries, book illustrations, painting, and playing cards" (Helgerson 332). They also often "allude to them metaphorically in poems, even bringing them on stage, as Shakespeare does in 1 Henry IV and in King Lear" (Helgerson 332). Helen Wallis accounts for this popularity of maps and mapping metaphors by observing that the era fostered "a growing awareness of the physical environment [both the national landscape and the world] which was reflected in art and literature" (Foreword xiii).
Significantly, the sciences of cartography and surveying were establishing themselves in Renaissance England at about the same time as anatomical and topographical poems were concerning themselves with the configuration of "surfaces." Certainly, there is a correlation between poetry and science here that warrants investigation and that goes beyond a mere parallel development in time. The impulse to know and publish the parts of the female body and the country estate in poetry is similar to the impulse to survey and map the land in science. The blazon is like the map and the survey, in that they are all interested in enumerating and laying out the parts of a whole so as to make sense of the proportions and relations of those parts—and to achieve a mastery over the blazoned, mapped, and surveyed objects. Indeed, the blazon, the map, and the survey all epitomize the Renaissance desire to know and display the parts of things, to dissect and understand the components of a complex whole. (Granted, the blazon formula existed prior to the Renaissance; however, it received the most attention and use in the Renaissance and thus can be considered a phenomenon representative of that era.) We might also call this propensity "anatomy." Many Renaissance prose works were conscious of this common mode of thought and were thereby entitled "An Anatomy of . . . ." Of course, it is no accident that the actual science of anatomy was also developing at this time, the literal manifestation of the blazon in its dissection of the human body. The entire age was given over to this idea of distributio, a propensity which manifests itself in various modes, both verbal and visual.
However, the distinction between these verbal and visual modes of representation is not always as clear as one might think. In their attempt to depict the configuration of the surfaces of the land and the female body, Renaissance poetry and topographical science encounter the same issue of representation, what J. B. Harley calls the "intractable problem of duality," or the interdependence of written language and graphic image (23). We can begin to understand this duality by first considering briefly its manifestation in cartography and surveying in Renaissance England.

Originally, maps and surveys were written accounts, not graphic illustrations of the landscape. Gradually, verbal description was replaced by visual image as the primary mode of representing the land. Although R. A. Skelton calls the thirteenth century "the first great turning point in modern cartographic history" because of "the recognition that a graphic design will communicate geographical relationships more efficiently than a written document." (referring to Matthew Paris' "itinerary" or road map in strips in 1250), it was not until the latter half of the sixteenth century that maps were regularly drawn and used in England (7). Even then, the evolution from word to picture in English cartography was still incomplete, the map being especially "slow to free itself from written modes" (Skelton 7). English Renaissance maps show an unremitting reliance on written topographical descriptions. For instance, Harley notes that "many of the maps of Tudor and Stuart England depend on written captions—to say nothing of place-names—for part of the meaning to
be triggered in the minds of their users" (23). Moreover, these maps often include elaborate title cartouches detailing the places depicted. Of course, any map needs some captions or place-names to elucidate its meaning. Written identifiers on maps would have been particularly important in Renaissance England because maps were still a novelty. The English were just beginning to visualize the cartographic outlines of the land; consequently, many land formations were not yet readily recognizable or understood without explication.

Nevertheless, English Renaissance maps are especially linked to extensive verbal descriptions, beyond simple captions and place-names. The national and county maps of prominent English Renaissance mapmakers, such as Saxton, John Norden, and John Speed, are complemented by the many "descriptions" or "chorographies" of the national landscape that proliferated during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In a sense, the chorography is the verbal equivalent of a map, in that it identifies the physical conformation and features of a region. The chorography fuses history and sometimes myth with topography in its panegyric description of the land. For instance, Norden's unfinished 1590s series of county maps, Speculum Britanniae, includes county chorographies or topographical descriptions. Philip Symonson's map of the county of Kent is accompanied by William Lamberde's second edition of his Perambulation of Kent (1596). Other chorographies include William Harrison's "The Description of Britaine" (1577), which functioned as the "map" in the first edition of Holinshed's Chronicles since Saxton's atlas was unavailable; William Smith's 1588 "The particular
description of England" and "A brief description of the famous Cittie of London" in manuscript; John Stow's *Survey of London* (1598, 1599, 1603, 1618, 1633); and William Camden's *Britannia*, with maps based on Saxton's and Norden's (1586, 1600, 1607, 1610, 1637).

Renaissance poets also celebrate the national landscape in poetic chorographies. In Book 4 of *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser sings of the marriage of the Thames and the Medway, a celebration very close in form to its contemporary, Camden's fragmentary "De Connubia Tamae et Isis," or "The Marriage of Tame and Isis," printed in various editions of *Britannia* (Herendeen, "Camden" 150). William Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals* (1613, 1616) follows in the Spenserian tradition of praising the English topography. Drayton's *Poly-Olbian* is an extensive verse chorography of Britain which includes eighteen county maps. We can even call country-house poetry chorographies of particular regions in the English landscape. Just as national chorographies are "topographically ordered set[s] of real-estate and family chronicles" in which "county gentry could find their manors, monuments, and pedigrees set forth," country-house poems also chronicle an individual gentry family and its estate, setting forth that family's manor, monuments, and pedigree (Helgerson 349). Moreover, these poems try to show that the individual estate and family history are integral to English national history.

Indeed, the entire era concerned itself with the national landscape. As A. L. Rowse astutely comments, "The most brilliant discovery of a brilliant age was the discovery of their own country" (31). These chorographies or verbal descriptions of the land
abounded in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, even though maps were available to perform basically the same function. The number of these prose and verse chorographies attests to the fact that verbal descriptions had not lost their appeal or power to evoke the landscape in Renaissance England, and that maps, despite their ubiquity, were not yet the primary mode of topographical depiction. The visual had not yet freed itself from the verbal.

We see a comparable relationship between the visual and the verbal, the map and explicatory text, in the English endeavors in the New World. Many of the English New World narratives discussed in the previous chapter are supplemented with maps. For instance, Hariot's *A brief report of the new found land of Virginia* (1588) complements a map of the area by John White. Raleigh includes a manuscript map of Guiana in *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana* (1596). William Strachey's "A True Repertory of the Wrack and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates" (1610) is accompanied by Sir George Somers' manuscript map of the Bermudas. The large collections of New World narratives also include maps. The Wright-Molyneux world map illustrates Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, and Purchas' *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas, His Pilgrimes* contains maps too.

The interaction of the visual and the verbal is apparent in smaller scale maps as well, for instance, those of individual English estates. Initially, graphic maps were not made of English estates; instead, written surveys were done (Skelton 7; Bagrow 143). Although surveying is necessary to mapping, they are not exactly the same enterprise. A survey is the determination and delineation of the
form, extent, and position of a tract of land by taking linear and angular measurements; and often these calculations and measurements are in verbal rather than visual form. However, early Renaissance surveying (before 1540) had little to do with actual mapping (Eden 69). Surveying had not yet developed into the mathematical figuring of the land's layout, proportions, and area. Early surveys were merely "copies of manorial records" or written inventories of an estate's topographical features and manmade structures done by land stewards (Eden 68). These surveys were concerned with "carrying out audits as valuations, not accurate land measurements" (G. L'E. Turner 93). It was only later in the sixteenth century that rectilinear diagrams and maps of individual estates, based on the actual mathematical science of surveying, were regularly drawn.

However, these new local maps and estate plans did not stand alone; they were still supplemented with the traditional written descriptions or "surveys" of the landed property (Smith 71). These descriptions detail "field names, acreages, land holdings and use, buildings, rural industry, and communications" (Smith 71). John Walker's 1586 map of the manor at Boxted in Essex, accompanied by an extensive written survey of the estate's features, is just one of many map/text combinations in the sixteenth century. and this practice of providing a map and a text of the estate continued well into the seventeenth century. Sarah Tyacke cites the example of Samuel Walker's 1622 map of the manor estate of Garnetts in Essex owned by Sir William Fitch (Introduction 14). The detailed map of the estate is not autonomous; rather, the intentions of the mapmaker.
are made plain in the title-panel, which includes comprehensive information about "The Chappell, Mansionhouse and other tenements, in their true places, and order" as well as "Everie Gatehouse, Barnes, Stables . . . Orchards, yarde, Gardens, highwaies, Driftwaies, ponds, Pathes . . . Gates, Bridges. And every particuler Fieilde, Woods, Springs, Hedgerowes, placed in their right Formes" (Tyacke, Introduction 14). It is not that the mapmaker distrusts the ability of his map to impart information visually; rather, he realizes the interdependence of the verbal and the visual. No one mode of communication—verbal or visual—can portray the landscape as effectively as the mutually reinforcing combination of map and text.

As we can see, the movement from verbal expression to visual image was not complete in English Renaissance cartography and surveying. There was an integral fusion of word and picture in topographical science at this time that is reflected in Renaissance anatomical and country-house poetry. Granted, poetry is verbal expression, and these anatomical and country-house poems are not accompanied by pictures or maps of women or country estates. We might then argue that these poetic genres are restricted to the verbal mode of representation: they cannot make the transition from language to picture in their representation of "surfaces," as maps and surveys eventually do. Nevertheless, the poetry does rely on visualization, in that it tries to describe a place—the female body or the country estate—so vividly that the reader can see it. In many ways, anatomical and country-house poems function as explicatory
texts for the implied images of the female body and the country-house estate.

Renaissance anatomical and country-house poems are able to evoke these visual images through a variety of rhetorical devices, particularly the metaphors of mapping and surveying. These metaphors are most readily apparent in Renaissance country-house poetry since its subject is the land. Indeed, the poems read like the original written surveys that detailed the owners' estates and holdings. Like the early surveys, country-house poems are not so much concerned with land measurements as they are with carrying out "audits as valuations" of the estates (G. L'E. Turner 93). As we have discussed, these "valuations" occurring in country-house poetry are not only economic inventories of the buildings, lands, and natural products of the estates, but moral appraisals of the families who own the estates. Country-house poems are also similar to the later title-panels on estate maps. These title-panels detail "field names, acreages, land holdings and use, buildings, rural industry, and communications," just as country-house poems do (Smith 71). The title-panel from Walker's 1622 map of the manor of Garnetts sounds remarkably like a country-house poem that blazons the "Mansionhouse and other tenements, in their true places, and order" as well as "Everie Gatehouse, Barnes, Stables . . . Orchards, yardes, Gardens, highwaies, Driftwaies, ponds, Pathes . . . Gates, Bridges. And every particular Fielde, Woods, Springs, Hedgerowes, placed in their right Formes" (Tyacke, Introduction 14).
The functions of the country-house poem and the estate map are also alike. Both poem and map are "topographical inventories, itemizing fields, land use, settlement patterns and form, ownership and tenancy" (Harley 37). Like a map, the country-house poem deals with the complexity, proportions, and layout of a topographical surface, and orders its parts into a comprehensible whole through the blazon. We have discussed how the tour of the country estate in the poem follows a certain hierarchical movement in the blazon/map, usually from the outer limits of the surrounding land to the interior of the manor house. The tour follows definite geographical coordinates around the estate. The poem "surveys" and "maps" the estate through the blazon. For example, Donald E. Wayne argues that "To Penshurst" is itself "a kind of map" (82). The progression of the catalogue of the estate's attributes is cartographically ordered, and Wayne demonstrates that the major points identified in the poem can be traced from north to south on an actual map of the Penshurst estate (84). Similarly, the country-house poems on Appleton, Wrest, Saxham, and Durrants "map" the territories of those estates. Their poetic tours follow identifiable geographical coordinates which can be plotted onto actual estate maps.

Most significantly, the country-house poem, the estate map, and the house itself each function as a "seigneurial emblem, asserting the lord of the manor's . . . power within the rural society" (Harley 37). The emblems of poem, map, and house are all heraldic signs or "badge[s] of his local authority" (Harley 37). Just as the country-house poem uses the heraldic blazon and the actual manor house is
covered with heraldic decoration, the estate map also includes heraldry. Family coats of arms are usually added within the margins of the estate map. But these coats of arms are more than "mere decoration, for the right to these heraldic emblems also incorporated an individual's right, rooted in the past, to the possession of the land" (Harley 37). The poem, the map, and the house are all signs of the social, political, and economic "estate" of the master.

The motives behind the creation of the country-house poem and its contemporary estate map are also similar. The country-house poet is usually addressing the owner of the estate. By praising the estate's plenitude and beauty, the poet is commending the virtue of the owner of the property. This poetic encomium is a recognition of the owner's current generosity and a plea for his continued patronage of the poet himself. Similarly, the local mapmaker depended on the estate owner for patronage of his art. As David Smith explains, "the representation of country houses, parks and estates was intended not only to designate land-use, but also to curry favour with the wealthy in the hope that they would provide a ready market for the map; many cartographers ingratiated themselves . . . further by actually noting the name of the owner beside his house or park" and by emblazoning the patron's heraldic insignia on the map (43). The estate mapmaker also elaborately decorated his map—with an elegant title cartouche, border, scale, compass rose, vignette of the owner's home, and motifs of the local countryside and contemporary life—in an effort to please the owner, who expected both a practical plan and a work of art (Smith 71). The functions of the country-house poem
and its contemporary estate map are thus similar; both are instruments in the charting of ideological, as well as geographical, boundaries. In representing the layout of the country-house estate, both poem and map assert the seigneurial authority of its owner and advocate the maintenance of this social structure based on land.

Because the female body is often metaphorically equated with the land in Renaissance poetry, it is easy to see how mapping metaphors come into play as the woman's anatomy is transformed into topography. The blazon of her bodily estate, like that of the country estate, is cartographically ordered in that it follows a logical progression of geographical coordinates from her head to her toe (or sometimes vice versa). The blazon thus surveys and plots the landmarks of the female body. For example, this sense of "mapness" is most apparent in Donne's "Love's Progress." In fact, Donne's speaker identifies his blazon as a "map" or chart of the potentially dangerous voyage upon the territory of the female body—although we should note here that this "map" is really a set of verbal directions and not a diagram (1. 75). Nonetheless, the poem is able to evoke visual images through its mapping metaphors. As we have seen, Donne's persona details two routes—descent and ascent—on the female body to her "centric part," using geographical and navigational terms to guide fellow voyagers to their destination and to prevent them from shipwreck. Donne's lover/cartographer plots both general locations (her forest hair, her first meridian nose, the suns of her eyes, her hemisphere cheeks, etc.) and specific, named places on her
body (the Islands Fortunate of her lips, the oracle at Delphos in her mouth, the strait Hellespont between the Sestos and Abydos of her breasts, her Atlantic navel, and her India or genitalia). Of course, we cannot actually follow this set of directions on a real map of the world from his presumable starting point, England, to his named destination, India. The geographical coordinates are skewed by the metaphor's need to match appropriate topographical places with the parts of her anatomy. However, in the logic of the poem, Donne's speaker assumes that his routes can lead brave explorers to "India." Apparently, he has already extensively explored and mapped the female body and thus shares his knowledge—or treasure map of the region—with other male adventurers in their passage to India.

Donne's speaker also identifies the female genitalia as a New World territory of great riches, namely "America." in "To his Mistress Going to Bed." but he is not concerned with providing a treasure map of the lady's anatomy. He uses only a few topographical metaphors for her body prior to his "discovery" of her "America," although he is nonetheless influenced by cartography in his depiction of her. But instead of a flat map of her body, we get the sense that she is spherical like a globe, and he wants to pinpoint America on that globe. I don't think Donne wishes to suggest she is fat like the spherical Nell in The Comedy of Errors, however. He merely wishes to identify her as a new "world" open to exploration and appropriation. The very first command the lover gives her equates her with the globe. He tells her to "off with that girdle, like heaven's zone glistening" in order to reveal the "far fairer world"
underneath her clothing (11. 5, 6). Donne is comparing her bejeweled girdle to the belt of Orion that encircles the earth or the furthest circle of the Ptolemaic universe with its inlay of fixed stars. Her body is thus the globe of the earth itself, a "world" which Donne's lover is intent on exploring and discovering. Asking for his letters of patent or "licence" from her to embark on his voyage of discovery, he assumes such permission and goes about "roving" all over her "world" (the directions of "before, behind, between, above, below" suggesting a roundness to her body) (11. 25, 6, 26). After circumnavigating her "world" with his hands, Donne's persona finally "discover[s]" "America," his "new found land" (11. 30, 27). And it is here that he places his hand and his seal of ownership on his "kingdom": "where my hand is set, my seal shall be" (11. 28, 32).

In a sense, this image of the lover's hand placed possessively on "America" is reminiscent of Queen Elizabeth's territorial gesture in the Armada portrait, where her hand covers America. This seal of ownership placed on America is reminiscent of another globe too, the 1603 edition of Emery Molyneux's 1592 terrestrial globe by Jodocus Hondius, on which the Queen's heraldic arms are displayed assertively across the continent of America. This sexual conquest of the new "world" of the mistress in Donne's poem thus mirrors England's own imperial appropriation of the New World. Of course, Elizabethan imperialism is complicated by the fact that the Queen was a woman, not a man, claiming a feminized territory. However, as we discussed in relation to New World narratives, Elizabeth's agents in the New World were male, and these explorers (such as Raleigh and Gilbert)
were figured in the convoluted lexicon of Elizabethan imperialism as bridegrooms coming to wed and bed the not-so-blushing bride America. Moreover, although Elizabeth is shown to possess New World territory by virtue of her seal upon the continent, she is also identified as her own possession. Her New World territory is named after herself. "Virginia" for the Virgin Queen.

Carew's speaker maps the female body in "A Rapture": however, unlike Donne's lover, he does not identify her genitalia as a New World territory, nor does he offer his "virgin-treasure" map to other voyagers for fear they will usurp his land (1. 32). As we have discussed, Carew's persona claims that Celia's body is his private property or hortus conclusus. However, his description and exploration of her feminine terrain is not so much a map of a topography, but a map of a toposthesia or an imaginary landscape. Carew's speaker does not have actual knowledge of Celia's body, for he has yet to seduce and win her. He begins his seduction by imagining "Loves Elizium," a paradisial trysting place for their lovemaking, but that "delicious Paradise" is transformed by his ardor into Celia's body in the course of the poem (ll. 2, 60). Carew's persona fantasizes about Celia's paradisial landscape, if and when she would yield to him. He blazons and surveys her body as a garden of Edenic delights in order to woo her. He rhapsodizes about the rosebud beds of her lips, the apples tipped with coral berries of her breasts, the vale of lilies of her stomach, the swelling Appenine of her mons veneris, the grove of eglantine of her pubic hair, and her Cyprian strait or "Loves channell" of her genitalia—all geographical
coordinates in the descending route on her body (l. 89). Carew's lover follows his imaginary map as he navigates his way into her "Loves channel" and drops "Anchor" (ll. 89, 86). Although Carew does not use as many cartographic and navigational terms as Donne does in "Love's Progress" (preferring instead horticultural terms), one still gets the sense of a "love's progress" in Carew's cartographically-ordered description of Celia's "delicious Paradise" (l. 60).

The above are only a few of the Renaissance anatomical poems influenced by cartography and surveying in their depiction of the female body. Naturally, any poem which uses geographical metaphors in its blazon of the anatomy reads like a topographical survey. But even when the female body is not compared to the land in Renaissance anatomical poetry, the blazon still partakes of the cartographical metaphor, although indirectly. By virtue of the fact that it examines or overviews a surface, the blazon is a survey of the female body. The female bodily parts are itemized in the blazon, just as the land's features are inventoried in a topographical survey. But we must recall here the consequences of blazoning or surveying any territory. Because the female body, like the country-house estate, is surveyed or mapped through the blazon, it too signifies the power of its male owner. As a blazoned or mapped property, the female body becomes the property as well as the seigneurial emblem of her male owner. Through verbal expression, Renaissance anatomical poetry establishes the female body as a visual emblem of male property and power.
Undoubtedly, the growth of the sciences of cartography and surveying in Renaissance England influenced anatomical and country-house poetry. In fact, Douglas Bush notes the pervasiveness of "cartographic semantics" in all Renaissance thought (274). Not only did these sciences represent an important new way of thinking about the world and the self in the Renaissance—that is, in spatial or territorial terms—but they also inspired a concern with the subject of place or property in literature. Renaissance anatomical and topographical poetry can be called the "poetry of property," because they identify the female body and the feminized land as places open to male appropriation. Moreover, Renaissance cartography and surveying provided methods of gaining those territories. As we discussed in relation to New World exploration, surveying and mapping are ways of achieving dominion over the land. The display or mapping of a new found land assumes a knowledge of the area, a knowledge exclusive to its discoverer and, hence, owner. The map is thus an emblem of proprietary power because it functions as a deed of title. In Renaissance poetry, the blazon is akin to the survey and the map because it, too, functions as a form of possession.

The female anatomy does not have a monopoly on these allegorical maps; the land is depicted in other forms. One of the most well-known of these maps is Leo Belgicus, or Netherlands as a lion. First used to illustrate the 1583 De Leone Belgico by Michael von Eytzinger, the Leo Belgicus map became very popular, and versions were published as late as the early 1800s (Hill 39, 41). Tony Campbell remarks that of the many animal and human forms that delighted Renaissance mapmakers, Leo Belgicus probably "makes fewer demands on the imagination" because its form corresponds closely to the actual shape of the Netherlands (Early Maps [New York: Abbeville, 1981], 95). Leo Bagrow reports on other symbolic maps in Bunting, including the three continents of the ancient world molded into a clover leaf with Jerusalem at its center; Asia in the form of Pegasus; and Europe as a virgin (History of Cartography, rev. and
enlarged by R. A. Skelton. [Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1964], 255). Bagrow also notes the Bucius map of Europe as a woman, the Leo Belgicus, and the map of Italy as a boot (219). Hill discusses the map of the Baltic Sea in the form of Charon, the ferryman to Styx, which accompanies Olof Rudebeck's Lapponia Illustrata in 1701 (41). Helen Wallis considers less whimsical symbolic maps, showing that "philosophical ideas about the world were [also] woven in the map" (xiii). She points to the fool's cap map of the world (c. 1590) and the first world map of Jodocus Hondius (1589), showing the world suspended by the hand of God, as examples of this unusual iconography (xiii). See Wallis, Foreword to The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps, 1472-1700 by Rodney W. Shirley, (London: Holland Press, 1983).

3 Jeannette Black lists the types of maps needed in exploration and colonization: (1) reconnaissance maps, or studies of the coast to point out the best places for planting colonies; (2) locational maps to show prospective settlers and investors where the colonies were; and (3) maps of the colonies themselves for colonial administration ("Mapping the English Colonies in North America: The Beginnings." The Compleat Plattmaker: Essays on Chart, Map, and Globe Making in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, ed. Norman J. W. Thrower [Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: U of California P, 1978: 101-25], 104).


6 The armadillo was America's standard mount, although Cesare Ripa's Iconologia (1604) shows America accompanied by an alligator (probably a result of a confusion between the two scaly animals with long tails) (Honour, Golden Land 89). Ripa's work was a popular handbook to which many artists referred when they wanted to know how to represent an abstract idea, and the Iconologia, originally published in Rome c. 1540, frequently appeared in various editions and translations during the Renaissance. The armadillo was also sometimes confused with the rhinoceros in allegories of America because of a perceived resemblance between the animals (Honour, Golden Land 89).

7 America was rarely depicted as male. Honour knows of only one instance of a male America—the 1595 lunettes of the continents in a villa near Verona. There, America is a "half-naked (and atypically male) Indian" (Honour, Golden Land 97).

8 Richard Helgerson argues that the influence of cartography became so pervasive that the map as national symbol was "scarcely less potent and considerably more durable than that of Elizabeth

9 Elizabeth's orb in Eworth's "Queen Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses" is important because it replaces the apple in this version of the Judgment of Paris. None of the goddesses in the painting wins the apple/orb; Elizabeth awards the orb to herself (William Gaunt. A Concise History of English Painting [1964. Reprint. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978], 22). The painting symbolizes Elizabeth's assumption of imperial sovereignty.

10 There are many examples of Elizabeth holding the orb of rule in her portraits. John N. King includes several illustrations of Elizabeth with an orb in Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1989): "Elizabeth I as Hope" on the title-page of the Bishops' Bible (1568); "Elizabeth I as Emperor Constantine" in the initial C of the dedication of the first edition of Foxe's Actes and Monuments (1563); 'Elizabeth and the Four Virtues' in a woodcut in the 1569 quarto edition of the Bishops' Bible: "Elizabeth as Venus-Virgo" on the frontispiece of "Regina Fortunata" by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton (c. 1576); and "Elizabeth I Memorial Portrait" by Crispin van de Passe the Elder (c. 1603-4). King does not comment on the significance of the orb other than to note that the crown, orb, and scepter are part of "the complete regalia" of a monarch (264). For a detailed examination of the orb of rule as imperial iconography in Elizabeth's portraits, see Strong's Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I.

11 Curiously, there are few portraits of Mary Tudor holding the orb of rule. King includes one illustration of Mary with the orb on the Great Seal of Philip and Mary (1554-58) (214). Both monarchs place their hands on the orb between them to create "the impression that they governed the kingdom jointly," even though Mary carries the scepter symbolic of sovereign royal authority (King 212). Of course, Mary's rule was only five years, the equivalent of looking at Elizabethan portraiture only up to 1563.

12 Victor Morgan explains that in order for cartographical metaphors in Renaissance poetry to be understood, the audience had to be carto-literate. The use of "maps as an image in literary works must depend on a prior familiarity with real maps and, to some degree, their practical uses, in order to make the cartographic image available in the literary context" (Morgan. "The Literary Image of Globes and Maps in Early Modern England." English Map-making 1500-1650, ed. Sarah Tyacke. [London: British Library, 1983: 46-56], 46). By the late sixteenth century, authors could assume a familiarity with maps and globes among their audience because maps and globes were, by then, relatively well known to the public, even though most
321

Although maps were first drawn and used on a wide scale during the period 1500 to 1650, it was not until the latter half of the sixteenth century that England made any significant advances of her own in cartography (Tyacke, Introduction 13). Until then, the English had relied on the Dutch for maps, even of their own coasts. The English did map their own New World territories in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries because it was not the Dutch area of expertise (Black 102). (England did not launch any major expeditions to the New World until the mid to late sixteenth century; hence, she needed accurate maps of the New World only when she got involved in imperial ventures.) Some important English New World maps include John White's map of Cape Hatteras during the ill-fated Roanoke expedition in 1585; the 1585-87 map of the coast between Florida and Chesapeake Bay also by White, which Bagrow calls "the most accurate of North America in the sixteenth century" (193); White's map of Virginia, which accompanied Hariot's 1588 A Brief Report of Virginia; Raleigh's 1596 manuscript map of Guiana; Edward Wright's world map showing North America, published in Hakluyt's Voyages in 1598-1600; John Smith's 1612 A Map of Virginia; Smith's 1616 Description of New England; and the maps in various editions of Smith's The General History of Virginia, the Somer Islands and New England from 1624 to 1632.

England's true accomplishments were not maps of foreign soil, but those of her native land. Of course, England had been mapped before, but never so accurately and well by her own countrymen. Saxton's 1579 atlas of the counties of England and Wales and his 1583 national map had a tremendous impact on English cartography. His collection of county maps was the basis for nearly every printed map of England and Wales and the most complete survey of England and Wales until the 1794 Ordinance Survey (Helgerson 327). Saxton's atlas also had international impact. It was the first national atlas in the world and gave rise to similar projects by other countries.

The successors to Saxton were many in this era. Between 1593 to 1598, John Norden did five county maps as well as maps of London and Westminster. He also mapped estates, including those in Northamptonshire from 1588 to 1590. Sir Michael Stanhope's estate in Suffolk in 1600-01. The Description of the Honor of Windsor (with maps) commissioned by James I in 1607, and the duchy of Cornwall in 1609-16. Norden invented triangular tables of road distances between towns, which he published in his England, An Intended Guvde for English Travailers in 1625. Unfortunately, due to a lack of financial support, Norden never completed his most ambitious project, the Speculum Britanniae, a series of county chorographies (topographical descriptions) illustrated by small, practical maps begun in the 1590s. Another major figure in English Renaissance cartography is John Speed. His Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain and the History of Great Britain (1611-12) is a topographical/historical survey of the counties of England and Wales, including county maps with inset bird's-eye-views of each county capital. Theatre was frequently reprinted, and plates of the maps
were often used, with small additions, for about a century (Edward Lynam, British Maps and Mapmakers [London: William Collins, 1944], 25). Speed also created the first printed general atlas by an Englishman, Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World (1627, 1631, 1662). For more on Saxton, Norden, Speed, and others, see Sir Herbert George Fordham, Some Notable Surveyors and Map-Makers of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries and their Work: A Study in the History of Cartography (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1929).

In addition to national maps, the English also began making globes in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In 1592, Emery Molyneux of Lambeth created a pair of terrestrial and celestial globes (Hale 21). In 1603, the second edition of Molyneux's terrestrial globe was issued by the emigre Flemish cartographer Jodocus Hondius in London (Hale 21).

The period from approximately 1540 to 1600 also witnessed a great change in surveying, or the measuring of the land's proportions. Peter Eden notes that at the commencement of this period "estate maps [drawn from accurate surveys or land measurements] were a rarity; by the end of it they were a commonplace" ("Three Elizabethan Estate Surveyors: Peter Kempe. Thomas Clerke and Thomas Langdon." [Tyacke, 68-84], 68). This change is due, in part, to the increased demand for estate surveys after 1540. Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries between 1536 and 1540 and the redistribution of their vast estates to laymen created a new and acquisitive landed gentry (Lynam, British Maps 14). These new landowners were interested in profiting from their possessions and wanted to know the extent of their holdings; consequently, they ordered surveys and maps of the confiscated monastic estates.

Although the science of surveying was still embryonic during this initial demand for estate maps, the practice improved by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. English studies and handbooks on the subject were published, and more accurate measuring instruments were developed. One of the first English treatises on surveying came out in 1537, soon after the dissolution of the monasteries. Richard de Benese's The Maner of Measuring of Lande. Other early surveying manuals include Cunningham's 1559 Cosmographical Glasse and Valentine Leigh's 1562 Treatise of Measuring All Kinds of Lands. The landmark work in the history of English surveying is Leonard Digges' 1571 A Geometrical Practise Called Pantometria, which considers the best instruments then known for taking observations, angles and measurements, such as the astrolabe, the sighted quadrant, and the geometrical square (Lynam, The Mapmaker's Art: Essays on the History of Maps [London: Batchworth P, 1953], 61). Digges also introduced the theodelite, which he and his son Thomas invented for measuring horizontal and vertical angles. Other important surveying instruments invented during this period are the plane table in 1555 and the circumferentor in 1571, both adapted from French designs. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries also saw advances in pure and applied mathematics, which contributed to a more exact geography (E.G.R. Taylor, Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography 1583-1650 [London: Methuen, 1934], 67). Because of these improvements in surveying as
well as developments in social, economic and political conditions, many maps of the regions, towns and harbors of England were produced. This tremendous surge in local surveys and plans is also indebted to a growing number of university-educated men who were attracted to the profession, such as Ralph Aggas, William Hayward, Israel Amyce, and Thomas Marshall (Lynam, Mapmaker's Art 62). These men combined the traditional duties of the land stewards (who inventoried the estate's topographical features and manmade structures) with the more scientific skills of surveying and mapmaking. Furthermore, the quality of this new surveying was ensured by the Faculty of Surveyors proposed in 1582 to train and certify members (Lynam, British Maps 63). By the end of the sixteenth century, a substantial body of professional surveyors answered the demand for better manuscript estate maps, and surveying became a more exact science.

14 This duality is demonstrated variously in Renaissance culture: in emblem books with explicatory captions or poems for each symbolic figure; in heraldic devices and coats of arms with mottoes; in the allegorical figures on frontispieces and title-pages to books; in the "pattern" poem that presents itself as its own emblem because its shape matches its subject; in speeches that explain the allegorical spectacles of the masque; in painting where sonnets or other captions explicate the allegory or praise the subject; and countless other ways.

15 These chorographies are not the first in England. The English Franciscan Bartholomaeus Anglicus includes a description of England in his massive encyclopedia, De Proprietatibus Rerum, in the mid-thirteenth century. The fourteenth-century Polychronicon by Ranulph Higden also anticipates Tudor/Stuart chorographies.
CONCLUSION

In the course of writing this dissertation, I found myself constantly aware of my theoretical approach, in particular my need to balance literary discussion and cultural history. Considering the complexity of my dissertation as it moves from its initial focus on art (that is, Renaissance anatomical and topographical poetry) to an examination of various components of English Renaissance culture, I feel the need to restate the rationale for this movement here at my conclusion. Indeed, any discussion of art inevitably and necessarily leads to a consideration of its historical, cultural and ideological contexts, a progression evidenced by the movement of my dissertation itself. As I asserted at the outset, we cannot understand or appreciate art if we separate it from the culture which produces it. My text thus follows a traditional historicist approach in that I attempt to attach or re-attach cultural materials to the poetry. By doing so, I am able to demonstrate mutual traditions and affinities and highlight hitherto unnoticed literary relationships between the genres of Renaissance anatomical and topographical poetry. In short, by considering the significance of cultural phenomena, I have tried to enrich aesthetic understanding of English Renaissance poetry.
Of course, I do not deny that I have been influenced by New Historicism to a certain extent. I am indebted to the New Historicist propensity that brings non-literary texts and hitherto marginal cultural materials to bear upon a traditional piece of literature, as evidenced by the series of cultural contexts my study lays forth. My dissertation also demonstrates a New Historicist concern with the operations of power in Renaissance England, namely the issues of legitimation, domination, control, and appropriation. I have focused on those conceptualizations of power as they relate to rhetoric, gender, and property, specifically how the poetry affirms the patriarchal ideology of Renaissance England by (ap)praising and appropriating the female body and the feminized land.

Besides acknowledging my indebtedness to the New Historicists here, I also wish to distance myself from the radical results of their critical approach. Their aim is not quite the old historicist method of using culture to interpret literature. As Frank Kermode has rightly charged, the New Historicists often take peripheral (sometimes bizarre) cultural materials and make them central to their discussion, thereby relegating literature to the status of just another "discourse" involved in "the interplay of all the other discourses—social, political, legal, and so forth—that constitute any culture at a given historical moment" (43). Works of art thereby become "products of collective negotiation and exchange" rather than autonomous creations of individuals (Kermode 43). Kermode also accuses the New Historicists of studying "the great Renaissance texts only as clues to a broader cultural (predominantly political)
history, teasing out of them all manner of hierarchical, sexist, and imperialist implications" (43). In essence, the New Historicists "de-aestheticize" literature (Kermode 43).

I cite Kermode's specific indictments against New Historicism here not only because I believe them to be insightful and accurate, but also because I wish to parry those jabs before they are thrown at my own dissertation. First of all, while my study does consider various cultural phenomena, it never centralizes those materials at the expense of the poetry, nor does it lose sight of its purpose—to show how English Renaissance culture influences and shapes its contemporary poetry. Secondly, while I have pointed to various sexual and economic implications in Renaissance anatomical and topographical poetry, I do not regard these poems as merely "clues" to cultural or political history. Rather, the poems are works of art that are worthy not only because of what they reveal about their culture, but because they are beautiful and valuable in and of themselves. As works of art, these poems transcend the concerns of their time and express the concerns, questions, aspirations, and longings that are common to the human condition. Moreover, the poems were created not by "negotiation" and "circulation of social discourses," but by creative, intelligent individuals, such as Donne, Jonson, Carew, and Marvell, who placed their own distinctive stamp upon their art. Of course, these writers were influenced by the time and place in which they lived (as are all artists), but their poetry is not simply another "discourse" among other discourses in Renaissance England. To relegate literature to such a status denies
the very existence and meaning of "literature" itself—that is, that there are pieces of writing we deem aesthetically, intellectually, and emotionally superior to other forms of writing and that these superior pieces of writing deserve the honorific title of "literature." Moreover, we perceive "literature" or "art" as relevant to and expressive of not only its own time but all time.

The line dividing my work from the New Historicists', then, is the issue of the value of art. The New Historicists have designated the English Renaissance as a promising proving ground for their critical techniques, a threat which I try to combat here in my dissertation by employing the best of what the New Historicists have to offer while eschewing the radical results of their approach. While I admire their restoration of cultural history as a critical apparatus, I shun the dangerous conclusions they reach about literature, in particular that literary value is a "discredited myth" (Kermode 43). It surprises me somewhat that the New Historicists, the majority of whom are literature professors, fail to see that they are marginalizing the very art they profess.

I have appended to my dissertation an Excursus on women's rights in Renaissance England in order to show that the idea of woman as property, prevalent in Renaissance anatomical and topographical poetry, was not just a convenient metaphor but was literally true at the time. I chose not to include the material of the Excursus in my main text precisely because it focuses only on cultural history rather than literature—the very New Historicist trap I have identified here in my conclusion.
I conclude my dissertation, then, with a defense—not only of my own work here, but also of the aesthetic value of Renaissance poetry. Throughout the dissertation, I have focused my energies on highlighting mutual traditions and correspondences between the genres, but I have postponed aesthetic judgment until this point. What, then, are the artistic merits of Renaissance anatomical and topographical poetry?

What I find appealing about anatomical and topographical poetry is what I find attractive about all Renaissance literature—namely, the celebration of language, the unabashed sensuality, and the overbrimming exuberance in praise of beauty. Granted, panegyric, as I have shown, can be transformed by the unscrupulous into appraisal and appropriation. But in its purest form, the impulse to praise seems to me a distinctly Renaissance habit of mind, one that lavishly displays and rejoices in beauty, whether it be a woman or a country estate. Of course, the female body and the land are themselves attractive, but when represented and lauded in the poetry, they take on a greater brilliance. This brilliance I can only describe as "erotic," but I use the term here now to suggest not so much sexuality, but sensuality. For me, both Renaissance anatomical and topographical poems are "erotic" in that they excite and celebrate the senses. Not only is the subject matter appealing, but there is a richness and a teasing sense of play in the language. I am fascinated by the ingenuity and wit of the metaphors, in particular the dominant female body/land metaphor in all its variations. We see this clever "eroticism" in the frank enjoyment of the pleasures of
the female body in Donne's Elegies 18 and 19, Marvell's "Coy
Mistress," and Carew's "A Rapture." We also see this "eroticism" in
the lush and fruitful landscapes of country-house poetry by Jonson,
Marvell, and Carew. What is so engaging about anatomical and
topographical poetry, then, is its own appreciation of beauty.

I also admire the way in which Renaissance poetry goes about
celebrating beauty—that is, I feel tremendous affinities with the
blazon because it resembles my own process of thought. I, too, like
to itemize and examine the parts in order to have a better
appreciation of the whole. While I may decry the blazon's inherent
objectification of the entity it praises, I am nevertheless intrigued
by the justness and precision of its enumeration, its sense of
hierarchy and structure, its splendid display, and its desire to
render every part of the thing of beauty as vividly as possible.

But perhaps most importantly, I value Renaissance anatomical and
topographical poetry for its timelessness. Both types of poetry
celebrate a locus amoenus or a "lovely place," whether it be a
pastoral estate reminiscent of Eden or a woman's body full of
paradisical pleasures. I noted earlier that we deem a piece of
writing "literature" if it expresses the yearnings, concerns, and
aspirations of not only its own time, but of all time. Here,
Renaissance anatomical and topographical poetry reminds us that like
English Renaissance society, we, too, in the late twentieth century
long for Eden or some approximation of paradise on earth.
APPENDIX A

Excursus: Woman as Property in Renaissance England

Perhaps the most blunt statement about the status of women in the Renaissance occurs in Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, when Petruchio tells Kate that as his wife, she must answer to him because he "will be master of what is my own" (3.2.229). He claims her as his private property and lumps her with the rest of his possessions:

She is my goods, my chattels, she is my house,
My household stuff, my field, my barn,
My horse, my ox, my ass, my anything (3.2.230–32).

Throughout this dissertation, we have seen a similar identification of the feminine as masculine property in Renaissance anatomical and topographical poetry and in New World narratives and Renaissance maps. But this notion was not just a metaphor in Renaissance England—it was literally true. Just as Petruchio contends, women were considered the property of men in the institution of patriarchal marriage, which transferred control of women from their fathers to their husbands. The sexual, economic, and epistemological possession of the female body and the feminized land through the blazon thus parallels the actual relations of power in Renaissance England (Parker 154). This excursus investigates those relations of power,
particularly the legal, economic and social forces which subordinated women to men, in order to show how metaphor reflects the culture which propagates it.

Of course, the notion of woman as property is not unique to Renaissance England. The conceptualization of woman as land or possession has a long history. Peter Stallybrass points out that the Commandments "catalogue wife, maid, ox, and ass side by side as a man's assets, and in the Jewish code, betrothal was classified as a form of masculine acquisition, related to the acquisition of slaves, cattle, and other belongings" (127). The Biblical imperatives of Paul and Peter also reinforce wives' submission to their husbands.1 Indeed, throughout the history of Western civilization, woman has been perceived as the property of man (either her father or husband) because of the many theological, philosophical, biological, political, sociological, economic, and legal arguments which have universally established her as his intellectual, spiritual, and physical inferior.2 Many of these misogynistic arguments derive from Eve; and the plethora of Renaissance authorities which claim women as inferior refer to their basis in the Genesis story of Eve's malediction. Because Eve first ate the forbidden fruit, a curse was laid upon women at the Fall. (Of course, Adam, too, was cursed at the Fall, but with different woes.) Eve's curse inflicts three ills upon women: the pain of childbirth, sorrow, and subjection to her husband. Ian Maclean contends that "the most burdensome and wide-ranging effect of this malediction is the subjection of women to their husbands," a consequence readily apparent in Renaissance
Patriarchy was then viewed as the determined and natural order of things, an idea deriving from the Renaissance perception of the entire world order. The cosmos and, by extension, society and the family were thought to follow a particular hierarchical order. In this system, men were deemed superior to women; thus, it was considered natural and right for the female to submit to the male of the species. Indeed, patriarchy depends upon the woman subordinating herself to a husband and accepting her reproductive role. By this means, woman provides "the vital biological link in that chain of social, political, and economic power which centres upon the transmission of the name of the father to his son" (Berry 65). But patriarchal marriage ensures transmission of not only the family name, but family property as well. The female body was male property, but it was also the vessel of its transfer through the birth of legitimate heirs. Lawrence Stone reminds us that legitimate inheritance of property was a matter of enormous economic importance in Renaissance England; consequently, the chastity of women was a strictly enforced ideal (200 n8). A man's wealth, position, and lineage depended upon the fidelity and fertility of his wife. Considering this tremendous need to control female generativity, we should not be surprised that women were essentially "fenced-in enclosures" in Renaissance England (Stallybrass xxvi). Women were expected to be silent (a closed mouth), chaste (a closed body), and confined to the home (in order to take care of the household and to not excite concupiscence by public appearances) (Stallybrass xxvi).
All women in Renaissance England were defined within this paradigm of patriarchal marriage. In the words of T. E.'s The Lawes Resolutions of Womens Rights (an exposition of the law concerning the female sex printed in 1632 but thought to have been written at the end of the sixteenth century), "All [women] are understood either married or to be married" (6).\(^3\) Neither legally nor psychologically was there a proper place for an unmarried female or "maid"—except on her way to marriage (Fraser 146). Given this paradigm, it is understandable that widows held a rather peculiar position in Renaissance society. On the one hand, the ideal widow was expected to be faithful to the memory of her deceased spouse (in a sense, she remained "married") and to not marry again (Fraser 81). Yet a woman heading her own household contradicted patriarchal theory. An un govermed woman presented a threat to the social order (Todd 55).

Based on whether she was a maid, a wife, or a widow, a woman was given different legal entitlements in Renaissance England, although she had few real rights as an individual, aside from those afforded by custom (Fraser 5). As an unmarried woman, her rights were entirely subsumed in her father's. She was perceived as his creation and therefore his property, and she was required to obey her father in all matters, even marriage. As early as age seven, she was his to dispose of in marriage at will and to whomever he chose, although consummation was usually delayed until she was twelve (Carroll Camden 104). Before marriage, as a feme sole, she was legally under her father's control, and he had complete jurisdiction over her person and her property (Dunn 34, n2). If her father was deceased, she was
subject to the authority of her nearest male protector—a brother, an uncle, some other male relative, or a legally appointed guardian—until she passed into the guardianship of her husband.

Once she married, she and everything she owned passed automatically to her husband, according to laws that were still essentially feudal. "That which the husband hath is his own" and "That which the wife hath is the husband's," decrees T.E.'s Lawes (144). As part of this marriage transaction, it was customary that the bride bring with her a dowry or "portion," a sum of money and/or property provided by her family. In return, the groom promised his bride a comparable "jointure" or annuity to support her if he should predecease her. Marrying an heiress, or at least a bride with a decent dowry, was considered a perfectly respectable path to material advancement at the time (Fraser 10). Indeed, it was not unusual for marriage in Renaissance England to be an essentially economic enterprise. Among the propertied classes, marriages were often arranged rather than made on the basis of romantic love and individual choice, and matrimonial laws at the time reflected the prevailing financial and political motivations for wedlock (Macfarlane 28; Warnicke 8).  

Ironically, only at the bottom of society did women enjoy some sort of independence. There were many young unmarried women in the laboring classes who worked to support themselves in various capacities, such as dairymaids, household servants, or "spinsters" (our modern term for unmarried women originating from those Renaissance women who worked with cloth or wool in their homes).
(Fraser 36). These women had more freedom of movement as well as freedom in their choice of husbands than those women who were heiresses to property, or whose marriages could be used to effect useful political alliances (Youings 368). As Antonia Fraser succinctly puts it, these working-class women "simply lived below the level where such considerations as portions and settlements could be relevant" (38). And many of them had moved away from home to work in London or other large towns, so parental consent was not an issue (Fraser 38). Naturally, then, these women could marry for love, if they desired, because no one else's interests were at stake. Once married, these citizens' wives were often in virtual partnership with their husbands (Fraser 143). Not only did these women run the household, but they frequently worked with their husbands in business. For example, in The Shoemaker's Holiday, Dekker depicts the wife of the future Lord Mayor Simon Eyre working with her husband's apprentices.

If an unmarried woman or feme sole had few rights in Renaissance England, a married woman or feme covert had even fewer. By marriage, the very being or legal existence of a woman was suspended. Actually, English common law did not accord any legal existence to a married woman distinct from her husband (Cioni 162). Husband and wife were considered one person, with authority and property vested in the man. A married woman was thus given title and property solely by virtue of her husband, and her only legal recognition as an individual was "the dubious privilege of equality with man as a
This "cover" of her marriage effectively denied any right she had had as a feme sole to own any land or property and made her entirely dependent upon her spouse (Cioni 1). The husband acquired absolute control of all of his wife's personal property, which he could handle as he desired. T. E. 's Lawes records this transfer of property:

If before Marriage the Woman were possessed of Horses, . . . Sheepe. Corne. Wool, Money. Plate and Jewels, all manner of moveable substance is presently by conjunction the husbands, to sell, keepe or bequeath if he die (qtd. in Carroll Camden 103-4).

And if, during her marriage, a wife inherited anything from her kin, that property passed to her husband too (a woman inherited her family's estates only when she had no brothers and if the estates had not been entailed to other relatives) (Warnicke 8). Even a woman's personal possessions, including beds, jewelry, and clothing, belonged to her husband, as were any gifts he gave her (Warnicke 8). Even if a husband was generous and wanted to grant property to his spouse, the common law held that husband and wife were one, and so it forbade him from conveying any estate to her in his lifetime (Cioni 133).

The irony is that under common law, the feme sole, that is the single woman or widow, could own and administer property, but the feme covert or wife could not. Common law did recognize borough customs in certain towns that allowed a married woman to own property for the purpose of trade if her husband agreed to the arrangement. However, this right was "rarely exercised" because the husband could not run his wife's business affairs, yet he was still held legally responsible if they failed (Prior 103).
Besides being unable to own or manage property, married women were also denied a wide variety of legal functions, including acting as a witness, making contracts, and bringing legal suits (Ian Maclean 77; Prior 103). The only circumstances which allowed a wife to sue without her husband occurred if he was in exile (Cioni 169). Moreover, married women were generally not allowed to make wills because although they might have brought a large dowry to the marriage, technically, that property now belonged to their husbands. The Statute of Wills (1540) specified that wills made by a feme covert were illegal, but by the latter part of the sixteenth century, there were a few possible, but difficult ways to avoid this problem (Cioni 163). If a wife was separated from her husband, she could make a will—but legal separations and divorces were rarely granted at the time. Besides, as a feme covert, she did not actually own anything to bequeath. Or if a husband specifically assented to his wife's making of a will, the testament was considered valid, but again, any property she had legally belonged to her husband anyway. A wealthy heiress/wife also could make a will for her separate estate, but only if such permission was granted by the Court of Chancery, a legal avenue to which few had access. Yet even with these provisions, the average married woman in Renaissance England had few, if any, legal rights.

Not only did a wife have legal restrictions imposed upon her, but she also suffered personal restrictions. Her place in marriage was prescribed by the Bible and other moralistic literature. A wife was subject in all things to the authority of her husband. She was
expected to be chaste, pious, silent, industrious, modest, temperate, and submissive (Dunn 17). She was expected to give birth to legitimate heirs. She was to stay at home and occupy herself there with suitable pursuits. Her position in the household was above the children and servants, but below her husband; and in running the household, she had to act always in accordance with his wishes (Ian Maclean 59). If she disobeyed or displeased her husband in any way, he had the right to "correct" or beat her to a "reasonable degree" (Ian Maclean 76). T. E.'s Lawes explains the rationale for wife abuse at this time: "a man might beat an outlaw, a traitor, a Pagan, his villein, or his wife because by the Law Common these persons can have no action" (qtd. in Fraser 466). T. E., however, appeals for moderation, contending that while "a husband has such a right" to beat his wife, "he should not use it" (qtd. in Fraser 466). It was also a wife's duty to love her husband, but her husband had to express his love only by protecting her from danger and by providing for her maintenance both during his lifetime and after his death (Carroll Camden 66, 112). In short, a married woman was the "fenced-in enclosure" of her lord, her husband. And as his private property, she was zealously kept and guarded by him.

This notion of the wife, in particular her body, as the private property of her husband is most apparent in the Renaissance obsession with cuckoldry, an obsession that manifests itself variously in literature, drama, law, religion, humor, and other areas. The source of the cuckold's shame is the institution of patriarchal marriage itself, which determines that "men have property in women and that
the value of such property is significantly diminished if the woman at any time has sexual relations with anyone other than her husband" (Kahn, *Man's Estate* 121). Private property loses its worth if it becomes common land. The husband therefore assiduously guarded against such trespassing on his property by "enclosing" his wife's body, that is, by demanding her silence, chastity, and confinement in his home. In essence, he fashioned her as his hortus conclusus. These transgressions against his property, namely his wife's extramarital sexual relations, could be the result of either adultery or rape, but there was no distinction between the two in terms of her culpability. She was guilty on either count. Her body belonged to her husband; it was not legally hers to give to another man, whether she did so willingly or by force. By allowing another man access to her body, the wife ruined her husband's property, destroyed his status and respect among his peers, and threatened the transfer of his name and his property to his legitimate heirs.

Renaissance masculinity thus "depended upon retaining exclusive sexual property in women," and we see that male anxiety reflected in the treatment of women in Renaissance England, particularly the enforcement of female chastity (Kahn, *Man's Estate* 131). Ironically, however, while a husband was said to "own" his wife's sexual favors, she had no claim to his. Generally speaking, a husband's only conjugal obligation to his wife was to keep her sexually satisfied so that she would not be tempted to stray (Kahn, *Man's Estate* 121). He did not necessarily have to be faithful to her. Moreover, this double standard had legal repercussions. Common law decreed that if
a wife committed adultery, she lost her dower, but if a husband committed adultery, he did not lose his property. T. E. explains this inequity in Lawes:

Men's "adultrous soiournings is not discerned, they may lope over ditch and Dale, a thousand out-ridings and out-biddings is not forfeiture, but as soone as the good wife is gone, the badman will have her land, not the third, but euery foote of it" (qtd. in Stenton 63).

Of course, a married woman had no legal recourse against a cheating husband at this time.

If a wife was unhappy with her lot, there was very little she could do about it. Even in cases where adultery had been proven (on either the husband's or the wife's part), divorce was virtually impossible to obtain, and annulment was granted only if some impediment such as consanguinity, impotence, or pre-contract could be discovered (a "pre-contract" is a formal betrothal or a pledge to marry made in front of witnesses) (Youings 369; Fraser 295). It was possible, however, to secure a separation (either official or unofficial), but such an arrangement was fraught with problems for women. Few women sought this separation "from bed and board" (divortium a mensa et thoro) because it was not economically feasible for them (Youings 370). Money was "a powerful shackle," because legally, a wife had no money or property of her own, all of it having been handed over to her spouse upon marriage (Fraser 292). If she separated from her husband, it was very likely she could end up poverty-stricken. But she could not avoid destitution by remarrying. According to canon law, such a separation from bed and board precluded that option. Besides, it would be difficult to
remarry without a dowry. A wife forfeited her dowry and jointure if she separated from her husband, and it was virtually impossible to reclaim what had once been theoretically her own.

Sometimes the only recourse, then, for a woman in an unhappy marriage was widowhood. However, she could not hasten her own widowhood. A woman who plotted against the life of her husband was subject to feudal law; that is, she was charged with treason against her lord, her husband, and given the death penalty in its severest form—she was burned alive (Stenton 65). However, if widowhood was naturally conferred upon her, a woman could enjoy considerably more independence as a feme sole. A widow was free from the control of any man, and if she was fortunate enough to have inherited property, she was allowed by common law to manage her independent means in her own interest and on behalf of her children (Todd 55). Naturally, women of propertied classes had their jointures upon widowhood, but less privileged widows were by no means destitute. Common law gave a widow one third of her husband's estate and also allotted to her another one third if there were no children in the marriage (Fraser 43). The last third was bequeathed at the testator's discretion and so might also go to the widow (Fraser 43). A widow's dowry was also protected by common law if her late husband's creditors fell upon the rest of the estate. Widowhood was thus seemingly the one possibility for women in Renaissance England to be truly independent.

However, Renaissance society had some peculiar, contradictory attitudes towards widowhood and remarriage. On the one hand,
celibate widowhood was exalted as fidelity to the memory of the deceased spouse. In a popular comparison of the time, the ideal widow emulated the turtle dove by mourning her late husband in solitude (Fraser 81). Many testators in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries went so far as to insure this fidelity by making the widow's right to a share in the estate contingent upon her continued widowhood (Todd 73). These provisions were no doubt made to retain patriarchal control of widows, but they were also made out of concern that the children's share of the estate would revert to the new husband and out of the hands of its rightful heirs (Todd 73). Some men discouraged remarriage on other, rather strange grounds. For instance, some claimed that marrying a widow constituted bigamy, and if a woman was twice widowed, it might even be trigamy (Fraser 82). Still others believed that "He that marries a widow makes himself Cuckold" by the woman's dead husband (qtd. in Fraser 82).

Theoretically, then, Renaissance society encouraged celibate widowhood; however, remarriage was actually a very common occurrence. Naturally, people remarry for all kinds of reasons, but we should not overlook the fact that wealthy widows were eagerly pursued as desirable marriage prospects. Parish registers indicate that as many as a quarter of all marriages was a remarriage for either the bride or the groom during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England (Youings 377; Fraser 84). In fact, it was not unusual for a person to marry three, four or even five times in a lifetime (Fraser 84). Antonia Fraser reminds us that
remarriage would not be an aberration in a society with a high rate of mortality, the average life expectancy being approximately thirty-five years in Renaissance England (84). Women, of course, faced the continuous risk of childbirth, whereas men appear to have been more susceptible to disease (Fraser 84). Moreover, the male population was also "periodically decimated by war, whether at home or abroad" (Fraser 84).

From a feminist perspective, it may seem ironic, considering the relative independence and authority afforded to widows, that so many women in Renaissance England "tempted fortune again" by taking another husband (Stenton 68). For some modern feminists, it might be difficult to fathom why these women would once again put themselves in a subservient position. For propertied women, the economic disadvantages of remarriage are obvious. If they remarried, they lost control of any property that had come to them from a previous husband or by inheritance from their own kin (Todd 75). Not only would they lose possession of their property, but they would no longer be able to manage their own business dealings (Cioni 167).

But, of course, we must remember that people marry or stay single for reasons other than money. Widows do not necessarily make decisions regarding their remarriage based on solely financial reasons.

However, if a widow in Renaissance England did wish to remarry but without economic concessions on her part (that is, without losing her estate to her new husband), there was a way becoming available to her. Beginning in the late sixteenth century, some married women were granted a legal means of retaining ownership of their own
property or separate estate, thanks to the "trust" created by the Court of Chancery (Cioni 165). An estate, either belonging to a wife at marriage or which afterwards came to her, could be conveyed in the trust to her use only, thereby preventing her husband from having any control over her property or any right to it if he survived her (Cioni 286). A wealthy widow might then choose to make a trust to keep her estate from the greedy hands of a new husband.

In theory, then, we might argue that the trust perhaps encouraged some financially conscious widows to remarry because their property could be protected. However, in reality, the trust was not as readily available in Renaissance England as some historians would lead us to believe. As Fraser rightly argues, "this modest and gradual amelioration of the female lot at law [i.e., the trust] applied of course only to those few women whose affairs somehow reached the august precincts of Chancery. Where the majority of women were concerned, their lives were lived within the depressing and total restrictions of the common law" (11). Whether they were maids, wives, or widows, women in Renaissance England had few, if any, avenues to independence, and their lives were circumscribed by the legal, social, and economic forces which treated them as properties owned and controlled by men. The anonymous author of An Essay in Defense of the Female Sex (1696) sums up the situation of women at the end of the seventeenth century in England: "Women, like our Negroes in our western plantations, are born slaves, and live prisoners all their lives" (qtd. in Fraser
What we have seen in this excursus, then, is a cultural system that accounts for the various rhetorical and metaphorical phenomena we have examined in the rest of this dissertation, namely those rhetorical devices and metaphors (such as the blazon and the female body/land metaphor) which subordinate the feminine to the masculine. Considering that women were essentially defined as property in this restrictive patriarchal paradigm in English Renaissance society, we can understand why anatomical and topographical poetry should capitalize upon the metaphor of the female as male property. The metaphor was not just poetically convenient, but culturally evident. We are thus able to see how art reflects the culture which produces it.
1 St. Paul instructs wives about their place in the family: "Wives, be subject to your husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, and is himself its Savior. As the church is subject to Christ, so let wives also be subject in everything to their husbands" (Ephesians 5:22ff). In Paul's first letter to Timothy, he also emphasizes women's submission to men: "Let a woman learn in silence with all submissiveness. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men; she is to keep silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor. Yet woman will be saved through bearing children, if she continues in faith and love and holiness, with modesty" (I Tim. 2:11-15). St. Peter also advises wives to "be in subjection to your own husbands" and urges husbands to give "honour unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel, and as being heirs together of the grace of life" (I Pet. 3:1, 7).

2 For a good overview of these arguments regarding the inferiority of women, see Ian Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980).

3 The full title of T. E.'s Lawes is The Lawes Resolutions of Womens Rights: or, the Lawes Provision for Women. A Methodicall Collection of such Statutes and Customs, with the Cases, Opinions, Arguments and points of Learning in the Law, as doe properly concerne Women (London, 1632). The work, also known by the running title The Womans Lawier, was written by two anonymous lawyers. I.J. created the document, and T. E. later revised and enlarged it. Doris Stenton explains that Lawes was written a few decades before publication in 1632, almost certainly during the last years of Elizabeth, because it quotes only those laws last made in Elizabeth's reign (The English Woman in History, London: George Allen and Unwin; New York: Macmillan, 1957, p. 61). Stenton speculates that the author undertook the work to please the Queen, and the work is sympathetic to the plight of women in general in Renaissance England. She claims that Lawes tries to "forewarn a woman of the various ways in which her husband may dispose of her land and dower and how she may circumvent him" (Stenton 64).
Antonia Fraser explains the attitudes towards romantic love and marriage in seventeenth-century England: "During this period, the emotion we now term romantic love was treated with a mixture of suspicion, contempt and outright disgust by virtually all pundits. From the Puritans in their benevolent handbooks of domestic conduct to the aristocrats concerned to see that society's pattern was reproduced in an orderly fashion, that tender passion which has animated much of the great literature of the world (including those plays of Shakespeare and the Jacobean dramatists familiar to theatre audiences at the time) received a hearty condemnation. Nor was this a revolutionary state of affairs in seventeenth-century England, the arranged marriage as opposed to the romantic union having been preferred by most societies in the history of the world" (The Weaker Vessel: Women in Seventeenth-Century England. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984, p. 26). Lawrence Stone also notes the absence of romantic love in determining marriages at this time, pointing out that there were three objectives in family planning: "The continuity of the male line, the preservation intact of inherited property, and the acquisition through marriage of further property or useful political alliances" (The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800, New York, Hagerstown, San Francisco, and London: Harper and Row, 1977, p. 42).

Fraser points out that as the seventeenth century witnessed the gradual development of the law of equity in the Court of Chancery, there was some protection for married women's inheritance: "A judgment of 1638 . . . indicated that where a deceased person's estate was 'thrown into Chancery' for administration, the interests of any married women who might be amongst his beneficiaries obtained indefeasible protection. (Previously, although the dating of the change cannot be pinpointed precisely, the Court of Chancery had followed the common law courts in upholding the doctrine of conjugal unity where finance and property were concerned.) But this modest and gradual amelioration of the female lot at law applied of course only to those few women whose affairs somehow reached the august precincts of Chancery. Where the majority of women were concerned, their lives were lived within the depressing and total restrictions of the common law" (11).

Maria Lynn Cioni notes that by the early 1600s, there were some suits in which a married woman "sued on her own initiative, perhaps without her husband's knowledge or even naming him as the defendant. Indeed, Chancery seems to have allowed a wife to sue her husband if she could prove that he was in collusion to defraud her of her estate" (Women and Law in Elizabethan England with particular reference to the Court of Chancery. Diss. Girton College, Cambridge U, 1974; New York and London: Garland, 1985, p. 169). Again, we must remember that such legal rights for women were not widely available.

The right to punish a wife physically was a debatable issue in Renaissance England. While there were many who advocated a husband's
absolute control of his wife, including his right to inflict corporal punishment, there were others who believed that men were not so entitled. For example, in An Apologie for Women, or An Opposition to Mr. Dr. G. his Assertion. Who held in the Act at Oxforde. Anno. 1608. That it was lawfull for husbands to beatte their wiues (1609). William Heale insists that he has never seen it set down that a man was permitted by law to beat his wife. Despite such arguments for the better treatment of women, some wives were nevertheless beaten by their husbands, simply because it was customary.

See Fraser's Chapter 15, "Divorce from Bed and Board," in The Weaker Vessel, pp. 291-310, for a fascinating discussion of divorce, annulment, and separation in seventeenth-century England, with particular emphasis on women's rights (or lack thereof).

Cioni claims that in some cases, Chancery permitted women who had separated from their husbands to present a bill in their own name to acquire their share of the estate which they had brought into the marriage (286). However, we must beware of accepting this privilege as true for all women. What Cioni does not acknowledge is that it was the rare woman whose case reached Chancery. The majority of women in Renaissance England had no recourse to gain economic support if they separated from their husbands.

Fraser notes that until the end of the seventeenth century, widows' "thirds" were only effective in practice in the City of London, the province of York, and Wales (477 n41). See also Stone, pp. 195-96.

For a discussion of the change in wills for widows' provisions from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century, see Barbara J. Todd, "The Remarrying Widow: A Stereotype Reconsidered" in Women in English Society 1500-1800. Ed. Mary Prior. (London and New York: Methuen, 1985): 54-92. Todd explains that most sixteenth-century wills of husbands named their wives as executors and left it to their discretion to protect the children and their fortunes. However, after about 1570, first in the wills of wealthy, powerful men and later, in the seventeenth century, in the wills of men of all ranks, testators restricted their wives from taking their wealth into a new marriage by reducing or withholding her share of the estate if she remarried. Todd notes the irony that these restrictions increased at a time when a widow's legal capacity to secure her separate estate in trust was being established by Chancery.

Cioni, especially, gives the impression that the Court of Chancery was easily accessible to all women in Renaissance England and that the trust was widely available.

This excursus has primarily considered women's lack of rights in Renaissance England. However, I do not wish to suggest that there was absolutely no improvement in the treatment of women during that time. Some changes were made, and the issue of women's rights
inspired substantial intellectual debate, but the changes were not exactly sweeping ones. I have already discussed Chancery’s creation of the trust, which was starting to give at least some women the right to control their own property and, by extension, their own selves. The fact that Chancery was not only aware of women’s plight but also realized that they should be accorded some rights indicates that social attitudes towards women were beginning to change (Cioni 2). T.E.'s Lawes also makes plain its feminist sympathies and attempts to ameliorate the legal system by canvassing its inequities towards women. We also must not overlook the presence of a few highly educated women in Renaissance England, notably Queen Elizabeth, Mary Tudor, Lady Jane Grey, Mary Sidney, and Mary Queen of Scots, whose "mere existence forced men to reflect on the legal and social position of all women" (Stenton 141). And of course, the unprecedented rule of a virgin queen was a powerful example of women's potential.

Yet all of these signs of a nascent feminist movement are tempered by the fact that real change was actually a long way off. By 1700, women were not necessarily better off than their early sixteenth-century counterparts (Fraser 464; Ian Maclean 1). While certain liberties may have been allowed to some women in the chaos of the mid-seventeenth century, life essentially reverted to its old patterns with the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 (Fraser 464). As we have noted, legal rights, such as the trust, were granted to only a small percentage of women. Nor do we see a significant increase in the number of educated women by the late seventeenth century, a number that was fairly small to begin with. The average Englishwoman’s lot in life thus continued to be determined by common law and patriarchal marriage; she was the property of her father or husband. Her status could not change as long as women were defined within the patriarchal paradigm.
PLEASE NOTE

Copyrighted materials in this document have not been filmed at the request of the author. They are available for consultation, however, in the author's university library.

Appendix B, Plate I-XVI, 351-366

University Microfilms International
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Barlowe, Arthur. "The first voyage made to the coasts of America, with two barks, wherein were Captaines M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe . . . ." London, 1564. Burrage.


Chapman, George.  **Hero and Leander.**  Donno, Epics.  85-126.


—. "Nova Britannia: Offering Most Excellent fruites by Planting In Virginia. Exciting all such as be well affected to further the same." London, 1609. Force, Vol. 1. N. pag.


T. E. The Lawes Resolutions of Womens Rights: or, the Lawes Provision for Women. A Methodicall Collection of such Statutes and Customs, with the Cases, Opinions, Arguments and points of Learning in the Law, as doe properly concerne Women. London, 1632.


Young, R. V. "'O my America, my new-found-land': Pornography and Imperial Politics in Donne's 'Elegies.'" *South Central Review* 4 no. 2 (Summer 1987): 35-48.